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THE MĂLĂIEȘTII DE JOS (PRAHOVA COUNTY) SILVER CRAFTSMAN'S HOARD FROM THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY AD

DANIEL SPÂNU*, MIHAI DIMA**, ALIN FRÎNCULEASA***

Keywords: craftsmans' hoard, Roman bronze jug (Tassinar, Oriental type), Almgren 157 fibula, denarii, antoniniani, Černjachov culture, South Romania

Abstract: The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard was found by chance on April 14th 2015 in the back garden of Grigore Ion Vasile's house (No. 31 *Bisericii* Street, Mălăieștii de Jos village, Dumbrăvești Commune, Prahova County, Romania). No ancient cultural layer has been found at the place of discovery. It may be stated that the hoard was not buried in a funerary context or in an ancient dwelling site. The hoard consists of 74 coins, an Almgren 157 fibula, five bracelets, a pendant and two silver ingots on silver, all buried in a Roman bronze jug (Tassinar, Oriental type / type II). The earliest coins were minted in AD 69-70 and the most recent ones, in AD 256-257. The structure of the inventory resembles the one of hoards with coins, finite and semi-finite silverwork items which have been interpreted as silver craftsmans' hoards. The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard reveals itself to us as a significant cultural landmark for the crossroads of the Principate in its nadir phase with the earliest migrations' world taking wing in the Lower Danube region in the last decades of the 3rd century.

Cuvinte-cheie: tezaur de orfevru, cană romană din bronz (Tassinar, tipul oriental), fibula Almgren 157, denari, antoninieni, Cultura Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov, sudul României

Rezumat: Tezaurul de orfevru de la sfârșitul secolului al III-lea de la Mălăieștii de Jos (jud. Prahova)

Tezaurul de la Mălăieștii de Jos a fost descoperit întâmplător în data de 14 aprilie 2015 în grădina din spatele casei lui Grigore Ion Vasile (Strada Bisericii, nr. 31, sat Mălăieștii de Jos, comuna Dumbrăvești, jud. Prahova, România). La locul descoperirii nu s-a identificat un strat de cultură antic. Se poate considera că tezaurul nu a fost îngropat într-un context funerar sau de locuire. Tezaurul conține 74 de monede, o fibulă de tip Almgren 157, cinci brățări, un pandantiv și două lingouri din argint, toate îngropate într-o cană romană din bronz (tipul „oriental”/tipul II după Tassinar). Cele mai timpurii monede au fost emise în anii 69-70 p. Chr., iar cele mai recente în anii 256-257 p. Chr. Structura inventarului se asemănă celei a tezaurelor cu monede și obiecte finite sau semifinite care au fost interpretate ca tezaure de meșter. Tezaurul de la Mălăieștii de Jos nu se dezvăluie ca un reper cultural semnificativ al răspândirii dintre epoca Principatului aflat la crepuscul și lumea migrațiilor timpurii care se înfiripa la Dunărea Inferioară în ultimele decenii ale secolului al III-lea.

FINDING, RETRIEVING AND ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT OF THE HOARD

One day after the end of the 2015 Easter Tide, more precisely on April 14th, Grigore Ion Vasile wanted to fit the garden at the back of his house, situated at No. 31 *Bisericii* Street, Mălăieștii de Jos (within the jurisdiction of the Dumbrăvești Commune, Prahova County), with a ditch for draining the water from a fountain. He discovered, on this occasion, a bronze jug, some coins and a number of further objects made of silver (Pl. I-VII). His property lies 180 m north-west of the village church, on the western terrace of the

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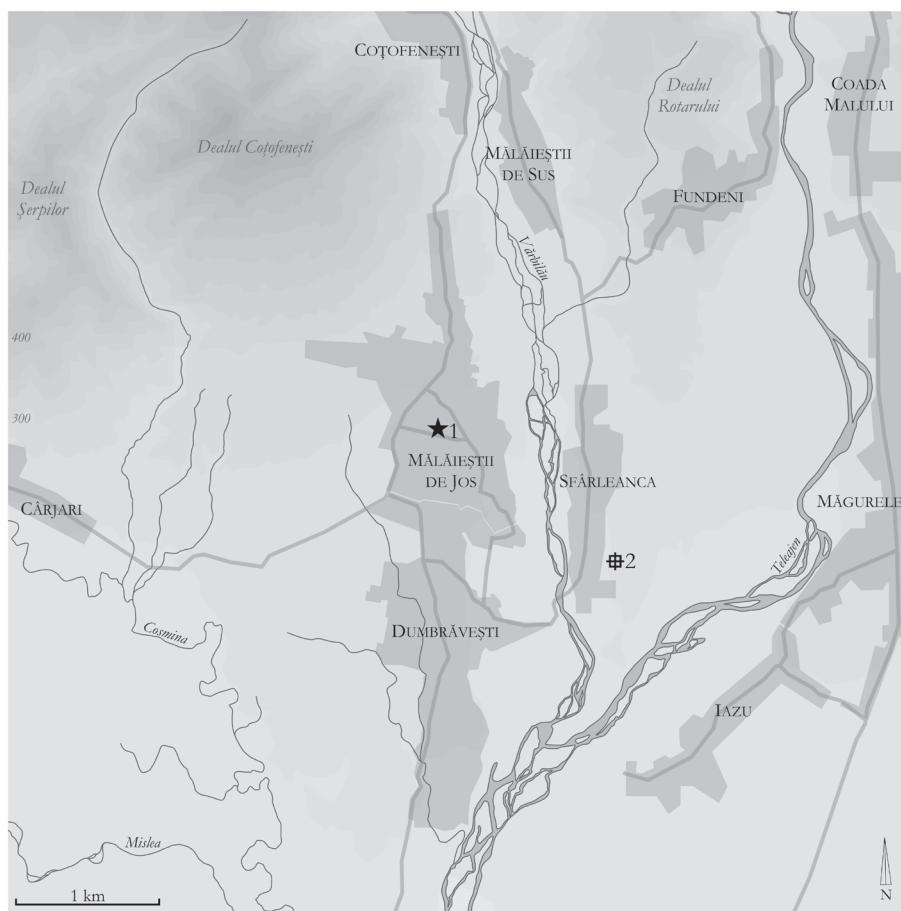


Fig. 1. The surrounding area of the Mălăieștii de Jos village. 1: the hoard; 2: Roman fort active only at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. (D.S.)

Vărbișor River (about 700 m west of the riverbed) and 290 m east of the local country road DJ 102 (Fig. 1). The geographical coordinates of the findspot are 45.10178° N, 25.99695° E.

The news about finding this hoard was imparted by Florin Vasile (Grigore Vasile's son) to Irinel Mazilu, one of the former's employees, who had also been employed as a journeyman on an archaeological site earlier, when the Eneolithic site Mălăieștii de Jos "Mornel" was being researched. The following day (on April 15th), Irinel Mazilu contacted the Ploiești County Museum (Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, acronym: MJIAP) by phone to announce the discovery, and he led the archaeologists Alin Frînculeasa and Claudiu Robe to the above-mentioned address. The prompt announcement of the specialists, and their equally prompt intervention, coupled with Grigore I. Vasile's idea of negotiating a high compensation sum for giving the hoard away are the factors which prevented the dispersion of the hoard.

Meanwhile, the finds were unearthed and deposited in two cardboard wrappers by the author of the finding. The two archaeologists ascertained the precarious conservation state of the jug and the greenish copper and bronze oxide deposits on the silver coins and ornaments. Initially, there were inventoried 67 coins, two ingots, one fibula, five bracelets – bent before the discovery – and some tin fragments of a pendant. Some of the coins were still stuck to each other with copper oxides, only one of the coins having been roughly cleaned by Florin Vasile, who was curious. The retrieved finds were subsequently transported to the Ploiești County Museum. The finds were subjected to various cleaning and curing procedures and it became possible to precisely determine the total number of the coins in the hoard: 74.

After drawing up the preliminary inventory of the material, the two museographers verified the site of the finds and discovered, at the surface, the fibula pin which had come loose, away from the rest of the finds. The drainage ditch, with an east-west orientation and about 0.40 m in width by 0.60 m in depth, had been

dug 1 m north of the house, parallel to it. The hoard inventory was discovered in the ditch very near to the north-western corner of the house, 0.30/0.40 m in depth, lying in a mass of yellow clay soil. The ditch walls still bore greenish traces of bronze oxides in the area which had yielded the body of the jug.

As testified by Grigore I. Vasile, the neck of the jug had been found about 1 m east of its body, which lay bottom up over the coins and ornaments. Initially, the author intended to give away the jug fragments to metal refuse collectors, but, on noticing the coins, the villager changed his mind and saw it fit to retain all the objects found. An aluminium coin, worth 25 *bani*, minted in 1980, also covered in copper oxides by contamination with the bronze jug, was unearthed and retrieved with the hoard. Grigore I. Vasile also extracted seven irregular gritstone boulders (five of them measuring 15-20 cm, and two 10 cm, in length). We wonder whether or not the boulders served for preparing the hoard depositing site.

In order to gather further contextual information, Alin Frânculeasa undertook the digging of a trial trench on the site of the finding on May 13th, 2015 (after obtaining an archaeological diagnosis permit with the current number 82/30.04.2015, issued by the Ministry of Culture via the General Judicial and Heritage Directorate Department). Meanwhile the water drainage ditch had been filled in. Given the presence of trees, a vineyard and the outhouses at the back of Grigore I. Vasile's lodging, the trial trench was restricted in size: 2/0.70 m¹. It ran from the north to the south, perpendicular to the drainage ditch filling line, at a distance of 1.30 m north of the house and right where the body of the jug and the silver finds had lain (more precisely, 0.30 m away from their location).

A layer of black soil rich in anthropic material and recently buried stuff (made of plastic or metal) was identified underneath the living floor, up to 0.35 m in depth. Two atypical, rough, corroded shards, one of them being blackish and appearing to have been turned on the potter's wheel, were also discovered in this layer. The black layer directly underlies the archaeologically sterile soil, clayey and yellowish. Not far away from the trial trench, to the north-east, there were found two further ceramic fragments turned on a rapid potter's wheel, made of some fine ash-coloured paste, but typologically inexpressive. The fine ash-coloured paste and the use of the rapid potter's wheel are characteristics of the Wallachian pottery production for both the La Tène period and the Roman and post-Roman ones. The synchronization of the pottery fragments with the hoard remains uncertain.

Here are the conclusions which can be advanced in accordance with the testimony of the excavations' author and the observations he made on April 15th and May 13th. The hoard was buried at relatively small depth (maximum 40 cm deep). The area which contained it remained uninhabited until the nineteenth century, when the Mălăieștii de Jos village was laid out². The gardening operations on Grigore I. Vasile's property disturbed the local soil and caused the overturning and considerable deterioration of the jug. At the time when it was found, the bronze jug was no longer in its primary position. It was impossible to identify traces of the pit filling. No hypothesis can be advanced regarding the way the gritstone boulders served for laying out the deposit. The four pottery fragments found in the vicinity of the hoard might be indicative of an archaeological site nearby, but no ancient cultural layer has been found at the investigated location. It may be stated that the hoard was not buried in a funerary context or in an ancient dwelling site.

The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard is not uncommon in the micro-region of its origin. It was at Coțofenești (in the Poiana Virbilău Commune, Prahova County) that the golden "helmet" (probably a funerary mask) of the 4th century BC was found in 1922³, and at Coada Malului (in the Măgurele Commune, Prahova County), that a hoard with ornamental items dating back to the 1st century BC was found in 1932⁴. These two spectacular pre-Roman vestiges were discovered less than 5 km from Mălăieștii de Jos (Fig. 1). It is very likely that the density of ceremonial finds in this region should be connected either to the interest in local resources (especially salt) shown by elites at various times, or to the strategic importance of a microzone situated in the area between the Piedmontan Plains of Ploiești and the Sub-Carpathian Hills of Wallachia.

¹ The corners of the trial trench had the following Stereo 70 coordinates: (1) x: 400713.383/ y: 578568.936; (2) x: 400709.950/ y: 578565.918; (3) x: 400713.364/ y: 578567.406; (4) x: 400711.185/ y: 578565.903.

² Apostol 2004, p. 279.

³ Berciu 1969, p. 77-82, fig. 55-61.

⁴ Spânu 2012b, p. 144 (for the dating), 221, no. 31 (with older literature), pls. 30-31.

THE COINS

The 74 coins retrieved from the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard (Pl. I-IV) span over a very wide chronological interval covering the reigns of the Emperors from Vespasian to Valerian I (Fig. 2). The earliest pieces were minted in AD 69-70, and the most recent ones in AD 256-257. The structure of the coins lot is as follows: Vespasian - 9 pieces (Domitian 2), Titus - 1 (Domitian), Trajan - 13, Hadrian - 14 (Sabina 1), Antoninus Pius - 19 (Faustina I - 1, Diva Faustina - 4, Marcus Aurelius - 3), Marcus Aurelius - 5 (Faustina II - 1), Commodus - 4 (Crispina - 2), Septimius Severus - 2 (Caracalla - 1), Caracalla - 1, Maximin I - 1, Philip the Arab - 2, Trajan Decius - 1, Valerian I - 2.

The coins minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent the highest percentage (25.67%), followed by the ones minted by Hadrian (18.91%) and Trajan (17.56%). Concerning the denominations, the hoard includes 69 denarii (93.24%), coined between the reigns of Vespasian and Maximin I, and five antoniniani coined at the time of Philip the Arab, Trajan Decius and Valerian I (6.75%).

Almost all of the coins were minted in Rome. The hoard also contains three pieces which come from other mints: one denarius coined during the reign of Vespasian for Domitian Caesar in an unspecified Asia Minor mint (No. 9); one antoninianus dating from the reign of Philip the Arab and coined in Antiochia (No. 71); the most recent coin in the hoard, an antoninianus with the effigy of Valerian I, was minted in Mediolanum (No. 74).

Most of the coins represent common issues, but there are also some rare specimens: the denarius coined for Domitian Caesar in Asia Minor (No. 9); one denarius from Hadrian's reign, which is a variant of the main type (No. 32); and one anthumous denarius struck by Antoninus Pius for Faustina Senior (No. 49). Though the posthumous coins of this Empress are quite common, the anthumous ones are real rarities.

The coins differ from the point of view of their wear: the Flavian coins are worn out in a normal or excessive degree. The ones dated to the second half of the second century are less worn than the early pieces, and the ones from the third century seem to have been in circulation for a brief period of time.

The coins in the hoard are generally well preserved. Only some have missing fragments, and three of them were pierced for being set in a pendant. This is the case of two denarii dating back to the time of Antoninus Pius (Nos. 47-48) and one, to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (No. 58). Almost all the antoniniani bear traces of corrosion since the common metal in their composition has been affected by the hoard depositing conditions.

The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard has an unusual structure, being dominated by old issues, from the 1st-2nd centuries, while normally only a few specimens from this period would be likely to be present in a hoard put together in the second half of the 3rd century. Apparently, there were selected coins with a high silver content and long out of circulation, treasured by people, and sought for in order to be recycled by the imperial authorities as well.

The year 238 represents an important landmark for the evolution of the Roman Imperial Coinage. During the short associated reign of Pupienus and Balbinus, the minting of the antoninianus, nominally created by Caracalla in 215, but abandoned by Elagabal some years later, was resumed. Once Gordian III took the throne, the antoninianus was reinstated and became the main denomination for silver up to Aurelian's reform. Though it was only rarely minted, the denarius was still dominantly in circulation, especially if from the Severi (Elagabalus, Severus Alexander)⁵. This situation was to remain unchanged until the reign of Trajan Decius, when denarii are to be found more and more seldom in hoards⁶.

In the Danubian provinces of the Empire, the majority of hoards, whose latest coins belong to the reigns of Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian I, have their earliest items dating back to the time of Septimius Severus / Caracalla and evince strongly increasing standard ratios of coins/year for the reigns of Gordian III and Philip the Arab⁷. Hoards with their most recent coins traceable to the second half of the 3rd century are very rare in the extra-Carpathian area. In Wallachia, before finding the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard, there had

⁵ Callu 1969, p. 251-253.

⁶ Callu 1969, p. 255.

⁷ Găzdac 2010, p. 82.

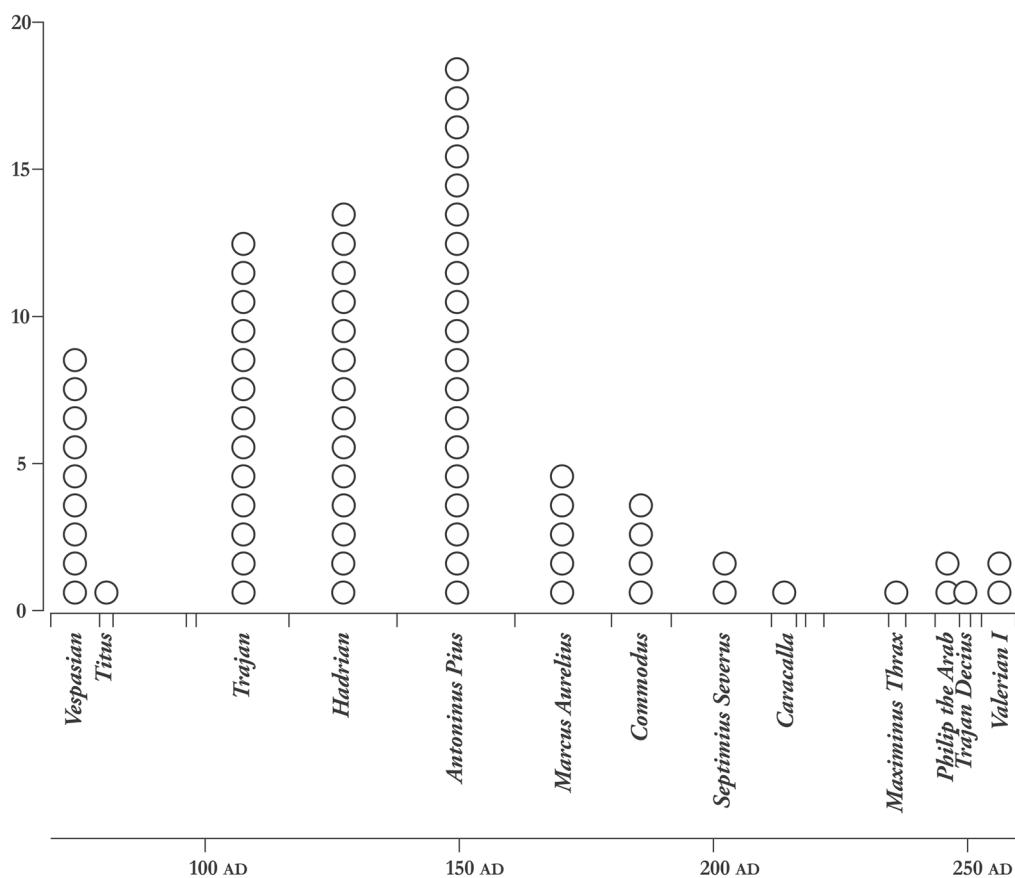


Fig. 2. The structure of the batch of coins from the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard. (M.D. and D.S.)

been known only one monetary deposit from this period; it had been found in 1912 at Dărăști, Co. Ilfov, and consisted of antoniniani minted in the Valerian I - Aurelian period⁸. Moreover, this is the only hoard found on the territory spanning between the Olt, Danube and Carpathians and, in time, covering almost one century (238/244 - 337/340). Whereas the hoards ending with coins of Gordian III (at Săpata de Jos I, Sîmburești, Pitești)⁹ were grouped and lay to the west in Wallachia, in the area of the so-called transalutanus *limes*, the more recent hoards (at Maia, Gura Ialomiței II, Săpata de Jos III)¹⁰ are spread over a wide area and do not allow making any connections among them or between any of them and the hoard presented here. It may even be stated that the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard is isolated in time and space by comparison to the silver coin hoards from the 3rd and 4th century found in Wallachia.

The same holds true for the Moldavian territory, where the hoards put together after the reign of Severus Alexander are rare¹¹. Only the Focșani hoard, Co. Vrancea, dates back to the second half of the 3rd century¹². One of its pieces (*i.e.* 1.51%) dates back to the Antonines' period, 6 pieces (*i.e.* 9.09%), to the period of the Severan dynasty & Maximin I, and the remaining 59 pieces (*i.e.* 89.39%) belonging to the

⁸ Only two pieces coined by Gallienus and Claudius II have been retrieved. Mitrea 1971, p. 407, no. 65; Petolescu 1972, p. 192, No. 1; Mitrea 1980, p. 375, No. 99; Tudorică 2007, p. 145-147; Depyrot, Moisil 2008, p. 257-258.

⁹ Mitrea 1968, p. 203; Chițescu, Popescu 1975, p. 223; Mitrea, Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1986-1991, p. 78, table 4; Dima 2012, p. 133-140.

¹⁰ Dima 1998-2003, p. 383-386; Mititelu 1957, p. 136 and 146-147; Mitrea 1960, p. 591, no. 15.

¹¹ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, p. 106.

¹² Mitrea, Constantinescu 1978, p. 185-186; Munteanu, Boțan, Apostu 2015, p. 176-181.

Gordian III - Trebonianus Gallus period. The retrieved lot amounts to 6 denarii and 60 antoniniani (Elagabalus: 1 piece, Gordian III - Trebonianus Gallus: 59 pieces).

Another hoard with a similar structure was uncovered at Vasylivka, r. Bolgrad, reg. Odessa, Ukraine. Fifteen silver pieces (2 denarii, 13 antoniniani) from this hoard are known, as follows: Severus Alexander - 2, Gordian III - 4, Philip the Arab - 2, Otacilia Severa - 1, Philip II-1, Trajan Decius - 3, Trebonianus Gallus - 2¹³. Given their structure, characterised by the association of a restricted number of denarii with more antoniniani, the hoards of Focşani and Vasylivka are fundamentally different from the monetary lot found at Mălăieşti de Jos.

Whereas in Moldavia and Wallachia there have been found numerous hoards dated as late as the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century¹⁴, only scarce hoards are traceable back to ulterior periods. The late Roman hoards from Moldavia west of the Prut River are little known or unusual as structure¹⁵. On the Republic of Moldova's territory, however, there have been found several hoards consisting of silver coins dated to the middle of the 4th century¹⁶. Even if the Mălăieşti de Jos hoard has been recovered in its entirety, it is much more difficult to be dated than many other finds.

The profound crisis which raged in the Roman state once the Military Anarchy set in (AD 235) also affected silver coins, which gradually lost their precious metal content almost entirely. The climax of the monetary depression was recorded during the reign of Claudius II (268-270), when the antoninianus often weighed less than 3 grams, and its standard purity decreased, reaching as little as 19‰ Ag. Knowing how the Roman coin stood, being devoid of credit after the extremely low standard of its purity, Aurelian decided to rehabilitate it. The reform of April-May 274 put an end to the depreciation of the currency and to the blatant fraudulence which had disturbed the Roman monetary system in the middle of the 3rd century; the main denomination remained the billon antoninianus¹⁷, but minted in accordance with a theoretical weight standard of 3.89 g and with a purity of about 50‰ Ag. The reformed antoninianus, also known as the aurelianian, was preserved, according with the standard of Aurelian, until Diocletian's reform¹⁸. The latter's attempt to introduce again a new silver denomination (the *argenteus*), coined in accordance with the standard of the Neronian denarius, failed¹⁹. Only in the third quarter of the 4th century did the imperial mints strike silver coins in large quantities again.

After 260, and for a whole century, silver coins represented a rarity in the Lower Danube area. This is why someone interested in accumulating silver coins was forced to seek for older ones. Given that 65 pieces (87.83%) of the 74 total were coined before the year 193, it can be considered that the core of the hoard was put together at the end of the 2nd century or at the beginning of the 3rd century. The small number of coins minted subsequently were added to the initial nucleus of the hoard in as yet unascertained conditions.

It would have been conceivable that denarii from the Severan period and/or antoniniani minted after 238 should predominate in a hoard having the latest coins from Valerian I, put together in the Empire (south of the Danube, even in Dacia). Surprisingly, in the Mălăieşti de Jos hoard, the Severan denarii (including the one of Maximin I), which were otherwise extremely common, are represented by only four pieces (5.40%), and the antoniniani of Gordian III, which were equally common, are entirely missing.

Most likely, the majority of the coins in the Mălăieşti de Jos hoard derive from a batch of coins formed in the Empire at the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century and subsequently imported in the *Barbaricum*. The presence in the hoard of the coins made of silver with an enhanced quality and the dating of the hoard back to a time when such coins had already been long out of circulation pleads in favour of attributing the Mălăieşti de Jos hoard to an itinerant craftsman who benefited from the raw material made available to him by a silent partner.

¹³ Popa, Ciobanu 2003, p. 105-106.

¹⁴ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, *passim*.

¹⁵ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, p. 207.

¹⁶ Isvoranu 2015, p. 67.

¹⁷ Aurelian coined *aurei*, *sestertii* and *dupondi*, but all these coins were very rare and played no important role in the economic life of the Empire.

¹⁸ Depyrot 2006, p. 154.

¹⁹ RIC VI, 94; Vagi 1999, p. 421.

THE BRONZE JUG: TAXONOMY, MORPHOLOGY, ANALOGIES



Fig. 3. Mapping of jug-types with human foot handle decoration. The shaded areas: territorial losses of Roman Empire in the second half of the 3rd century AD. For the numbers on the map see Appendix 1. (D.S.)

The jug (Pl. V) was fashioned from a turned bronze sheet, as indicated by the concentric circles visible on its bottom fragment found. The handle, also made of bronze, was cast and subsequently fixed. The body of the jug proper was seriously damaged, broken, bent in, deformed, and corroded: only the belly, part of its neck, two tiny fragments of the lip, and the bottom have been retrieved. Initially, the jug had a double tapering, streamlined belly, and a tall, slender neck. The upper part of the neck flared considerably but the lip was slightly turned in. The lip inclination is indicated by the form of the handle plate. We cannot tell if the lip of the jug had a spout or not. The handle consists of a horizontal upper plate (Germ.: *Daumenplatte*) that continues with a vertical stem having a circular cross-section; it runs down and terminates in a decorative human foot lower plate (Fr.: *attache*). On top of the horizontal upper plate, a vegetal motif (a water-plant leaf) protrudes very visibly, being flanked by indentations. Right over its lower plate, the stem of the handle has an excrescence resembling a spur. The traces of welding the human foot lower plate to the jug are observable on the wall 0.5 cm over the streamline.

The form of the handle allows assimilating the Mălăieștii de Jos jug to a species of Roman bronze vessels spread in the whole Empire (Fig. 3, Appendix 1)²⁰. Such handles terminating in a human foot (or as the two adjoining feet), were fixed either on fusiform or on pyriform jugs (the Tassinari “Western type”/ type I, or the Tassinari “Oriental type”/ type II, respectively). One such handle with decorative foot-shaped lower plates also appears, however, on a jug from *Brigetio*²¹ that has a double tapering belly and a high neck, being

²⁰ Radnóti 1938; Tassinari 1973; Szabó 1981; Szabó 1982-1983; Ruprechtsberger 1985; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998. Jugs similar to the one of Mălăieștii de Jos appear with differing designations: „Krüge mit fußförmigem Henkelattaschen”, „cruches/pots à anse ornée d'un pied humain”, „emberi lábfejjel díszített fülű bronzkorsók”.

²¹ Szabó 1981, p. 60, fig. 9; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91, 93, pl. XIV.

decorated with horizontal flutes. Irrespective of their forms, all these jugs were fashioned by the turning technique, with the bottom separately fashioned and fixed by welding²². The morphological and ornamental variety of the handles is determined by several variables: (a) the bigger or smaller scale of the laterals; (b) a water-plant leaf may or may not be present on the plate; (c) the vertical stem of the handle may have finished faces, may be cylindrical, or with ribs, or plastically fashioned; (d) the handle lower end may be in the form of the right or the left foot, or it may be in the shape of the two feet side by side; in their turn, the feet may be bare, or (rarely) shod. It is not possible to detect a strict correspondence between the different variants of the handles and the two jug shapes. Equally, it cannot be known whether or not the fusiform or pyriform jugs repaired by fixing handles with cordiform, vegetal or sylen-masque motifs attached to them had originally been decorated with foot-shaped handles²³. The hypothesis that the vegetal decoration on the plate of the handle might be specific of the pyriform (“Oriental”) jugs is disproved by the handles of a number of fusiform (“Western”) items found at Mainz, Nijmegen, Heerlen, Igar and Epagnette (see Appendix 1). The assimilation to the group of jugs decorated with a human-foot of some finds devoid of handles (found at Orheiul Bistriței and Cristești)²⁴, or of one handle from Hungary with its attached decoration broken and lost, is problematic²⁵. The Mălăieștii de Jos jug belongs to the pyriform type (the Tassinari “Oriental” type or type II), and the handle belongs to the bare right foot variant (variant 1a).

Irrespective of their formal and ornamental variations, jugs with handles decorated with a human foot were produced by common technologies (the finishing of the recipients by turning, casting the handles in multi-valve masters) in specialized toreutics workshops. The geographical relevance of the typology proposed by S. Tassinari (“Western” fusiform jugs and “Oriental” pyriform ones)²⁶ retains its relative validity in spite of the more recent fusiform items found in Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia and of others, pyriform, found in Spain, Britain, and Italy probably²⁷ (Fig. 3, Appendix 1). The location of the workshops had better be ascribed, in all likelihood, to the provincial urban centres in the areas where the finds had maximum density²⁸. It is conceivable that jugs were also produced in the Oriental space, too, given the finding, at Tartus (in Syria), of the only currently known multi-part casting molds for handles decorated with a human foot²⁹.

In the current research stage, the production of these jugs seems to have been destined especially for the provincial elites residing in urban centres on the Rhine and in the Mid-Danubian area. The fact that some such jugs were found in the vicinity of Roman castra (at *Brigetio* and *Orheiu Bistriței*) might be an indication that their main beneficiaries were soldiers in the auxiliary units³⁰. Other jugs originate with funerary contexts or possible votive deposits³¹, but, more often than not, the archaeological information is not sufficient for elucidating the character of the finds. Except for the finds from Bitgum and Muncelul de Sus (Appendix 1, Nos. 26 and 63), jugs with human foot decorated handle have not been found in the *Barbaricum* so far (Fig. 3)³². In the current stage of our research, the find at Mălăieștii de Jos appears to us as the first pyriform jug (assimilated to the Tassinari type II or “Oriental type”) discovered in a context that definitely lies outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

²² Tassinari 1973, p. 136.

²³ Examples at Mosonmagyaróvár, Hungary (Szabó 1981, p. 52-53, no. 1, figs. 1-2; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 86-87, no. 1, pl. I-III) and Straldža, Bulgaria (this find was erroneously assimilated by Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VI to the “Oriental” type II; cf. Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 68, note 3; Dimitrov 1932-1933, p. 378, fig. 137).

²⁴ Petculescu, Bâltâc, Bălan 2004, no. 198-199; Gaiu 2005, p. 217, no. 1, fig. 2/2; Ștefănescu-Onițiu 2008, p. 218, pl. VI/1, 3.

²⁵ Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 9, p. 58, figs. 7/3, 8/3; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 90, no. 9, pl. XI

²⁶ Tassinari 1973, p. 135-137.

²⁷ Pozo Rodríguez 2001, p. 176-177, pl. 3/5; Roig 2003, p. 88-90, cat. no. 1.3, 89; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 69, note 35; Crummy 2006, p. 5, fig. 2.

²⁸ Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 65; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70.

²⁹ Tassinari 1973, p. 139-140, pls. XII/2, XIII/1-2.

³⁰ Barkóczy 1968, p. 76, Fig. 1; Gaiu 2005, p. 215, fig. 1 and others.

³¹ Crummy 2006.

³² Cf. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 55. Despite the lack of arguments, Popa 2015, p. 135, fig. 102.1 assumed that the Muncelul de Sus jug belongs to the fusiform (“western”) type.

The nearest analogies for the Mălăieștii de Jos handle are to be found in Lower Pannonia, at Dunaujváros/*Intercisa*, Igar, Pécs/*Sopianae* and Szőny/*Brigetio* (Appendix I, Nos. 24, 41, 44, 46-48). With these analogies, the origin of the Mălăieștii de Jos jug could conceivably be ascribed to a specialised workshop from the Mid-Danubian region³³. The extreme simplification of the anatomical details of the human foot, which is considered specific of the small provincial workshops of Pannonia³⁴.

For all the great number of finds, the jugs with handles decorated with a human foot have rarely been documented in contexts dated satisfactorily enough: a gold “knee” fibula³⁵ and three denarii coined by Trajan, found in a grave at Ljulin; coins minted by Hadrian, found in the Epagnette hoard; one imported Eggers 9, one Illyrian lance-shaped fibula, and one fibula of the Okorág type in a grave at Ustikolina³⁶. The later denarii from the Muncel de Sus hoard were issued in the second half of the 2nd century AD³⁷. So far it has only been possible to conjecture that jugs decorated with a human foot were used in the second half of the 3rd century³⁸ – by reference to one such jug found *in the vicinity* (!) of a Szőny/*Brigetio* grave, which could be dated owing to the presence of an antoninian minted by Probus³⁹. Consequently, the hoard at Mălăieștii de Jos, with its last coins minted by Valerianus I, represents the latest thoroughly dated context to yield a jug decorated with a human foot. This seems to confirm, therefore, the use of this type of jugs until the second half of the 3rd century.

The finding of the jug in an area beyond the *limes* and its really late dating may, however, be due to the action of factors completely unrelated to the provincial milieu that the jug had been fashioned for. By the time the hoarding process of coins ended, the Mălăieștii de Jos jug, it appears most likely, had already been in a position to represent a rare antiquity in the Empire. To make this conjecture, we may invoke the absence of jugs with handles decorated with a human foot from the series of Neupotz, Hagenbach and other deposits which have been interpreted as booty (Germ. *Beutehorte*) taken by the Germanic tribes from the various Gallic provinces after the middle of the 3rd century⁴⁰. Most probably produced in an urban centre in Pannonia, the bronze jug is not, however, the only element liable to grant supra-regional relevance to the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.

THE ALMGREN 157 FIBULA

The Mălăieștii de Jos fibula consists of three separately fashioned elements (Pl. VI/no. 76): (a) the pin and the spring made of silver wire; (b) the bow with an octagonal cross section and a flattened foot made of silver; and (c) the iron axis of the spring which has got lost. Traces of iron oxides are still visible inside the spring. In its initial state, the spring chord was placed underneath the bow. The foot consists of a slender isosceles trapezoid-shaped plate with lateral faceting sides. In its upper part, the foot is decorated with two small lateral concavities and two horizontal incisions. The extremity of the foot is twisted around the bow in five turns. The form of the foot and the way the chord goes under the bow correspond to the Almgren 157 type fibulae⁴¹. The uninterrupted transition from the bow to the foot, together with the way the spring axis is fixed to the bow through a bent band are characteristics of the “Sarmatic” type of tendril fibulae (Germ.: *Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuss*), as presented in G. Diaconu’s classification⁴².

³³ Nenova-Merdanova 1998, p. 71-72 rejects the hypothesis advanced by Radnóti 1957, p. 205 which granted Balkan origins to the jugs from Moesia and Thracia; the jugs found here might come either from Pannonia or from some Oriental region.

³⁴ Nenova-Merdanova 1998, p. 70.

³⁵ Getov, Popov 1972, p. 47, fig. 10; Jobst 1975, p. 66-67 date such fibulae to the 2nd century AD; the latest variants were also used at the beginning of the 3rd century; cf. Isac, Cociş 1995, p. 119-120, nos. 4-5; Cociş 2004, p. 88-105 (type 19).

³⁶ Jobst 1975, p. 28.

³⁷ Sanie 1981, p. 179; Ungureanu 2001, p. 10-19.

³⁸ Radnóti 1938, p. 167; Tassinari 1973, p. 137-139; Szabó 1981, p. 59; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91.

³⁹ Barkóczy 1968, p. 90-91, 94, pl. X/1-2 (grave 10/1959).

⁴⁰ Cf. Stadler 2006, especially Bernhardt, Petrovszky 2006.

⁴¹ Almgren 1923, pl. VII/157 (group VI).

⁴² Diaconu 1971, p. 249-251; cf. Ambroz 1966, type 9/20; Bichir 1973, p. 104: *variant 12a*.

Most authors accept the general dating of the Almgren 157 fibulae found in Lower Danube contexts to phase C2 (260/275 – 310/320)⁴³. This dating is also confirmed by the most recent coins (253-260) of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard. While the dating of the Almgren 157 fibulae from the Lower Danube is thus safely established, their cultural attribution is a more delicate issue.

For the time being, in provincial Dacia⁴⁴, or in the graves of the Poienești-Vârtișcoiu group⁴⁵, there have been found no analogies of this particular variant of fibulae with the foot turned underneath; some such items have been found, however, in the extra-Carpathian area, being attributed either to the Chilia-Militari group⁴⁶, or the Sarmatic Lower Danube group⁴⁷, or, again, to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture⁴⁸. There are further finds connected to contexts whose attribution to these cultural groups is problematic⁴⁹. Unfortunately, we do not have a relative chronological diagram presenting, with sufficiently firm arguments, the cultural transformations in the 3rd and 4th centuries in Romania⁵⁰. For advancing a judicious cultural attribution of the variant illustrated by the Mălăieștii de Jos fibula, the 147 grave from Târgșoru Vechi and the 1163 dwelling found on the “Măgura” hill at Poienești impose themselves in particular to our attention.

Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147. Though it was made of bronze, the fibula from grave 147, Târgșoru Vechi (Fig. 4/1)⁵¹ has some common features with the one in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard: the spring axis fixed to the bow by a bent band, the sinuous transition between the bow and the foot, the slender trapezoid-shaped foot plate. The same cremation grave contained a coin minted by Septimius Severus (193-211), some weaponry items, and vessels, among which a ceramic replica of a glass cup with oval facets (Eggers 216)⁵². Similar associations, from the Przeworsk culture, specifically indicate an interval ranging from the end of phase C1b to the beginning of phase C3⁵³.

Among the archaeological discoveries from Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147 has a particular cultural significance. The body in the grave 147 was cremated, which is not the custom in the “Sarmatian” burials from Târgșoru Vechi and elsewhere. Meanwhile, the depositions of weapons in the same grave (actually just two elements of a shield)⁵⁴ contrasts with the typical Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov rituals (characterized by the absence of weapons). However, its Przeworsk analogies allow us to perceive the grave 147 as one of the earliest “Germanic” cultural intrusions in the Roman period Wallachia. In other words, without being a typical

⁴³ Rosetti 1934, p. 207, fig. 1/2ab (in association with a Decius coin at București “Tei”); Ioniță 1992, p. 77 and 82 (presupposing the dating back to phases C2 and C3a); Niculescu 1993, p. 204, n. 20 (restricts the dating to phase C2); Simonenko 2008, p. 29 (dates back the fibulae found at Novosel'skoe to the second half of the 3rd century).

⁴⁴ Cf. Cociș 2004, p. 142-145 (type 37a), 382-396, pl. 128-142.

⁴⁵ The hypothesis that the fibulae found in the layers at Poienești (Vulpe 1953, p. 461-462, figs. 362/3 and 364/1, 3) came from dilapidated graves (Bichir 1973, p. 104) has not been confirmed by subsequent research.

⁴⁶ For the fibula found in grave 28 at Chilia (Morintz 1961, p. 445, fig. 5/2), Niculescu 2003, p. 186, note 36, proposes dating it back to a period following the desertion of the transalutan *limes*, which was placed by Bogdan Cătăniciu 1997, p. 108-111 later than the mid 3rd century.

⁴⁷ Simonenko 2008, p. 84-85, cat. nos. 156 and 158, pls. 157/11 and 161/2. The fibula found in the “late” Sarmatic grave 411 at Târgșoru Vechi, which was only mentioned by Niculescu 2003, p. 186, has not been technically described and illustrated.

⁴⁸ Ioniță 1992, p. 87, fig. 5/9; cf. Diaconu 1965, p. 35.

⁴⁹ The fibulae found at Mătăsaru (Bichir 1980, figs. 4/4, 6, 8, 10) belong to a level (“III2”) whose chronological and cultural attributions have not been satisfactorily researched; most likely, this late phase of the settlement could be integrated to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture. It is possible to formulate similar hypotheses for the fibulae in the dwelling contexts of București “Militari”/“Câmpu Boja” (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, p. 57, fig. 7/1; Zgîbea 1963, p. 373-376, nos. 1-8, pl. I/1-8; Negru 2000, p. 123-127), București “Străulești” (*IDaci*, p. 98, 148, no. 409), București “Tei” (Rosetti 1934, p. 207, fig. 1/2ab), Mândrișca (Bichir 1973, p. 104, pl. 169/7) or Poienești (Vulpe 1953, p. 461-462).

⁵⁰ Cf. Harhoiu 2014, p. 167, n. 141.

⁵¹ Diaconu 1965, p. 34, 170, pl. XX/4, 312, pl. CLXIII/1.

⁵² Diaconu 1965, p. 32, 170, pl. XX/4. The same association of an Almgren 157 fibula with a ceramic replica of Eggers 216 cups appears at București “Militari”, dwelling 7 (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, p. 52, 57-59, figs. 7/1-2, 9/9).

⁵³ Godłowski 1970, p. 23-24; Godłowski 1992, p. 74; cf. Diaconu 1965, p. 31, note 69, 37; Niculescu 1993, p. 204, note 20.

⁵⁴ Diaconu 1965, p. 32, pl. XXI/1-2.

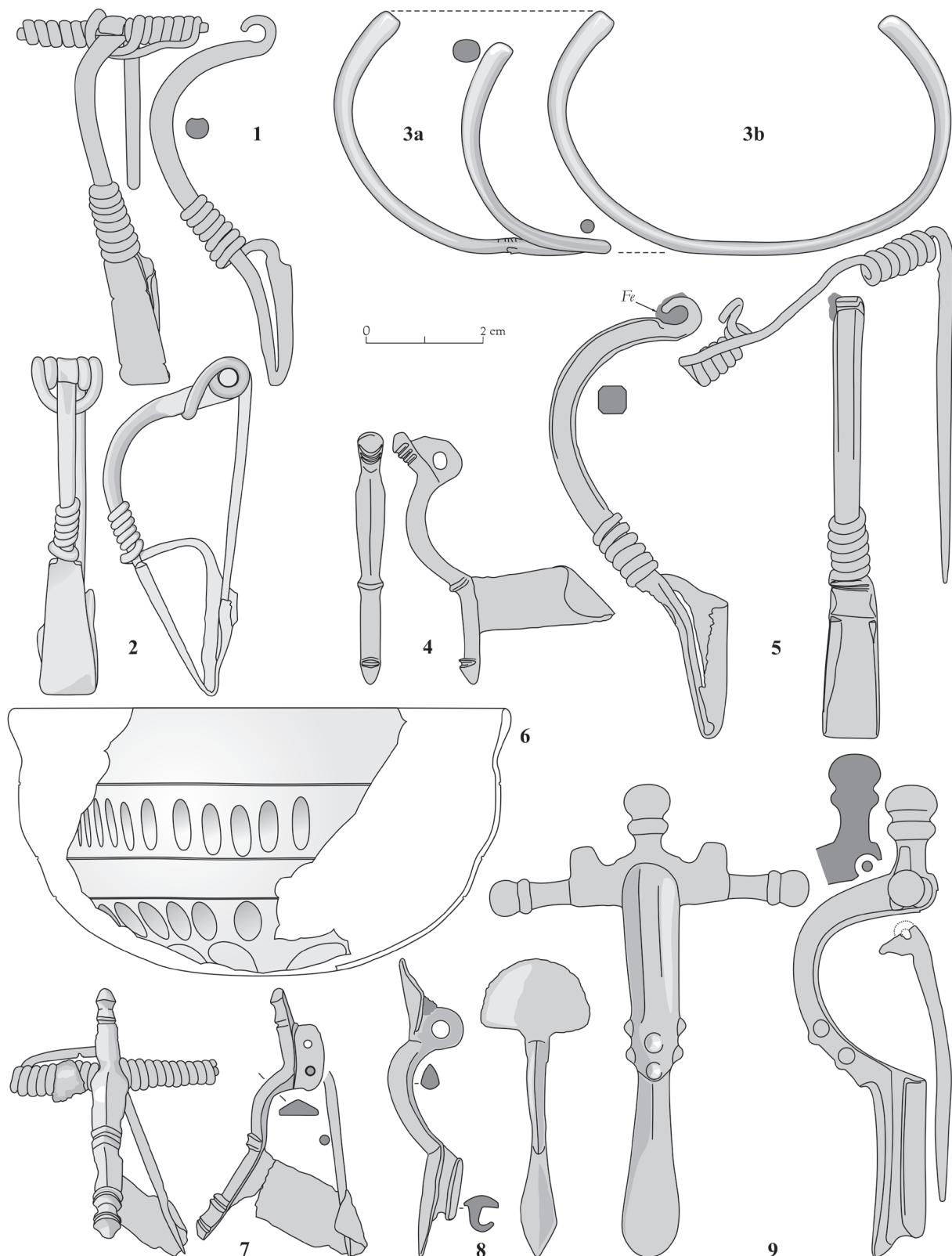


Fig. 4. Fibulae, bracelets and glass items mentioned in the text: 1: Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147 (bronze); 2: București "Militari", feature no. 7 (dwelling) (silver); 3-5: Poienești, feature no. 1163 (dwelling) (3: silver; 4-5: bronze); 6: Poienești, feature 1234 (dwelling) (glass); 7: Poienești, feature 1319 (pit); 8: Poienești, settlement level (bronze); 9: Poienești, feature 1827 (bronze). 1: after Diaconu 1965, p. 170, pl. XX/4; 2: after Zirra, Cazimir 1963, fig. 7/1; 3-9: after original. (D.S.)

Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov burial, grave 147 announce the beginning of those cultural phenomena which lead to the crystallisation of Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov culture in the Lower Danube region.

The fibula of grave 147 and the glass cups of the Eggers 216 and Werbkowice-Kotorow types found in graves 67 and 298 prompted G. A. Niculescu to ascribe the earliest Târgşoru Vechi cremation burials to phase C2⁵⁵. Niculescu's specifications have considerable value: the most representative monument of the Wallachian Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture⁵⁶ was already known in the last third of the 3rd century and in phase C2 of the imperial epoch (260/275 – 300/310), respectively⁵⁷. Through its most recent coin and the analogy indicated by the Almgren 157 fibula, the Mălăieştii de Jos hoard can be synchronized with the beginnings of the Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov necropolis from Târgşoru Vechi. At the same time, the small hoard found only about 30 km from Târgşoru Vechi, can be integrated to the new culturally expressive milieu reflected by the great necropolis of the Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov type.

Poienesti – dwelling 1163. One bronze fibula with a fully similar morphology and decoration to the one from Mălăieştii de Jos was included in the inventory of dwelling 1163 unearthed on the “Măgura” hill at Poienesti (Co. Vaslui)⁵⁸ (Fig. 4/5). The bow's cross section is octagonal, the plate of the foot has the contour of a slender trapezoid with lateral finishing and lateral concavities on top. The same dwelling yielded, among others, a fibula with large catch plate (Fig. 4/4), the remains of a glass cup (whose form cannot be retraced), and a silver bracelet with thickened ends (Fig. 4/3a-b), highly resembling bracelets Nos. 79 and 80 from Mălăieştii de Jos. The relative synchronism of the dwelling and the hoard is, consequently, as plausible as can be. The presence, in dwelling 1163, of a fibula with large catch plate is significant since this type, specific of phases C1 and C2, has not survived beyond the beginning of the 4th century⁵⁹. In fact, one variant of the fibulae with large catch plate (the so-called “monstrous” fibulae) has been connected only to “the first manifestations of an established Sântana de Mureş (- Černjachov) culture”⁶⁰.

Dwelling 1163, grave 1234 with an Eggers 216 glass (Fig. 4/6), dwelling 356 with a coin minted by Gordianus III (238-244)⁶¹, graves 1319 and 669 with fibulae with large catch plate (Fig. 4/7), together with some other contexts represent a first dwelling phase on the “Măgura” hill at Poienesti and are responsible for overlying, and partially disturbing, some Poienesti-Vârtişcoiu burials⁶². Over the vestiges of this dwelling phase has been unearthed a settlement with materials specific to the 4th century, including a fibula with a semidisoidal head-plate, a fibula with onion-shaped knobs⁶³ (Fig. 4/8-9), coins minted by Constantius⁶⁴, etc. According to M. Babeş, contexts such as 356, 1163 and 1234, and others beside them, constitute a “Carpic” settlement, ulterior to the “Carpic” necropolis, but distinct from, and anterior to, the Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov settlement⁶⁵. This ethno-cultural determination has been argued by invoking the “Carpic” character of an as yet unclassified kind of pottery⁶⁶. The erection of dwellings over an earlier funerary zone illustrates, however, a discontinuity in the tradition and a hiatus in the local collective memory. Such discontinuity could appear precisely in the context of the cultural transformations of the mid 3rd century, which preceded the

⁵⁵ Niculescu 1993, p. 220.

⁵⁶ The big number of graves, over 480, found at Târgşoru Vechi (half of which have been published: Diaconu 1965; subsequently mentioned by Niculescu 1993 and 2003) configure the greatest Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov necropolis in South Romania.

⁵⁷ Niculescu 1993, p. 220; cf. Bóna 1990, p. 64-65; Bierbrauer 1994, p. 123. It is necessary to discard the former opinions, put forward by Mitrea, Preda 1966, p. 148; Diaconu 1983, p. 242; Bichir 1984, p. 94 and others, about a later extension of the Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov culture in South Romania.

⁵⁸ Unpublished research by M. Babeş (1990); the materials are being turned to account at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest. For research on the Poienesti site: Vulpe 1953 and Babeş 2000.

⁵⁹ Teegen 1999, p. 139 and 158-160.

⁶⁰ Ioniţă 1982, p. 93; for the type see Werner 1988, p. 247-256; recent finds: Palade 2004, p. 58-59, 318-319, fig. 32.

⁶¹ Niculescu 1993, p. 207; Babeş *et alii* 1980, p. 39.

⁶² Babeş 2000, p. 340. For the necropolis: Spânu 2012a, p. 176-180.

⁶³ For dating the two types: Horedt 1982, p. 127-129 and 131-132; Harhoiu 1998, p. 97 and 105.

⁶⁴ Vulpe 1953, p. 505.

⁶⁵ Babeş 2000, p. 340; for the 4th century settlement: Petrescu 2002, p. 213, no. 668.a.

⁶⁶ Babeş *et alii* 1980, p. 39; Babeş 2000, p. 340; cf. Vulpe 1953, p. 497-498, 502-504. Other authors (e.g. Bóna 1990, p. 65) emphasize the affinities of “Carpic” pottery with the Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov one.

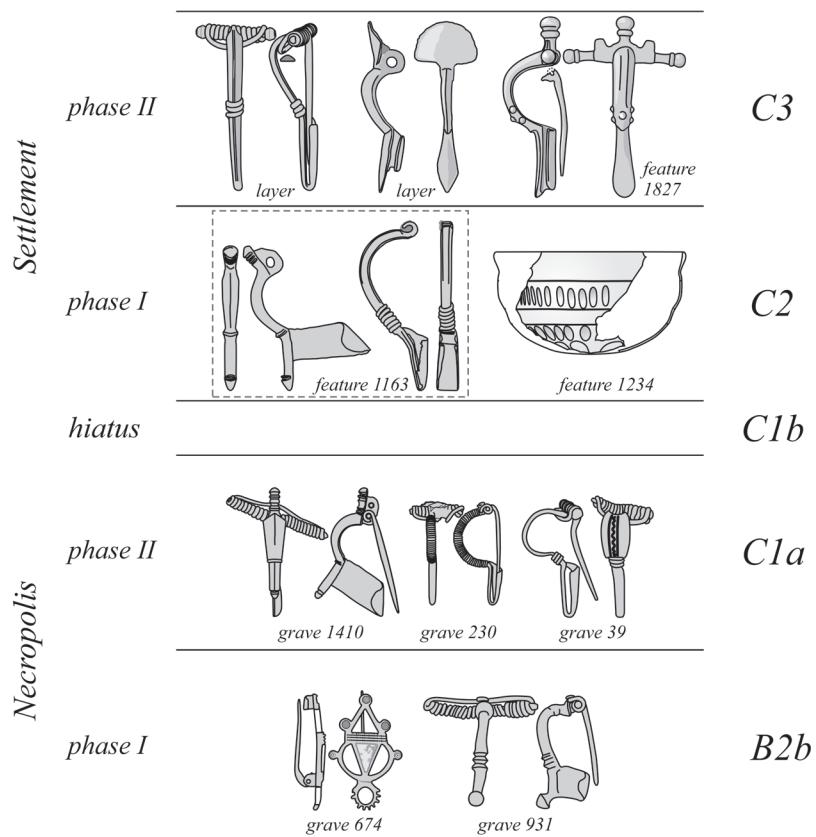


Fig. 5. Poienești (Vaslui county), “Măgură” site: stratigraphic scheme and chronological Roman period indicators (different scales). (D.S.)

crystallization of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture⁶⁷. In other words, the earliest contexts of the “Măgura” settlement could plausibly be synchronized with the beginnings of this culture.

In respect to the relative Central Europe chronology, the succession of the imperial monuments at Poienești could be rendered synthetically as follows (Fig. 5): the Poienești-Vârtișcoiu necropolis (phases B2b and C1a)⁶⁸ was followed by a hiatus corresponding to phase C1b (220/230 – 260/275), when the funerary tradition of this location may well have been forgotten. On its abandoned site there started a settlement whose early phase (“Carpic” or not) can be synchronized to phase C2 of the imperial epoch (260/275 – 300/310). The subsequent dwelling formation contains dating elements specific to the 4th century and to phase C3, respectively. Most probably, the rather scarce graves of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov type unearthed at Poienești “Dealul Teilor” correspond to the settlement on the “Măgura” of this late period⁶⁹.

The relative chronology sketched here is relevant for bringing to the fore the special importance of the Poienești site for understanding the transition from the Poienești-Vârtișcoiu culture to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov one. In the light of this relative chronology, and taking into account the chronology of the Târgșoru Vechi necropolis, the Almgren 157 fibulae found in the extra-Carpathian area could be perceived as indicators of that particular phase in the crystallization of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture, when the new features co-exist with elements of preceding cultural traditions⁷⁰. The plausibility of correlating the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard with the beginnings of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture in the extra-Carpathian regions is also supported by the analogies of the bracelets and pendant.

⁶⁷ Bierbrauer 1992, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Spânu 2012a, p. 176-178.

⁶⁹ Mirițoiu, Popa 2015, p. 124-127.

⁷⁰ Bierbrauer 1999, p. 231; Niculescu 2003, p. 198; Harhoiu 2014, p. 166.

THE MASSIVE BRACELETS WITH TRUMPET-SHAPED ENDS – ONE OF THE SUPRA-REGIONAL RANK INSIGNIA

The five bracelets have all widening loose ends. They are similar, but not identical. The finishing of the surfaces differs from one item to the next, namely in respect to the form, circular or octagonal, the bar thickness, and the weight.

Bracelets of this kind, made of precious metals and having trumpet-shaped widening ends, were produced in various cultural contexts⁷¹, but they are missing from the pre-Roman or provincial “Balkan and Danubian” repertoires of precious metal adornments⁷². Gold bracelets, plain, or with special finishing, have been recorded, however, in Sarmatian ceremonial funerary inventories of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD found at Cvetna and Porogi kurgan 1⁷³. It is, however, barely arguable that there existed an uninterrupted tradition of craftsmanship and symbolic significance up to the beginning of the migrations age⁷⁴. But, in the 3rd century, there appear bracelets with (trumpet-shaped) thickened ends in masculine ceremonial funerary contexts from Central Europe (Sackrau III, Ostrovany II, Cejkov/Czéke), or in hoards found in the Baltic or Scandinavian areas⁷⁵. The small hoard of Černivci/Cernăuți from the second half of the 3rd century⁷⁶ might well represent a link between the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov cultural milieu and the ceremonial finds of Central Europe. A possible contact with the Mid-Danubian region is also suggested, however, by the nearest analogies to the Mălăieștii de Jos jug (*cf. supra*). And it is quite plausible, in the tumultuous context of the 3rd century, for certain symbols that had become entrenched in *Germania Libera* to have been assimilated in the Lower Danube region, too.

The Romans’ growing interest in *Barbaricum* power insignia is illustrated more than convincingly by the gold bracelet with trumpet-shaped endings found at Vatin (Serbia); it was stamped with the imperial designation “D(ominus) N(oster) Constanti(us/nus?)”, while at the same time being inscribed with the bored name of a barbarian sovereign⁷⁷. The massive gold bracelets with trumpet-shaped endings found in the hoards of Lengrich (Ostfriesland) or Măcin/“Suluc” (Tulcea county) are also dated back to the 4th century⁷⁸, the latter being found on the territory of the Empire. This form was to acquire special importance in the precious metal decorations found in ceremonial graves of the 5th century (at Apahida I, Blucina, Tournai, etc.) and it stood out as one of the major symbols of political and military power adopted by the Germanic leaders (*principes, reges*)⁷⁹.

The five bracelets from Mălăieștii de Jos might represent the silver variant of a high rank indicative type, otherwise predominantly rendered by gold in 3rd century Central Europe. It is most likely that the craftsman and his partner were familiar with the symbolic repertoire specific to the Sackrau III – Ostrovany II group. In this interpretation, the Mălăieștii de Jos bracelets might well illustrate the earliest rank insignia of the migration age found as yet in the Lower Danube basin.

The particular significance of the Mălăieștii de Jos bracelets would not be satisfactorily clarified, however, if the traces of these old items’ battering were overlooked. The five ornamental items have not been fragmented, they bear no traces of impingement, yet all of them were unbent (to increase their span). The ancient straining produced deep cracks in items cat. nos. 80 and 83. As for the bracelet cat. nos. 80, its functionality has been irretrievably impaired: any attempt to bring the bracelet to its initial shape would cause its fragmentation. It is, consequently, worth asking if the bracelets were strained *only* for being introduced through the neck of the bronze jug. The five jewellery items might have been destined for

⁷¹ E.g. Maran 2000, p. 187, 193, fig. 1/7-10 (the Eneolithic hoard found at Alepotrypa); Hill *et alii* 2004 (the pre-Roman hoard found at Winchester, Hampshire, UK) and others.

⁷² Spânu 2012b, p. 57-60; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, p. 57-69, 96-98; Popović 1996a, p. 146-148; Popović 1996b; Popilian 1998; Popović 2010a; Popović 2010b; Spânu 2016.

⁷³ Simonenko 2008, p. 14-15 and 31-32 (for the dating), p. 69, cat. no. 87, pl. 81/1; p. 79, cat. no. 118, pl. 132/14.

⁷⁴ Lund-Hansen 1998, p. 348-349; Prohászka 2006, p. 68.

⁷⁵ Werner 1980, p. 4-22, fig. 2; Prohászka 2006, p. 69, fig. 60; Quast 2013, p. 175-176, fig. 5.

⁷⁶ Quast 2013, p. 171-173, fig. 2.

⁷⁷ Quast 2013, p. 182-182, fig. 10.

⁷⁸ Hachmann 1978, p. 72, fig. 64; Oanță Marghitu 2013, p. 444-446, no. 104.4.

⁷⁹ Harhoiu 1998, p. 84-85; Schmauder 2002, p. 89-100; Prohászka 2006, p. 68-69.

recycling (indicated by the German term *Hacksilber*)⁸⁰, and it is not at all an ungrounded hypothesis that they were handled by a silver craftsman.

THE PERFORATED DENARII PENDANT

In the current state of research, the riveting of three coins to form a single pendant is something unique. The mere perforation of coins appears relatively seldom in pre-Roman or provincial finds. It may be conjectured, however, that the examples of this kind (the case of the Vârtop find, for instance)⁸¹, restricted in number, were perforated after they were found. The perforation of Roman coins followed by their riveting to a tin-sheet link or loop to fashion medallions is frequent, however, in Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture finds, for example in the medallion from grave 125 at Bogdăneşti-Fălcu, consisting of a *siliqua* coin minted by Constantius II (or being perhaps a barbarian replica?); another case is the denarius attached to a bronze loop found in grave 177 at Dăniceni⁸². The climax of the medallions with Roman emperors' effigies occurred later in richly ceremonial inventories corresponding to the early migrations age, for example the medallions found at Șimleul Silvaniei⁸³. The Mălăieștii de Jos pendant most likely represents one of the earliest manifestations of this preference, manifested in the *Barbaricum* zone, for integrating effigies of Roman emperors in official attire.

The joining of three coins into a single pendant might well illustrate one of the variants that predated the entrenched use of medallions with a *single* imperial effigy as ornaments. At the same time, the absence of interest in the imperial image is made palpable by the fact that Antoninus Pius's face is covered with the tablet riveted on the cat. no. 47 denarius. The poor skills of the craftsman are also indicated by the supplementary performance of the cat. no. 48 denarius – a possible error, technically unjustified. These details might also be indicative of rather ineffective communication between the silent partner and the silver craftsman.

THE INGOTS

By contrast to the Roman silver ingots⁸⁴, the two bars included in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard bear no traces of stamped or punched inscriptions. For this reason, the production of the two bars in any official Roman workshop should be dismissed. Recorded as extremely rare items outside the Roman space, silver bars do appear in *Germania Libera* in the 3rd century AD, but they have not been attested so far in south-east European regions⁸⁵.

It is fair to presuppose the connection of the two bars to Roman weight and size standards. The weight of the cat. no. 77 bar (52 g) is close to that of a silver bar from the lot found at Xanten (54.67 g) and dated back to the 1st century AD⁸⁶, but it differs from the weight of an ingot-bar, also made of silver (39.1 g – ca. 1/8 of a Roman pound) dated back to the 2nd century and preserved in the regional museum of Hanover. What is striking, nevertheless, is the similar length of the Hanoverian bars and of the cat. no. 77 from Mălăieștii de Jos (8.8 cm as against 8.9 cm); these sizes approximately correspond to the 4 ¾ *digiti* value⁸⁷. The weight of the cat. no. 78 (74.66 g) bar is pretty close to that of the “London” and “Degussa” ingots (72.2 g, and 71.2 g, respectively) – which have been actually suspected of being fake modern copies⁸⁸.

⁸⁰ Munksgaard 1955; Stupperich 2006, p. 210-212.

⁸¹ Dumitrescu, Rădulescu 2013, p. 476, no. 113.57 and p. 478, no. 113.69.

⁸² Ioniță, Mămălăucă, Vornic 2009, p. 145, no. 218; Mămălăucă, Popușoi 2013, p. 566, no. 152; Ioniță, Mamalaucă, Vornic 2009, p. 11, no. 35; cf. Dima 2015, p. 41.

⁸³ Harhoiu 1993; Harhoiu 1998, p. 73-81.

⁸⁴ Baratte 1978; Curta 1990; Wiegels 2003; Wiegels 2015.

⁸⁵ Drescher 1976, p. 61.

⁸⁶ Zedelius 1989 lipseste de la bibliografie, p. 3-5.

⁸⁷ Cosack 1971, p. 124, pl. 1; Drescher 1976, p. 61.

⁸⁸ Wiegels 2015, p. 44.

The trapezoid cross-section of the Mălăieștii de Jos bars is due to casting each precious metal batch into open single valve matrices (ingot-moulds). The walls of these moulds were oblique to facilitate the ingot's extraction after the metal cooled down. By comparison to the "Hanoverian" bar or to the bars found at Snettisham⁸⁹, which were hammered into their square cross-section shape, the ones at Mălăieștii de Jos were processed no further after being cast. These two bars may be considered only half way silverwork products. The excess of zinc in the bars' material resembles the one determined for the fibula, but it is absent from the coins' alloy⁹⁰. It is, consequently, worth taking into account the hypothesis that the fibula and the two bars were produced from a common alloy produced by recycling some coins and adding zinc. The Mălăieștii de Jos ingots might illustrate the first stage in transforming the raw material into ornaments.

REMARKS ON THE WEIGHTS OF THE SILVER ITEMS

The jewellery artefacts in the hoard do not have comparable weights: their weight measurements have values differing significantly, in a constant manner (Fig. 6). The lightest item in the hoard is the fibula: 8.93 g. One question to ask is whether or not the two bars were destined for making massive bracelets. It may not be a matter of chance that the weights of the three bracelets are very close: they differ by less than 1 g (!) from the multiples of the fibula weight: $2 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 17.86 \text{ g}$ (only 0.06 g more than cat. no. 80's weight: 17.80 g); $3 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 26.79 \text{ g}$ (0.56 g less than cat. no. 82's weight: 27.35 g); $4 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 35.72 \text{ g}$ (only 0.01 g more than cat. no. 81's weight: 35.71 g). Judging by the relative precision of weight assessments in Antiquity, all these differences are insignificant.

The values of the bracelet weights offer further coincidences: the weight of the bracelet with the cat. no. 79 (22.75 g) is very close to the average weights of the bracelets with the cat. nos. 80 and 82 ($45.15/2 = 22.57 \text{ g}$), and the weight of the most massive bracelet (the one with the cat. no. 83: 67.59 g) is very close to the sum of the "lightest" bracelets' weights (the ones with the Inv. Nos. 79, 80 and 82: 67.90 g). It is, consequently, possible to note a particular relationship in the weights of all the bracelets in the hoard, regardless of their coinciding, or failing to coincide, with the multiples of the fibula weight. The weights of the jewellery artefacts in the hoard appeared, therefore, as being related to each other, and the silver craftsman seems to have resorted to particular rules for measuring the raw material content. Either the weight of the fibula represented a reference module for the bracelets' weights, or the fibula itself represented the multiple of a weight standard used for reference when crafting all the other items. A question worth asking is whether this crafting rule was referred to the Roman weight system. Randomly or not, the bracelet with the cat. no. 82 weighs approximately as much as one Roman ounce (27-27.5 g), and the ingot with the cat. no. 77 weighs a little less than twice as much as one ounce, namely one *sextans*.

The band which used to fix the three coins of the pendant has not been preserved unimpaired. There are very tiny bits broken off the margins; some of them have stuck to the rivets in the denarius, others have got lost. Most probably, the initial weight of the band (its current weight being 2.56 g) ranged between the limits of the variation in weight of the intact denarii in the hoard (minimum: 2.06 g – cat. no. 40 and maximum: 3.59 g – cat. no. 60). Consequently, the initial weight of the pendant (12.06 g at present) might have been the equivalent of four denarii. The pendant, nevertheless, indicates the explicit intentionality of converting the coins into jewellery artefacts – and, implicitly, points to the possible link of the weights reported for the two categories of objects. It is not impossible for the imperial denarius to have served as the weight standard for the items in the hoard. Similarly, it may well not be something accidental that the weight of the fibula (8.93 g) is close to three times the average of all the coins preserved in their entirety: $2.87 \text{ g} \times 3 = 8.61 \text{ g}$ (a 0.32 g difference). At the same time, the heavier items in the hoard (*i.e.* the ingots and bracelet with the cat. no. 83) have weights comparable to the multiples and the proper fractions with the denominator 3 of the fibula weight (Fig. 6).

⁸⁹ Cosack 1971, p. 124; Potter 1986, p. 137-138; Johns 1997.

⁹⁰ See fig. 2 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

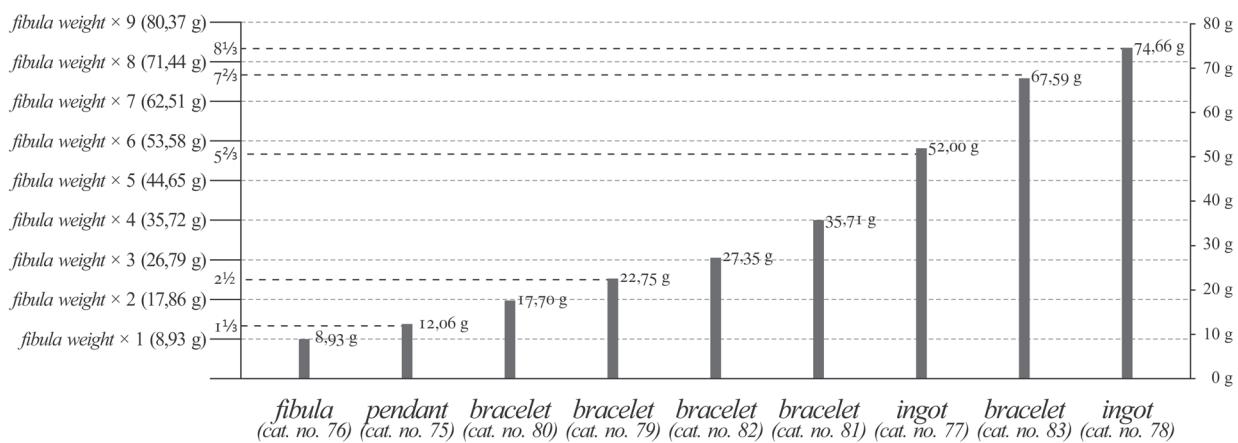


Fig. 6. Correspondence between multiples of weight of the fibula and the weights of other silver jewels form the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard. (D.S.)

The relations encountered among the weight values of the objects in the archaeological finds at Mălăieștii de Jos constitute solid arguments in favour of identifying them as a hoard deposited by a silver craftsman. Concomitantly, the possible use of the denarius as the weight module supports the hypothesis that the jewellery artefacts and ingots were crafted by recycling Roman coins. As was to be expected, the XRF tests did not provide sufficient proof in support of this hypothesis. Yet neither did they disprove it, on the other hand. The technological difficulties in processing argentiferous ore⁹¹, however, and the absence of such seams in the extra-Carpathian regions make the recycling of Roman coins the main method for acquiring the raw material needed in crafting *Barbaricum* jewellery artefacts⁹².

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HOARD STRUCTURE

The Mălăieștii de Jos stands out through its singularity. The structure of its coin lot (an association of 69 denarii and only 5 antoniniani) is outstanding for Wallachia in the second half of the 3rd century. This find adds up to the restricted number of hoards with jewellery artefacts unearthed in the area of the Sântana de Mureş - Černeachov culture, being the only one, so far, to contain silver ingots, too.

The hoard is indicative of a cultural context characterised by relatively standardized funerary rites, but also by precarious votive manifestations⁹³. The hoards found at Borsec, Valea Strâmbă and the vicinity of Sibiu belong to the second half of the 4th century⁹⁴. The only find which is relatively synchronous with the one at Mălăieștii de Jos is the Černivci (Cernăuți) hoard⁹⁵. All these hoards contain, either partially or exclusively, gold objects and they differ, therefore, fundamentally from the inventory found at Mălăieștii de Jos, which consists of silver pieces only.

The hoards mentioned are part of a cultural context with no majestic princely tombs, since, by comparison to the rest of the community, it had not yet singled out the leaders for being honoured by receiving a special funerary treatment. Under the circumstances, the recourse, albeit only in isolated cases, to votive depositions of power insignia may become perfectly justified⁹⁶. Even though such an interpretation would be plausible enough for the Černivci (Cernăuți) hoard, the structure of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard brings to light a different expressive content.

⁹¹ Tylecote 1962, p. 82; Forbes 1971, p. 180-181, 239; Pernicka 1987, p. 640-642.

⁹² Werner 1961, p. 314; Bradley 1988; Hedeager 1992, p. 51; Blackburn 2007, p. 67.

⁹³ Petrescu 2002, p. 23.

⁹⁴ Horedt 1982, p. 160-162.

⁹⁵ Quast 2013, p. 173, fig. 2.

⁹⁶ Quast 2013, p. 175.

Apparently, the association of adornments might indicate a set of clothing accessories. What pleads against this semblance is the high number of bracelets, their different weights, and the presence of ingots. Judging by their weights, the bracelets in the hoard do not form pairs. Consequently, the Mălăieștii de Jos inventory does not reflect an association of individual power insignia, but a collection of objects not yet distributed to potential partners. Yet another thing worth noting is the relatively balanced quantitative relationship of the ornaments (192.19 g) and the coins (202.77 g). Since it consists exclusively of silver items, the hoard inventory does not, however, constitute a *mixtum compositum*, its interpretation as a prey or a random accumulation of precious objects being rejectable as erroneous. The structure of the inventory resembles the one of hoards with coins, finite and semi-finite silverwork items which have been interpreted and termed in the literature as silver craftsmans' hoards⁹⁷.

The items in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard illustrate distinct technical modalities of converting coins into jewellery artefacts. The setting aside and selection of coins so as to take into consideration the silver quality are reflected through the uneven distribution of the numerous denarii with a high silver content, which date back to the period preceding the reign of Caracalla, and the small number of antoniniani made of debased silver, which belong to the period of the Empire's crisis⁹⁸. In its turn, the battering of the bracelets may be interpreted as one stage preceding their recycling. One other crafting option was to convert coins mechanically into a pendant by perforation and riveting. The melting of the raw material is indicated by the specific morphology of the ingots. Lastly, the fibula represents a finite item crafted, however, from an alloy similar to the one of the bars, the fibula and the bracelet cat. no. 82⁹⁹. All the silver crafting modalities and stages illustrated by the inventory from Mălăieștii de Jos could have been in the power of an itinerant silver craftsman.

The structure of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard reflects two distinct stages in its formation. The core of the batch of coins in the hoard was constituted in a Roman world that predated Septimius Severus's reforms at the end of the 2nd century¹⁰⁰. It was most probably to this first stage that the addition of the jug to the monetary lot should be attributed. There can be noted a relative synchronization of the jug's analogies and the primary core of the coin lot (Fig. 2). Most of the Mălăieștii de Jos denarii and most of the jugs with human foot decorations are dated back to the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 3rd century. This means that, practically, the majority of the denarii and the cup represent early hoard deposits. The first stage in constituting the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard corresponds to the period of stability of the Roman rule north of the Danube; at the time, acculturation groups, for example the Poienești-Vârtișcoiu, Chilia-Militari¹⁰¹ were constituted in the vicinity of the Dacian province to emulate the values of Roman provincial culture. The antoniniani and jewellery artefacts form the later elements of the inventory. The end of the coin hoarding process and of the period when the adornments were created belong to a time when, in the extra-Carpathian regions and on the ruins of the former Dacian province, the dawn of the Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov culture became manifest.

Two hypotheses can be advanced regarding the way the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard was constituted.

(1) The initial core of the hoard might have imported in the *Barbaricum* zone at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century, and the antoniniani and adornments were added at a later date. The implication of this hypothesis is, however, that it was possible to hand down the initial coin lot not only from one generation to the next, but also from one cultural context to the other. The initial coin lot could have represented a stipend to the local elites of Wallachia at the end of the 2nd/the beginning of the 3rd centuries and it was not buried during the profound transformations of the extra-Carpathian cultural mosaic inherent in the withdrawal from Roman Dacia. Most probably, the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard could, consequently, illustrate the contact between the descendants of the elites who received the stipend and the first Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov communities of Wallachia¹⁰².

⁹⁷ Cosack 1971; Potter 1986; Johns 1997.

⁹⁸ See fig. 1 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

⁹⁹ See fig. 2 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

¹⁰⁰ Bursche 1996, p. 123-125; Dima 2015, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ Spânu 2012a, p. 163, fig. 1.

¹⁰² Cf. Dima 2015, p. 41.

(2) In its entirety, the coin lot could have been formed in the Empire and it could penetrate in the *Barbaricum* zone in the second half of the 3rd century¹⁰³. The uniqueness of the hoard pleads, however, in favour of the incidental penetration of the coin lot in the *Barbaricum* zone. In this respect, we can invoke the exceptional presence in areas outside the Roman Empire of the bronze jugs with human foot decorated handle.

Irrespective of the mechanisms responsible for constituting the hoard, the coins were, eventually, at the disposal of the ornaments' author. His origin and identity remain enveloped in the mystery of the past: was he a Roman silver craftsman sent out into the *Barbaricum* zone on some kind of mission? Was he a hostage brought over from the Empire¹⁰⁴? Or else, was he a barbarian artisan? We have no arguments to support the coincidence of the pannonian origin of the jug and the origin of the Mălăieștii de Jos craftsman. At any rate, the work entrusted to the anonymous silver craftsman reveals itself to us as a "barbarian" one. Testimonies to this are to be found in the morphology of the ornaments, which is uncharacteristic for the Empire, but specific to the cultural milieu north of the *limes*. Probably, the hoard was constituted by a silver craftsman in the service of a Wallachian power centre whose milieu was familiar with the power symbols in the Central European region of the 3rd century. Being composed of a bronze jug and of coins brought over from the Empire, side by side with ornaments that reflected the preferences of the *Barbaricum* elites, the hoard reveals itself to us as a significant cultural landmark for the crossroads of the Principate in its nadir phase with the earliest migrations' world taking wing in the Lower Danube region in the last decades of the 3rd century.

CATALOG

THE COINS (PL. I-IV)

Vespasian

1. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.96 g; 17.1 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72696; RIC, II, p. 16, no. 10, Rome, AD 69-71; BMC, II, p. 4, no. 26, Rome, AD 69-70.
2. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.78 g; 16.4 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72697; RIC, II, p. 16, no. 15, Rome, AD 69-71; BMC, II, p. 6, no. 35, Rome, AD 69-70.
3. Denarius; AR ↙ 3.20 g; 17 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72698; RIC, II, p. 18, no. 30, Rome, AD 70-72; BMC, II, p. 9, no. 50, Rome, AD 70-71.
4. Denarius; AR ↙ 2.94 g; 15.7 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72699; RIC, II, p. 18, no. 30, Rome, AD 70-72; BMC, II, p. 9, no. 50, Rome, AD 70-71.
5. Denarius; AR ↗ 2.43 g; 17.2 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72700; RIC, II, p. 21, no. 65, Rome, AD 73; BMC, II, p. 19, no. 98, Rome, AD 73.
6. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.83 g; 17.7 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72701; RIC, II, p. 27, no. 110, Rome, AD 77-78; BMC, II, p. 39, no. 216, Rome, AD 77-78.
7. Denarius; AR ↙ 2.82 g; 19.1 × 20.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72702; RIC, II, p. 28, no. 124a, Rome, AD 75-79; BMC, II, p. 49, no. 276, Rome, AD 75-79.

Vespasian: Domitian Caesar

8. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.78 g; 17.4 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72703; RIC, II, p. 42, no. 239, Rome, AD 77-78 (COS V) or p. 43, no. 243, Rome, AD 79 (COS VI); BMC, II, p. 47, no. 265, Rome, AD 79 (COS VI).
9. Denarius; AR ↙ 2.95 g; 16.6 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-73704; RIC, II, -; BMC, II, - . RPC, II, p. 220, no. 1468, uncertain mint of Asia Minor, AD 76.

Titus: Domitian Caesar

10. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.84 g; 17 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72705; RIC, II, p. 121, no. 42, Rome, AD 80; BMC, II, p. 237, no. 83, Rome, AD 80.

¹⁰³ Cf. Găzdac 2008, p. 269.

¹⁰⁴ The second half of the 3rd century hostages included the Bithynian parents of Wulfila, who was to become later the Arian bishop and translator of the Bible into Gothic (Wolfram 1979, p. 53). We shall never be in a position to specify whether or not the agents who constituted the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard shared a similar destiny.

Trajan

11. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.89 g; 18 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72706; RIC, II, p. 245, no. 11, Rome, AD 98-99; BMC, III, p. 32, no. 9, Rome, AD 98-99.
12. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.04 g; 17.3 × 18.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72707; RIC, II, p. 258, no. 218, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 57, no. 179, Rome, AD 103-111.
13. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.41 g; 16.8 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72708; RIC, II, p. 252, no. 118, Rome, AD 103-111 (*cf. Addenda*, p. XIV); BMC, III, p. 71, no. 281, Rome, AD 103-111.
14. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.97 g; 17.1 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72709; RIC, II, p. 252, no. 119, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 72, no. 288, Rome, AD 103-111.
15. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.64 g; 17.9 × 19.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72710; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 127, Rome, AD 103-111, but bust of Trajan, laureate, draped, right; BMC, III, p. 75, no. 319, Rome, AD 103-111.
16. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.96 g; 17.9 × 18.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72711; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 130, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 75, no. 322, Rome, AD 103-111.
17. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.97 g; 17.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72712; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 128, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 328, Rome, AD 103-111.
18. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.72 g; 16.2 × 18.3 mm; lack fragment; MJIAP inv. 34-72713; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 128, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 328, Rome, AD 103-111.
19. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.77 g; 17.3 × 19.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72714; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 129, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 337, Rome, AD 103-111.
20. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.25 g; 16 × 19.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72715; RIC, II, p. 268, no. 347, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 110, no. 549, Rome, AD 112-117.
21. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.66 g; 17.1 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72716; RIC, II, p. 269, no. 355, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 111, no. 559, Rome, AD 112-117.
22. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.00 g; 16.9 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72717; RIC, II, p. 267, no. 318, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 113, no. 578, Rome, AD 112-117.
23. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.03 g; 17.2 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72718; RIC, II, p. 268, no. 332, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 122, no. 626, Rome, AD 112-117.

Hadrian

24. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.93 g; 18 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72719; RIC, II, p. 345, no. 47, Rome, AD 118; BMC, III, p. 250, no. 88, Rome, AD 118.
25. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.05 g; 16.7 × 17.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72720; RIC, II, p. 345, no. 39b, Rome, AD 118 (COS II) or p. 354, no. 118, AD 119-122 (COS III); BMC, III, p. 247, no. 61, Rome, AD 118 (COS II) or p. 271, no. 260, AD 119-122 (COS III).
26. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.71 g; 16.3 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72721; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 80, Rome, AD 119-122; BMC, III, p. 260, no. 152, Rome, AD 119-122.
27. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.77 g; 17.9 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72722; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 86, Rome, AD 119-122. BMC, III, p. 262, no. 170, Rome, AD 119-122.
28. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.61 g; 17.4 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72723; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 86, Rome, AD 119-122. BMC, III, p. 262, no. 170, Rome, AD 119-122.
29. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.16 g; 18.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72724; RIC, II, p. 357, no. 141, Rome, AD 119-122; BMC, III, p. 280, no. 325, Rome, AD 119-122.
30. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.42 g; 17 × 18.3 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72725; RIC, II, p. 359, no. 154, Rome, AD 125-128, rev. Minerva holding spear pointing downwards; BMC, III, p. 284, no. 344 (note), Rome, AD 125-128.
31. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.63 g; 18.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72726; RIC, II, p. 362, no. 200, Rome, AD 125-128; BMC, III, p. 296, no. 457, Rome, AD 125-128.
32. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.69 g; 17.5 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72727; RIC, II, p. 362, no. 202, Rome, AD 125-128; BMC, III, p. 296, no. 463, Rome, AD 125-128.
33. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.87 g; 17.6 × 18.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72728; RIC, II, p. 380, no. 345, Rome, undated (*cf. p. 317, AD 128-132 or posthumous issue*), obv. head of Hadrian, laureate, right; BMC, III, p. 301, no. 497, Rome, AD 128-132.
34. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.15 g; 16.7 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72729; RIC, II, p. 367, no. 230, Rome, AD 134-138; BMC, III, p. 317, no. 595, Rome, AD 134-138.
35. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.16 g; 16.7 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72730; RIC, II, p. 368, no. 241A, Rome, AD 134-138; BMC, III, p. 320, no. 629, Rome, AD 134-138.
36. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.31 g; 15.8 × 17.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72731; RIC, II, p. 372, no. 282, Rome, AD 134-138. BMC, III, p. 335, no. 762, Rome, AD 134-138.

Hadrian: Sabina

37. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.07 g; 16.2 × 17.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72732; RIC, II, p. 386, no. 395a, Rome, undated; BMC, III, p. 359, no. 940, Rome, undated.

Antoninus Pius

38. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.42 g; 16.2 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72733; RIC, III, p. 39, no. 111a, Rome, AD 143-144 (?); BMC, IV, p. 70, no. 495, Rome, AD 143-144 (?).
39. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.93 g; 16.5 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72734; RIC, III, p. 39, no. 111c, Rome, AD 143-144 (?). BMC, IV, p. 70, no. 498, Rome, AD 143-144 (?).
40. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.06 g; 17.1 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72735; RIC, III, p. 42, no. 127, Rome, AD 145-161; BMC, IV, p. 75, no. 512, Rome, AD 145-161.
41. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.89 g; 17.1 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72736; RIC, III, -; cf. p. 46, Rome, AD 147-148; BMC, IV, p. 90, note *, Rome, AD 147-148.
42. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.41 g; 17.4 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72737; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 177, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 94, no. 654, Rome, AD 148-149.
43. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.22 g; 17 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72738; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 179, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 96, no. 668, Rome, AD 148-149.
44. Denarius; AR ↗ 3.29 g; 18.3 × 18.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72739; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 181, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 96, no. 670, Rome, AD 148-149.
45. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.19 g; 17 × 17.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72740; RIC, III, p. 49, no. 188, Rome, AD 149-150; BMC, IV, p. 102, no. 712, Rome, AD 149-150.
46. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.90 g; 17.1 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72741; RIC, III, p. 52, no. 216^a (a), Rome, AD 151-152; BMC, IV, p. 108, no. 746, Rome, AD 151-152.
47. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.01 g; 16.3 × 17.8 mm; cut, fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72764; RIC, III, p. 53, no. 219, Rome, AD 152-153; BMC, IV, p. 114, no. 782, Rome, AD 152-153.
48. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.31 g; 15.8 × 17.7 mm; fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72765; RIC, III, p. 61, no. 293(a) or p. 62, no. 294^b(a), Rome, AD 158-159. BMC, IV, p. 141, no. 951 or p. 142, no. 956, Rome, AD 158-159.

Antoninus Pius: Faustina I

49. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.10 g; 16.8 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72742; RIC, III, p. 68, no. 338, Rome, AD 139-141; BMC, IV, p. 23, no. 137, Rome, AD 139-140.

Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina

50. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.85 g; 16.9 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72743; RIC, III, p. 73, no. 387, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 45, no. 305, Rome, AD 141 or immediately after.
51. Denarius; AR ↗ 2.93 g; 16.2 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72744; RIC, III, p. 69, no. 343, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 52, no. 339, Rome, after AD 141.
52. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.59 g; 17.7 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72745; RIC, III, p. 70, no. 353, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 53, no. 343, Rome, after AD 141.
53. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.15 g; 16.6 × 17.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72746; RIC, III, p. 72, no. 374, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 63, no. 452, Rome, after AD 141.

Antoninus Pius: Marcus Aurelius

54. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.10 g; 16.8 × 17.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72747; RIC, III, p. 82, no. 440(a), Rome, AD 147-148. BMC, IV, p. 93, no. 644, Rome, AD 147-148.
55. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.04 g; 15.6 × 16.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72748; RIC, III, p. 89, no. 475(a) note, Rome, AD 157-158. BMC, IV, p. 136, no. 919, Rome, AD 157-158.
56. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.82 g; 15.3 × 17 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72749; RIC, III, p. 89, no. 475(a) note, Rome, AD 157-158. BMC, IV, p. 136, no. 919, Rome, AD 157-158.

Marcus Aurelius

57. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.31 g; 16.6 × 17.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72750; RIC, III, p. 214, no. 5, Rome, AD 161, obv. head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; BMC, IV, p. 386, no. 3, Rome, AD 161, obv. bust of Marcus Aurelius, draped and cuirassed, right.
58. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.14 g; 16.9 × 17.9 mm; fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72766; RIC, III, p. 218, no. 64, Rome, AD 162-163, obv. head of Marcus Aurelius, right; BMC, IV, p. 413, no. 215, Rome, AD 162-163.

59. Denarius; AR ↗ 2.86 g; 17.2 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72751; RIC, III, p. 229, no. 211, Rome, AD 169-170; BMC, IV, p. 457, no. 509, Rome, AD 169-170.
60. Denarius; AR ↗ 3.59 g; 17.6 × 19.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72752; RIC, III, p. 237, no. 305, Rome, AD 174; BMC, IV, p. 471, no. 605, Rome, AD 173-174.

Marcus Aurelius: Faustina II

61. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.80 g; 17.5 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-34-72753; RIC, III, p. 269, no. 677, Rome, undated; BMC, IV, p. 398, no. 91, Rome, AD 161-176.

Commodus

62. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.54 g; 17.1 × 18 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72754; RIC, III, p. 367, no. 7, Rome, AD 180; BMC, IV, p. 690, no. 8, Rome, AD 180.
63. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.35 g; 16.6 × 17.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72755; RIC, III, p. 391, no. 224, Rome, AD 190-191; BMC, IV, p. 745, no. 305, Rome, AD 190-191.

Commodus: Crispina

64. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.89 g; 17.9 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72756; RIC, III, p. 399, no. 279, Rome, undated. BMC, IV, p. 693, no. 29, Rome, AD 180-183 (or later?).
65. Denarius; AR ↗ 2.19 g; 16.5 × 18.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72757; RIC, III, p. 399, no. 281, Rome, undated. BMC, IV, p. 694, no. 31, Rome, AD 180-183 (or later?).

Septimius Severus

66. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.33 g; 15.2 × 16.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72758; RIC, IV/1, p. 104, no. 112(a), Rome, AD 197-198; BMC, V, p. 60, no. 248, Rome, AD 197-198.

Septimius Severus: Caracalla

67. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.12 g; 17.1 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72759; RIC, IV/1, p. 215, no. 25(a), Rome, AD 198; BMC, V, p. 172, no. 109, Rome, AD 198.

Caracalla

68. Denarius; AR ↗ 3.06 g; 18 × 19.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72760; RIC, IV/1, p. 258, no. 302, Rome, AD 213-217; BMC, V, p. 444, no. 70, Rome, AD 213-217.

Maximinus Thrax

69. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.38 g; 19.6 × 21.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72761; RIC, IV/2, p. 141, no. 19, Rome, AD 236-238; BMC, VI, p. 234, no. 144, Rome, AD 236-237.

Philip the Arab

70. Antoninianus; AR ↓ 4.03 g; 20.6 × 22.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72762; RIC, IV/3, p. 68, no. 3, Rome, AD 246.
71. Antoninianus; AR ↓ 2.32 g; 20 × 21.3 mm; missing fragment; MJIAP inv. 34-72763; RIC, IV/3, p. 78, no. 84A, Antioch, undated.

Trajan Decius

72. Antoninianus; AR ↗ 3.01 g; 20 × 21.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72764; RIC, IV/3, p. 121, no. 11b, Rome, AD 249-251.

Valerian I

73. Antoninianus; AR ↑ 1.26 g; 18.8 × 20.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72765; RIC, V/1, p. 48, no. 127, Rome, AD 256-257.
74. Antoninianus; AR ↗ 2.47 g; 20.8 × 22.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72766; RIC, V/1, p. 58, no. 271, Mediolanum, AD 257.

SILVER AND BRONZE ARTEFACTS

75. Pendant made of silver folded sheet with three coins fixed by rivets (Nos. 47, 48 and 58); total weight: 12.06 g (only the sheet: 2.56 g); length of the sheet (unbended): 5.4 cm; width in the bending area: 0.95 cm; original probable length of the pendant (with attached coins): 4 cm; original probable width (with attached coins): 4.2 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72767. Pl. VI/no. 75.

76. Fibula; length: 6.1 cm; thickness of the bow: 0.35/0.33 cm; maximum width of the foot: 0.7 cm; length of the pin: 5.4 cm; total weight: 8.93 g; MJIAP inv. 34-72768. Pl. VI/no. 76.
77. Silver ingot; weight: 52 g; length: 8.9 cm; maximum thickness: 1.2 cm; trapezoid section; MJIAP inv. 34-72775. Pl. VI/no. 77.
78. Silver ingot; weight: 74.66 g; length: 9 cm; maximum thickness: 1.8 cm; oval section; MJIAP inv. 34-72774. Pl. VI/no. 78.
79. Bracelet; weight: 22.75 g; the full length of the rod: 18.3 cm; extremities width: 0.5 cm; width of the rod: 0.2 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72770. Pl. VI/no. 79.
80. Bracelet; weight: 17.80 g; the full length of the rod: 19.8 cm; extremities width: 0.5/0.6 cm; width of the rod: 0.3 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-727669. Pl. VII/no. 80.
81. Bracelet; weight: 35.71 g; the full length of the rod: 19.2 cm; extremities width: 0.7 cm; width of the rod: 0.3 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72771. Pl. VII/no. 81.
82. Bracelet; weight: 27.35 g; the full length of the rod: 17.5 cm; extremities width: 0.8 cm; width of the rod: 0.45 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72772. Pl. VII/no. 82.
83. Bracelet; weight: 67.59 g; the full length of the rod: 18.2 cm; extremities width: 1.1 cm; width of the rod: 0.6 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72773. Pl. VII/no. 83.
84. Bronze jug; weight of the preserved fragments (including handle): 467 g; handle weight: 139 g; bottom diameter: 8.4 cm; maximum diameter of the body: 13.8 cm; reconstituted height: *ca.* 25 cm; lip diameter (reconstructed): *ca.* 9 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72776. Pl. V.

APPENDIX 1. LIST OF JUGS WITH HUMAN FOOT DECORATED HANDLE¹⁰⁵

TASSINARI “WESTERN TYPE”/ TYPE I JUGS

Austria

1. Windischgarsten. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 61-63, fig. 1, pl. I/1-3.

Belgium

2. Jupille. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 5
3. Tongeren. Lit.: Vanvikenroye 1984, p. 215.
4. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 9

Bosnia-Herzegovina

5. Ustikolina. Lit.: Paškvalin 1962, p. 141-151, pl. I/1-1a; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 30.

Bulgaria

6. Assenovtsi. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70, 73, fig. 9.
7. Sadina. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70, 73, fig. 10-11.

France

8. Ain. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 2
9. Beauregard-Jassens. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 1; Tassinari 1975, p. 68-69, no. 179, pl. XXXIV/179.
10. Epagnette. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 19.
11. Grand. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 7.
12. Langres/Chaumont. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 17.
13. Varois. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 8
14. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 3
15. Unknown place. Lit.: Boucher 1971, no. 276; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 12.
16. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 20

Germany

17. Bad Cannstadt. Lit.: Tassinari p. 1973, 136-137, no. 22a; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 22.
18. Bad Cannstadt. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 22b.
19. Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Lit.: Tassinari 1975, p. 69; Deppert 1977, p. 12, 22; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 26.

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20. Mainz. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 14.
 21. Ober Olm. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 23
 22. Unknown place. Lit.: Menzel 1966, p. 100, no. 248, pl. 73; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 4.

Hungary

23. Budapest. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 52-53, no. 2, fig. 3-4; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 87-88, no. 2, pl. IV.
 24. Budapest. Lit.: Nagy 1945, p. 525; Szabó 1981, p. 58-59, pl. 10. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 27.
 25. Igar. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 13; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 13; pl. XIII; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 64, fig. 6.

Netherlands

26. Bitgum. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 6.
 27. Heerlen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 16.
 28. Millingen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 11.
 29. Nijmegen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 15.
 30. Nijmegen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 25.
 31. „Waal”. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 10.
 32. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 21.

United Kingdom

33. Corbridge. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 24.
 34. Hauxton. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 18.

TASSINARI “ORIENTAL TYPE”/ TYPE II JUGS

Bulgaria

36. Ljulin. Lit.: Getov, Popov 1972, p. 44-45, fig. 6; Raev 1977, p. 621-622, 638, no. 45a, pl. 19/1; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 69-70, fig. 1-4.
 36. Slokoštiča. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70.
 37. Unknown place. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70-71, fig. 5-8.
 38. Unknown place. Lit.: Radnótí 1957, p. 205, n. 325; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XIV.

France

39. Epfig. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. I; Schnitzler 2011, p. 25, fig. 4a.

Germany

40. Wehringen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. II; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. II.

Hungary

41. Dunaújváros/Dunapentele/ Intercisa. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. IX; Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 6, pl. 8/1. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 6, pl. VIII.
 42. Nagytétény. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. IV.
 43. Pápasalamon (Veszprem). Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XI; Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 4, 56-57, fig. 5/2 și 6; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 88-89, no. 4, pl. VI.
 44. Pécs/Sopianae. Lit.: Nagy 1945, p. 529, fig. 5; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VIII; Fülep 1977, p. 50, pl. 46; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. VIII.
 45. Szőny/Brigetio. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. III.
 46. Szőny/Brigetio. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VII; Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 7, pl. 7/1 și 7/7; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 7, pl. IX.
 47. Szőny/Brigetio. Lit.: Barkóczy 1968, p. 90-91, 94, pl. X/1-2; Szabó 1981, p. 59, pl. 9/1-2; Szabó 1982-1982, p. 91, pl. XIV.
 48. Szőny/Brigetio. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 57-58, no. 8, pl. 7/2, 7/6; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 90, no. 8, pl. X, 96, no. XVII.
 49. Unknown place (“Somogy”). Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. X; Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 3, fig. 5/1, 3-4; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 88, no. 3, pl. V.
 50. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XII.

Italy

51. Unknown place. Lit.: Fiumi 1977, fig. 137/right; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 69, n. 35.

Romania

52. Mălăieștii de Jos. Lit.: the present publication.

Spain

53. Garcíez-Jimena (Jaén). Lit.: Pozo Rodríguez 2001, p. 176-177, pl. 3/5.

54. Tarragona. Lit.: Hernández, Arco 1894, p. 183-194; *Los Bronces*, p. 289, no. 238; Roig 2003, p. 88-90, cat. 1.3.

Syria

55. Zawieh. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XIII.
56. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. V.

United Kingdom

57. Heybridge (Essex). Lit.: Fulford, Clark 2011, p. 114-116; Crummy 2006, p. 5, fig. 2.

HANDLES DECORATED WITH HUMAN FOOT (JUG MISSING/DESTROYED, UNCERTAIN TYPE)

Austria

58. Enns/Lauriacum. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 66, fig. 5; Sedlmayer 1999, p. 202, fig. 6/2.
59. Linz. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 66, fig. 4; Sedlmayer 1999, p. 202, fig. 6/1.

Germany

60. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-138, a, pl. XI/4.

Hungary

61. Dunaújváros/Dunapentele/Intercisa . Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 10, pl. 8/4. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91, no. 10, pl. XII.
62. Unknown place. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 5, 58, pl. 7/5; pl. 8/2; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 5, pl. VII.

Romania

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Pl. I. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



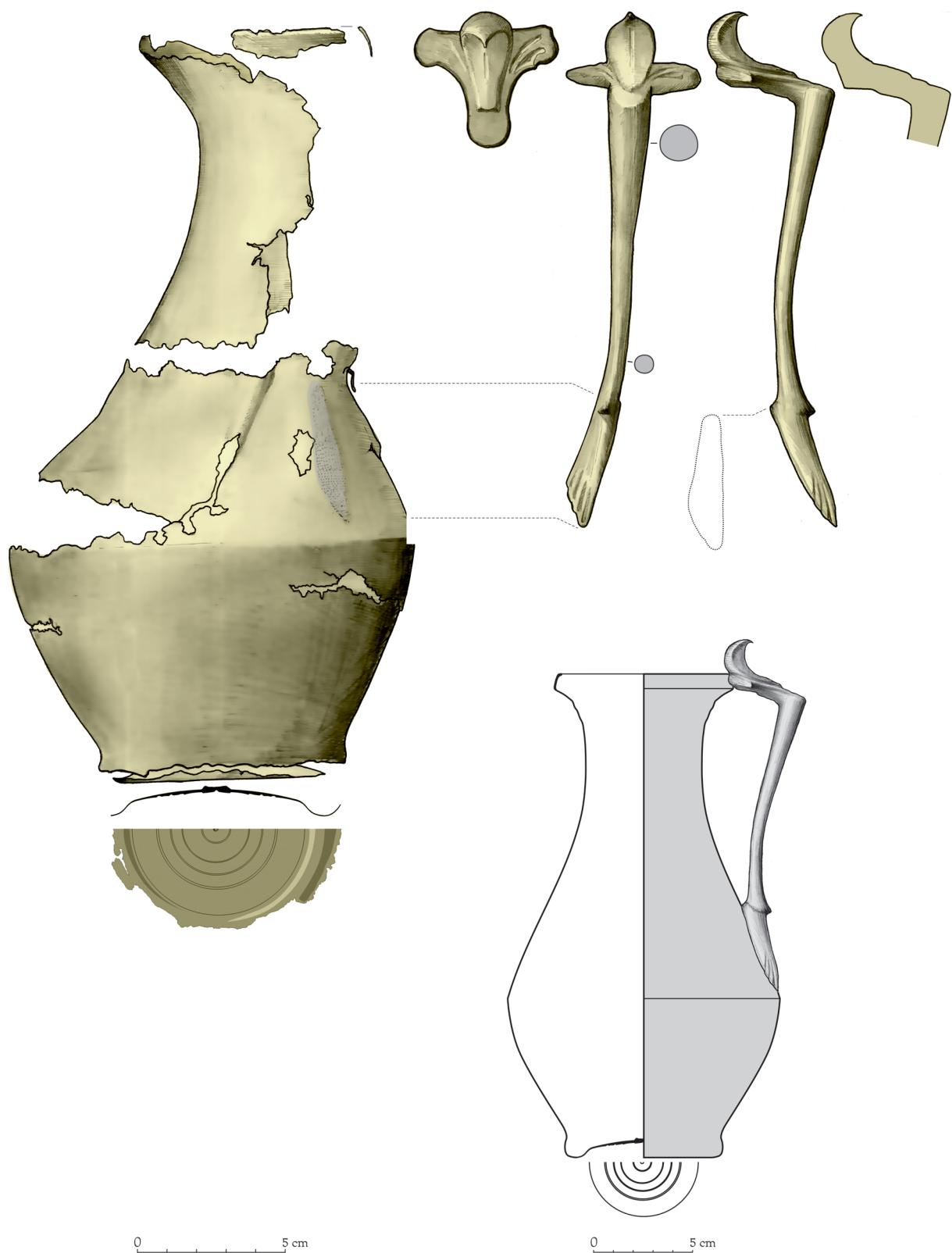
Pl. II. Roman coins from Mălăiești de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



Pl. III. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



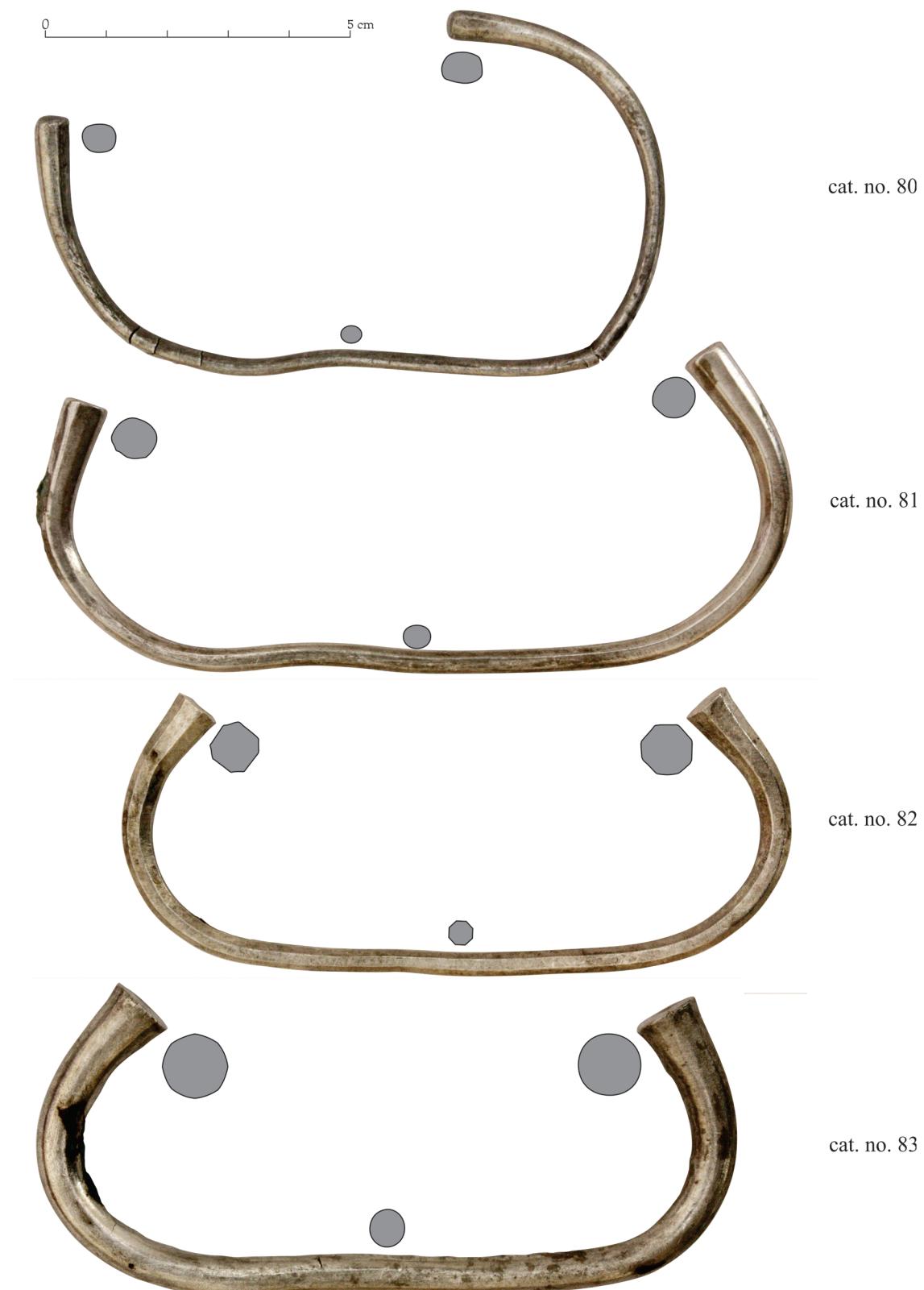
Pl. IV. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



Pl. V. The bronze jug (cat. no. 84) in its actual state (up) and graphical reconstruction of its initial shape (down).



Pl. VI. Pendant, fibula, ingots and bracelet from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.



Pl. VII. Bracelets from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.

ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen – Berlin
- AAIN – Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma
- AARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București
- Academica – Academica. Revistă editată de Academia Română, București
- ACSS – Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Bordeaux – Moscow
- ActaArchCop – Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ActaMM – Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaMV – Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna
- ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovensis, Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
- ActaPraehArch – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
- ActaTS – Acta Terraes Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean
în Context European, Sibiu
- AÉ – L’Année Épigraphique, Paris
- AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
- AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJS – The American Journal of Sociology, Chicago
- Alba Regia – Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani regis, Székesfehérvár
- Aluta – Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
- Alt-Hildesheim – Alt-Hildesheim. Jahrbuch für Stadt und Stift Hildesheim, Hildesheim
- AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
- American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association,
([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
- American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
- Anatolia Antiqua – Anatolia Antiqua, Istanbul
- AnB – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- Ancient Philosophy – Ancient Philosophy, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh
- AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
- AnnalesESC – Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, Paris
- AnnalesHSS – Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris
- Annals of Science – Annals of Science, Taylor and Francis Online (<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tasc20>)
- ANSNS – American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Studies, New York
- AnUA-SH – Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
- AnUBucurești – Analele Universității București, București
- Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
- ANSMN – American Numismatic Society; Museum Notes, New York
- AntCl – L’antiquité Classique, Revue interuniversitaire d’études classiques
- Antik Tanulmányok – Antik Tanulmányok. Studia Antiqua, Eötvös József Collegium, Budapest
- Antiquitas – Antiquitas, Museo Historico Municipal de Priego, Cordoba
- Antiquités Nationales – Antiquités Nationales, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye
- Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham
- AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
- APS News – The American Physical Society News
- Apulum – Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- Archaeological Dialogues – Archaeological Dialogues, Cambridge

- Archaeometry – Archaeometry, The Society for Archaeological Science, Gesellschaft fur Naturwissenschaftliche, Associazione Italian di Archeometria, University of Oxford, Willey
- ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
- ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
- ArchRozhledy – Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
- ArheologijaSSSR – Arheologija Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, Moskova
- ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskiya i Muzej, Sofia
- Arqueología y Territorio Medieval – Arqueología y Territorio Medieval, Universidad de Jaén, Jaén
- Ausgrabungen und Funde – Ausgrabungen und Funde, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte; Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Alte
Geschichte und Archäologie
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
- BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,
Frankfurt am Main
- BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes – Paris
- BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara Biblioteca Historica
et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara
- Biblioteca Ephemeris Napocensis – Biblioteca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria
Artei al Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- Biblioteca Historica Romaniae. Monographies – Biblioteca Historica Romaniae. Monographies,
Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Secția Științe Istorice, București
- Biblioteca Musei Napocensis – Biblioteca Musei Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei al
Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- BJb – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn
- BMC, I – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, I. Augustus to Vittelius*, London,
1923.
- BMC, II – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, II, Vespasian to Domitian*,
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- BMC, III – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, III, Nerva to Hadrian*, London,
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- BMC, IV – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, IV, Antoninus Pius to Com-
modus*, London, 1940.
- BMC, V – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, V, Pertinax to Elagabalus*,
London, 1950.
- BMC, VI – R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, VI, Severus Alexander to
Balbinus and Pupienus*, London, 1962.
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- Bosporskie issledovanija – Bosporskie Issledovaniya (Études bosphoraines), Académie nationale ukrainienne
des sciences, Simferopol
- BSFN – Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique, Paris
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BTM Mühely – BTM Mühely, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- Budapest Régiségei – Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- BulBOR – Buletinul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București
- Buridava – Buridava. Muzeul Județean Vâlcea, Râmnicu Vâlcea
- CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie. Asociația ARA, București
- Cahiers des Sciences Humaines – Cahiers des Sciences Humaines, O.R.S.T.O.M. (Agency: France)

- CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal
- CANT – Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, Bucureşti (I – 1995, II – 1997, III - 1999)
- Carpica – Carpica, Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău
- CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Bucureşti
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul “Dunării de Jos”, Călărași
- CCGG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz , Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- Centaurus – Centaurus, European Society for the History of Science, John Wiley & Sons Ltd
- CerC Ist – Cercetări Istorice, Iaşi
- Chiron – Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
- Chronica Valachica – Chronica Valachica. Studii si materiale de istorie si istorie a culturii, Târgovişte
- Chronométrophilia – Chronométrophilia, La Chaux-de-Fonds
- CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Universitatea Bucureşti, Bucureşti
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1862-.
- CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881-.
- Classica et Christiana – Classica et Christiana, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine al Facultății de Istorie a Universității „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași
- ClQ – The Classical Quarterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge
- CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
- CNM – Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae
- Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique – Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique, Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, Fédération de recherche sur les sociétés anciennes, Université Lumière Lyon 2 - CNRS
- Communications – Communications. EHESS/CNRS-Centre Edgar Morin, Paris
- Comparative Criticism – Comparative Criticism, Cambridge University Press
- Corviniana – Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis, Hunedoara
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
- Crisia – Crisia. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- Critica Storica – Critica Storica, Associazione degli storici europei, Firenze
- CSA – Current Swedish Archaeology, Swedish Archaeological Society
- Current Anthropology – Current Anthropology. University of California, Merced
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucureşti
- Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați, Galați
- Das Altertum – Das Altertum, Berlin – Amsterdam – Oldenburg
- Das Mittelalter – Das Mittelalter, UTB GmbH, Stuttgart
- Der Anschnitt – Der Anschnitt, Vereinigung der Feunde von Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau, Bochum
- DHA – Dialogues d’Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
- Die Kunde – Die Kunde. Zeitschrift für niedersächsische Archäologie, Hannover
- DissArch – Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
- DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenientes, Budapest
- DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, Bucureşti, 1976.
- Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology
- Documenta Valachica – Documenta Valachica. Studii si materiale de istorie si istorie a culturii, Târgovişte
- Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), Bucureşti, 1994
- EJS – European Journal of Sociology
- Epigraphische Studien – Epigraphische Studien, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Köln
- EphemDAC – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- Ethnic and Racial Studies – Ethnic and Racial Studies, London : Routledge & Kegan Paul

- EurAnt – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- FI – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
- Fontes I – V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu, Gh. Ștefan (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1964.
- Fontes II – H. Mihăescu, Gh. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1970.
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Gerión – Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemlinskog Muzeja u Sarajevo, Sarajevo
- Greece & Rome – Greece & Rome, Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
- HispAnt – Hispania Antiqua. Revista de Historia Antigua (digital journal: <https://revistas.uva.es/index.php/hispaanti>)
- Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- History and Anthropology – History and Anthropology, Taylor & Francis (Routledge)
- History and Theory – History and Theory. Studies in the Philosophy of History, Middletown
- History Compass – History Compass, Wiley-Blackwell
- Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua, Institut držvenih znanosti IVO PILAR, Zagreb
- HNE – M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898.
- HPQ – History of Philosophy Quarterly, University of Illinois Press
- IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Ptoleescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. II: *Oltenia și Muntenia*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDR III/1 – I.I. Russu, N. Gudea, V. Wollmann, M. Dušanic, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. III/1: *Dacia Superior. Zona de sud-vest*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDRE – C.C. Ptoleescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000.
- IG XII 6.2 – K. Hallof, A.P. Matthaiou, *Inscriptiones Graecae XII 6. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque. Pars 2. Inscriptiones Sami insulae. Dedicationes. Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli Christiani, Byzantini, Iudaei. Varia. Tituli graphio incisi. Incerta. Tituli alieni. Inscriptiones Corassiarum. Inscriptiones Icariae insulae*, Berlin – New York, 2003.
- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IGLN – V. Božilova, J. Kolendo (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, Ausonius, Bordeaux, 1997.
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latinești descoperite pe teritoriul României*, București, 1976.
- IGLS VI – J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie. VI. Baalbek et Beqa'*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 78, Paris, 1967.
- IGLS XVII.1 – J.-B. Yon, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. XVII/1. Palmyre* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 195; Beirut, 2012.
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989.
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero: annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916).
- ISSJ – International Social Science Journal
- Interpretation – Interpretation. A Journal of Political Philosophy, Waco
- ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. I. *Histria și împrejurimile*, București, 1983.
- ISM II – I. Stoian, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine*, vol. II. *Tomis și teritoriul său*, Bucarest, 1987.
- ISM III – A. Avram, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure*, vol. III. *Callatis et son territoire*, Bucharest–Paris, 1999.
- ISM IV – E. Popescu, *Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure*, vol. IV. *Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis*, Bucharest–Paris, 2015.

- ISM V – E. Doruțiu Boilă, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. V. *Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum*, București, 1980.
- IstMitt – Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Istanbul
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija Arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- JAMT – Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, Springer
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
- JFA – Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston University, Taylor & Francis
- JMC – Journal of Material Culture, SAGE Publications Ltd.
- JNG – Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Bayerische Numismatische Gesellschaft, München
- JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
- Journal of Value Inquiry – The Journal of Value Inquiry, Springer
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
- JRAI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI (N.S.) – The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI-GBI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Kadmos – Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Berlin
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- La Cultura – La Cultura. Rivista de Filosofia, Letteratura e Storia
- LIMC – Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, 1981-1999
- Lucerna – Lucerna. The Roman Finds Group Newsletter, Stevenage, UK
- Marmația – Marmația, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Baia Mare, Baia Mare
- MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa
- MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MFMÉ – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva – Sk. Petersburg
- MitteilungenBerlin – Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Berlin
- Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft – Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
- MN – Muzeul Național, București
- MonographRGZM – Monographies des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- Montana II – V. Velkov, G. Aleksandrov, *Epigrafski pametnitsi ot Montana i raiona*, Montana, 1994.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău, Bacău
- MSSIA – Academia Română. Memoriile Secției de Științe Iсторice și Arheologie, București
- MusHelv – Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica, Schwabe-Verlag
- NAC – Numismatica et Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi, Lugano
- Nestor – Nestor, University of Cincinnati, Department of Classics, Cincinnati
- NC – Numismatic Chronicle, London
- NNM – Numismatic Notes and Monographs, New York
- Novensia – Novensia, Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- NZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Craiova
- Orientalia – Orientalia, Pontificio Istituto biblico, Roma
- Pact – Pact. Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical, Biological & Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology, Strasbourg
- PAS – Praehistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin

- PAT – Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum
- PAT – D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, Baltimore, 1996.
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M, Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- PCPhS – Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Cambridge
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrila”, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrila”, Tulcea
- Philosophie – Philosophie, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris
- Phronesis – Phronesis. A Journal for Ancient Philosophy, Leiden
- PIR² – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin–Leipzig
- PNAS – Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Washington DC
- Poetics Today – Poetics Today, Duke University, Columbus, USA
- Polis – Polis. The Journal for Ancient Greek Political Thought, Exeter
- Pontica / Pontice – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- PPS – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- RAN – Repertoriul Arheologic Național (<http://ran.cimec.ro/>)
- RE – *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l’Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RES – *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris, 1900-1968.
- RÉSEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- Review of Metaphysics – The Review of Metaphysics. A Philosophical Quarterly, Washington DC
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Centrul de Arheologie, Chișinău
- Revista d’arqueologia de Ponent – Revista d’arqueologia de Ponent, Unitat d’Arqueologia, Prehistòria i Història Antiga del Departament d’Història de la Universitat de Lleida, Lleida
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- Révue d’Alsace – Revue d’Alsace, Fédération des Sociétés d’Histoire et d’Archéologie d’Alsace, Colmar
- Revue d’Archéométrie - ArchéoSciences, revue d’Archéométrie, Presses universitaires de Rennes
- Revue du Louvre – La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France, Conseil des musées nationaux (France), Paris
- Revue du Nord – Revue du Nord. Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France, Université de Lille, Villeneuve D’Asco
- RGA – *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin
- RGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Bonn
- Rhetorica – Rhetorica. A Journal of the History of Rhetoric, Berkley
- RI – Revista Iсториcă. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIC, II – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, II, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1926.
- RIC, III – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1930.
- RIC, IV/1 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/I, Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
- RIC, IV/2 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/2, Macrinus to Pupienus*, London, 1938.

- RIC, IV/3 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/3, Gordian III-Uranius Antoninus*, London, 1949.
- RIC, V/1 – P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V/I*, London, 1927.
- RIS – E. Weber (ed.), *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark*, Graz, 1969.
- RIU III – L. Barkóczi, S. Soproni, *Die römische Inschriften Ungarns, 3. Liefereng: Brigetio (Fortsetzung) und die Limesstrecke am Donauknie*, Budapest–Bonn, 1981.
- RMD – *Roman Military Diplomas*, London, I (M.M. Roxan, 1978), II (M.M. Roxan, 1985), III (M.M. Roxan, 1993), IV (M.M. Roxan, P.A. Holder, 2003), V (P.A. Holder, 2006)
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monamente istorice și de artă, București
- RPC I – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage, I. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London – Paris, 1992.
- RPC II – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage, II. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)*, London – Paris, 1999.
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizatiei Dacice și Romane, Deva
- SchwNumRu – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Bern
- Science – Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington DC
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scripta Valachica – Scripta Valachica, Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979-1980, Amsterdam 1979-2005, Boston 2006-
- Semitica et Classica – Semitica et Classica. Revue internationale d'études orientales et méditerranéennes. International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies, Paris – Turnhout
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
- SMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Series
- SNG Copenhagen 2 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen*. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, Volume 2. Macedonia and Thrace, reprint of original edition, New Jersey, 1981.
- SNG BM Black Sea – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume IX, British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea*, London, 1993.
- SNG Stancomb – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume XI, The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford, 2000.
- Southwestern Journal of Anthropology – Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
- Starinar – Starinar, Arheologskog Instituta, Belgrade
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București
- StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești
- StComBrukenthal – Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
- StComSatuMare – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- Stratum plus – Stratum, Vysshaya Antropologicheskaya Shkola, Chișinău
- Studio Palmyreńskie – Studio Palmyreńskie, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- Studio Troica – Studio Troica, Universität Tübingen, University of Cincinnati, Mainz am Rhein
- Südost-Forschungen – Südost-Institut München, Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut (Berlin, Germany), Leipzig
- Symbolae Osloenses – Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies, Oslo
- SympThrac 1 – *Symposia Thracologica, I*, Institutul de Tracologie, Craiova, 1983
- SympThrac 2 – *Symposia Thracologica, II*, Institutul de Tracologie, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, 1984
- SympThrac 5 – *Symposia Thracologica, V*, Institutul de Tracologie, Miercurea Ciuc, 1987

- SympThrac 7 – *Symposia Thracologica*, VII, Institutul de Tracologie, Tulcea, 1989
- Terra Sebus – *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeş
- The Antiquaries Journal – *The Antiquaries Journal*, Society of Antiquaries of London
- Theory, Culture and Society – *Theory, Culture and Society*, Universitz of London, London
- ThesCRA – Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum: I-II (2004), III-V (2005), VI (2011), VII-VIII (2012), Index (2014)
- The Numismatist – *The Numismatist*, The American Numismatic association
- Thracia – *Thracia*, Bŭlgarska akademia na naukite, Institut po trakologija, Serdica
- Thracia Pontica 4 – M. Lazarov *et alii* (eds.), *Thracia Pontica. Quatrième Symposium International, Sozopol 6-12 Octobre 1988*, Sofia, 1991.
- Thraco-Dacica – *Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”*, Bucureşti
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*, Romula-Durostorum-Tomis, Bucarest, 1969.
- TPAphS – *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- TÜBA-AR – *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi*
- Tyche – *Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Wien
- Tyragetia – *Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei*, Chișinău
- Tyragetia International – *Tyragetia International*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
- UPA – *Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie*, Bonn
- Valachica – *Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii*, Târgoviște
- VDI – *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, Moskva
- World Archaeology – *World Archaeology*, Taylor & Francis
- ZfE – *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin
- ZfN – *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin
- ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn
- ZSav – *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung*, Wien