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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Egon Dörner (1925–1993)

The Roman *castra* from Dacia during the “Military Anarchy” time. II. Their Baths and the Issue of External Dislocations of the Province’s Troops in this Interval*

Dan Matei

Abstract: There are enough cases of military baths in *Germania Superior* and *Raetia* when their functional surface was reduced or some parts were given other functions than those specific to the baths in the Late Period (the 2nd third of the 3rd century). The diminution of the number of the baths users was considered a cause for such reductions. An important reason behind the diminishing number of soldiers in the border areas (and implicitly of users of the baths from auxiliary forts), during the Late Period was considered the fact that a part of them were send from their garrison spots for missions in other areas (and – if – they returned with incomplete effectives, to various degrees).

In the same Late Period, troops or detachments of troops from *Dacia* were frequently dislocated outside the province for wars waged against the enemies of the Empire or during Roman internal confrontations (as a result of the repeated usurpations during this period). Specialists have wondered if some of the detachments from the troops of the province returned to their forts after the end of the hostilities or the temporary dislocations turned into permanent transfers in weak points or in certain concentration areas.

Through the present initiative we wish to verify the variants from the perspective of the used area of military baths.

Keywords: *Dacia*, period of the “Military Anarchy”, baths belonging to *castra*, external dislocations/ permanent transfer, reduction of the active surface of the baths.

We are taking further by the present pages the serial initiated few years ago and dedicated to *The Roman castra from Dacia during the “military anarchy” time*. If that first undertaking dealt with some *Issues of internal architecture*¹, the present one will deal an aspect related to the baths of the *castra*. By the fact that we are putting in discussion an edifice always situated in the interior of the legionary fortresses or an edifice-appendix of the auxiliary forts – situated outside their perimeter but customary² and in general built at the same chronological level³, by the fact that some baths are to be found also inside the auxiliary forts⁴ (with reference to the baths of the forts themselves and not to those that belong to the commander’s dwellings in the forts), we believe that our undertaking from now find its place in the above mentioned serial. Then, the establishing of the presence and the analysis of the phenomenon which we’ll follow in the case of the military baths from *Dacia* can contribute to the explanation of some phenomenons which manifested in the internal architecture of the Dacian *castra* (and treated in the first paper of our serial).

* English translation: Dr. A. M. Gruia, D. Matei. For the accuracy and style of translation the author of the paper remains solely responsible. – We are warmly thanking our friend and colleague Dr. V. Sava (The museum of Arad), for his very long patience regarding the submission’s date of the manuscript as for the technical alterations he performed so the paper to fit in the journal’s publication requirements.

¹ Matei 2011; a slightly revised and amplified variant, translated in German: Matei 2012.

² Lacking though in general from the very small fortifications (e.g. *burgi*) and/or situated in advanced positions.

³ For the presence of the baths near the auxiliary forts and their erection usually at the same chronological level: Seitz 1999, 82, n. 340; 84 with n. 359; 242 (“*Es ist wohl mit der Enge in den Mannschaftsunterkünften der Truppenlager zu erklären, daß die Kastellbäder eine notwendige Einrichtung darstellen*”) with n. 1263, indicating the primary literature (still inaccessible to us). – See also Horn 2001, 84 sq.: “...Hilfstruppenkastell...Militärbädern...waren sehr oft mit Malereien ausgestattet und stellten das Zentrum der soldatischen Freizeitgestaltung dar. Darüber hinaus bildete der regelmäßige Badebesuch auch einen wichtigen hygienischen Faktor für die in großer Enge kasernierten Soldaten”. – For the possibility of an excessive use of the baths, detrimental of the service’s duties: Speidel 2011, 214, with the sources cited at n. 25; the blaming which appear in some of these sources for bathing in warm water is itself unfair: Speidel 2015, 60 sq. with n. 54.

⁴ Johnson 1987, 213 sq.; Kör tum, Lauber 2004, 426–429 with n. 1579, 431; see also Scholz 2003–2004 (2004), 81 with n. 17 sq.; Jae 2000, 135 with n. 88.

Though not especially researched on purpose (a fact justified by their importance as compared to that of other types of sites in the era when truly archaeological researches were in the beginning), many of the baths from the forts in the Dacian provinces have been identified as such ever since the 19th century, tested or researched through wider archaeological excavations at the time and the results reported as those who made the effort of uncovering them saw fit. As the forts near which the baths were located were structures intensely researched during the 19th century (as compared to civilian structures), and as generally they seemed better preserved than other edifices in the proximity of the forts, due to their more solid construction required by their function, the ruins of the military baths drew attention also on them and targeted for excavations. This was usually done in parallel to excavations in the forts.

During the 20th century, as the former forts from *Dacia* continued to be the target with predilection of archaeologists specialized in the Roman period (still in the detriment of civilian structures⁵), the military baths continued to raise a natural interest on the part of specialists.

Nevertheless, if during the two above mentioned centuries, the forts, their baths (as well as, more rarely, other structures located on the territory of civil settlements near the forts), have enjoyed more numerous researches than the “purely” civilian objectives, the fact must not only be delegated to the choice of researchers, but also to the physical accessibility of the ruins and of the structures below ground. Generally located in the margins or between modern settlements and not covered by constructions, it was natural for the structures of the forts and those from the nearby civilian settlements to be better recognized and envisaged for research more often than many of the civilian settlements overlapped by modern settlements, especially the more large civilian settlements such as the majority of the cities of *Dacia*, *municipia* and *colonia*.

On the many military *balnea* that have been archaeologically researched by Gr. G. Tocilescu (and – or through – P. Polonic⁶), we have knowledge on only brief data. The fact that the scholar did not publish these researches is so much more regrettable as some of those *balnea* were largely or even fully uncovered; D. Tudor has subsequently recovered some of the manuscript information. Besides, also for enough Roman fortifications from the area of Oltenia or western Walachia researched by the illustrious pioneer archaeologist, for more or less objective reasons, the publication stage was never reached⁷ or it provided only few data, the manuscript information and illustration⁸ being valorized

⁵ The situation is the same also more closely to our days, cf. Bărbulescu 2009.

⁶ Related to this distinguished drawer-cartographer, previously topographer officer (Măgureanu 2013, 77; Iuga 1942, 224 sq.), we make reference to Barbu 1965; Bosoancă 2010; Măgureanu 2013; Mecu 2003, 81, 86, 101 sq., 104, 108; Iuga 1942. – Between 1892 and 1902 he was by Gr. G. Tocilescu’s side, but, beyond his specific tasks “in many cases he was the one permanently on site and coordinated the excavations according to Gr. Tocilescu’s indications, preparing daily notes that he sent to the direction of the museum in the form of weekly reports and at the conclusion of the those excavations he wrote a definitive report in which, according to his qualification, many times made interpretations on the researched objectives”: Barbu 1965, 238 (In Romanian); see for this also Măgureanu 2013, 78 sq.; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997, 57, n. 22; 68, n. 56.

⁷ Mecu 2003, 100–104. – A vision of the manner in which the fruits of the archaeological researches performed by Gr. G. Tocilescu were published, when they were published, in Avram 1992, 142 sq. – In the numerous cases when those fruits remained unpublished, one should think of I. Bogdan-Cătăniciu’s statement (1991, 191, in Romanian): “...he did not consider the stage of the archaeological excavations advanced enough for the results to become the object of publications, but he did present periodical preliminary reports”; see also Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997, 58. This in comparison to what V. Pârvan (1981, 244 = 2006, 296, in Romanian) (*Probleme de arheologie în România [Issues of archaeology in Romania]* = Pârvan 1921): “...he was only interested in the epigraphic side of classical discoveries. Completed excavations on Roman stations and castles, often remained unpublished by him...”; and V. Christescu (1937/2009, V sq./13, in Romanian): “...though attentive to the significant discoveries from Dobruđja, he still performed a rich activity of archaeologically investigating Oltenia and Walachia, with significant results, especially relating the epigraphic material; still, a certain superficiality and improvisation in everything he did, made that a good part of his observations to require revision. The personal spirit with which he performed field researches has probably prevented him to give to the print the reports and the complete results of the excavations performed in the Roman fortifications from Oltenia, just like those in Dobruđja.”, had previously stated. – As for us, we believe that no matter what the reality is in relation to the publication of results, the situation should be accepted as such, with no matter how many regrets, since our gratitude for his great scientific contributions should plentifully surpass those regrets. – About the scholar, besides the already mentioned literature, see also Apostolescu 1910 (1911), esp. 360, n. 1 (N. I. Apostolescu, Al. T. Dumitrescu); *Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie* 11, 1910, part I, 7–16 (*Necrolog* and a list containing *Lucrările lui Grigorie G. Tocilescu [The works of Grigorie G. Tocilescu]*, both unsigned).

⁸ On this manuscript material: Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1991, 190, 194 sq.; see also Vulpe 1959, 609; Vulpe 1965, 37; Vulpe 1975, 1558.

by D. Tudor⁹, V. Christescu¹⁰, C. M. Vlădescu and Gh. Poenaru Bordea¹¹, I. Bogdan-Cătănicu¹², and not only.

Envisaged globally, the available data set on the military baths from *Dacia* can be valued as satisfying¹³, even more so in comparison with the quantity of general data on civilian objectives. It is true that a significant part of the data are the result of the majestic researches of the 19th century, accomplished with the era’s excavation methods (but under no respect to be blamed today, as some epigones do¹⁴) – with few stratigraphic observations and, if such existed, usually briefly¹⁵. Even with the case so, it is regrettable that beyond a succinct and useful repertory, with but a few general considerations¹⁶, a doctoral dissertation dedicated to the general analysis of military baths from *Dacia*¹⁷ could not be subsequently revised and published¹⁸. Anyway, investigations of the old researches are mandatory for a better knowledge of the military baths from *Dacia*, beyond the need to initiate or take up again the research with the latest techniques. The remarkable informational gains on the bath from Grădiștea Muncelului – *Sarmizegetusa* “*regia*”, the results of a recent investigation¹⁹, should constitute a strong impetus towards it.

At the time the province of *Dacia* was established (in 106 A.D.), the baths (*balnea*) of the auxiliary forts²⁰ represented a natural appendix²¹. Their size was proportional to the number of soldiers that used them – “...die Größe eines Badegebäudes in einem bestimmten Verhältnis zur Stärke der betreffenden

⁹ Tudor 1941–1942 (1943); Tudor 1978, *passim*; see also Tudor 1976, 574–578; Bogdan-Cătănicu 1981b, 543, n. 4; 547 with n. 28.

¹⁰ Christescu 1937/2009, VII/15.

¹¹ E.g. Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 247 with n. 2, 250 with n. 5, 253 sq. with n. 7 sq.; fig. 4–6, 8; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 27 with n. 1, 29 with n. 11; fig. 8 sq., 12 sq.; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1979, 138–140, n. 6, 8, 12; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1981, 581 with n. 1, 3; 583, n. 5, 7, 9; 584, n. 1; 587, n. 11; 588, n. 12 sq.

¹² For example Bogdan-Cătănicu 1991, 190, 192, 194 sq.

¹³ Cf. Țentea 2010, 457; Țentea 2013, 89 (in Romanian): “At first glance the level of research is not satisfying...”, without further mention of how it looks under a more attentive gaze. The fact that establishing the specific destination of the different compartments of military baths has been also hindered by the advanced stage of degradation of the edifices in question (Țentea 2010, 457 sq.; Țentea 2013, 89), is a sad reality, but one must take solace considering the climate in the territory of the former province. – Despite the fact that the lot of information on the military baths from *Dacia* is not as one could wish for (in both quantity and quality), it still allows for the elaboration of studies dedicated to different distinct aspects: e.g. Cumurciuc 2011. – For the Roman/Late Roman baths in the Romanian section of *Moesia Inferior/Scythia Minor*: Suceveanu 2005.

¹⁴ Because what Gr. G. Tocilescu was transmitting to a collaborator: “purchase yourself a sieve with which in Your presence the earth to be filtered [...] to find objects, [...] don’t demolish any wall, don’t brake any object and note in a diary on each day what you dig and what is founded as also the place where the objects were found” (the citation taken from Ștefan 1984, 121, in Romanian), was a worldwide generalized practice at that time.

¹⁵ Maybe superfluous, but we still mention that dealing of some phenomenons especially proper to the second third of the 3rd century – among them also the ones we will follow below – at the auxiliary forts and their baths from the former provinces *Germania Superior* and *Raetia*, has encountered of course the same realities, see Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 88 sq.; Jae, Scholz 2002, 416; Scholz 2004, 135; Scholz 2003–2004 (2004), 79. Only while the subsequent researches of those performed during the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, have – generally regarded – much completed the old ones, the latter are still valorized constantly and in an optimal way. Which is of superlative scientific benefit in the cases when recent researches are still missing (see e.g., for the baths of the fort in Saalburg – *Germania Superior*: Moneta 2010, Bd. 1, 80–89. We were in position to cite the work here due to a nice gesture of prof. dr. E. Schallmayer, to which we are reiterating our thanks also in writing).

¹⁶ Gudea 1983, 101–112. – Before, a very short presentation of the military baths from the province, known at that time, in Macrea 1969/2007, 424 sq./359, 361 (the one researched at Turnu Severin being considered as public baths), see also 407/345 (fig.).

¹⁷ Huszarik 1999.

¹⁸ *In extremis*, a well written BA thesis dealing with the same topic: Baciu 1998, revised, more or less completed, and sent for print, could have supplemented this absence to a certain degree. Both works are available for consultation (also) at the library of the *Institute for Classical Studies* of the “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj. For those who are especially interested in the historiographic development of the topic – and we envisage here mainly someone interested to take it up again, making a great contribution to our discipline – we add that (also) in the same library one can find the diploma thesis (= currently the BA thesis) Huszarik 1984.

¹⁹ Pețan 2014; see also Pețan 2013, 33–36 with n. 12, 17 sq., 20; fig. 1–3.

²⁰ The terminological differentiation from the *thermae* in legionary fortresses has good support in literary and epigraphic sources, with size as determinant criterion: Țentea 2010, 455 sq. and n. 3 (with literature); Bidwell 2009, 60 with n. 20. – An incisive analysis of the essence proper to the two categories of baths, in Revell 2007; see also Körtum, Lauber 2004, 426.

²¹ Bidwell 2009.

*Einheit stehen mußte*²². Besides, already from Vitruvius we find out about the public baths that: “*The size of the baths must depend upon the number of the population*”²³.

The major and constant efforts of maintaining these baths functional renders the activity of the baths an excellent “criterion” for evaluating normal Roman life. There are enough situations in the baths of *Germania Superior* and *Raetia* when their functional surface was reduced or some parts were given other functions than those specific to the baths²⁴. The diminution of the number of the baths users was considered a cause for such reductions²⁵. For this reduction in surface specialists have invoked, on the other hand, the shortage of fuel (wood)²⁶, building materials for their full preservation²⁷, or, more generally, aside economical difficulties of the so-called *agri decumates zone*²⁸.

In the case of this delicate aspect, the assertion of A. Heising that “*...halte ich für ausgeschlossen, daß allein der Rohstoffmangel für die Reduktion der zahlreichen Heizanlagen verantwortlich war. Denn für den Zweck der Brennstoffeinsparung hätte es meist ausgereicht, die nicht mehr genutzten Hypocausten stillzulegen. Stattdessen erfolgte ein kompletter Umbau der Kastellbäder, der kaum mehr reversibel war und der zugleich Räume wie die Apodyterien betraf, die nicht eigens beheizt wurden. Hinter einer derartigen Baumaßnahme kann primär nur eine abnehmende Besucherzahl stehen, bei der voraussehbar war, daß sie in nächster Zeit nicht wieder erhöhen würde. Die gleichzeitige Einsparung von Brennholz war hier sicher beabsichtigt, letztlich aber wohl eher ein willkommener Nebeneffekt*”²⁹, seems to us valid.

Before him, in regard to the aspect M. Scholz expressed a quite similar view: “*Fraglich bleibt jedoch, ob die Verkleinerungen stets einen Bevölkerungsrückgang widerspiegeln oder mancherorts vielleicht auch akuten Brennstoffmangel oder überhaupt wirtschaftlichen Notstand der Bevölkerung*”³⁰.

One must also keep in mind that such reductions have also been noted in the baths of civilian objectives, such as some *villae rusticae*³¹. Or, in the case of these *villae*, we believe that it still remains to be established for sure if we are dealing with the same issue of fewer users³².

²² Wahl 1982, 92 (see further also 93, 96); see also Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 111, n. 696; Scholz 2002, 133, n. 40; Baatz 1989, 227. Regarding the issue, we are also sending to Dodt 2005, 859; 860, n. 33; as well as Baatz 1978, 66, 74. – On the relation between the size of the baths and the number of users in the case of *villae rusticae*: Pfahl 1999, 115; Haas 2006, 250 sq. – Access to the relevant section in J. Wahl’s work has been kindly facilitated by dr. M. Scholz. For this, for providing us also access to his work – Scholz 2016 (in print), and for discussions on the phenomenon we (also) are following, we are pleased to thank him also here.

²³ Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*, V, X.4 (p. 159 of the used edition); cf. Seitz 1999, 82, n. 335; Pfahl 1999, 115, n. 730.

²⁴ A special regard in Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 107–115; Scholz 2002; Scholz 2016 (in print) (cf. MONETA 2010, Bd. 1, 87); see also Heising 2008, 123–132, esp. 129–132; Haas 2006, 244–247; Reuter 2007, 124 sq.; Reuter 1999 (2001), 417 sq.; Baatz 1978, 74 (see also 81; 86–88 with n. 43; 92).

²⁵ Seitz 1999, 82, 88 sq. (“*Starke Reduzierungen der Räumlichkeiten sind auch für die Kastellbäder vom Schirenhof und Walldürn bezeugt. Die letzte Bauphase des Bucher Kastellbades charakterisiert – ebenso wie die angeführten Vergleichsbeispiele – auf anschauliche Weise die veränderten politischen Gegebenheiten im fortgeschrittenen 2. Drittel des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Verminderte Truppenstärke und der damit gleichzeitige Rückgang von Badegästen erforderten wohl diese Baumaßnahmen.*”); Seitz 2005, 358; Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 88 sq., 111 with n. 696; Scholz 2002, 133 with n. 40; Heising 2008, 123, n. 366; 124, 126–132; Reuter 2007, 124 with n. 496; see already Nuber 1990, 63; then Nuber 1998, 371; Nuber 2005, 448; as well as Nuber 1997b, 66 sq. – Just collateral being said, its noticeable for the historiography of the issue in discussion, that G. Seitz, M. Scholz, A. Heising, M. Reuter (and also S. F. Pfahl, cited *supra*), have all been pupils of the professor H. U. Nuber (see Seitz 2006, XXXIII–XXXVI).

²⁶ See again Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 111 with the references in the n. 697; Scholz 2002, 133 with the references in the n. 41. – From that literature, we also are bringing in discussion Baatz 1978, 88 (in connection with the second stage of the late military bath from Walldürn – *Germania Superior*, stage that must be dated several good years after 232, when the construction of the edifice is precisely dated epigraphically; the cited author invoked the deficit of heating material and the deficit of work force for the use of heating material obtained from demolished constructions and the reality of the reduction in the building’s surface during this second stage); rejecting the opinion envisaging the deficit of heating material in the case from Walldürn, Haas 2006, 247.

²⁷ To this end see Luik 1992, 68 sq. (the specialist doesn’t seem to refer at the deficit of the fire wood, as Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 111, n. 696; Scholz 2002, 133, n. 40, considers); agreeing, but not as a unique cause, Heising 2008, 127 sq. with n. 391 (see *supra*).

²⁸ Kuhnen 1997, 431, see also 429 (English abstract); to the end of the shrinkage in soldiers’ numbers (as one alternative), and not necessarily to the deficit of resources as cause, Haas 2006, 251 sq.

²⁹ Heising 2008, 128.

³⁰ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 111, see also 115; Scholz 2002, 133, see also 138.

³¹ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 108; Scholz 2002, 132; Scholz 2016 (in print).

³² A diminished number of baths users: Nuber 2005, 448; see also Heising 2008, 125, but also 127; 129; because of the bad economical situation: Kuhnen 1997, 431; an alternative related to the available amount of water, in Haas 2006, 251 sq.

The *sudatoria* and *tepidaria* in the baths of auxiliary forts³³ or, from a more general perspective, the *caldaria* and *tepidaria* from the baths belonging to auxiliary forts, *villae rusticae* or *vici* were the areas preponderantly “disaffected” during the Late Period³⁴ (i.e. the second third of the 3rd century). Generally, only the areas required by a minimum bathing circuit were kept in the baths of greater dimensions of the auxiliary forts³⁵. The construction works performed in the case of baths from auxiliary forts during this late chronological segment were, beyond with few exceptions, modest, being used stone pillars as *pilae*, *pilae* made of stone and ceramic material for construction (entire of fragmentary), just as *spolia* on a large scale³⁶.

An important reason behind the diminishing number of soldiers in the border areas (and implicitly of users of the baths from auxiliary forts), during the Late Period was considered the fact that a part of them were send from their garrison spots for missions in other areas (and – if – they returned with incomplete effectives, to various degrees)³⁷.

For part of the northern *limes* of *Germania Superior* (Wetterau and Taunus), the hypothesis that the troops were retreated according to their type was formulated: the *alae* first, then the *cohorts*, and finally the *numeri*³⁸.

In the same Late Period, troops or detachments of troops from *Dacia* were frequently dislocated outside the province for wars waged against the enemies of the Empire or during Roman internal confrontations (as a result of the repeated usurpations during this period). Specialists have wondered if some of the detachments from the troops of the province returned to their forts after the end of the hostilities or the temporary dislocations turned into permanent transfers in nevralgic points or in certain concentration areas³⁹.

Through the present initiative we wish to verify the variants from the perspective of the used area of military baths⁴⁰. The difficult access to the specialized Romanian literature and the linguistic barrier must have been the causes that made M. Scholz state that: “*Leider sind die dortigen Badeanlagen zu wenig erforscht, um feststellen zu können, ob auch diese verkleinert wurden.*”⁴¹. But the baths of the *castra* in *Dacia* are not little researched, but quite little known in fact, of the cause of publishing manner of the results, and this, in turn, has a great impact on the present discussion as well. The results obtained so far nevertheless allow at least the start of it. The completion of the research of the proper *thermae* from the legionary fortress in Turda-Potaissa especially provides an excellent point of reference. We have paid special interest to the baths from forts that hosted cavalry units. Due to their high tactical value, they must have been especially envisaged for external dislocations. So:

*

³³ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 114; Scholz 2002, 137; Reuter 2007, 124.

³⁴ Heising 2008, 124, 127.

³⁵ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 114; Scholz 2002, 137; Heising 2008, 124, 129; Reuter 2007, 124; the idea is to be found already in Nuber 1990, 63; with regard to the bath in Rainau-Buch (*Raetia*): Seitz 1999, 88 with n. 440.

³⁶ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 111 sq.; Scholz 2002, 133 sq.; Heising 2008, 124.

³⁷ Nuber 1990, 62 sq.; Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 87 sq.; Heising 2008, 130–132; see also Nuber 1998, 371, 373. – For the dislocations themselves: Heising 2008, 99, 130 sq.; Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 87 sq.; Steidl 2000, 114 sq.; Nuber 1997b, 60–63, 67.

³⁸ Steidl 1996, 25, 28; Steidl 2000, 111–114, esp. 114; see more recently Steidl 2006, 34; reservations under this respect in Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 97; Heising 2008, 132. – Consideration of special interest regarding the retreat of the large cavalry units, entirely or partially, from the northern *limes* of *Germania Superior* inside the territory, with missions in the province or outside, or their inclusion in Gallienus’ mobile cavalry, in Nuber 1997a, 151–158; Nuber 1997b, 67; Nuber 1998, 373 sq.; on the problem, see also Reuter 2012, 315 sq.; Heising 2012, 171 sq.; for the idea of military concentrations in certain oportune points, Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 95, 98; Jae, Scholz 2002, 419; Scholz 2003–2004 (2004), 89.

³⁹ Hügel 2003, 60 sq., 72, 78–82, 121, 161 sq., 167, 169 sq.; Dana, Nemeti 2001, 241–244, 247–249, 252–254; Opreanu 2004, 14, 16 sq.; Opreanu 1999–2000 (2000), 396, 400–402 = Opreanu 2001, 69, 72–74; Ruscu 2003, 210–215; Nemeti, Nemeti 2004–2005, 92–95; Zahariade, Phelps 1999, 320 sq.; 324 sq., n. 13, 15, 18; Benea 2010; Benea 2010–2011 (2012); Piso 2000, 216–218 = Piso 2005, 417 sq.; Russu 1975, 54–56; Horovitz 1957.

⁴⁰ The preliminary and final results were orally shared by in two papers: “Băile castrelor din *Dacia* în perioada «anarhiei militare» și problema dislocărilor externe ale trupelor provinciei în acest răstimp” [“The military baths from *Dacia* during the «Military Anarchy» time and the issue of external dislocations of the province’s troops in this interval”]. In: *Simpozion Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în arheologie. Ediția a II-a*: In honorem prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Lazarovici, Timișoara, 6 Decembrie 2014; “Băile cazone din *Dacia* în epoca târzie a provinciei” [“The soldierly baths from *Dacia* in the Late Epoch of the province”]. In: *Colocviul național Frontierele Imperiului Roman în Dacia: Limes forum IV*, Sovata, 4–6 Decembrie 2015.

⁴¹ Scholz 2002–2003 (2006), 114.

“**Bivolari**”/“**PoianaBivolăriei**” – **Arutela** (Călimănești-Păușa, Vâlcea County): one part of the site has already been lost by the erosion of River Olt, fully researched by Gr. G. Tocilescu and P. Polonic in 1891–1892 (in the first year or both, maybe since 1890?⁴²)⁴³. It is still unclear if the fortification⁴⁴ also functioned during the “Military Anarchy” time⁴⁵ since, from a chronological perspective, the last Roman coin from the series known from *Arutela* is an item issued by Elagabalus between 220 and 222⁴⁶. If the fortification was still active as such during the “Military Anarchy”, one still has to clarify the variant that a detachment of *cohortes Hispanorum veterana quingenaria equitata* was stationed even then, as it was maybe during the 2nd century⁴⁷.

Boița – Caput Stenarum (belonging now to the town of Tâlmăciu, Sibiu County): incompletely researched⁴⁸. An issue of emperor Marcus Aurelius is the only coin recovered from the baths⁴⁹ and none of the three brooches brought to light from the same perimeter⁵⁰ can be included in established typologies or must not be typologically dated to the period of the “Military Anarchy”⁵¹.

One still has to establish if the fortification from Boița⁵² was still in use during the “Military Anarchy”⁵³. Anyway, it was opted for a definitive abandonment of the entire settlement in 245 caused by the raids of the Carpi⁵⁴, but this still requires confirmation. Even more so since a general level of destruction that might be connected to the events in questions has not been identified⁵⁵.

The stationed unit remains anonymous⁵⁶. On the basis of a reason not lacking in merits, but risky,

⁴² See the subsequent footnote and compare with Tocilescu 1891, 37 – where it features as the period when the article was completed: “*Sommer 1890*”.

⁴³ Tudor 1942, 143, 145–147, 149, fig. 3, 5; Tudor 1978, 313 *sq.*, no. 2 with fig. 90 *sq.*; see also p. 259; Tudor *et al.* 1973, 19–26, with the reproduction of Gr. G. Tocilescu’s manuscript report; Tocilescu 1891, 13 (he believed they were placed inside the fortification, probably since its precinct route had not been established yet with precision; besides, on the surveys performed at the time of research, reproduced in Tudor *et al.* 1973, 21 *sq.*, fig. 12 *sq.*, one finds exactly six rooms, as Gr. G. Tocilescu mentioned, and no other bath was identified during the 20th century excavations inside the fortification. Therefore we believe that the small uncertainty on the location of the baths in Tudor 1942, 145, n. 2, though not explicitly expressed, must be anyway removed); see also Poenaru Bordea *et al.* 1979, 125; Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1979, 236.

⁴⁴ For this: Tudor 1942, 143–145, 147–149; Vlădescu 1986, 46–59; Vlădescu 1983a, 92–100; Tudor *et al.* 1969–1970; Tudor *et al.* 1973, 12–18; Poenaru Bordea *et al.* 1979; Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1969; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 247–250; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 27 *sq.*, 30 *sq.*; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 47–51, 57; Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1979; Vlădescu 1982, 55–57, 61 *sq.*; Tudor 1978, 259–265, no. 3; Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 103–105; see also Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981b, 548–551; Marcu 2009, 178–183.

⁴⁵ As it was expressed that around 235 a good part of the perimeter was eroded by a massive freshet of River Olt: Tudor 1981, 80 *sq.*, Tudor 1978, 264 *sq.*, see also Vlădescu 1986, 59; Vlădescu 1983a, 100; Tudor *et al.* 1969–1970, 23 *sq.*, 41–44; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 257; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 31; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 57.

⁴⁶ Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1969, 108 with n. 8; Tudor *et al.* 1969–1970, 38, no. 13; see also p. 40 *sq.*, 43; brought to light during the 1967 archaeological researches.

⁴⁷ For the military unit and one or two epigraphic mentions of its soldiers in *Arutela* – though the pieces of evidence are dated during the first part of the 2nd century: Petolescu 1997, 108–110, no. 41 (without discussing the presence of a detachment there, a presence on which he had previously believed: *IDR II*, p. 222); Marcu 2009, 184, 191 *sq.* (who advanced the hypothesis that these were only separate elements and, one can understand, not a detachment of the cohort in question); Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 284 *sq.* Some specialists indicate as certain the fact that a detachment of the cohort was stationed in *Arutela*: Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1969, 101 with n. 3; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 57; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 257; Vlădescu 1982, 62; Vlădescu 1983a, 36 (where the garrisoning is placed, with reservation, subsequently to year 140).

⁴⁸ Macrea 1959, 433–436 with fig. 32–35; Lupu [1960] [1961], 412 *sq.*, 415; pl. II; III.1, 3–6; Lupu 2002, 78–81, 99; Tudor 1978, 315, no. 4., fig. 26.1 (p. 94); see also Lupu 1974, 219 *sq.* with n. 6; 222–224 with n. 20; Lupu 1972, 57.

⁴⁹ Lupu [1960] [1961], 413 with n. 1; 420; pl. III.1; Lupu 2002, 80.

⁵⁰ Lupu [1960] [1961], 413, pl. III.3–5; Lupu 2002, 80, 99.

⁵¹ See Cociș 2004, 196, no. 1100 (*cf.* p. 95); 213, no. 1684 (*cf.* p. 139); 147 (for the dating of the *brooches with returned foot*, a type that the item illustrated in Lupu [1960] [1961], 413, pl. III.5, belongs).

⁵² Macrea 1959, 407 with n. 2; 429–437; Lupu [1960] [1961], 416–420, with the illustration; Lupu 2002, 75–78, 97; Lupu 1972; Stoia 1980, 357, n^o. 22 (N. Lupu); Gudea 1983–1984 [1985], 505, no. 6 ≈ Gudea 1986, 489, no. 6; Marcu 2009, 184 *sq.*; Tudor 1978, 270 *sq.*, no. 9., fig. 26.2 (p. 94); Gudea 1997 (1998), *69 *sq.*, no. 46; see also Lupu 1974, 220 with n. 8; 222; Lupu 1967, 128 *sq.*; Vlădescu 1986, 79 *sq.*, 146, 152 *sq.*; Vlădescu 1983a, 114 *sq.*

⁵³ Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 74 *sq.* advances the possibility that the objective lost its character of military fortification *sui generis* during a secondary stage in its existence.

⁵⁴ Lupu 2002, 98 *sq.*, 102.

⁵⁵ The statement that the settlement was *destroyed* by the Carpi, featured in the German abstract in Lupu 2002, 71, is certainly a error on the part of the person(s) who wrote the abstract in question after the author passed away.

⁵⁶ Two stamped bricks belonging to the *XIII Gemina* legion were recovered during the researches performed in the baths (Lupu 1974, 219 with n. 6; Lupu [1960] [1961], 413, 420; Lupu 1972, 57; Lupu 2002, 79), in 1973 another was found

the stamp *COH – I [...]* impressed on a roof tile recovered from outside the fortification, was supposed to carry the abbreviation of the name of cohort *I Tyrriorum*⁵⁷, while a recent reading: *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*⁵⁸, still awaits validation as well. But if this hypothesis is validated, which is very probable, the unit garrisoned in Boița during the Late Period – if there was a military fortification during the Late Period – still has to be revealed, since the stamp of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* on the stamp found there belongs to a type chronologically included during the period of the Dacian-Roman confrontations⁵⁹.

Bologa – Rucconium?⁶⁰ (Poieni, Cluj County): incompletely researched in 1976⁶¹. The units with long periods of stationing in the fort from Bologa⁶² were *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* and *cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica equitata*⁶³, still there under Gordianus III, a fact attested by epigraphy⁶⁴.

Brețcu (Covasna County): partially researched by Em. Panaitescu in 1925 and subsequently by M. Macrea and his collaborators in 1950⁶⁵. No data is available on the activity of the soldiers from *cohors I Hispanorum quingenaria equitata veterana* and *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum equitata* – the presumed mixed garrison of the fort⁶⁶, during the Late Period.

Buciumi – Docidava?⁶⁷ (Hung. Vármező; Sălaj County): little researched⁶⁸. The most recent coin found in the fort from Buciumi⁶⁹ was recovered from barrack “1” and had been issued by Trebonianus Gallus sometime during his reign (251–253)⁷⁰.

Though the most recent piece of evidence of its presence there that can be dated with precision indicates the time of Caracalla – or, if rigorously considered, under Elagabalus – the unit that was

inside the fortification or even in its proximity (Lupu 2002, 76 sq.), while subsequently six more (one in 1981), were discovered outside the fortification and the bath: Lupu 2002, 83 sq.; IDR III/4, 84; Stoia 1975, 274, n. 22 (N. Lupu; who nevertheless reports the discovery in 1973–1974 of seven fragments of stamped bricks). – N. Lupu claimed that the stationing of a detachment of the legion there started under Marcus Aurelius, along with the military transformations and the administrative and territorial ones of the Dacian provinces, replacing cohort *I Tyrriorum sagittariorum* (Lupu 1974, 222–225, 227; Lupu 2002, 75, 83, 97, 100; see also Lupu 1972); I. I. Russu (in the commentary of IDR III/4, 85), favored the variant that a legionary detachment was garrisoned prior to the cohort on the identification of which he maintained caution). – As for us, we believe that the legionary detachment only contributed to the construction of the bath for the auxiliary unit in question and it was not properly stationed in Boița.

⁵⁷ Lupu 1974, 220–222, fig. 1; Lupu 2002, 82 sq., 97, 99; followed on the identity of the troop in Gudea 1997 (1998), *70; with reservations: Petolescu 1997, 119, no. 58. – The stamp is to be found in IDR III/4, 85, but its drawing – fig. 44 – seems to have a degree of error even if one ignores a significant observation in Schuster 2013, 239, that we shall not detail here. – For *cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum*: Țentea 2012, 65 sq.; Eck et al. 2001, 45–48, no. 5 = RMD V, 442 (a military diploma that mentions the cohort in *Dacia Inferior* for the period between 167–about the middle of 168); Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 294 sq.; Marcu 2009, 185; Petolescu 1997, 119, no. 58.

⁵⁸ Schuster 2013, 239 sq., 244–249, with the discussion; Marcu 2009, 185; but see already Lupu 1974, 222 and the reference to n. 14; Lupu 2002, 99 sq. Read also *CEpR* XXXIII (2013), 1634.

⁵⁹ Schuster 2013, 244 sq. – For cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum equitata* (?) *sagittaria/sagittariorum*: Țentea 2012, 41–45, 92, 98 sq., 114, 158 sq., 195; Țentea 2004–2005 (2007), 143–148, 154–156; Marcu 2009, 185, 197 sq., 201, 224 sq., 235 sq., 241; Marcu 2004, 577, no. 9; 585, 592; Petolescu 1997, 99 sq., no. 29; see also Opreanu 2013, 198.

⁶⁰ Nemeti 2014, 65 sq. with n. 200.

⁶¹ Gudea 1997a, 52–55, fig. 28.

⁶² For this fort: Gudea 1997a, esp. 16–18, 20–24, 26, 31–40, 43–46; Marcu 2009, 26–33, 35 sq.; Macrea 1932–1938 (1939), esp. 203–223, 230–233; Gudea 1977a, 316 sq., 319–325; Gudea 1977b, 171 sq., fig. 1; Gudea 1973b, 27–32, 55; Gudea 1973a, esp. 109–119, 127, 130; Gudea 1972b, 121–135, 148; Chirilă, Gudea 1973.

⁶³ Marcu 2009, 27, 33–35; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 281 sq., 286; Nemeth 2004; Petolescu 1997, 104 sq., no. 34; 111 sq., no. 44; Gudea 1997a, 24–26, 40.

⁶⁴ Gudea 1997a, 40, 46, 48, fig. 27; *ILD* 618 sq, 621 sq.

⁶⁵ Gudea 1980, 290–292, see also 261 sq., 264, 271, 322, 326, 331; fig. 5, 8 sq.; Macrea et al. 1951, 292; Panaitescu 1929, fig. 1; Panaitescu 1931, 3.

⁶⁶ According to Marcu 2009, 192, 189. For the units, see Marcu 2009, 188 sq., 191 sq.; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 273 sq., 284 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 108–110, no. 41; 92, no. 20; Matei-Popescu 2005; Bakó 1980. On fort: Gudea 1980, *passim*; Macrea et al. 1951, 287–296; Popa 2013; Popa et al. 2009; Panaitescu 1929, 76 sq., fig. 1; Panaitescu 1931, 3; Paulovics 1944, 73–80, with the previous bibliography.

⁶⁷ Nemeti 2014, 66.

⁶⁸ Gudea 1997b, 63 sq. For a long period the objective was known on site and labeled appropriately with enough certainty: Torma 1963, 11 sq. (a reproduction, in Romanian, of one of the paragraphs referring to the baths, in Russu 1959, 309); see also Gudea 1972a, 9 with n. 17; Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 125 with n. 228.

⁶⁹ For this fort: Chirilă et al. 1972; Gudea 1997b, esp. 14, 18–24, 26–30, 37, 40–55, 57–61, 66 sq.; Marcu 2009, 36–52; Landes-Gyemant, Gudea 2001 (2003); Macrea et al. 1969; Macrea et al. 1971; Timoc, Bejinariu 2000; see also Russu 1959, 307–310.

⁷⁰ Găzdac, Ripon 2012, 97, no. 445; see also p. 17 sq.; Gudea 1997b, 56, 61; Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 123 with n. 223.

probably stationed in Buciumi during the Late Period is, like much before, *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria pia fidelis*⁷¹.

One should note the inexistence up to this moment of colonial coins issued in *Nikaea*, in *Bithynia*, during the reign of Gordianus III, to be recovered from the fort⁷², like the low number of items, 2, of the “*PROVINCIA DACIA*” type that have been recovered in large numbers from other forts⁷³. Without forcing the numismatic information and waiting for additional data, we believe that the possibility that the effective of the garrison in Buciumi was reduced during the Late Period is an issue that must be checked in the future.

The rather restricted surface borned the idea that the baths researched inside the fort (*latus praetorii dextrum*) – the construction of which has been dated to the third century or, more precisely, *post* year 220⁷⁴, were rather used by officers alone⁷⁵. It must be indeed envisaged as an integral part of the *praetorium* and not as an independent building⁷⁶.

Bumbești-Jiu – “Gară” (Gorj County): largely or fully researched in 1897 (Gr. G. Tocilescu, through P. Polonic), as well as subsequently⁷⁷. On a hypothetical level *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria*⁷⁸ was in Bumbești-Jiu also during the period of the “Military Anarchy”. The most recent coin recovered from the fort⁷⁹ was issued under Philippus Arabs⁸⁰.

Călugăreni (Hung. Mikháza; Eremitu, Mureș County): the baths of the fort started to be archaeologically researched only in 2013⁸¹. On a hypothetical level, as firm data are missing, *coh(ors) p(rima) A(ugusta) I(turæorum)*⁸² was also stationed in the fort there⁸³ during the Late Period.

Cătunele (village of Valea Perilor, Gorj County): little researched⁸⁴. It is not at all certain that the fort there was still in use during the Late Period⁸⁵, as the coin issued for Salonina (dated to the wider interval of 253–268)⁸⁶, might be evidence of civilian presence in the perimeter of the already abandoned fortification. The garrison remains unknown.

Copăceni – Praetorium “I” (Racovița, Vâlcea County): partially researched by Gr. G. Tocilescu through P. Polonic in 1894⁸⁷. On an extract with D. Tudor’s 1943 work, professor M. Macrea noted by hand: “*We might have in fact two baths, for men and for women, like in Ilișua for example*”⁸⁸. It is likely

⁷¹ To check on the topic: Matei-Popescu 2010, 396–398; Petolescu 1997, 95 *sq.*, no. 25; Marcu 2009, 52 *sq.*; Gudea 1997b, 31 *sq.*, 34, 52 *sq.*; Marcu 2002–2003 (2004), 222; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 277; see also Russu 1959, 311–316.

⁷² Găzdac, Pripon 2012, 19.

⁷³ Găzdac, Pripon 2012, 17, 19.

⁷⁴ Chirilă *et al.* 1972, 31 with n. 39, Abb. 3, 52, 53.1, 54; Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 122 *sq.*; Gudea 1997b, 58–61 (where by construction “C 3” one must understand “C 4” and the other way around), Abb. 8, 23; see also Landes-Gyemant, Gudea 2001 (2004), 130; 131, Abb. 3; 150, Abb. 20; Macrea *et al.* 1969, 154, fig. 1.

⁷⁵ Gudea 1972a, 31 with n. 40; Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 125.

⁷⁶ Marcu 2009, 42, 52.

⁷⁷ Marinoiu 2004, 93–96, pl. XVIII (p. 300); Tudor 1940a, 25 *sq.*, 33 (Italian abstract), fig. 12 *sq.*; Tudor 1978, 314 *sq.*, no. 3 (see also p. 269), fig. 92.1; Bujor 1973, 111 *sq.*, fig. 4.

⁷⁸ For the cohort: Petolescu, 1997, 96, no. 26; Marcu, 2009, 120 *sq.*; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 275.

⁷⁹ For this: Tudor 1940a, 18–25, 28 *sq.*, 31 *sq.*; Florescu *et al.* 1957, 103–110; Bujor 1983; Marinoiu 2004, 81–88; Marinoiu 2010; Marinoiu, Hortopan 2006, 47–51 and the illustration; see also Marinoiu, Cămui 1986.

⁸⁰ Tudor, 1940a, 26, no. 2.; see also 32; Tudor, 1978, 269; Florescu *et al.* 1957, 110.

⁸¹ Man *et al.* 2014, with fig. 3–7 (p. 282 *sq.*); Man *et al.* 2015, 41 *sq.*, with fig. 3–9 (p. 323–326); Pánczél *et al.* 2014, 26 (figures in the center and in the bottom left), 27. If this is the same objective (nevertheless see Man *et al.* 2012, 35 *sq.*), one must mention that the location of the bath had been recognized on site long before this beginning of the excavations: Pánczél 2015, 910 *sq.*, 913; with fig. 2; Protase 1965, 210, see also 209 = Protase 2005, 86, see also 85; Paulovics 1944, 34 *sq.*, (fig.) 4.

⁸² The fact that the unit in question was garrisoned here and not *cohors prima Alpinorum* is now for sure established: Piso, Marcu 2006–2007 (2008), esp. 172–176, see also Marcu 2009, 122. On the military unit: Piso, Marcu 2006–2007 (2008); Țentea 2012, 52–55.

⁸³ For it: Protase 1965 = Protase 2005, 85–88 (without illustration); Man *et al.* 2005; Man *et al.* 2014; Man *et al.* 2015, 41 *sq.*; Pánczél *et al.* 2014, 25–27 (with the illustration); see also Paulovics 1944, 32–37.

⁸⁴ Tudor, Davidescu 1976, 64 *sq.*, 72 *sq.*, 74, fig. 4–7; Tudor 1978, 315, no. 5; Davidescu 1980, 87 *sq.*, 90.

⁸⁵ As stated in Tudor, Davidescu 1976, 76, 78 *sq.*; Tudor 1978, 273; Davidescu 1980, 90 *sq.* – Regarding the fort, see also Petolescu 1986 (which brings in discussion the Romano-Lazygian war of 117–118 as possible historical context of its destruction by fire: 162); and IONESCU 1986.

⁸⁶ Tudor, Davidescu 1976, 76, 79; Davidescu 1980, 89 with n. 167, see also p. 91.

⁸⁷ Tudor 1941–1942 (1943), 96–98 with fig. 3; Tudor 1978, 320, no. 8; see also p. 288; fig. 92.2.

⁸⁸ The extract belongs to the patrimony of the History Museum in Turda (Inv. no. 2933), besides many others that belonged to the professor from Cluj. The note in question is on page 97, in the lower part.

that the high number of rooms (12) set through the incomplete excavations performed in the end of the 19th century made M. Macrea think of a gender division of the surface of the baths in the case of concomitant use, a situation which seems to us highly improbable given the size of the settlement. Also, it does not mean there were two independent edifices, as one might understand from the quoted note.

It was considered that the perimeter of the fortification⁸⁹ was largely eroded around the middle of the 3rd century following a freshet of River Olt and thus it was evacuated⁹⁰. Anyway, during the reconstruction works – or maybe just reparations, in our opinion – a milestone (in fact both fragments it had been broken into), was reused at the gate of the fortification that still could be archaeologically researched. The milestone had been inscribed in 236 and the name of Maximinus Thrax had been hammered out⁹¹.

Documented exactly in Copăceni for the first time in 140, one can only suspect that *numerus burgariorum et veredariorum Daciae Inferioris*⁹², was still stationed there during the Late Period⁹³. M. Reuter envisaged the possibility that the *numerus* ceased to exist as an entity in the 3rd century – in the absence of direct attestations subsequent to the year mentioned above⁹⁴, a fact that must be taken into consideration.

Gherla (Hung. Szamosújvár; Cluj County): a large part of the baths’ area had been permanently affected by the excavation works for the former *Canal al Morii (Mill Canal)* in 1809⁹⁵. The objective was recognized as such and researched ever since the second half of the 19th century⁹⁶, a brick with an inscription that proved to be genuine being recovered from here⁹⁷. The preserved part of the *balneum* has not been identified on the field more recently.

It seems that *ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum veterana (quingenaria)* was garrisoned in the fort of Gherla⁹⁸ throughout the whole existence period of the province⁹⁹. For the moment, the unit does not

⁸⁹ For it: Vlădescu 1986, 68–70; Vlădescu 1983a, 105–108; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980a, 816–818, 820; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980b, 109–111, 114; Tudor 1941–1942 (1943), 95 sq.; Tudor 1978, 287 sq., no. 31, fig. 79.1; Tudor 1981, 80–82; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 54–57; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 254, 257; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 30–32; Vlădescu 1982, 58–63; Tudor 1982; Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 105, 107, 109–112; Marcu 2009, 200 sq. (with some errors).

⁹⁰ To this end, Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 257; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 31; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 57; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980a, 818, 829 (English abstract); Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980b, 110, 114, 116 (French abstract); Vlădescu 1982, 59, 62 sq.; Vlădescu 1983b, 15; Marinescu, Vlădescu 1983, 113; already Tudor *et al.* 1969–1970, 44; see also Vlădescu 1986, 70, 79; Vlădescu 1983a, 107 sq. (but the cause of the degradation is not discussed in these works); according to Tudor 1978, 288, the fortification ended its period of use having been destroyed by fire, though in an uninspired manner conciliatory he admits that also the flood might have taken the fortification out of use (but on p. 290 he only mentions this reason). Later on, D. Tudor (1981, 80 sq., 85) mentions as cause of the degradation only the freshet, an event he placed around 235.

⁹¹ *CIL* III 14216³⁹ = *IDR* II 589 = Tocilescu 1896, 84, no. 16; Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 112, no. 3; see also Tudor 1982, 288, fig. 79.1; Tudor 1941–1942 (1943), 96; Fodorean 2005, 524 and from a general perspective, 523–526, 529; Fodorean 2006, 80 sq., no. 8. – According to D. Tudor (1981, 80) the item had ended up between the two towers of the gate during the period after the evacuation of the fortification – sometime around 235, when burials were performed in what was left of the perimeter. Based on the words of the above mentioned author, one could understand that the burials in question were made ever since the Roman period. A dating to a subsequent era in Tudor 1941–1942 (1943), 96; Tudor 1978, 288; but see also Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 109.

⁹² On this unit in: Reuter 1999 (2001), 467–469, see also 377, 518 sq.; Marcu 2009, 201; Tocilescu 1894; Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 109–111; Tudor 1981, 81–85; Petolescu 1997, 122 sq., no. 61; Vlădescu 1983a, 40, no. (2.c.).1.; 45, 47 sq., 52.

⁹³ Believing that the fortification in Copăceni was probably damaged profoundly around the middle of the 3rd century, specialists have also taken into consideration the variant that the unit was moved to the fortification in Racovița – *Praetorium* “II”, that was thought to be built during that time ca. 0.5 km away: Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980a, 818 sq., 824, 826; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1980b, 110, 114; Vlădescu 1982, 59, 62 sq.; Vlădescu 1986, 70, 79; already Tudor 1940c, 40 sq.; see also Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1983, 348; Vlădescu 1983a, 108, 113 sq.; Marinescu, Vlădescu 1983a, 113. For D. Tudor (1981, 85) the moving of the unit to Racovița is certain. A different vision in Marcu 2009, 209 sq.

⁹⁴ Reuter 1999 (2001), 469.

⁹⁵ About the *balneum*: Ornstein 1891, 171, 176; the map of the area where the fort is located, with the localization of the *balneum*, on p. 169; Ornstein 1893, 349 sq.; RepArhCJ 1992, s.v., p. 215, no. 11 (E. Chirilă, R. Ardevan).

⁹⁶ Protase *et al.* 2008, 17, 116 sq., mentioning the older literature; RepArhCJ 1992, s.v., p. 213, 215, no. 8, 11 (E. Chirilă, R. Ardevan).

⁹⁷ Fröhlich 1892; Russu 1964, 480 sq., no. 10.

⁹⁸ Protase *et al.* 2008; Protase, Ardevan 1983; Pop *et al.* 1980; Ornstein 1902; Orosz 1909; see also Gudea 1997 (1998), *102 sq., no. 97; RepArhCJ 1992, s.v., p. 212–216, no. 8, 12 (E. Chirilă, R. Ardevan); Protase [1964] = Protase 2005, 101–103.

⁹⁹ For this unit, especially Ardevan 2007 (a shorter variant: Ardevan 2009) and Protase *et al.* 2008, 29–32, 39 sq.; then Petolescu 1997, 84 sq., no. 12; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 270, see also 267 sq.

benefit from attestations that can be dated precisely to the period of the “soldier-emperors”¹⁰⁰, but it has not been documented elsewhere either. Without evidence available for now, it has been presumed, and rightly so, that it took part in different military confrontations during the “Military Anarchy”¹⁰¹. Though, coins of oriental issue from this period have been few recovered¹⁰².

Ilișua – **Arcobara/Arcobadara*¹⁰³ (Hung. Alsóilosvai; Uriu, Bistrița-Năsăud County): the researches performed by Torma K. between 1858 and 1862¹⁰⁴ have (also) stressed the existence here of two baths. The smaller bath, declared as fully researched following the more recent archaeological excavation campaigns¹⁰⁵, was believed to have been built before the other one¹⁰⁶. Soldiers of the *XIII Gemina* Legion were also involved in its construction, as attested by stamped bricks found there with the abbreviated name of the unit¹⁰⁷. For now, one cannot state with certainty that it was still in use during the time of the “Military Anarchy”. Nothing indicates this undeniably¹⁰⁸. On the contrary, no data is available on repairs with *spolia* – typical to that period – that were well documented at the other baths¹⁰⁹. Anyway, the authors of the researches performed closer to our days have made no mention of the reduction of the active area of the bath in any period in particular, neither on the change of function of any room to anything but bath use.

Likewise, there is no mention under this regard connected to the larger bath in Ilișua researched both by Torma K. and subsequently by others¹¹⁰. Its use during the “Military Anarchy” is probable, though the latest coins that can be determined found with certainty in the bath in question, were issued under Elagabalus (218–222)¹¹¹. A tile with the abbreviated name of *cohors II Br(itannorum/ ittonum)* ∞, garrisoned until sometime during the first years of Hadrianus’ reign in Cășeu-Samum, and subsequently in Romita-Certiae, was recovered from the structure of this *balneum*¹¹².

¹⁰⁰ Ardevan 2007, 147; Ardevan 2009, 1467 sq.

¹⁰¹ Ardevan 2007, 147, see also Ardevan 2009, 1467.

¹⁰² Protase *et al.* 2008, 63, no. 210; 66, no. 254; Ardevan 1993, 113.

¹⁰³ Nemeti 2014, esp. 16–19; 70, n. 216; 76 sq.

¹⁰⁴ The efforts of uncovering the two objectives were taken *grosso modo* between 1858 and 1862, together with those aimed at the fort (Boda 2013, 89), though one cannot know if the excavations of the baths in question did indeed extend over the five years.

¹⁰⁵ The major differences between the plan made by Torma K. (1864–1865, (pl.) VI.t.; also found in Boda 2013, 100, pl. VI) and the one generated by these excavations have raised doubts if researchers active there in various centuries brought to light the same edifice: Protase, Gaiu [1998], 33, pl. 1; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 17 (leaving the impression that the plan of the bath excavated in the 1990’s does not present the complete perimeter of the building). Still, both on the general ground plan of the settlement published by Torma K. (1864–1865, (pl.) II.t.; taken up in Boda 2013, 97, pl. II; and processed in Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 28 – map 4), and in the similar plan recently performed (Găzdac *et al.* 2011, p. 29 – map 5; also present in Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, [12] – fig. 2), the location of the two baths is similar. Therefore, it must be that the edifice was not completely researched archaeologically until now (see nevertheless Protase, Gaiu 2002). Also, one cannot doubt Torma K.’s professional qualities.

¹⁰⁶ Protase, Gaiu [1998], 33. On the edifice: Torma 1864–1865, 11 sq., 26–29, (pl.) II.t., VI.t (cf. Boda 2013, 79, 83 sq., 86 sq., pl. II, VI); Protase, Gaiu [1998], with pl. 1–3; Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 5 sq., 37 – fig. 8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 17; see also Protase *et al.* 1996–1997 (1997), 66, 79 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu) = Protase *et al.* 1997, 44, 57 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu); Protase, Gaiu 2002; Protase, Gaiu 2001; Protase, Gaiu [1997]; Protase, Gaiu [1996], 65.

¹⁰⁷ Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 17, see also 11; Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 6; Protase *et al.* 1996–1997 (1997), 66, 75, 77, 79, pl. LXXXV.5 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu) = Protase *et al.* 1997, 44, 53, 55, 57, pl. LXXXV.5 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu); Protase, Gaiu 1999a, 419, see also 415, 418; fig. 6.7 = Protase 2005, 259, see also 252, 257; *ILD* 801; Protase, Gaiu [1996], 65.

¹⁰⁸ The latest datable coin, certainly recovered from the perimeter of this bath, was issued in 227: Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 220 – no. 110; see also 16 with n. 53; cf. Torma 1864–1865, 34 – no. 102. On principle, the coin in question must be considered a generous *terminus post quem*, but it is also possible that it was lost shortly after having been minted. On the other hand, it is possible that it was lost in the already abandoned edifice, since the exact stratigraphic context of the discovery has remained unknown.

¹⁰⁹ Torma 1859–1861 (1861), 28 sq., no. 1 = Torma 1864–1865, 38 sq., no. 6; see also p. 25, 29 = *CIL* III 789 = Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 76 – I.2.15; Gaiu 2003, 15–17 – a = Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 107 sq., see also 16 sq. – IV.1.1; Gaiu 2003, 17 – b = Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 107, see also 59 – IV.2.2; Gaiu 2003, 15, n. 3; Torma 1879, 87, no. 1 = *CIL* III 7628 = Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 72 – I.2.4; Torma 1879, 87, no. 2 = *CIL* III 7629 = Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 89 – I.4.4.

¹¹⁰ Torma 1864–1865, 11 sq., 22–26, 29–31, 38 sq. – no. 6, 57, 59 – no. 5.c), 64–66; (pl.) II.t., V.t., XII.t.12, XIV.t.5, 14 (cf. Boda 2013, 79, 83–86, pl. II, V, XII.12, XIV.5, 14); Protase *et al.* 1996–1997 (1997), 66, 79 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu) = Protase *et al.* 1997, 44, 57 (D. Protase, C. Gaiu); Protase, Gaiu 2002; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 16 sq., 18 – fig. 4; Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 5, 36 – fig. 7; see also Protase, Gaiu 2001; Protase, Gaiu [2000]; Protase, Gaiu [1999]b; Protase, Gaiu [1998], 33; Protase, Gaiu [1997], 31; Protase, Gaiu [1996], 65.

¹¹¹ Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 178 – no. 15 sq.

¹¹² Torma 1859–1861 (1861), 29, no. 5 = Torma 1864–1865 (1866), 57, 64 sq., (pl.) XIV.t.5.; beneficial discussions on the item in Isac 1987; Isac, Marcu 2001, 19–21; Isac 2003, 33–35. If indeed the cohort was involved in the construction of the fort in Ilișua (maybe not only by providing the ceramic material), during its first stage (under Traianus), as previously believed: Isac 1987, 178 sq.; Isac, Marcu 2001, 20 with n. 13; see also 22, 24; Isac 2003, 33 sq., see also 39, 42; one should

The unit occupying the fort from Ilișua¹¹³, ever since sometime in the beginning of Hadrianus’s reign (117–138), *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*¹¹⁴, is epigraphically attested here with the epithet *Philippiana* (subsequently hammered out)¹¹⁵. A Decian issue from the wide interval 249–251 is the most recent coin discovered in the fort¹¹⁶.

Inlăceni (Hung. Énlaka; Atid, Harghita County): mostly researched by M. Macrea and his collaborators in 1950¹¹⁷. The latest certainly datable attestation of the fort’s¹¹⁸ permanent garrison – *cohors IV Hispanorum quingenaria equitata*¹¹⁹ – dates to the reign of Gordianus III¹²⁰ and the latest coin recovered from the fort belongs to the reign of Philipppus Arabs¹²¹.

Ionești Govorii – Pons Aluti? (Ionești, Vâlcea County): only researched to a small degree¹²². The fort is not yet precisely localized on the field¹²³. At least one stamped brick, fragmentary or which cannot be entirely read – *COH(ors) III G[AL(orum)]* – was recovered during Gr. G. Tocilescu’s and P. Polonic’s archaeological excavations¹²⁴. Thus, the stationing of soldiers part of this cohort seems possible, but only at most around the end of the eighth decade of the 2nd century, when the unit is attested as stationed in the fort from Hoghiz¹²⁵. For now, no other units are attested in Ionești Govorii.

Jupa – Tibiscum (Caraș-Severin County): two baths corresponding to the (“large”) trapezoidal fort¹²⁶ on the left bank of River Timiș have been only partially researched archaeologically¹²⁷. Hypothetically – as absolutely certain attestations are missing¹²⁸ – *cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum*¹²⁹, *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*¹³⁰ and *numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium*¹³¹ were also garrisoned in *Tibiscum* during the Late Period.

also think on the period when the smaller bath there was constructed. This should also be placed during Traianus’ epoch, unless the tile was reused from a Trajan’ time construction from the fort (cf. Isac 1987, 175, n. 3).

¹¹³ On this fort: Torma 1864–1865 (1866), 11 sq., 14–18 (cf. Boda 2013, 79, 81–83); Protase *et al.* 1996–1997 (1997) = Protase *et al.* 1997; Protase, Gaiu 1999a = Protase 2005, 251–261; Marcu 2009, 79–86; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 11–15; Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 1–4; Protase *et al.* 1983.

¹¹⁴ Petolescu 1997, 86–88, no. 14; Marcu 2009, 85 sq.; Nemeth 2005, 137, 179, 203; Nemeth 2007, 200 sq.; Protase 1985a (*non uidi*) = Protase 2005, 206–210; Protase 1985b; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 271 sq.

¹¹⁵ On the inscription: Piso 2013b, 49 sq., no. 13; Wollmann, Ardevan 2006, 670 sq. – no. 4; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 243 sq. – no. 2.; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 69 – no. I.1.4. (*principia*).

¹¹⁶ Găzdac *et al.* 2011, 18, 20, 164, no. 388.

¹¹⁷ Gudea 1979, 167–170, see also 154, 156, 173; fig. 5 sq., 25; Macrea *et al.* 1951, 304 sq., pl. IV (where it is stated that the edifice was fully researched archaeologically).

¹¹⁸ On this: Gudea 1979; Székely 1955, 31–40, 46 (German abstract); Macrea *et al.* 1951, 304–306, pl. IV; Paulovics 1944, 43–48, with the older literature.

¹¹⁹ For it, Marcu 2009, 141 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 112–114, no. 45.

¹²⁰ IDR III/4, 277.

¹²¹ Székely 1955, 38; Gudea 1979, 198, no. 9.

¹²² Vlădescu 1986, 42 sq. with fig. 29; Vlădescu 1983a, 90 with n. 142; Barnea 1989, 302, no. 40 (Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Nicolae); see also Dvorsky 1996, 218, fig. 5.

¹²³ See the literature mentioned in the previous n. and compare with Tudor 1978, 286 sq., 120; fig. 75.4 (p. 278).

¹²⁴ Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 102; but with the full reading of the abbreviation: (*cohors*) III *Comagenorum*; IDR II, 555; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 66, 114; Tudor 1978, 286.

¹²⁵ Marcu 2009, 204–208; Petolescu 1997, 106 sq., no. 39; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 283.

¹²⁶ Marcu 2009, 160–170; Benea, Bona 1994, 20, 23, 25, 33 sq., 38–53; Benea 2013a, 19 sq., 65 sq., 160–162, 278, 297 sq., 306 sq., 333 sq.; 348, n. 1665; 354 sq.; Benea 1986a, 452–455; Benea 1986b, 243 sq.; Bona *et al.* 1982, 312–320; Moga *et al.* 1979; Benea *et al.* 1980, 298–300, 302; Moga 1971, 385–391.

¹²⁷ The bath for the cohort I *Vindelicorum* (the so-called „*thermae* I”/clădirea [building] „XII”): Benea 2013a, 61, 277, 298, 310, 444 – fig. 52 (but after the published plan, we are reserved in considering it a *balneum*); Benea *et al.* 2007; Benea, Regep-Vlascici 2004, 238 sq.; Benea, Regep 2015b, 189; 198, 200 – annex 1; Benea 1995 [1996]; Benea *et al.* 1997 [1998]; Benea 1993, 273 = Benea 2003, 18 sq. (with *addenda* after the n. 22); Benea, Bona, 1994, 24 cu n. 27; 28, 59; 134, n. 76; Benea 2013b, 201, 203, pl. V. – The one for *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* (the so-called „*thermae* II”/clădirea „XIII”): Benea 2004 with pl. 34; Benea *et al.* 2005, with pl. 23 (p. 449); Benea, Regep-Vlascici 2004, 238 sq.; Benea, Regep 2015b, 188, 190, 193; 198, 200 – annex 1; Benea 2013a, 61, 160, 162, 195, 277 sq., 298; Benea 2011, 43 sq.; Benea 2003, 19, *addenda* after the n. 22.

¹²⁸ See, nevertheless, ILD 198, 214.

¹²⁹ Marcu 2009, 171–174; 223, n. 1602; Benea 2013a, 86, 88, 91, 94, 147, 162, 185 sq., 188 (table), 193, 196 (table), 203, 211, 214 sq., 217–220, 277, 302–304; Nemeth 2005, 137, 156, 159–162, 198 sq., 204; Nemeth 2007, 209 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 120–122, no. 60; Benea, Bona 1994, 10, 23, 25, 49, 54, 57 sq., 60, 74, 108 sq., 113; Benea 1985b.

¹³⁰ Țentea 2012, 66–72, 80–82, 86, 90, 92, 95, 99, 144–148, 161 sq., 199; Reuter 1999 (2001), esp. 391–394, 533–537; Piso, Benea 1999, 93–95, 104–106; Benea 2013a, 94, 160, 162, 194 sq., 196 (table), 204, 212, 217, 219 sq., 277 sq., 315; Petolescu 1997, 127 sq., no. 68; Nemeth 2005, 148 sq., 152, 156, 162, 190, 199–201, 205; Benea, Bona 1994, 20, 23, 37, 49, 54–56, 60, 74, 103, 113 sq.; Benea 1980.

¹³¹ Reuter 1999 (2001), esp. 394–398, 511–514; Benea 2013a, 64, 86, 94, 160, 162 sq., 199, 201, 204, 212, 214–216, 219 sq.,

One remains (as yet) unaware of the results of the archaeological excavations performed by G. G. Mateescu (1925)¹³² and M. Moga (1972)¹³³ on the bath located in the perimeter of the trapezoidal fortification¹³⁴. It has been rightly presumed that this bath was built for the use of the unit that had occupied the small fort initially made of earth and subsequently built of stone – the cohort *I sagittariorum*¹³⁵. Once the “large” fort was built, both the smaller fort of stone and the corresponding *balneum* were integrated in its perimeter, together with another fortification of earth and timber.

Mehadia – Praetorium?¹³⁶ (Caraș-Severin County): the edifice from the second phase fully researched? by M. Macrea and the collaborators¹³⁷; the unit stationed in the fort¹³⁸ there for a long time, *cohors III Delmatarum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum pia fidelis*, is also documented epigraphically sometime in 257–260, with the imperial epithets *Valeriana Galliena*¹³⁹.

Micia (former Vețel) – Micia (Hunedoara County): the *balneum* considered to have served the fort¹⁴⁰, the so-called *thermae I*, has been largely researched¹⁴¹. The military bath was rebuilt under Severus Alexander¹⁴². In 245 *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittaria/sagittariorum* is attested epigraphically in its garrison with a lengthy stationing from *Micia*¹⁴³, just like *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* in 250¹⁴⁴. *Numerus Maurorum Miciensium* (including at least a detachment of riders, at least for a while), the

276; Nemeth 2005, 150–152, 156, 159 sq., 162, 201 sq., 205; Benea, Bona 1994, 20, 23, 38, 49, 53, 56, 74, 103, 113; Petolescu 1997, 130–133, no. 72; Benea 1985a, *passim*. – On the troops stationed at *Tibiscum*, see also Gostar 1968; Moga 1970.

¹³² For the archaeologist’s research in Jupa during that year: Turcuș 2008, 20, n. 44; 81; Pârvan 1926, 14 = Pârvan 1981, 332 = Pârvan 2006, 395 (*Săpăturile arheologice din România în vara anului 1925 [The archaeological diggings from Romania in the summer of the year 1925]*). The researches in question seem to have been only performed during 1925, and not in 1923 (Benea, Bona 1994, 40, 53), 1924 (Benea 1993, 273 = Benea 2003, 19), 1923–1924 (Bona *et al.* 1982, 311; Benea, Bona 1994, 10; but see also 11, 121 with n. 8; Benea 2013a, 18; 19, n. 29; 158) or 1925–1926 (Benea 2013a, 278). – On the documentary material following the excavation of G. G. Mateescu: Medeleț, Râmneanțu 2003, 207; 265, n. 155.

¹³³ Morintz 1973, 379, n^o. 83 (M. Moga). According to the mention, the surface of the objective was uncovered (again) to a large extent.

¹³⁴ About this, Benea, Bona 1994, 24, 28 with n. 2, 53; Benea 2013a, 18; 19, n. 29; 278; Benea 1993, 273, fig. 2 = Benea 2003, 19, fig. 2; Benea, Regep-Vlascici 2005, 238.

¹³⁵ Benea 2013a, 278; but *cf.* Marcu 2009, 171, which attributed to the Palmyrenian corp the fort in discussion.

¹³⁶ Tudor 1981, 85–87.

¹³⁷ Gudea 1975; Macrea *et al.* 1993, 11 sq., 17, 69–74, 80; 143, 147 sq. (English abstract); 14 – fig. 4; fig. 16 between p. 70 sq.; see also Benea 2013a, 181. – For the researches on the objective, see also Medeleț, Râmneanțu 2003, 208, 235 sq. with n. – A depiction of the model of the military *balneum* from Mehadia is to be found in Macrea 1969/2007, on the plate between pages 160 sq./148 sq.

¹³⁸ For this: Macrea *et al.* 1993, esp. 23–31, 45–47, 79; 144 sq. (English abstract); 13–14 – fig. 3–5; Benea 2005; Benea 2008, 15–23, 36 sq., fig. 1–4; Benea 2013a, 19, 22, 152–155, 221, 297, 330–332; see also Medeleț, Râmneanțu 2003, 194 with the n. 1407. – Following the archaeological researches, it was asserted that the inner architecture of the fortification from the era of the province was strongly affected around the middle of the 3rd century by a freshet of Bolvașnița; so the possibility that the unit was moved into an earthen fortification hypothetically located on a hill towards Plugova was also expressed: Benea, Regep 2015, 975, 980; see also Benea 2008, 16 sq., 22, 32, 34, 38, 63.

¹³⁹ *CIL* III 8010 (= 1577 + p. 1017 – but, out of an error, Ad. n. 1576) = *IDR* III/1, 77 = Moga, Russu 1974, 10–12, no. 3; see also Petolescu 1980, 116; *CEpR* I (1975–1980), 67; *ILD* 188: *IMP(eratori) CAE(sari) P(ublio) LICI(nio) / GAL(l)IENO [P](io) F(elici) AUG(usto) / PONT(ifici) MAX(imo) TR(ibuniciae) PO[T(estatis)] / CONS(uli) III PROCONS(uli) / COH(ors) III DELMATARUM / VALERIAN(a) GAL(l)IE / NA (milliaria) EQQ(uitata) C(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) / DEVOTA NUMINI / MAIESTATIQUE EOR(um)*. Compare with the variant of the text in Torma 1882, 124, no. 76. On the epigraph see also Hügel 1999, 107, no. 9; 109. On the military unit: Benea, Regep 2015; Marcu 2009, 142 sq.; Benea 2008, 24–26, 36–38, 49, 86, 90 sq., 96 sq. – no. 18; 101 with 103; Marcu 2002–2003 (2004), 225, n. 64; 229; Macrea *et al.* 1993, 48–51; Nemeth 2005, 140 sq., 145, 156 sq., 161, 164, 194 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 103 sq., no. 33; Benea 2013, 65, 156, 181, 193 sq., 196 (table), 201 sq., 204, 212, 218–222, 256 sq., 262, 276, 304; see also Timoc 2003 (we are thanking the author also here for providing acces to his work).

¹⁴⁰ For this fort: Marcu 2009, 143 sq.; Petculescu *et al.* 1986; Petculescu 1984a; Petculescu 1983; Petculescu *et al.* 1982; Petculescu 1981; Petculescu *et al.* 1981; Petculescu 1979 with fig. 6; Floca, Mărghitan 1970; Daicovicu [1970], 162–180; Petculescu 1984b, 47–49; see also Floca *et al.* 1970, 5–7; Mărghitan 1978, 70–83, 85 sq., 88 sq., 93–95, 98, with illustration.

¹⁴¹ Marinescu *et al.* 1975; Marinescu, Sion 1979; Marinescu *et al.* 1984; Marinescu, Sion, Andrițoiu 1986; see also Sion, Marinescu, 1979; Floca *et al.* 1970, 8–10, 111; Floca 1968, 113 with n. 10; Morintz 1972, 355, n^o. 166 (C. Petolescu, L. Petculescu, L. Mărghitan); Morintz 1973, 381 sq., n^o. 92 (C. Petolescu, L. Petculescu). – Maybe of interest, Crăciun, Sion [1998], with illustration; Crăciun, Sion [1997]; Situri 1996 ([no.] 288. Vețel-Micia, „Grădiște”, jud. Hunedoara), 124, [pct.] g.

¹⁴² *AE* 1903, 66 = *IDR* III/3, 46.

¹⁴³ *CIL* III 1379 = *IDR* III/3, 58. – For this unit: Țentea 2012, 45–48, 80, 82 sq., 85 (table), 90–93, 95, 97, 99, 114–120, 159, 196 sq.; Țentea 2004–2005 (2007), 148–156; Marcu 2009, 145 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 100–102, no. 30.

¹⁴⁴ Petculescu 1982, 85–87, no. 2 = *ILD* 308; see also Petculescu 1984, 51–54. – On the troop: Marcu 2009, 144–146, with a discussion of the effective of the *ala (milliaria?)*; Petolescu 1997, 83, no. 10; Nemeth 2007, 198 sq.; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 268 sq. with n. 118.

other “home” troop from *Micia*, is as yet in no way documented during the Late Period here¹⁴⁵. The most recent coin discovered in the archeological researches from the fort was issued in 260¹⁴⁶.

Odorheiu Secuiesc (Hung. Székelyudvarhely; Harghita County). Though to the fort that is to be found in this place, in our opinion (as well) for certain, the exact position could not be yet stated¹⁴⁷, its *balneum* was probably identified in the second half of the 19th century¹⁴⁸. Bricks of cohort *I Ubiorum* were recovered from the area of the probably bath¹⁴⁹. No data is available on the unit¹⁵⁰ during the “Military Anarchy”.

Rădăcinești (Berislăvești, Vâlcea County): the available surface was fully researched archaeologically in 1971¹⁵¹. One does not know which was the garrison stationed in the fort on the line of Olt¹⁵².

Romita – Certiae (Românași, Sălaj County): complete archaeological researches on the area not affected by the flooding of Agrij, performed in 1970–1972, 1974¹⁵³. The latest coins discovered in the baths are dated 246–247 (one item) and 247–248 (two items)¹⁵⁴. No data is available on the units in garrison in the fort from *Certiae*¹⁵⁵, *cohors II Britannorum milliaria (equitata?)* and *cohors VI Thracum (quingenaria)* (or *cohors I Batavorum milliaria?*)¹⁵⁶, during the Late Period.

Săpăta de Jos (Argeș County): bath of the fortification (or of both fortifications, if they were in use at the same time), located on the line over along River Olt (the so-called *limes transalutanus*) – fully researched¹⁵⁷. The most recent coins from the hoard discovered in the fortification that has benefited from excavations¹⁵⁸ were issued in 243/244¹⁵⁹.

Sânpaul (Hung. Homoródszentpál; Mărtiniș, Harghita County). A group of structures researched during the second half of the 19th century were considered the bath corresponding to the fort in the area¹⁶⁰, but the fact needs to be confirmed¹⁶¹. *Numerus Maurorum S. (?)* was the local garrison, but there are as yet no direct attestations of it during the Late Period¹⁶².

¹⁴⁵ For this *numerus*: Reuter 1999 (2001), 391–394, 507–509; Marcu 2009, 146; Petolescu 1997, 127, 128 sq. – no. 69; Onofrei 2007, 270–272, 274–279.

¹⁴⁶ Petculescu 1981, 113 with n. 22; 114 (French abstract).

¹⁴⁷ Ferenczi, Ferenczi 1973, 347–349; Ardevan *et al.* 1990, 198 sq. with n. 11, fig. 1; Téglás 1897, 257–261, 266; see also Paulovics 1944, 48–52, with the older literature.

¹⁴⁸ Téglás 1897, 261–266, 268, with the fig. on p. 259 rendering the topographic position of the bath and its planimetry, and with the fig. on p. 263 depicting the completed planimetry and on a smaller scale of the objective; Téglás 1896; 419 sq.; Téglás 1895, 39–41; Jakab 1894, 212, 214 sq.; see also Téglás 1900a, 264 sq.; Téglás 1900b, 315, 318 sq. – Secondary bibliography: Ferenczi, Ferenczi 1973, 347, 349; RepArhHA 2000, s.u. – no. XXXII a.7 (513) (I. H. Crișan, V. Crișan, Bató A.); Paulovics 1944, 51 sq. with footnote 12; IDR III/4, p. 204 sq. and no. 261 sq.; all with the previous literature.

¹⁴⁹ Ferenczi, Ferenczi 1973, 347 (despite this fact, the two specialists have expressed reserve on the identification of the construction with a *balneum*, reserve which we do not share); see also RepArhHA 2000, s.u. – no. XXXII a.7 (513) (I. H. Crișan, V. Crișan, Bató A.).

¹⁵⁰ On it: Marcu 2009, 146 sq.; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 295 sq.; Petolescu 1997, 120, no. 59; Protase 1962, 507 sq. = Protase 1995, 92–94 (without illustration.).

¹⁵¹ Poenaru Bordea, Vlădescu 1972, 482 (see also 477–479), fig. 2, pl. 4; Tudor 1978, 320, no. 9 (see also p. 297), fig. 96.2 (p. 361); see also Morintz 1972, 349, n° 126 (Cr. Vlădescu, Gh. Poenaru Bordea).

¹⁵² Related to the fort: Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974b, 249–252, 256 sq.; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1972, 28 sq., 30–32; Vlădescu, Poenaru Bordea 1974a, 51–53, 57; Vlădescu 1982, 57, 62; see also Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 106 sq.

¹⁵³ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 17 sq., 67 sq., 73, 75–78, 87–91, 93 sq., 98, 116, 131–135, 141–144, esp. 101–113, pl. XXIX–XXXII, LXXXIX–CI.; see also Morintz 1972, 350, n° 131 (E. Chirilă, V. Lucăcel, Ș. Simoc); Morintz 1973, 387 sq., n° 123 (E. Chirilă, V. Lucăcel, Ș. Simoc).

¹⁵⁴ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 141–143, see also 111, 113, and 116.

¹⁵⁵ For the fort here: Matei, Bajusz 1997, *passim*; Franzen *et al.* 2004–2005 (2007), 161, 163–171; Marcu 2009, 101–110.

¹⁵⁶ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 67–98, esp. 97; Franzen *et al.* 2004–2005 (2007), 172–175; Marcu 2009, 110–114.

¹⁵⁷ The researches were performed in 1929–1930 (or maybe just in one of these years): Christescu 1935–1936 (1938), 441–447, with the illustration (see also 437 sq.); Christescu 1937/2009, 153 sq. (see also 151), fig. 18/141 (see also 139), fig. 18; see also Tudor 1978, 323, no. 12 (see also p. 298), fig. 86.1, 2 (p. 299 sq.); Bogdan-Cătănicu 1997, 95 sq.

¹⁵⁸ For the hoard: Christescu 1934; for the fortifications: Christescu 1935–1936 (1938); Christescu 1937/2009, 150–153/137–141; Tudor 1978.

¹⁵⁹ Mitrea 1968, 202 sq., no. 41–44; 204.

¹⁶⁰ Gooss 1877, 32; see also Paulovics 1944, 55 sq. with n. 123a; 58; Téglás 1895, 42 sq. – On the fort: Ferenczi, Ferenczi [1960] [1961]; Ferenczi, Ferenczi 1970, 63 sq.; see also Paulovics 1944, 53–59, (fig.) 10. Its existence is denied without cause in RepArhHA 2000, s.u. – no. XXIV j.7; s.u. Bădeni – no. XXIV b.7 (I. H. Crișan, V. Crișan, Bató A.).

¹⁶¹ Cf. Ferenczi, Ferenczi [1960] [1961], 404, who also bring into discussion the possibility that the structures in question were integral parts of private dwellings (if this is true, we believe they were part of only one dwelling), having a *hypocaustum* system; see also Ferenczi, Ferenczi 1970, 63.

¹⁶² Marcu 2009, 155, 216 sq.; Onofrei 2007, 270–273, 277–279; IDR III/4, ad 254; Petolescu 1997, 127 sq., no. 66 sq.; Reuter

Slăveni (Gostavăț, Olt County): researched for the first time and fully during the period 1963–1965¹⁶³, it has been considered that they were rebuilt under Philippus Arabs¹⁶⁴, which on the basis of provided data, seems correct to us. According to D. Tudor’s vision, the fort¹⁶⁵ where *ala I Hispanorum*¹⁶⁶ was stationed was abandoned in 249–250 after an attack of the barbarian coalition led by Kniva’s Goths¹⁶⁷ something that is not certain at all¹⁶⁸. The most recent inscription in which the troop’s name appear is dating in 248/249¹⁶⁹, and probably the most late isolated coins which came to light in the fort and belong to the Principat epoch were issued also under Phillipus Arabs¹⁷⁰. In 247/248 were also issued the most late coins of the hoard recovered from the fort¹⁷¹.

Sutoru – Optatiana (Zimbor, Sălaj County): little researched¹⁷². In the near-by fort, also little researched¹⁷³, was stationed *numerus Maurorum Optatianensium*, on which there are no data available for the Late Period¹⁷⁴.

Tihău (Hung. Tihó; Sălaj County). Recognized on site by Torma K., the *balneum*¹⁷⁵ corresponding to the fort there¹⁷⁶ still betrayed its position, though hardly so, in 1958¹⁷⁷. Hypothetically, the unit garrisoned in Tihău in the 2nd century, *cohors I Cannanefatium (quingenaria) (equitata?)*¹⁷⁸, was also there during the Late Period, but there are as yet no attestations of the fact. On the other hand, there is no data on dislocations of the unit during this period either.

Turda – Potaissa (Cluj County): fully researched in the year 1993, 1995–2008 (*palaestra* just partly)¹⁷⁹. The most numerous coins issued during the 3rd century that have been discovered in the corridor of area “N” in the *thermae* of the legionary fortress from *Potaissa* were found in the debris of the *hypocaustum* system of this corridor. From the entire surface of the corridor were recovered – besides the other four, earlier items – 16 coins issued from Septimius Severus until Herennius Etruscus (more precisely from 201/202–210 until 250/251). Based on the chronological information offered by the coins and in relation with the contexts they came from, it was considered that the area “N”, used as an *apodyterium*, had the heating system deactivated (in fact, that of the corridor), the *praefurnium* that

1999 (2001), 391–394, 511; Timoc 2000, 398, n. 14. – For the stamped regular material of the troop, *IDR* III/4, 254.

¹⁶³ Already Tudor 1940b, 35, presumed, and rightly so, the functionality of the objective.

¹⁶⁴ Tudor *et al.* 2011, 51–54, 56, 73, fig. 88–99; Popilian 1971, with the illustration.

¹⁶⁵ On it: Tudor *et al.* 2011, esp. 25–33, 37–40, 45–47, 72–74; Tudor 1940b; Marcu 2009, 227–235, 237; Tocilescu 1895–1896 (1896), 100 sq.

¹⁶⁶ For the unit: Marcu 2009, 144, n. 931; 227 sq., 235 sq.; Tudor *et al.* 2011, 34–36, 64 sq., no. 6; Petolescu 1997, 82 sq., no. 9; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 268.

¹⁶⁷ Tudor 1970, 69–82; Tudor 1977, 403; Tudor 1978, 39, 307 (but on pages 253, 332, 472 – French abstract, one encounters in a contradictory way the years 248/249); more recently: Tudor *et al.* 2011, 45–47, 74, for the abandonment in question the authors have suggested – according to another scenario – the year 248 (but on p. 67 one encounters the years 248–249 and on p. 255 sq., 259 the year 250 is to be found and the construct “*um* 250” respectively).

¹⁶⁸ C.C. Petolescu, *IDR* II, p. 197; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1981a, 53 sq.; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1981b, 546; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1986, 467; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997, 109.

¹⁶⁹ *IDR* II 500 and p. 197 (without being convinced that *damnatio memoriae* towards Philippus Arabs would have been reflected in this case by the fragmentation of the whole *ara* bearing the inscription, as C.C. Petolescu assumes; cf. Tudor *et al.* 2011, 46, 76).

¹⁷⁰ We keep some reserve in this matter, as the monetary circulation was generally discussed for the whole settlement: Tudor *et al.* 2011, 41 sq., 44.

¹⁷¹ Tudor *et al.* 2011, 41, 43, 45 sq., 74, 234 sq.

¹⁷² Cociș *et al.* 2015, with the illustration on p. 436; Ilieș *et al.* 2002a, 132 sq., 136, pl. III sq.; Ilieș *et al.* 2002b.

¹⁷³ Ilieș *et al.* 2007; Ilieș *et al.* 2009; Cociș *et al.* 2014; Cupcea, Marcu 2010, 95 sq. with the illustration; see also Cociș *et al.* 2009, 53, 57, pl. I; Marcu 2009, 114, pl. 15.

¹⁷⁴ Reuter 1999 (2001), 391–394, 510 sq.; Onofrei 2007, 270–272, 277–279; Petolescu 1997, 127, 129 – no. 70.

¹⁷⁵ Torma 1863, 20; Torma 1880, 88 sq.; cf. Ferenczi 1957, 290; Protase 1994, 99, n. 27 = Protase 1995, 330, n. 27.

¹⁷⁶ On this: Protase 1994 = Protase 1995, 314–332 (without illustration); Macrea *et al.* [1961], 384–386 (D. Protase); Marcu 2009, 115, pl. 16; Opreanu [1999]; Wollmann, Bot 1974, 429–433; Ferenczi 1957.

¹⁷⁷ Protase 1994, 99, n. 27.

¹⁷⁸ Petolescu 1997, 99, nr. 28; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 278; Marcu 2009, 115 sq.; Wollmann, Bot 1974, 431, 433–435.

¹⁷⁹ On them: Bărbulescu 1994a, 95, 99, fig. 14; Bărbulescu *et al.* [1994]; Bărbulescu *et al.* [1996]; Bărbulescu *et al.* [1997], with pl. XXXIX; Bărbulescu 1997, 37–39, fig. 19; Bărbulescu *et al.* [1998], with pl.; Bărbulescu *et al.* [1999]b; Bărbulescu *et al.* 2001; Bărbulescu *et al.* 2002; Bărbulescu *et al.* 2003, with pl. 127 (p. 481); Bărbulescu *et al.* 2004, with pl. 70 (p. 460); Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005, with pl. 46 (p. 472); Bărbulescu *et al.* 2006, with pl. 72 (p. 482); Bărbulescu *et al.* 2007, with pl. 79 (p. 483); Bărbulescu *et al.* 2009, 221 sq.; Pislaru 2009, 186, fig. 3, 5 sq.; Bărbulescu 2008, Taf. II sq.; Bărbulescu 2012, 10, 52, 56, 186–212, with the plan in fig. 10, 12; see also Bărbulescu 2015, fig. 1 sq.; Pislaru, Bărbulescu 2010, 445, 447.

served it was also taken out of use and the floor made of *opus signinum* was renovated at the earliest in the year 251¹⁸⁰.

The coin issued for Marcia Otacilia Severa (246/247) and recovered from beneath the brick’s pavement of *latrinae* “I”, suggest a work performed at the earliest in one of the years indicated by the numismatical document in discussion. And the similar brick’s pavement situated in the next space “E”, was considered to be constructed – with probability – at the same chronological level¹⁸¹.

The interpretation according to which the late Roman fortification (subsequently Byzantine) located on the Danube in *Sucidava* – Celei (today part of the city of Corabia, Olt County), was founded ever since the rule of Gallienus¹⁸², includes a hypothesis of special interest. Namely, during the period when Legion *V Macedonica*¹⁸³ still stationed in the fortress on the Arieș River¹⁸⁴, cohorts III and IV part of it – attested in *Sucidava* by the stamps impressed on bricks – were involved, maybe in cooperation with other units, in the construction of the presumed fortification erected there under Gallienus¹⁸⁵. The works were supposed to be performed during the period around 256–257¹⁸⁶, or from a mainly numismatical perspective, in the interval between 266 and 268, favoring the intermediate one¹⁸⁷ (which has been promptly rejected¹⁸⁸). According to another view, the fortification was built under Aurelianus¹⁸⁹.

Gh. Poenaru Bordea also envisaged the possibility that subunits of the two legions of the province, or maybe even their entire effectives, were moved in 267 towards the lower course of the Danube, part of the defensive reaction against the attacks of the Goths (and of the Heruli)¹⁹⁰.

For the moment, the latest architectural effort that can be dated in *Dacia* comes from the civilian environment, but it was financed by a soldier. In *Potaissa*, Donatus, commander of Legion *V Macedonica* as *praefectus legionis*, finished on his own expenses the erection of a temple started previously¹⁹¹. The construction was completed in the end of 257 or in the beginning of 258¹⁹². The temple, probably dedicated to *Deus Azizus*¹⁹³, was certainly located outside the fortress¹⁹⁴, but its remains have remained unidentified¹⁹⁵.

The analysis of a monetary deposit discovered near the fortress seems to indicate that the legion took part at the eastern campaign of Gordianus III¹⁹⁶.

Turnu-Severin – Drobeta (Mehedinți County): the *balneum* serving the fort there seems not to have gone through the changes envisaged by the present initiative. Naturally, as most of it was archaeologically researched during the 1930s, with that era’s excavation technique, such changes might have

¹⁸⁰ Pișlaru 2009, 129 – no. 5, 397 – no. 5; Pișlaru, Bărbulescu 2010, 446 *sq.*, pl. II.7.

¹⁸¹ Pișlaru 2009, 128 *sq.* – no. 2, 396 – no. 2; Pișlaru, Bărbulescu 2010, 446, pl. II.13.

¹⁸² Barbu 1973, 33, 42–50, fig. 3.

¹⁸³ On the unit: Bărbulescu 1987, 15–33, 43, 48–54, 63–81; Piso 2000, 213–220, 223 = Piso 2005, 412–422, 425.

¹⁸⁴ For it: Bărbulescu 1987, 24–26, 29 *sq.*, 54 *sq.*, 98–179, 184, 188, 190 *sq.*; Bărbulescu 1991; Bărbulescu 1994a, 93–103, with the illustration; Bărbulescu 1994b, 200–209, 212–214; Bărbulescu 1997, 10–41, with the illustration.

¹⁸⁵ Barbu 1973, 43 with n. 46; 50 with n. 90.

¹⁸⁶ Barbu 1973, 46 *sq.*

¹⁸⁷ Poenaru Bordea 1975, 93, 95 *sq.* with n. 44; 100–102 with n. 80; 105.

¹⁸⁸ Barbu 1973, 46, n. 71; 47.

¹⁸⁹ Tudor 1978, 415 *sq.*, 423, 430, 440, see also 40, 329, who nevertheless maintains some reservations.

¹⁹⁰ Poenaru Bordea 1975, 100.

¹⁹¹ CIL III 875 (see also p. 161) = ILS 4345: DEO AZIZO BONO P[UERO CONSERVA] / TORI PRO SALVTEM DD(ominorum) [NN(ostrorum) VALERIANI ET GAL] / LIENI AVGG(ustorum) ET VALERIAN[I NOBILISS(imi) CAESARIS] / ET CORNELIAE SALONINA[E AVGVSTAE ET] / LEG(ionis) V MAC(edonicae) III PIAE FID[ELIS - - -] / DONATVS PRAEF(ectus) LEG(ionis) EIVSDE[M - - -] / TEMPLVM INCE<P>TUM PERFECIT V[- - -]. – On the inscription, see also Hügel 1999, 106, no. 7; 109 *sq.*; Hügel 2003, 61, no. 8; 66, 150; Russu 1969, 181. – On this occasion we shall make a necessary rectification: in Matei 2011, 53, n. 115 and Matei 2012, 73, n. 120 we have failed to mention the fact that the completed text of this epigraph was taken from Hügel 2003, 61, no. 8 (together with his transcription errors in r. 2). – More recently, from r. 4, I. Piso has completed the lacunae thus: ET CORNELIAE SALONINA[E AVGVSTAE ET GENIO (?)] / LEG(ionis) V MAC(edonicae) III PIAE FID(elis) [- - -] / DONATVS PRAEF(ectus) LEG(ionis) EIVSDE[M AGENS VICE LEGATI (?)] / TEMPLVM INCE<P>TUM PERFECIT V(otum)[S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) (?)]. He dates the inscription in 255/256: Piso 2013a, 5, 353 *sq.*, no. 144; 378; Piso 2014, 129 *sq.* with n. 27; 138.

¹⁹² Hügel 2003, 61, no. 8; 66, 150.

¹⁹³ Bărbulescu 1996, 36.

¹⁹⁴ The presence of actual temples inside *castra* has not yet been proven beyond doubt: Marcu 2004–2005 (2007), 83, 98 *sq.*, 101.

¹⁹⁵ For a hypothetical localization of the temple’s site, see Bărbulescu 1994a, 70.

¹⁹⁶ Pișlaru 2009, 118 *sq.*, 395 (Romanian abstract).

escaped the attention of the worthy leader of the excavations¹⁹⁷ – unless they were obvious, but this does not seem to have been the case¹⁹⁸. Subsequent researches have also indicated nothing of such changes¹⁹⁹.

Anyway, considering the significance of the garrison in *Drobeta* – *cohors I sagittariorum milliaria equitata*²⁰⁰ – if not for the protection of Trajan's bridge over the Danube (that was, according to Cassius Dio, taken out of use by Hadrianus²⁰¹), than anyway for ensuring the river crossing point there and the security of the important harbor – it is hard to believe that its effective was reduced for an undefined period or for a longer interval.

On epigraphic bases it was claimed the presence of Dacian troops in Gordianus' campaign against the Parthians, being invoked two inscriptions dedicated to Mars²⁰². In one of them the god bears the epithet "*Gradivus*"²⁰³, in the other the epithet of "*Augustus*"²⁰⁴. We also believe that the epithet "*Gradivus*"²⁰⁵ – "the one who steps into battle", that the cohort of *sagittari* from *Drobeta* has conferred the god cannot be random²⁰⁶. Civic coins issued in *Nikaea* from *Bithynia* under Gordianus III and discovered inside the fort are not few (7)²⁰⁷, especially if one compares the number to that of the coins recovered from the area of the city (2)²⁰⁸ and from the *balneum* (1)²⁰⁹. Their presence in the fort might be another indication of the dislocation of the cohort or just of one part of it to the above mentioned oriental campaign. Sometime under Philippus Arabs (244–249), the name of unit that features on an altar dedicated right in the fort from *Drobeta*²¹⁰ indicates it as having the regular effective (*milliaria*) and being *equitata*²¹¹. Thus, at least officially, this was not a *permanent* diminishment of its number of soldiers.

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The conclusions now. After responsibly dealt all the available and known to us information on the military baths from *Dacia* we came to this end: nowhere are attested reduction in bath's active surface or the using of some space of the baths for purposes which are not specific for them in the

¹⁹⁷ On A. Bărcăcilă, see Roșu 1966; Berciu, Davidescu 1974; Rus 2010.

¹⁹⁸ Read Bărcăcilă 1938a; Bărcăcilă 1938b, 44–50, see also 32, 34 *sq.*, 42 with n. 2; fig. 66–76; Bărcăcilă 1959, 769–772, 774, 777, 781, 783 *sq.*, pl. I; see also Davidescu 1980, 80–82, the pl. on p. 64; Davidescu 1975, 63 *sq.*; Davidescu 1964, 20–22, pl. 12 *sq.*; then, Bărcăcilă 1939, 152–155; Tudor 1968, 297–299 with fig. 17. – For the monetary series related to the objective: Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, 168–171, 187–251 – *passim*, 253; see also 14, 20 *sq.*, maps 8, 12–14, plan 5, on the complex itself.

¹⁹⁹ Davidescu 1980, 81.

²⁰⁰ Benea 2011 (who equals it with *cohors I Thracum sagittaria/sagittariorum*); Marcu 2009, 138 *sq.*; Petolescu 1997, 117 *sq.*, no. 53; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2002–2003 (2004), 291–293.

²⁰¹ Negative, from a numismatic perspective, in Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, 31. D. Tudor (1978, 67, see also 167; 1971, 76, 148–152) expresses no stand position on the matter, but on the basis of a piece of information from *Historia Augusta* he (re) formulated the possibility that it was repaired under Severus Alexander. After another view, the taking out of the use for ever of the bridge have come maybe under Marcus Aurelius: Petolescu 2012 (2014), 15 (Romanian abstract), 21.

²⁰² Petolescu 1988, 59; Petolescu 1995, 119; Petolescu 2000, 286; Petolescu 2010, 281; see already Popescu *et al.* 1984, 15. M. Macrea believed these were reflexes of the fights with the Carpi who would have attacked also the territory of the province in 242: Macrea 1969/2007, 438/372. The Carpi (together with the Goths?) invaded that year *Moesia Superior*, *Moesia Inferior*, and *Thracia*, but it is suspected that *Dacia* was spared (see, though, more recently, Benea 2004–2005, 172–176), which means that the Dacian troops fought the Carpi (and the Goths?) outside the province.

²⁰³ CIL III 6279 = ILS 3154 = IDR II 23 (*Drobeta*): MAR[TI] GRA[D]IVO / SACR / UM COH(ors) / I SAGITT(ariorum) (milliaria) / GORDIANA.

²⁰⁴ CIL III 1433 = IDR III/2 266 (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*): MARTI AUG(usto) / PRO SALUTE IMP(eratoris) / CAES(aris) M(arci) ANTONI / GORDIANI PII / FELICIS AUG(usti) / M(arcus) ANTONIUS / VALENTINUS / EQ(ues) R(omanus) DEC(urio) M(unicipi) APUL(ensis) / SACERDOS ARAE / AUG(usti) N(ostri) / CORONATUS DAC(iarum) / III D(ono) D(edit).

²⁰⁵ On the cult of Mars *Gradivus*: Alföldi 1989a, 377 *sq.* and n. 106 with the previous literature.

²⁰⁶ Though, „*im allgemeinen ist es speziell ein poetischer Beiname*“: Croon 1981, 272.

²⁰⁷ Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, 107 *sq.*, no. 225–231; 203, no. 483–489, from the catalogues.

²⁰⁸ Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, 150, no. 153, 154; 203, no. 491, 492, from the catalogues.

²⁰⁹ Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, 169, no. 20; 203, no. 490, from the catalogues.

²¹⁰ On the fort: Marcu 2009, 129–138; Florescu 1933, esp. 37–51; Bărcăcilă 1932, esp. 15–19, 34–37; Bărcăcilă 1931, esp. 457–461, 476–479; Bărcăcilă 1938b, 24–31; Florescu 1971, 434–428; Florescu 1965; Davidescu 1975, 61–63; see also Găzdac *et al.* 2015b, esp. 18–20; 68–70 – tab. 1 *sq.*, 98–143 (monetary series from various perspectives and a hoard); maps 6–8, 10–14, plans 1–3.

²¹¹ IDR II 10.

“military anarchy” time. So, as this phenomenon is not yet attested, the diminution of the soldier’s number in the province for this period must currently be researched by other ways.

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Abbreviations

Acta Ant et Arch Suppl	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum. Szeged.
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Krakow.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania. Cluj.
ActaArchHung	ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AEM	Archäologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Zalău.
ATF	Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Făgăraș.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrenses. Sibiu.
Agria	<i>Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis</i> . Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum évkönyve. Eger.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Timișoara.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
Arh. Pregled	Arheološki Pregled. Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije. Beograd.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei. Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ASMB	Arheologia Satului Medieval din Banat. Reșița 1996.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
BerRGK	Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, Frankfurt a. Main.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BMB. SH	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița. Seria Historica. Bistrița Năsăud.
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Békéscsaba.
BMMN	Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național, București.
BThr	Bibliotheca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
CAB	
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Carpica	Carpica. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Bacău. Bacău.
CAMNI	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul de Istorie al R. S. România/Muzeul Național de Istorie. București.
CCA	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice (din România)</i> , 1983–1992 <i>sqq.</i> (și în variantă electronică pe http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp).
CCA 1995 [1996]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), <i>CCA. Campania 1995. A XXX-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Brăila, 2–5 mai 1996</i> . [București] [1996].
CCA 1996 [1997]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), <i>CCA. Campania 1996. A XXXI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, București, 12–15 iunie 1997</i> . [București] [1997].
CCA 1997 [1998]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), <i>CCA. Campania 1997. A XXXII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Călărași, 20–24 mai 1998</i> . [București] [1998].
CCA 1998 [1999]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), <i>CCA. Campania 1998. A XXXIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Vaslui, 30 iunie–4 iulie 1999</i> . [București] [1999].
CCA 2000 (2001)	M. V. Angelescu, C. Borș, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2000. A XXXV-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Suceava, 23–27 mai 2001</i> . București 2001.

CCA 2001 (2002)	M. V. Angelescu, C. Borș, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2001. A XXXVI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Buziaș, 28 mai–1 iunie 2001</i> . București 2002.
CCA 2003 (2004)	M. V. Angelescu, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2003. A XXXVIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Cluj-Napoca, 26–29 mai 2004</i> . București 2004.
CCA 2006 (2007)	M. V. Angelescu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2006. A XLI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Tulcea, 29 mai – 1 iunie 2006</i> . București 2007.
CCA 2008 (2009)	M. V. Angelescu, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu, O. Cîrstina, G. Olteanu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2008. A XLIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Târgoviște, 27–30 mai 2009 (= Valachica 21–22, 2008–2009)</i> . Târgoviște 2009.
CCA 2013 (2014)	Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2013. A XLVIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Oradea, 5–7 iunie 2014</i> . [București] 2014.
CCA 2014 (2015)	Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (Ed.), <i>CCA 2015. Campania 2014. A XLIX-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Pitești, 28–30 mai 2015, Muzeul județean Argeș</i> . [București] 2015.
CRSCRCR	Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins from Romania. Cluj-Napoca.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Danubius	Danubius – Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați. Galați.
DDME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgCluj	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
DolgSzeg	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
FADDP/GMADP	Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
Forsch. u. Ber. z. Vor- u. Frühgesch. BW	Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg.
GPSKV	Gradja za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine. Novi Sad.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva. Beograd.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Josa András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
JahrbuchRGZM	Jahrbuch des RömischGermanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
Lohanul	Lohanul. Revistă cultural științifică. Huși.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MCA-S.N.	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice-Serie Nouă. București.
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis. Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț. Piatra Neamț.
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évkönyve. Szeged.
MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MN	Muzeul Național. București.
Opuscula Hungarica	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
PamArch	<i>Památky Archeologické. Praha.</i>
<i>Past and Present</i>	<i>Past and Present. Oxford.</i>
PIKS/PISC	Die Publikationen des Institutes für klassische Studien/ Publicațiile Institutului de studii clasice. Cluj-Napoca.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde. Berlin.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Rev. Muz.	Revista Muzeelor, București.
RIR	Revista Istorică Română.
RMM-MIA	Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. seria Monumente istorice și de artă. București.
RMMN	Revista Muzeului Militar Național. București.
Ruralia	Ruralia. Památky Archeologické – Supplementum. Praha.
RVM	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche. București.

SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.
SIA	Studii de Istoria Artei. Cluj Napoca.
SIB	Studii de istorie a Banatului. Timișoara.
SKMÉ	A Szántó Kovács János Múzeum Évkönyve, Orosháza.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. București.
SMMA	Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár. Szolnok.
SMMIM	Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară. București.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut. Beograd.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComBrukenthal	<i>Studii și comunicări</i> . Sibiu.
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica. <i>Budapest</i> .
StudCom	Studia Comitatus. <i>Szentendre</i> .
StudUnivCib	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Sibiu.
StudCom – Vrancea	Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Etnografie Vrancea. Focșani.
StudŽvest	Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Nitra.
Symp. Thrac.	Symposia Thracologica. București.
Tempora Obscura	Tempora Obscura. Békéscsaba 2012.
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Timișoara.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. <i>Budapest</i> .
Ziridava	Ziridava. Arad.
ZSA	Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.