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FROM POETOVIO TO DIANA VETERANORUM, CAREER OF MARCUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS

Marek Olędzki¹

Abstract: This article is a re-enactment of the biography of one of the outstanding Romans, M. V. Maximianus, who rose to fame through his numerous heroic deeds in the period known as the Marcomannic Wars. The basis for this re-enactment were two archaeological sources of immense importance, both in the form of inscriptions. One inscription was discovered in today's Slovak Trenčín and the other in Zana, in Algeria. Importantly, their contents mutually enrich and supplement each other, providing the basis for re-enactment of the biography. At the same time, it should be stipulated that some fragments of this biography, especially in terms of absolute dating, reflect only the author's educated guess, made in the majority based on the sequence of events that took place.

Keywords: Marcus Valerius Maximianus, Marcomannic Wars, legions, *cursus honorum*, Trenčín – Laugaricio, Zana – Diana Veteranorum

Recalling the title character, *Marcus Valerius Maximianus*, from oblivion was possible thanks to mere serendipity. This was due to two complementary, albeit very distant from each other, archaeological discoveries, one made in Slovakian Trenčín², and the other in Algerian Zana, known in the Roman times as *Diana Veteranorum*³. Both are inscriptions carved in stone and they directly relate to the protagonist described in this paper. The inscription from Trenčín is placed at the foot of the Trenčín castle rock, in the place where today an elegant, classicist hotel, 'Elisabeth', stands, 'snuggled' into it. The inscription can be seen by entering the first floor of the hotel, where it is located behind armour glass, which by no means obstructs the view (**Fig. 1**). It says⁴ that a detachment of Roman soldiers (855 combatants) from *Legio II Adiutrix*, who permanently stationed in *Aquincum* (today Budapest) under the command of *Maximianus*, spent one winter here. What is more, their stay is further evidenced by the find of ruins of a bath (*hypocaustum*), which can be seen there as well – on the lowest floor of the hotel building. From the other inscription⁵ we learn who *Maximianus* was (mentioned in the inscription) in that time, and in particular – what the circumstances of staying in the place so distant from the Roman borders were (**Fig. 2**). As was already mentioned, it was found (well preserved in its entirety) in the Algerian Zana, on the pedestal of the no longer existing monument of *Maximianus*. The inscription presents the *cursus honorum* of a distinguished Roman citizen, as follows from the wording. The *cursus honorum* was a kind of CV, which was made for prominent Romans representing a higher social status (i.e., *honestiores*) after they deceased. Such a document listed in brief all the public functions they performed for the state and was an equivalent to a career record. Those careers usually followed predetermined hierarchical rules, which hardly ever were

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² SZÁSZOVÁ 1976, 5–25.

³ PFLAUM 1955, 134–154; KOLENDO 2009–2010, 89, Pl. 24.

⁴ CIL III 13439.

⁵ CIL VIII 619.

short-circuited. Such a document comes from Zana, and from it we learn that *Maximianus* and his troop (*vexillatio*) spend the winter of 179/180 AD in distant *Leugaricio*⁶, which was necessitated by some challenges of the great war which the Romans fought on the Danube, calling it *bellum Germanicum* or *bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum*, and which today's literature usually refers to as the Marcomannic Wars⁷. Therefore, they deserve a few words of explanation as they form the background for the dramatic events. The said events are usually included in the chronological framework of the years 166/167 – 180 AD which, in the opinion of the undersigned author, do not constitute adequate caesuras, as he already stated in his monograph devoted to this topic⁸. They were preceded by a period known as *bellum suspensum*, i.e., suspended war, which was a smouldering conflict in central Europe that the Roman diplomacy tried to stop at all costs or at least to prolong in time because of the then ongoing war against the Parthians in the Middle East. The latter not only engrossed the greater part of the armed forces of the state, but it also caused spread of the plague from East to West. It is estimated that the Empire's population was reduced by c. 10% at that time, i.e., several million people died⁹. Therefore, the emperor Marcus Aurelius – rising to the challenge, faced the necessity to create and organise several new large military units (for example, *legio II Italica* and *legio III Italica*), enlisting criminals and gladiators¹⁰. Also, the upper chronological limit of the events i.e., the year 180 AD cannot be taken for granted. Although in that year a major part of the conflict which was the defeat of the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatians was concluded, soon a war with the Suebian Buri – the eastern neighbours of the Quadi, i.e., *expeditio Germanica tertia vel expeditio Burica* broke out. The war was fought in the years 182–183 by *Commodus*¹¹ or, more precisely, by his troops. Apparently, the Marcomannic Wars were sanguinary and protracted conflicts, involving bulk of the Roman state's forces and resources. The year 170 gained the name of *annus horribilis* as it was the worst one for the Romans. It was when the Marcomanni together with the Quadi, broke through the Roman *limes* into north-eastern Italy, destroying the city of *Opitergium* on the way. At the same time, the Sarmatians with the Quadi attacked the province of Dacia from the west, while the troops of the *Costoboci*, who circumnavigated the said province from the east, stormed through Lower Moesia into the Balkans, repeatedly wreaking havoc there¹². However, in the following years they broke the deadlock, as a successful counteroffensive was carried out by shifting the military operations onto the enemy territories, i.e., today's Moravia, Slovakia and Lower Austria. In the late 70s, the enemy tribes were already defeated, and a kind of occupation was imposed on them, guarded by military units extending far to the north. Their traces were identified, *inter alia*, in the Trenčín, in Olomouc¹³ and in the recently discovered North Moravian Jevičko¹⁴. The units concentrated there prevented, for example, the desperate Quadi

⁶ The name of this town is '*Laugaricio*' in the Trenčín inscription, and '*Leugaricio*' in the Zana inscription, and there is no doubt that it is about the same location as Trenčín (KOLENDO 2009–2010, *passim*).

⁷ There exists an extensive literature on this topic and several international scientific conferences have been devoted to it. Among the more important references, the following should be mentioned: WIELOWIEJSKI 1982, 5–39; KOVACS 2009; OŁĘDZKI 2011; KEHNE 2016, 193–254.

⁸ OŁĘDZKI 2011, *passim*.

⁹ A particularly meaningful source of information on these issues is SHA, *v. Marc.*, 13, 2.

¹⁰ As a rule, only the Roman citizens were enlisted into the legions. However, there were no such requirements in the case of the auxiliary troops, i.e., *auxiliaria* organised from the peregrines (*peregrini*), i.e., inhabitants of the Empire not possessing citizenship. Those received a pension and citizenship at the end of their service. Therefore, reaching for the people having an even lower position in the social hierarchy was undoubtedly a non-conformist and risky experiment.

¹¹ DIETZ 1994, 7–15; OŁĘDZKI 2017, 187–196.

¹² DUBICKI/OŁĘDZKI 2019, 155–166.

¹³ KALABEK 2017, 170–180.

¹⁴ DROBERJAR 2020, 482–485.

from emigrating northwards to their countrymen, Semnones, who inhabited the Oder and the Elbe River basin areas¹⁵. The otherwise interesting further details of the Great War will not be mentioned here as they are not too closely related to the actions by the protagonist of this story and, besides, the literature related to them is already quite abundant (see footnote 7). It is therefore necessary to focus just on his person and briefly outline his life.

Maximianus was born in *Poetovio*, which is today's Ptuj in Slovenia. His father, who also used the same full birth name of *Marcus Valerius Maximianus*, was one of the men of merit there and a distinguished member of the *equites* class and, at the end of his life, he held the position of superior of the local priestly college (*pontifici coloniae Poetoviensium*). Therefore, his career as a junior began with military duties, at what we would today define as a non-commissioned officer level. Initially, he was entrusted with the command of separate cohorts of auxiliaries (*auxiliae*), i.e., auxiliary troops. One of the things we learn from that source¹⁶ is that he commanded *cohors I Thracorum*, and then *cohors I Hamiorum* which were formed from Roman citizens and that they most probably stationed in Britain. In 162 AD the war against the Parthians broke out in the East (*ditto*), in which he obviously took an active part and where his task was to control and secure the northern coastal areas of the province of *Pontus*, bordering on the west with the critical zone of operations in Armenia which, as the author supposes, he personally pacified. At the end of the campaign (166 AD), he was decorated for his heroism and courage by both emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. This also entailed his promotion to praefectus equitum and a monetary grant. Soon, he was exposed to the prospect of even greater involvement in the military activities as clouds were gathering over the Empire in the form of the gradually escalating conflict on the Danube within the framework of what – as was already stated – is referred to as the Marcomannic Wars. After the defeats and setbacks in 170 AD, there came time for the Roman counter-offensive which caused that the warfare focused on the middle Danube, where the bulk of the Roman armed forces – legions and auxiliary troops – were directed. Those were tens of thousands of men who were supposed to be properly managed, deployed, housed and above all – fed. The author of this paper believes that the last enumerated requirement was particularly urgent in view of the destruction and depopulation of the entire region by the barbarian actions of the previous years. The emperor, Marcus Aurelius¹⁷, entrusted this mission to *Maximianus*, who fulfilled it excellently. He established contacts with the commanders of three naval fleets i.e., two from Italy, which stationed at Misenum and Ravenna, and the third one from Britain, with whose help he organised the Danube fleet from scratch. Thanks to it, he ensured continued deliveries of all necessary supplies from the western provinces which were not affected by the conflict, i.e., mainly from Gaul. Soon after that he became actively involved in the activities carried out in the territory of the Quadi, that is in today's south-west Slovakia. There he took command of the African cavalry, or more precisely – the Moorish cavalry units including *ala I Aravacorum*, and then *ala I Contariorum*, in which the cavalry was equipped with very long spears. In the following year, that is 172¹⁸, they pacified a still untamed, small tribe of

¹⁵ DIO CASS., *Hist. Rom.*, 71, 20, 2. It is not difficult to picture that the route of such a migration could lead along the Oder River, starting from its upper reaches.

¹⁶ CIL VIII 619.

¹⁷ His co-regent, Emperor Verus, had been deceased since the year 169. It is believed that he, too, fell victim to the plague raging throughout the Empire.

¹⁸ This is the date proposed by KEHNE 2016, 241, based on his recent research. The author of this paper assumes that Kehne linked that event to the action against the Marcomanni living in Moravia but notes that the battle with the Naristae might as well have taken place in the following year, i.e. 173, when an expedition against the Quadi (who were ruled at that time by the eminently anti-Roman Ariagaesus) was undertaken – see OLEŹDKI 2011, 99. As is otherwise known, the Naristae occupied the territory situated between the Marcomanni and the Quadi, and therefore reaching each of the tribes mentioned here must have involved the necessity to defeat the Naristae first.

the Naristae, who were neighbours of the Marcomanni and lived then in the territory of today's Bratislava¹⁹. There, he showed personal heroism by challenging their tribal leader, *Valao*, to a duel, whom he defeated in battle and then killed with his own hands. He also showed initiative and courage in the subsequent *expeditio Germanica prima*. The achievements of *Maximianus* did not go unnoticed and they were appreciated by the emperor who, at the end of the campaign (year 175) distinguished him highly, bestowing him with parade weapons, a magnificent destrier and *phalerae*²⁰. He did not enjoy those good days for too long, however, because in the same year he was sent to the East to suppress a revolt caused by the usurpation of *Avidius Cassius*. He went there with his auxiliary units, which he formed himself from the defeated Marcomanni, Naristae and Quadi. As he was instrumental in causing the downfall of the afore mentioned, he was rewarded with high prosecutor positions, firstly in both Moesias, and then in Dacia Porolissensis. Thus, within the limits of his competences came the administration, justice and tax collection, adding that this involved a staggering remuneration of up to 100,000 sesterces per annum²¹. Soon, however, i.e., in the year 177, the second edition of the Marcomannic wars, known as *expeditio Germanica secunda*, began. It was then that the Quadi, together with the Sarmatian Iazyges, attacked both the Upper and the Lower Pannonian territories to which the Roman response was immediate. At the very beginning of the retaliatory campaign, *Maximianus* commanded *legio I Adiutrix* which permanently stationed in Brigetio, and in the concluding period – *legio II Adiutrix* based in Aquincum. It was then (probably in the summer of 179 AD) that he reached *Laugaricio*, i.e., today's Trenčín, and established a fortified camp there with a unit of 855 soldiers whose task was to blockade the northern section of the Váh valley. It was rightly thought that this was where the Quadi would try to emigrate to the north (see above).

The war ended with the victory Rome, but even before its end (March 17, 180), emperor Marcus Aurelius died in Vindobona (today's Vienna). Consequently, the peace with the barbarians was concluded by Commodus himself, who boasted of his triumphs in the war. At the same time, however (and this should be seen as a positive aspect anyway), he remembered about *Maximianus* and his merits were fully appreciated. The most important honour bestowed upon *Maximianus* was formally granting him the highest Roman social status i.e., he became senator (*ordo senatorius*) – that title allowed him to reach out for the most important state functions and positions²². At last, after the period of the war 'adventures', there came a relatively quiet period in his life, which does not mean, however, that he was suddenly freed from duties and responsibilities. Therefore, *Maximianus*, most probably, did not take an active part in the Third Germanic War (*expeditio Germanica tertia vel expeditio Burica* which Rome fought against the Suebian tribe, the Buri, in the years 182–183²³, as at that time he was fulfilling other, important tasks that, as a matter of fact, occupied him for the rest of his life – he was entrusted with the function of governor of the three provinces of Dacia (*Tres Daciae*)²⁴, and then, i.e. about three

¹⁹ BENGTON, 1959, 203–222.

²⁰ The said *phalerae* were the equivalent of today's orders. They were silvered relief discs, usually attached to the armour with leather thongs. Other types of decoration were *armillae* and *torques*, which together with *phalerae* were usually more valuable to soldiers than monetary grants.

²¹ At that time, an officer's annual remuneration amounted to about 600 denarii, or 2400 sesterces, which was enough to support his family and himself, achieving quite high standards of living.

²² The very act of exaltation of *Maximianus* may have taken place in the last months, or rather weeks of the life of Marcus Aurelius, who was already seriously ill, but the author believes that it was probably Commodus himself who made the decision. Therefore, the author attributes that credit to Commodus, as from the very beginning of his decision-making powers, he took up a 'fight' against the Senate, including by supplying them with *homines novi* who had already been associated with him. On a side note, it may be added that the senatorial circles 'paid him off' for that by creating in historiography his image of an unbalanced and infamous ruler.

²³ DIETZ 1994, 7–15; OLĘDZKI 2017, 187–196.

²⁴ To be precise, he must have been at least indirectly involved in the war against the Buri as commander-in-

or four years later, he obtained the no less honourable governorship over Numidia together with the title ‘*legatus Augusti pro praetore*’ and the command of *legio III Augusta*, stationing at *Lambaesis*. *Nota bene*, it was the only legionary unit in the entire Maghreb²⁵ – which was a relatively peaceful and quite prosperous place until the end of Antiquity. He died, as all indications point to, a natural death, and was buried in *Diana Veteranorum*, a colony of Roman veterans, as mentioned before. Unfortunately, the date of his death was not provided in the tombstone inscription, but the honorific dedication indicates that it happened still during the reign of Commodus, so before 192 AD, at the end of which year the emperor was murdered. The author of this text believes that *Maximianus* probably passed away when he was in the prime of his age at around 50 or 55 at most. His biography, in turn, shows that in the Roman world of that time, which was highly hierarchical and bureaucratic, there was still a lot of room for individualism and competitiveness for outstanding people showing high ambitions and skills.

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chief of *legio V* and *legio XIII*, permanently stationing in Dacia, whose separate detachments were most probably taking part in this war (as they were the closest situated units). Besides, one of his fundamental duties as governor was to protect the northern border of *Dacia Porolissensis*, in the vicinity of which the Buri resided.

²⁵ This does not change the fact that there was many auxiliary troops there, mainly *alae*.

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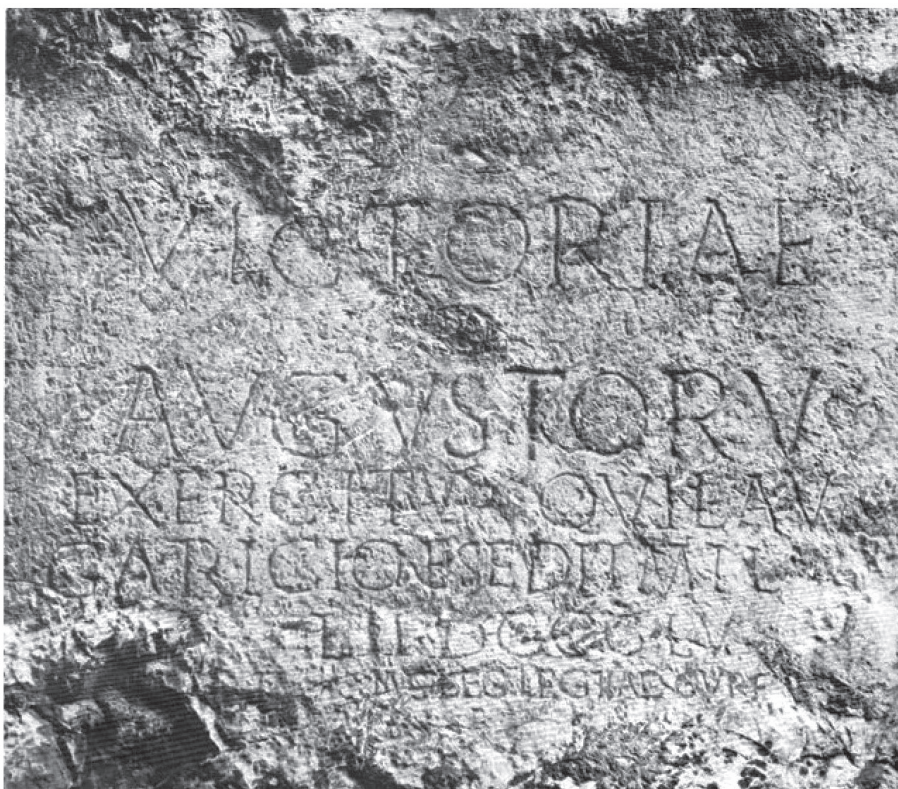


Fig. 1 – Latin inscription from Trenčín. Photo by Justyn Skowron.

MAVALERIMAXIMIANOMVALERIMAXIMIANIQVINOS
 FRONTICOPETOVIONENS EQVOPRAEFCHITHRACRIBCOHTAM
 CIVVMRPRAEORAE GENTIVM PONTI POLEMONA/DON DON BEL
 IOPHARTALLE CABIM PANTONNOA/GEIMISSON/PROCNIV
 GERMANEXPEDEDEDV CEND PER DAVYI/VMOAENNONAM/PAINO
 VRYSOEXERCIT DENAIGARENT/ PRAEPOSVEXILIA/TONWACAS/PRAEFOR
 MISENATIS/EM PANNATIS/EM CLASBRITIA/CITEM EQVITAFRORE/FAVRO
 ELECTORADCVRAEXPLORATIONIS/PANONIAE/PRAEFA/CIARACORNI/PROCNIC
 TVGERMANCOABIMPANTONNOA/GCORAV/AN/DATO/EI/EOVO/ET/PHALERIS
 EARMISDONATO/QUOD/MA/NSVADVCEM/NARIS/ARMYA/IAONEM
 INTERMISSE/ET/NE/DE/FA/QUARTAE/M/LITA/E/HONORADE/PTO/PRAE/FA/L
 CONTIAR/DON/DON/BEL/OGESAR/PRAE/EOVITB/GENTIA/R/COM/NOR/NARIS/T
 QUADOR/ADVNDIC/TOR/EN/NA/IS/VO/SPER/E/NT/VA/HONOR/CENTENARIA/EDIG
 NIT/ATIS/AVG/OS/ARI/ARIO/DE/PTVS/PROCVR/ATIONEM/M/OES/IAE/NE/RIORIS
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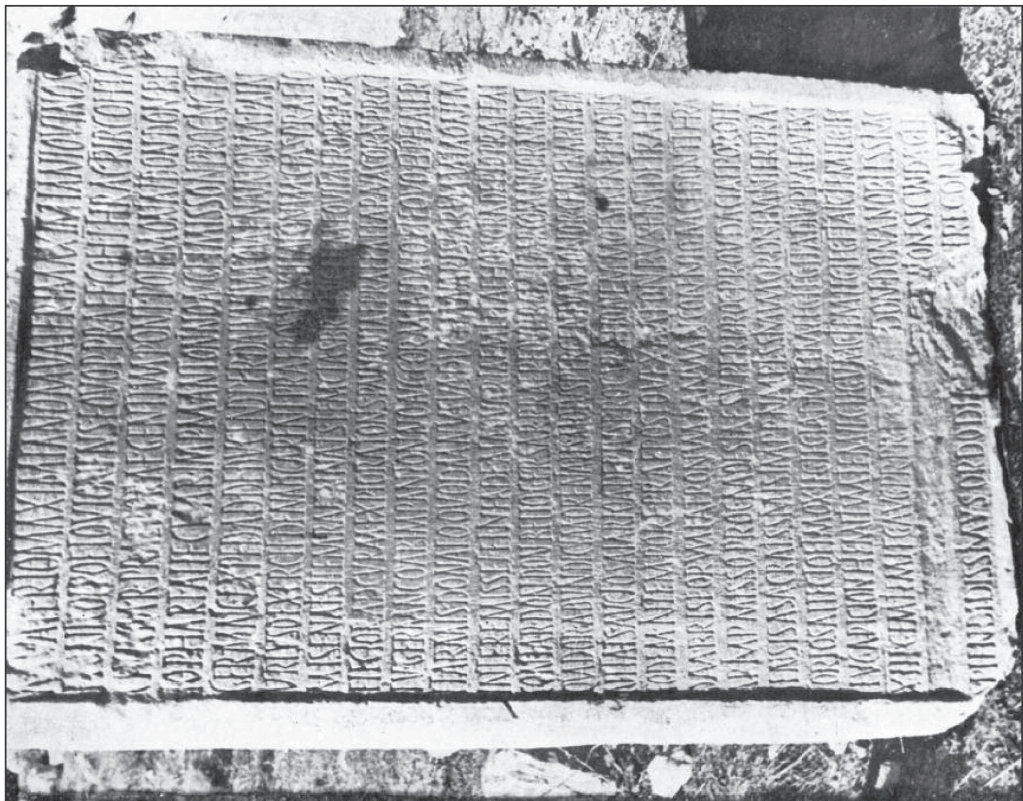


Fig. 2 – Photo and copy of inscription from Zana. After KOLENDO 2009–2010, 89, Pl. 24.

ABBREVIATIONS THAT CAN NOT BE FOUND IN BERICHT DER RÖMISCH-GERMANISCHE KOMMISSION

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin	= AKAWB
Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis, Debrecen	= ACD
Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapesta)	= Acta Ethnogr Acad Scien Hungaricae
Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice	= An. Acad. Române. Mem. Sec. Istor.
Analele Banatului (Timișoara)	= An. Banatului
Analele Dobrogei (Constanța)	= An. Dobrogei
Muzeul Județean Vaslui (Vaslui)	= Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis
Muzeul “Vasile Pârvan” (Bârlad)	= Acta Musei Tutovens
Analele Universității București	= An. Univ. București
Analele Universității Iași	= An. Univ. Iași
Analele Universității „Dimitrie Cantemir” (Constanța)	= An. Univ. Constanța
Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations (Paris)	= Ann. Écon. Soc. Civil.
Arheologia Moldovei, Institutul de Arheologie (Iași)	= ArhMold
Arkheologiya, Natsional’na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arkheologii (Kyiv)	= Arkheologiya
Annales Universitatis Apulensis (Alba Iulia)	= AUA
Annali di scienze religiose, Milano	= Annali di scienze religiose
Anuarul Institutului pentru Studii Politice, de Apărare și Istorie Militară	= Anu. Instit. Stud. Pol. Apăr. și Istor. Milit.
Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich (-Ungarn), Wien	= AEM
Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Hermannstadt – Kronstadt (Sibiu – Brașov)	= AVSL
Archaeologia Baltica Polonia = Peregrinatio Gotica (Łódź)	= Arh Baltica
Arheologia Medievală (Iași)	= Arh. Medievală
Antigüedad, religiones y sociedades, Huelva	= ARYS
Az alsóféhérmegyei történelmi régészeti és természettudomány évkönyve (Alba Iulia)	= AlsóTermÉvkönyve
Balcanica Posnanensia. Acta et Studia. Czasopismo wydawane przez UAM w Poznaniu	= Balcanica Posnaniensia
Buletinul cercurilor științifice studențești (Alba Iulia)	= BCȘS Alba Iulia
Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice (București)	= BMI
Instrumentum Bulletin du Groupe de travail européen	= Bull Instrumentum

sur l'artisanat et les productions manufacturées dans l'Antiquité (Montagnac)	
Bulletin antieke beschaving Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology	= BABesch
Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome (Rome)	= BullInst Hist Belge (Rome)
Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, Sorbonne (Paris)	= Cahiers Centre Gustave Glotz
Complexul Muzeal „Julian Antonescu” (Bacău)	= Carpica
Cercetări arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României (București)	= Cercetări Arheologice
Muzeul Municipiului București (București)	= Cercetări arheologice în București
Classical Philology (Chicago)	= Class. Philol.
Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România (București)	= CCA
Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică (București)	= Cron. Numis. Arh.
Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București, I-XII (1924–1928); Nouvelle Série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne (București)	
Muzeului de Istorie Galati	= Danubius
Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne, Paris-Besançon	= DHA
Dicționarul limbii române moderne (București 1958)	= DRLM
Documenta Romaniae Historica (București)	= DRH
Les Dossiers d'archéologie, Paris	= DossPar
Ethnic and Racial Studies (London)	= Ethnic and Racial Studies
Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca	= EphemNap
File de Istorie = Revista Bistriței (Bistrița)	= FI (Rev. Bistriței)
Muzeul județean Ilfov (București)	= File de Istorie
Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford 1966)	= Greek-English 1966
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology	= Harvard Stud. Class. Studia Philol.
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)	= HOMÉ
Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak (Zagreb)	= Hrv. Arh. God.
Historica. Historia Antigua (Salamanca)	= Stud. Hist. Hist. Antigua
Il Mar Nero Annali di archeologia e storia (Roma)	= Il Mar Nero
Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole	= Izv. Ross. Arch. Inst. Konstantinopole
Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien	= ÖJh
Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology,	= JAHA
Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca	
Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)	= JAMÉ
Journal of Indo-European Studies (Washington DC)	= JIES
Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatists	= Journal Soc. Ancient Numism.
Könyv és könyvtár, Budapest	= Könyv és könyvtár
Labeo Rassegna di Diritto Romano (Napoli)	= Labeo
Lateinisch-Deutsch Schulwörterbuch (Leipzig 1891)	= Lateinisch-Deutsch 1891
Lateinisch-Deutsch Handwörterbuch (Hannover-Leipzig 1918)	= Lateinisch-Deutsch 1918

Litua. Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Județean Gorj, Târgu Jiu	= Litua
M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, London	= RMD
Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii.	= MAIET
Krymskoe otdelenie Instituta vostokovedeniya NAN Ukrainy (Simferopol')	
Muzeul Municipiului București	= Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie
Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice (serie nouă) (București)	= MCA (S.N.)
Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France (Paris)	= Mél École roumaine en France
Mélanges de l'Univ St Ioseph (Beiruth)	= Mél Univ St Ioseph (Beiruth)
Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres (Langres)	= Mém Soc Hist et Arch Langres
Memoria antiquitatis Acta Musei Petrodavensis	= Memoria Antiquitatis
Revista Muzeului arheologic (Piatra Neamț)	
Monumenta Germaniae Historica (München)	= MGH
Mousaios Anuarul muzeului județean Buzău	= Mousaios
A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)	= Josa Andras Múz Évk
Muzeul Național de Istorie a României (București)	= Muzeul Național
Norba Revista de arte, geografía e historia (Cáceres)	= Norba
Numismatische Zeitschrift	= NZ
O Arqueólogo Português, Lisboa	= Arque. Português
Opțiuni istoriografice, Iași	= Opțiuni istoriografice
Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Lovaina (Leuven)	= OLP
Ostraka Rivista di antichità (Napoli)	= Ostraka
Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences (Prague)	= Památky Archeologické
Patrimonium Apulense, Alba Iulia	= Patrim. Apulense
Rossijskaya Arkheologiya. Institut arkheologii Rossijskoj akademii nauk (Moskva).	= RA
Rad Muzeja Vojvodine (Novi Sad)	= Rad Muz. Voj.
RepArAb Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba, Alba Iulia, 1995 [= Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, II]	= RepArAb
Res Antiquae (Bruxelles)	= Res Antiquae
Revista de etnografie și folclor (București)	= Rev Etnogr și Folclor
Revista Bistriței	= Rev. Bistriței
Muzeul Municipiului București	= Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice
Muzeul Național de Etnografie și Istorie Naturală a Moldovei (Chișinău)	= Revistă de Etnografie, Științele Naturii și Muzeologie
Revista de Istorie (București)	= Rev. de Istor.
Revista Facultăților de teologie din Patriarhia Română (București)	= Stud Teologice
Revista Muzeelor, București	= Rev. Muzeelor
Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est (Paris)	= RAEst
Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes (Bucharest)	= Rev. Études SE Européennes

Revue Historique (Paris)	= Rev. Historique
Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen (Bucharest)	= RHSEE
Revista Storica dell'Antichita (Roma)	= Riv. Stor. Antichita
Strabon (Iași)	= Strabon
Studia Archaeologica, Roma	= StArch
Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica (Iași)	= SAA
Studii și Cercetări de Istorie veche și Arheologie, Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan" (București)	= SCIV(A)
Slovenská Archeologia. Archeologický ústav SAV (Nitra)	= SlovArch
Stratum plus, Vysshaya Antropologicheskaya Shkola (Chișinău)	= Stratum plus
Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, seria Historia, Cluj-Napoca	= Stud. Historia UBB
Studia historica. Historia Antigua (Salamanca)	= Stud.Hist. Histor. Antig.
Studia Thracologica (București)	= Stud. Thracologica
Studii și Comunicări Câmpulung	= Stud. Com. Câmpulung
Studium, Debrecen	= Studium
Symposia Thracologica (București)	= Symp. Thracologica
Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Atlanta	= TAPA
Transsilvania. Ein Beiblatt zum Siebenbürger Boten, Hermannstadt (Sibiu)	= TranssilvBB
Uniwersytet Im Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Seria Historia (Poznań)	= Uniw Adama Mickiewicza Poznan
Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte (München)	= Vestigia
Arkheologicheskij muzej-zapovednik "Tanais" (Rostov na Donu)	= Vestnik Tanaisa
Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie (Warszawa)	= Wiadomości Archeologiczne
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins	= ZDPV
Zeitschrift für Geschichte	= Zeitschr. Gesch.

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DAICOVICIU 1972, 45–78

H. DAICOVICIU, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană* (Cluj-Napoca 1972).

Articles in journals:

FINK 1958, 107–110.

R. O. FINK, *Hunt's pridianum: British Museum Papyrus 2851*, *Journal of Roman Studies* 48, 1958, 102–116.

For two or more authors:

VÁGÓ/BÓNA 1976

E. B. VÁGÓ/I. BÓNA, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa* (Budapest 1976).

Articles published in conference proceedings or thematic volumes:

DVORSKI 1996, 217–220

T. DVORSKI, *Archaeological Investigations on Limes Alutanus in 1980–1984 (Dacia Inferior – Malvensis)*. In: P. Petrovič (ed.), *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (Belgrade 1996), 215–222.

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