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XXXIII

Arheologie



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ABBREVIATIONS

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THE COGNOMEN DEVICTARUM GENTIUM 'DACICUS MAXIMUS' OF MAXIMINUS THRAX

ANDRÁS SZABÓ

Keywords: epigraphy, imperial titulatures, Dacians, military campaign, Great Hungarian Plain

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie, titulatură imperială, daci, campanie militară, Câmpia Panonică

Kulcsszavak: epigráfia, titulátúra, dákok, hadjárat, Alföld

In our discussion, we are trying to determine the Dacian population, whose defeat is marked by the cognomen devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus of the emperor Maximinus Thrax, by reconsidering the literary and epigraphic sources of his Sarmatian war and by using some new archaeological data.

During the greater part of his reign, the first barracks-emperor, Maximinus Thrax (235–238) waged a lengthy war from Pannonia against the Sarmatians of the Great Hungarian Plain (236–238). One of the most interesting questions about Maximinus' campaign is the appearance of the cognomina devictarum gentium *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* in his imperial titlature in 236. While the explanation of the *Sarmaticus maximus* cognomen is quite obvious, the *Dacicus maximus* cognomen is problematic. It has been suggested by some scholars, that it did not refer to Dacians (i. e. so-called Free Dacians), but instead to some other people of Dacian origin – although, there is no consensus on which. A plausible standpoint could be achieved by the thorough re-examination of the circumstances of the cognomen's reception, viz. the Sarmatian expedition of Maximinus, and by the reconsideration of some of the sources related to the history of the Dacian population in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

1. The Sarmatian expedition of Maximinus Thrax (Pl. 1.)

The events leading up to the Sarmatian campaign of Maximinus are relatively well known in detail from the accounts of Herodianos¹ and the *Historia Augusta*,² and in less detail from other minor literary sources.³ According to them, the

Pannonian war was preceded by a punitive expedition against the Germanic tribes across the Rhine, which started almost immediately after the proclamation of Maximinus as emperor in Mogontiacum, and it lasted until the autumn/winter of 235.⁴ It seems certain, that the recently discovered battle-field near Kalefeld, Lower Saxony can be linked to this expedition.⁵ After the successful campaign, Maximinus led his army to Pannonia and set up winter quarters in Sirmium, which later became his headquarters.⁶ (Pl. 1.) During the Sarmatian campaign's years, he never left Pannonia, as it is well-stated in the accounts of Herodianos.⁷ The success of the Germanic expedition is also marked by the appearance of the cognomen devictarum gentium *Germanicus maximus* in Maximinus' titlature, earliest at the beginning of 236.⁸ Because the cognomen appears only in 236, P. Kovács assumed that the Germanic campaign was still in progress as late as the beginning of 236, and tried to give a philological explanation for the contradiction of this statement with Herodianos' account.⁹ However, we must take into consideration, that the absence of a cognomen devictarum gentium (or any other name, title or their numbering) from the emperors' titulatures in inscriptions did not necessarily mean their 'real' absence from the official imperial titlature at any given time.

¹ Herodianos, VII, 2, 1–8.

² SHA Maximini duo, 12, 1–6.

³ Eutropius IX, 1; Aur. Vict. Caes., 26, 1.

⁴ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

⁵ Callies 2011, 28–32; Wiegels et al. 2011.

⁶ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

⁷ Herodianos, VII, 3, 4.

⁸ CIL III, 11316; cf. AE 1973, 276; Kienast 1990, 184.

⁹ Kovács 2008, 145.

Besides, the appearance of a cognomen in a titlature did not necessarily followed immediately the war efforts for which they have been awarded. Accordingly, we must not attribute any chronological importance to the absence of any component from the imperial titulatures, but even their appearance indicates only the *terminus post quem* of their usage in the official titlature. The Germanic war's success is also well attested by the imperial salutations (*imperator II*) of Maximinus,¹⁰ as well as by some coin issues¹¹ of 235/236.

The literary sources cease to tell us any details about the events following the emperor's arrival to Sirmium. It is clear, that his main goal was to subjugate the Sarmatians of the Great Hungarian Plain.¹² (*Pl. I.*) Most likely, it was another punitive expedition (as in the case of his previous expedition in Germania), because the Sarmatians probably participated in the invasion of Pannonia in 235, which forced Severus Alexander to abandon his war efforts in the East.¹³ Concerning the Pannonian campaign of Maximinus, only the *Historia Augusta* mentions directly,¹⁴ that it was waged against the Sarmatians, while the account of Herodianos only states it indirectly in a (fictitious) *adlocutio* allegedly held by the emperor in 238.¹⁵

The chronology of Maximinus' Sarmatian war is relatively clear from the epigraphic sources. He was already in Sirmium by the winter of 235, and as Herodianos notes, he planned his new campaign for the next spring (236).¹⁶ The war was interrupted in early 238 by the news of the usurpation of the Gordiani in Africa and the conspiracy of the senate in Rome,¹⁷ which forced Maximinus to hastily march against Italy.¹⁸ As we mentioned above, Maximinus never left Pannonia between 236–238.¹⁹ The success of the Sarmatian expedition is marked by the appearance of the cognomen *devictarum gentium Sarmaticus maximus* and the increase in the number of the imperial salutations in the imperial titlature. The cognomen *Sarmaticus maximus* appears together with the cognomen *Dacicus maximus* in Maximinus' and

Maximus²⁰ imperial titulatures in 236,²¹ earliest with the third imperial salutation (*imperator III*).²² The two cognomina never appear separately on inscriptions, with the exception of a milestone found in Moesia inferior,²³ which only lists the cognomen *Sarmaticus maximus*. The imperial titlature on this inscription is obviously erroneous, as it enumerates the emperor as *co(n)]s(ul) IIII*, but even if the omission of the cognomen *Dacicus maximus* is not just a random error, there must have been only a very short period of time elapsed between the usage of the two cognomina in the official imperial titlature. Nevertheless, neither the reception of the cognomina *devictarum gentium*, nor the third imperial acclamation can be dated more precisely, but all of them was already received by the autumn/winter of 236. The fourth,²⁴ fifth²⁵ and sixth²⁶ imperial salutations (*imperator IIII*, *V* and *VI*) can be dated to 237, while the seventh (*imperator VII*)²⁷ is usually linked to the emperor's Italian campaign of 238.²⁸ Some coin issues with the inscription *VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM* could also be related to the Sarmatian war, as their *terminus post quem* is 236.²⁹

The cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* clearly indicates, that the war was not only waged against the Sarmatians, but against some Dacian people as well. The cognomen *Dacicus maximus* also appears later in the century on the inscriptions of Traianus Decius,³⁰ Gallienus,³¹ Aurelianus³² and even in the titlature of Constantinus I on an *exemplum sacrarum litterarum*.³³ The cognomen has been interpreted by modern scholars differently, since the presence of the Dacian population in the Barbaricum after Traianus' conquest of Dacia (101–106) is a problematic question. Some scholars believed the 3rd century occurrences of this cognomen to mark a victory over the *Carpi*,³⁴ while others –

¹⁰ Kienast 1990, 182.

¹¹ RIC IV.2, Nos. 23; 70–74; 90–94.

¹² cf. Herodianos, VII, 2, 9; SHA Maximini duo, 13, 4.

¹³ Herodianos, VI, 7, 2–3.

¹⁴ SHA Maximini duo, 13, 3.

¹⁵ Herodianos, VII, 8, 4; Kovács 2008, 145–146.

¹⁶ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

¹⁷ Herodianos, VII, 8, 9; SHA Maximini duo, 18, 4.

¹⁸ Herodianos, VII, 8, 11; Börm 2008, 72–74.

¹⁹ Herodianos, VII, 3, 4.

²⁰ He appointed his son as *caesar* in early 236 – see Kienast 1990, 185.

²¹ Kienast 1990, 184.

²² CIL III, 3736; AE 1998, 1060 cf. CIL III, 5741.

²³ AE 1979, 543 = AE 2001, 1736.

²⁴ CIL II, 4693.

²⁵ e. g. AE 1905, 179.

²⁶ CIL VIII, 10047; CIL VIII, 22030.

²⁷ e. g. AE 1966, 218; AE 1971, 201.

²⁸ cf. Kienast 1990, 183–184; Kovács 2008, 146.

²⁹ RIC IV.2, Nos. 89, 120.

³⁰ CIL II, 4949.

³¹ CIL II, 2200.

³² CIL XIII, 8973 = ILS 581.

³³ CIL VI, 40776 = AE 1934, 158.

³⁴ Alföldi 1967, 313–314; Macrea 1968, 187; Tóth 1986, 95.

in relation with other inscriptions mentioning Dacian population in the 3rd c. – proposed,³⁵ that these inscriptions are referring to the *Cotini*, a 'dacianized', but originally Celtic population,³⁶ which lived north of the Danube Bend. However, if we closely examine the available sources, we can find many contradictions in these assumptions. First of all, the campaigns of Maximinus took place only in the Great Hungarian Plain, more closely in the area between Pannonia inferior and Dacia. This is supported by the fact that the emperor never left Pannonia between 236–238, but it is also well shown by the location of those military units in the Danubian region, which received the *Maximiniana* epitheton.³⁷ Some of these could be linked to the Sarmatian-Dacian war of Maximinus (*Pl. 1.*)

Pannonia superior: *legio XIV gemina*³⁸

It seems likely, that the *legio XIV gemina* received the honorific title *Maximiniana* only in 236, since it had appeared without it in 235 on an inscription from Neviodunum.³⁹

Pannonia inferior: *legio I adiutrix*,⁴⁰ *legio II adiutrix*,⁴¹ *ala III Augusta Thracum sag.*,⁴² *cohors VII Breucorum*,⁴³ *cohors I ∞ Hemesenorum c. R. sag. eq.*,⁴⁴ *cohors ∞ Maurorum*,⁴⁵ *cohors I Thracum Germanica*⁴⁶

The Lower Pannonian legions first appeared in 236 with their imperial epitheton, and the *legio II adiutrix* had appeared without its honorific title on an inscription dated to 235.⁴⁷ The epitheton of the *ala III Augusta Thracum* is only attested on one inscription dated to 236. The *cohors VII Breucorum* only appears with the title on stamped tiles, while the *cohors I ∞ Hemesenorum* appears with its honorific title only on two inscriptions, but only one of them can be dated more precisely to 237. The inscription showing the *Maximiniana* epitheton of the *cohors ∞ Maurorum* is very fragmentary and it cannot be dated more accurately, while the milestone mentioning the

honorific title of the *cohors I Thracum Germanica* can also be dated to 237. We can conclude that the majority of the military units in Pannonia inferior received their honorific titles in 236–237, most likely in relation with the Sarmatian-Dacian wars of the emperor.

Moesia superior: *legio IV Flavia Felix*⁴⁸

The *Maximiniana* epitheton of the *legio IV Flavia* is only attested on an altar from Singidunum, but it cannot be dated more accurately.

Moesia inferior: *cohors I Cisipadensium*,⁴⁹ *cohors I Lusitanorum*,⁵⁰ *numerus civium Romanorum*⁵¹

The three Lower Moesian auxiliary unit's honorific title is attested by one inscription each, but none of them can be dated.

The numerous occurrences of the *Maximiniana* epitheton in Pannonia inferior, its infrequency in the two Moesiae, and its complete absence in Dacia also indicate, that the expedition only took place in the Sarmatian Barbaricum between Pannonia inferior and Dacia. (*Pl. 1.*) Since the reception of the cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* happened at the very same time or in a rapid succession, we ought to find the Dacian population referred to by the cognomen in this area as well.

2. The Dacian people in the 2nd–3rd century AD

2.1. Historical sources

After the conquest of Dacia by Traianus (101–102 and 105–106), the native population fled from the territory of the later Roman province, as it is well-stated by literary sources,⁵² but also demonstrated by the archaeological and epigraphic material of the province.⁵³ Concerning the subsequent period (i. e. from the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD), there is little reference to the Dacians in the written sources. Apart from sporadic mentions,⁵⁴ typically in connection with minor incursions and skirmishes, they appear in Hieronymus' Chronicon-translation⁵⁵ among

³⁵ Barkóczi 1945, 180–182; Alföldy 1961, 29; Mráv – Ottományi 2004, 70–71.

³⁶ Visy 1993, 9–10.

³⁷ Fitz 1983, 11.

³⁸ Fitz 1983, No. 537.

³⁹ AE 1934, 78.

⁴⁰ Fitz 1983, No. 538–538a.

⁴¹ Fitz 1983, No. 540–541.

⁴² Kovács – Lőrincz 2010, 280.

⁴³ Kovács 2005a, 245.

⁴⁴ Fitz 1983, No. 543–543a.

⁴⁵ Fitz 1983, No. 544.

⁴⁶ Fitz 1983, No. 545.

⁴⁷ Fitz 1983, No. 539.

⁴⁸ Fitz 1983, No. 546.

⁴⁹ Fitz 1983, No. 547.

⁵⁰ Fitz 1983, No. 548.

⁵¹ Fitz 1983, No. 549.

⁵² Eutropius VIII, 2, 6.

⁵³ The most up-to-date summary of the research history, with further literature: Visy 2012, 236–238.

⁵⁴ SHA Antoninus Pius, 5, 4; SHA Commodus, 13, 5.

⁵⁵ cf. Kovács 2005b, 190.

the barbarian belligerents of the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius (166–180).⁵⁶ Cassius Dio recounts, that 12 000 Dacians were received into the province of Dacia after the Northern Wars, in 180.⁵⁷ The Dacians mentioned by Dio, may be the same as the ones in the account of the *vita Commodi* of the *Historia Augusta*.⁵⁸

Besides the quite taciturn written sources, there are some inscriptions from the 3rd century referring to Dacians, but their interpretation is quite problematic. One of the most important and often-cited of these epigraphic sources is an inscribed sarcophagus from Brigetio:

AE 1947, 35 = RIU 590

Brigetio, first half of the 3rd century

M(arco) Ulp(io) Romano mil(iti) / praet(oriano) et primoscr(inio) praef(f)ectorum) qui vi/xit an(nos) XXXV / M(arcus) Ul^p(ius) Cele(rinus) sal(ariarius) / leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) interpres / Dacorum vivus sibi / et filio suo s(upra)s(cripto) carissimo / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The name of Marcus Ulpius Celerinus, the erector of the sarcophagus, also appears on an altar (also from Brigetio), which can be dated to the reign of Caracalla.⁵⁹ He was a *salararius*, and as such, he was not part of the legion's roster, but a hired civilian, who provided special services to a unit, such as working as an interpreter.⁶⁰ The scholars' opinions are quite different regarding why the *legio I adiutrix* needed an *interpres Dacorum*⁶¹ in the late 2nd–early 3rd century, but there is an agreement, that they should be linked to the *Cotini*, who lived north of the Danube Bend (viz. in the vicinity of Brigetio). The *Cotini* – as we mentioned above – were a 'dacianized', originally Celtic population,⁶² whom the Romans had received into Pannonia inferior after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, and settled them in the vicinity of Mursa and Cibalae.⁶³ However, the exact date of their reception is unknown, since their settlement in Pannonia is not mentioned directly in any sources, and their inscriptions appeared only under the reign of Severus

Alexander and Traianus Decius.⁶⁴ Thus, their reception into Pannonia could have happened anytime between the end of the Northern Wars and some years before their appearance on inscriptions.⁶⁵ We must also note, that Cassius Dio claims, that the *Cotini* perished altogether after the events of the Northern Wars.⁶⁶ These Pannonian *Cotini* appear as *praetoriani* on the above-mentioned inscriptions, similarly to M. Ulpius Romanus, the deceased of the sarcophagus from Brigetio, which makes the association of the *interpres Dacorum* and the *Cotini* to seem even more convincing. Despite all these observations, it is very unlikely, that the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* of Maximinus Thrax – or any other inscriptions mentioning Dacian expeditions – would refer to the *Cotini*, whom the Romans had already settled into Pannonia by the reign of Severus Alexander.

The cognomen *Dacicus maximus* can also not be associated with the *Carpi* (a mixed population of Dacian origin⁶⁷) as it has been suggested by some scholars.⁶⁸ At this time, the *Carpi* were settled between the rivers Prut and Siret, east to the Carpathians, and threatened the frontiers of Moesia inferior in the region of the Danube Delta, in league with the Goths.⁶⁹ As such, they were not involved at all in the wars of 236–238, as it is shown by the honorific titles of the Danubian military units, and by the fact that Maximinus never left Pannonia during his expeditions. Furthermore, the only Carpiian incursion we know of in that time happened in 238, in Moesia inferior,⁷⁰ two years after Maximinus received the cognomen *Dacicus maximus*, and even the *Historia Augusta* mentions it under the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus (238). Any victory over the *Carpi* was indicated by a separate cognomen (viz. *Carpicus maximus*) on inscriptions, well before the expeditions of Galerius.⁷¹ Among the titles of Aurelianus, the cognomina *Carpicus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* appears at the same time on the same inscription,⁷² and usually they are

⁵⁶ Hieronymus Chron., 205g., cf. Helm 1956.

⁵⁷ Cassius Dio, LXXIII, 3; cf. Bichir 1976, 169.

⁵⁸ SHA Commodus, 13, 5.

⁵⁹ CIL III, 10988 – cf. Fitz 1983, 54–55.

⁶⁰ Méa 2012, 212.

⁶¹ Barkóczi 1945, 180–182; Alföldy 1961, 29; Mráv – Ottományi 2004, 70–71.

⁶² Visy 1993, 9–10.

⁶³ Kovács 2005b, 202.

⁶⁴ CIL VI, 2833+2389+2835 = CIL VI, 32542; CIL VI, 2800+2832+3419 = CIL VI, 32544; CIL VI, 2831+2852 = CIL VI, 32557.

⁶⁵ Their legal status and their position as praetoriani is argued by Alföldy 1936, 27.

⁶⁶ Cassius Dio, LXXI, 12, 3.

⁶⁷ Bichir 1976, 145–151.

⁶⁸ Alföldy 1967, 313–314; Macrea 1968, 187; Tóth 1986, 95.

⁶⁹ Bichir 1976, 145–151.

⁷⁰ SHA Maximinus et Balbinus, XVI, 3; P. Patricius, frag. 8.

⁷¹ Kienast 1990, 198, 232; CIL II, 4506 = ILS 576; CIL III, 7586; CIL VI, 1112; CIL XII, 5548; AE 1979, 409.

⁷² CIL XIII, 8973 = ILS 581.

always referred to as *Carpi* in every instance throughout the 3rd century.⁷³ The same applies to the *Cotini*, most notably in the case of the above-mentioned praetorian-inscriptions from Rome (*cives Cotinorum*), but they are referred to as *Cotini* even as early as the reign of Augustus on the so-called Vinicius-inscription.⁷⁴

Some other inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries mentioning Dacian incursions and expeditions can not be dated more closely, thus some of them could even be linked hypothetically to the Dacian wars of Traianus.⁷⁵ An inscription from Virunum,⁷⁶ mentioning a *bellum Dacicum* can be dated after 168 (*terminus post quem*), since the deceased, Veponius Quartus served in the *legio II Italica* for four years.⁷⁷ Another inscription, mentioning a *bellum Dacicum* is known from Intercisa, but it refers to the Carpic war of Philippus Arabs in 247–248,⁷⁸ i. e. to a war waged in the Roman province of Dacia, and not against Dacians. A stela from Crumerum⁷⁹ mentions an *incursus hostis Daciae*, but its association with a Dacian population is highly hypothetical, since the *hostis Daciae* ('enemy of Dacia') could be referring to any barbarian peoples outside Dacia. The funerary inscription of Aelius Iustinus from Brigetio⁸⁰ mentions an *expeditio Dacisca*, but since it can not be dated precisely, it could well be referring to the campaign of Traianus, or that of Maximinus Thrax.

2.2. Archaeological sources

The simultaneous receipt of the cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus*, the honorific titles of the Lower Pannonian military units and the fact, that Maximinus never left Pannonia, all confirm that the Dacian people, whom his cognomen *Dacicus maximus* refers to, must have been settled in the Great Hungarian Plain.

Dacian finds from this area and period (2nd–3rd c. AD) are particularly rare, and their interpretation is problematic. Burials, which could be linked to the Dacians are completely

absent from the Great Hungarian Plain. This is not surprising, however, given the fact, that even from the territory of Romania, only approximately 50 burials are known from the La Tène C2-D period (i. e. the reign of Burebista and the 1st c. AD), which can be linked more or less securely to the Dacians.⁸¹ Such an absence of burials may be explained with funerary practices that left no archaeological traces.⁸² Accordingly, some finds can point to the presence of Dacians in the Great Hungarian Plain, if we adopt the idea, that their very characteristic hand-made pottery can be used to imply a Dacian ethnicity, or a population of Dacian origin or with Dacian elements. Such Dacian pottery is known from some findspots of the Great Hungarian Plain⁸³ from 3rd c. wide contexts, but since most of them are stray finds, their value as reliable archaeological sources are little. (*Pl. 1.*) Greater is the importance of those early Sarmatian settlements (i. e. beginning from the late 2nd c. / after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius⁸⁴), where such characteristic Dacian pottery finds have been recovered in greater number, in several cases from closed contexts. (*Pl. 1.*)

The first Sarmatian site, where such finds have been found, is the Roman period Barbarian settlement of the so-called Gyoma 133 archaeological site. A large number of characteristic hand-made Dacian cups⁸⁵ and pots⁸⁶ have been recovered from the objects dated to the period after the Northern Wars. Such hand-made pottery, with the same fabric, decoration and form, is without parallel in the archaeological material of Sarmatian settlements.⁸⁷ Their quantity and quality excludes the possibility of importing, and Dacian material from earlier periods⁸⁸ have not been found in the site.⁸⁹ The only plausible explanation – suggested by A. Vaday – is, that a population of Dacian origin or ethnicity moved in to the Sarmatian settlement after the Northern

⁷³ RIC IV.3, 75. No. 66; RIU 1155 = AE 1971, 326.

⁷⁴ AE 1895, 122 = AE 1905, 14 = ILS 8965.

⁷⁵ e. g. CIL V, 3372.

⁷⁶ CIL III, 4857.

⁷⁷ sc. the legion was established in 165 AD

⁷⁸ RIU 1155 = AE 1971, 326; Tóth 2010, 300–301; cf. Macrea 1968, 187.

⁷⁹ CIL III, 3660 = ILS 2308 = RIU 759.

⁸⁰ AE 1909, 144 = RIU 718.

⁸¹ Popa 2010, 398–399 - with further literature.

⁸² Sirbu 1993; Popa 2010, 389.

⁸³ Visy 1970, nos. 7: Doboz, 13: Algyő, 28: Szentes, cf. Vaday 1991, 78–79.

⁸⁴ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 231–234.

⁸⁵ Vaday 1996, 133.

⁸⁶ Vaday 1996, 118–119.

⁸⁷ With the obvious exception of the ones mentioned below, cf. Vaday 1991, 80.

⁸⁸ The supremacy of the Dacian Kingdom of Burebista (and his successors in the 1st c. AD) only manifested itself as political control in this area, rather than real territorial control or military presence, up until the arrival of the Sarmatians, v. Vaday 1991, 79.

⁸⁹ Vaday 1996, 157.

Wars.⁹⁰ This could also have been the reason of the beginning of an 'industrial period' of the settlement after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, which is marked by the appearance of some smelting furnaces – also without parallel in Sarmatian sites.⁹¹ (*Pl. 1.*) These elements of the Dacian population could have been drifted into the Sarmatian territories in the wake of the ethnical and political realignments and migrations caused by the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, and perhaps they can be in relation with the Dacians 'expelled from their homelands', mentioned by Cassius Dio,⁹² concerning the events after the conclusions of the war.⁹³

The Sarmatian settlement of Újhartyán belongs to the same archaeological horizon as the settlement at Gyoma 133,⁹⁴ and similarly, the excavations conducted here have produced some pottery finds of strong Dacian character.⁹⁵ Based on the chronology of the exported Roman provincial goods (i. e. *terra sigillata*) of the site, the period from which the Dacian finds have been recovered can be dated between cca. 180–230.⁹⁶ Yet another early Sarmatian settlement has yielded Dacian finds, in a recent rescue excavation at Kiskunhalas.⁹⁷ This settlement also belongs to the horizon of the Gyoma- and Újhartyán-type settlements.⁹⁸ In this case, the excavations were conducted in a relatively large area, but the recovered archaeological material (both the Roman exports and the Barbarian finds) shows a striking chronological homogeneity, and the settlement lacks any superpositions. This means, that this site is not the smaller part of a huge and long-standing settlement (as in the case of Gyoma 133 and Újhartyán), but instead, a small, short-lived settlement.⁹⁹ According to the recovered *terra sigillata* finds, it was inhabited in the period between cca. 180–230.¹⁰⁰ The characteristic Dacian pottery is represented by hand-made conical cups and by large granary pots, decorated with finger impressions,¹⁰¹ however, their presence was interpreted by the excavators as the 'results of

centuries-old cultural influence'.¹⁰² The abandonment of the settlement in the 230s could be in relation with the expedition of Maximinus Thrax in 236–238.

3. Conclusions

Some of the epigraphic sources mentioning Dacians could be referring equally well to the *Cotini*, as to any other population of Dacian origin or elements, but the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus*, appearing in the titula-ture of Maximinus Thrax in 236 certainly did not refer to the *Cotini*, nor to the *Carpi*. The cognomen can not be interpreted as a reference to the *Carpi*, as there are serious geographical and chronological discrepancies and contradictions between the accounts of our different historical and archaeological sources. It could not be referring to the *Cotini* either, as they were received and settled in Pannonia inferior after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰³ The only remaining possibility is that the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* refers to another Dacian population (or a population with very significant Dacian elements), which lived in the Great Hungarian Plain. This is implied by the epigraphic sources of Maximinus' campaign – the rapid succession in the receipt of his cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* in 236, and the imperial epithetons of the Lower Pannonian military units all point out, that the only direction of the expedition was towards the Great Hungarian Plain. (*Pl. 1.*) The Dacian people referred to by the cognomen can be identified with the Dacian population whose archaeological traces could be found on some early Sarmatian settlements in the period after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius. Conclusively, we can say, that a Dacian population must be reckoned with in the late 2nd–3rd century in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, despite their archaeological traces being scarce.

⁹⁰ Vaday 1996, 157.

⁹¹ Vaday 1996, 78–79, 157.

⁹² Cassius Dio, LXXIII, 3, 2–3.

⁹³ Vaday 1996, 157; Nagy 2009, 204–205.

⁹⁴ Vaday 1998, 548.

⁹⁵ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 242–243, Fig. 29, 3; Fig. 20, 7.

⁹⁶ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 238.

⁹⁷ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 85.

⁹⁸ Vaday 1998, 548–549.

⁹⁹ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 99.

¹⁰⁰ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 93.

¹⁰¹ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 95, Fig. 5, 5.

¹⁰² Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 95.

¹⁰³ Kovács 2005b, 202.

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Rezumat

În secolul al III-lea în titulatura mai multor împărați romani apare *cognomen*-ul *devictarum gentium Dacicus Maximus*. Primul împărat cu această titulatură a fost Maximinus Thrax (235–238), cel care și-a luat acest *cognomen* în timpul luptelor împotriva sarmaților, în perioada 236–238. Există opinii divergente privind identificarea populației menționate în titulatura *Dacicus Maximus*, precum și în alte surse epigrafice databile în sec. II–III, care îi amintesc pe daci. Pe baza analizei surselor scrise se poate afirma că atât *cognomen*-ul purtat de împăratul Maximinus Thrax, cât și, probabil, sursele scrise se referă la o populație dacică din Câmpia Panonică, care a ajuns în această zonă locuită de sarmați cel mai târziu după războaiele marcomanice purtate de Marcus Aurelius (166–180). Prezența dacilor în zona amintită poate fi susținută ipotetic prin materialele arheologice specifice populației dacice (ceramică, metalurgia fierului), prezente în inventarul câtorva situri sarmatice timpurii (Gyoma 133, Újhartyán, Kiskunhalas).

Kivonat

A Kr. u. 3. században több katonacászárra titulaturájában is felbukkan a *cognomen devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus*, közülük elsőként Maximinus Thrax (235–238) császáréban, aki 236–238 között zajló, az alföldi szarmaták ellen folytatott háborúja során vette fel a győzelmi nevet. A kutatás véleménye megoszlik azt illetően, hogy a *Dacicus maximus* *cognomen*, valamint több más, Kr. u. 2–3. századra keltezhető, dákokat említő felirat (pl. RIU 590) mely népeiségre vonatkozik. A rendelkezésre álló írott és szubliterális források vizsgálata alapján kijelenthető, hogy Maximinus Thrax *cognomen devictarum gentium* és valószínűleg az egyéb feliratos említések egy olyan alföldi dák néptörödékre vonatkoznak, akik legkésőbb Marcus Aurelius északi háborúi (166–180) után sodródtak a szarmata szállásterületre. Az alföldi dákok jelenlétére utaló további hipotetikus bizonyíték lehet néhány korai (180k–230k) szarmata település és településrészlet (Gyoma 133, Újhartyán, Kiskunhalas), ahol dák népeiséghez köthető régészeti leletanyaggal is számolhatunk (ún. dák kerámia, vaskohászatra utaló emlékek, ipari fázis).

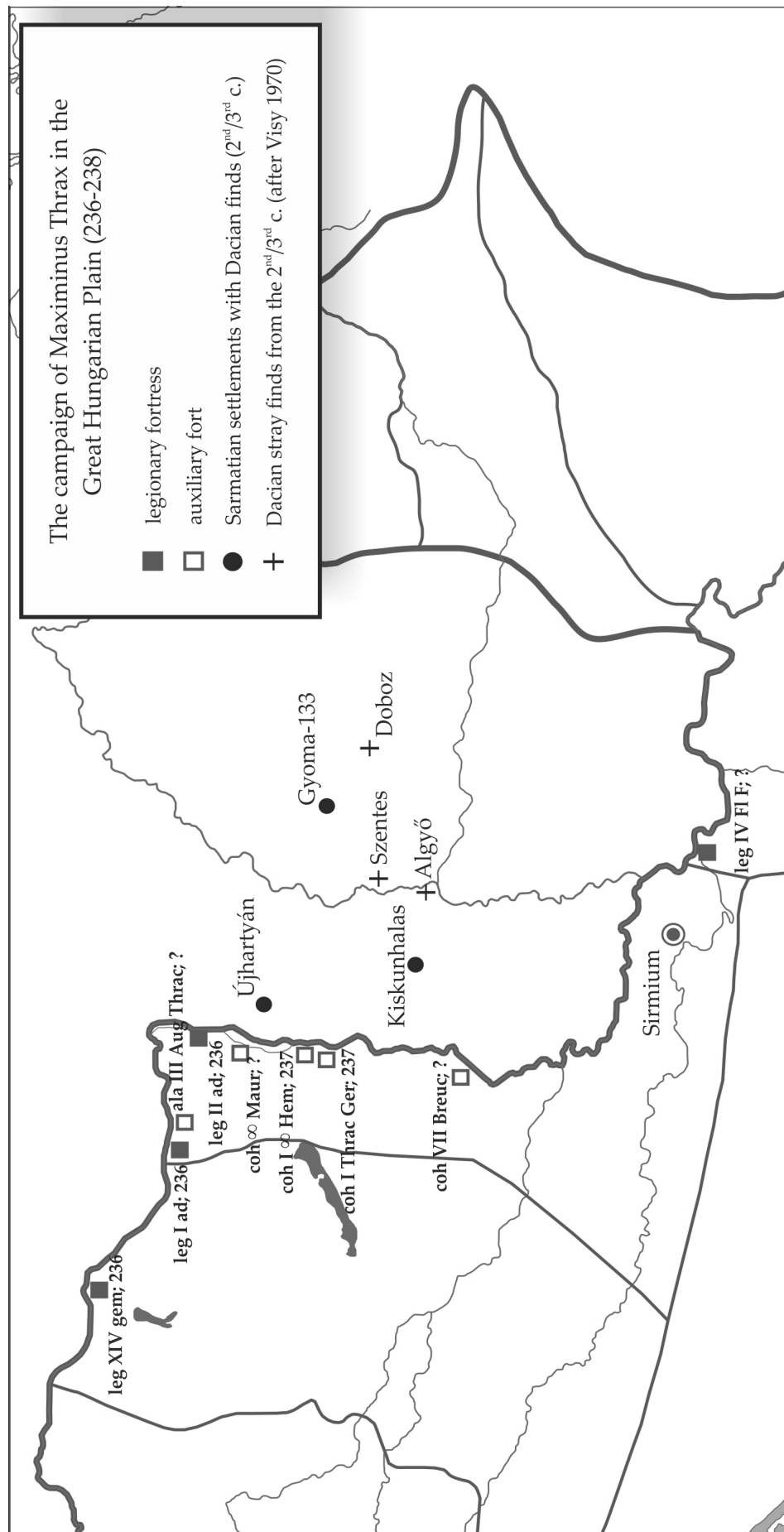


Plate 1. The expedition of Maximinus Thrax in the Great Hungarian Plain

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AB	Archaeologia Baltica, Klaipėda
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaEa	Acta Eurasistica, Wrocław
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaSic	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AHG	Annals of Human Genetics, New York
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
AnB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
AncCivScytSib	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
AnnMedCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchAustr	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapest
ARozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
ArhKiev	Archeologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut archeologii, Kyjiv
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală, Cluj-Napoca
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, București
ArhSof	Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija
ARegia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
ArsHung	Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
AT	Antik tanulmányok. Studia antiqua, Budapest
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BAVA	Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, München
BayVgBl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
BerBayDenkmPfl	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, Bonn
BerDenkmPflNs	Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen, Hameln
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Berlin
BiMÉ	A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalu
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest

CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercArh	Cercetări arheologice, București
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Berlin–Mainz
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucarest
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
DME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Dolg	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
EJA	Estonian Journal of Archaeology, Tallinn
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve, Eger
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Kolozsvár
FI	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
GCBi	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo
Gymnasium	Gymnasium Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung, Heidelberg
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest
IPH	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
IstorZapiski	Istoricheskiye Zapiski, Novorossiysk
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvSamara	Izvestiya Samarskogo Nauchnogo Centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Samara
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, New York
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
KM	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
Korall	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat, Budapest
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR, Moskva
MAK	Materialy po arheologii Kavkaza, Moskva
MAR	Materialy po arheologii Rossii, Sankt Petersburg
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, München–Zürich
Marisia	Marisia (V-). Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
MatCercArh	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MatWczesnośred	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne, Wrocław
MemAnt	Memoria antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFMÉ – StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MH	Műveltség és Hagyomány, Debrecen
MHVK	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz, Aarau
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR, Moskva

MNMAK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattárának Közleményei, Budapest
MünchBeitrVFG	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Wien
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
OH	Opuscula Hungarica, Budapest
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Archaeological Review), Poznań–Wrocław
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart
RE	Realencyclopädie: Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes, Bucarest
RevBist	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
RossArh	Rossijskaja Arheologija, Moskva
RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Bucarest
SAI	Svod arheologičeskikh istočnikov, Moskva
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
Savaria	Savaria, Szombathely
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
SF	Südostforschungen, München
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
SlovNum	Slovenská Numizmatika, Bratislava
SMMK	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
SovArh	Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskva
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
SpNov	Specimina nova. Dissertationem ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SSz	Soproni Szemle, Sopron
StAntArch	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd, Beograd
Stratum	Stratum plus. Archaeology&Anthropology, Chișinău
StTH	Studia Turco-Hungarica, Budapest
Światowit	Światowit. Annual of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of
Warsaw, Warsaw	
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica, București
UAV	Ufimskij Arheologičeskij Vestnik, Ufa
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
VAU	Voprosy Arheologii Urala, Sverdlovsk
Vestnik MGOU	Vestnik Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Oblastnoj Universitet. Istoriâ I Političeskie Nauki = Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. History and political science, Moscow
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VjesDal	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
VMS	Viking and Medieval Scandinavia, Turnhout
VTT	Veszprémi Történelmi Társaság, Veszprém
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény, Zalaegerszeg
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn