

CHAPTER II

THE IMPACT MADE BY TRAJAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN DACIA

Official commemoration and popular tradition

The enormous effect of Trajan's achievements in Dacia from the psychological viewpoint can be gauged by their commemoration within the Roman world and by the echoes of them that resounded far beyond its geographical and chronological limits.

First of all, we can sense even today the impact made by Trajan's Dacian wars throughout the empire by glancing at examples of the coinage relating to them. This exhibits an extremely rich and varied number of reverse-types emphasizing the victory of Rome, the triumph of Trajan, the humiliation of the foe and the expansion of the empire.

Furthermore, there is a fairly rich body of epigraphical material dealing with the Dacian wars. Though this is a subject for specialized study, it may be useful to include here some extracts from inscriptions, with translations, which have a bearing on the army represented on the Column (Roman-British inscriptions, in particular).

Finally, it is of particular value to make a careful examination of the complex of commemorative monuments found not so very far from the main battlefield, namely those at Tropaeum Traiani (the modern Adamklissi) in the province of Moesia Inferior. These comprise, in close proximity to one another, the ruins of an altar (a cenotaph), a mausoleum, and a huge triumphal monument, the Tropaeum Traiani, adorned with a series of sculptured 'metopes' representing scenes of war against the Dacians. This monument is of outstanding importance for studying provincial commemorative art and, even



10 The captive Dacian, a noble wearing a cap, possibly Deccebalus, symbolizes *Dacia capta*, the defeated Dacia, sitting on a shield in a mourning attitude; below lies the national weapon, the battle-scythe. *Denarius* of Trajan, M. & S. 216.

more, for tracing the lost history of the Dacian wars and restoring them to life through the evidence of pictures. Indeed, one could describe the Trophy as the provincial counterpart of the Column in Rome. By comparing the two series of pictures we can appreciate the events' imperial significance (from the Roman monument), and, at the same time, what they meant to the soldiers on the spot (from the Adamklissi monument). But first let us note how far in space and time Trajan's fame travelled in popular tradition, from Antiquity into the Middle Ages.

From the eastern plains of Ukraina the gallant Sarmato-Scythian allies of the Dacians had come to fight Rome, and back they went to their distant, frosty steppes after experiencing the weight of defeat and the impact of Roman might. Trajan, the invincible conqueror from the West, thus became a mythical, divine hero, entering the pantheon of the peoples who eventually evolved into proto-Russian Slavs. One thousand years later, the name of Trajan is still mentioned in awe, in the *chanson de geste* of Igor's legion (IX, 57: 'Once, Trajan's slaughters had been...').

In the Christian West, where the memory of the pagan Roman emperors was so often execrated, that of Trajan was unique in being praised and honoured. The legend grew up that Pope Gregory the Great, confronted with the Column and touched by the thought of Trajan's virtues, prayed for and obtained the salvation of his soul. Then, in Dante's Paradise, Trajan shines high up in the ethereal eagle's glory: he is indeed

*dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio
colui che più al becco mi s'accosta*

('among the five who encircle my eyelash, the one who is the closest to my beak'), up in the sixth sky (*Paradiso*, XX, 31-48).

The Dacian wars on Roman coinage

After the end of the First Dacian War a series of reverse-types were struck which allude directly to Trajan's victories. These coins are dated between AD 102 and 114, spanning the emperor's fourth, fifth and sixth consulships, and the obverses frequently include in their legends the title of *Dacicus*, bestowed on the emperor either late in 102 or early in 103. It is often



11 Dacia kneeling before *Pax*.
Denarius of Trajan, BMC 216.

12 Dacia before Rome, who has
a spear and a statuette of Victory
on her outstretched arm. *Sestertius* of Trajan, M. & S. 534.



impossible to link these coins definitely with one or other of the wars. But we can observe in them a variety of trends in the official method of commemoration.

A 'realistic' trend would seem to be represented on reverses relating to actual events and bearing a special significance easily understood by the spectator. Into this series fall the scenes in which a Dacian captive appears alone, either standing with hands bound or kneeling or seated in an attitude of despair on his shield and weapons, all reproduced in precise detail (e.g. the cap and the curved *falx*). Elsewhere, the motif of *Dacia capta* is associated either with the figure of the emperor or with the personification of Rome and such traditional Roman figures as the Senate, the Tiber, or *Pax Romana*, so as to create a complex of a semi-realistic kind with a more emphatic commemorative significance. Thus we have the Dacian (Decabalus?) presenting his shield to Trajan, the captive presented by Trajan himself to the Senate, the captive kneeling in front of Rome or *Pax*, the figure of the Tiber with his knee on *Dacia* whom he forces on the ground, and the Dacian's head under the foot of the standing emperor. The representation of Dacians captured and humiliated by the Romans, in the presence of Trajan, is quite common both on the Column and on the Adamklissi monument.



13 The classic triumphal image of the Emperor on horseback, thrusting his spear at a falling enemy (a Dacian) while galloping over him. *Sestertius* of Trajan, M. & S. 534.

Of special impact, and intermediate between actuality and allegory in imperial commemoration, is the classic picture of Trajan on horseback, thrusting his spear at a fallen Dacian. It is worth recalling that this epic scene, charged with symbolic implications that go beyond its merely martial character, had been widely used in imperial figurative art; and that coins with reverse-types showing this motif were struck, it seems, in great quantities. On the other hand, this scene is absent on the Column, and can only be recognized with uncertainty on one 'metope' of the Adamklissi Tropeum. Another typical rendering in realistic terms of Roman victory and triumph is that of the emperor riding in a *quadriga* and holding either the eagle-topped sceptre or the laurel branch.

Among the above motifs, that of *Dacia capta*, defeated and humiliated, belongs partly to the realm of more abstract representation, typified by the 'pile of arms' (*congeries armorum*) and by the trophy itself. Very common are the reverses with *Dacia* seated in a mourning attitude upon a pile of shields, curved swords and long spears, or beside a trophy. Common,



14 The Emperor crowned by Victory. *Sestertius* of Trajan, BMC 825.



15 A Dacian seated in grief on a pile of arms and shields; scythes are visible on the left. *Denarius* of Trajan, BMC 391.



16 *Dacia* seated mourning on a pile of arms. *Sestertius* of Trajan, BMC 786.



17, 18 A typical Dacian trophy on the reverse of a *denarius* of Trajan, BMC 391. It is identical with that reproduced on the column at the left of the Victory (18) who separates the two wars.



19 The personification of Victory, inscribing *Victoria Dacia* on her shield. Trajanic *denarius*, BMC 322.

20 The rendering of the Column engraved on a Trajanic *denarius* (BMC 454) is very realistic, but it over-emphasizes the statue at the top.



too, are the types with *Dacia* supporting a trophy on her shoulders, or crushed beneath the foot of Trajan, who is erecting a trophy.

The purely symbolic trend is represented by the type of the simple 'Dacian trophy', with the usual elements of central cuirass or tunic, casque at the top, and lateral shields, erected on crossed poles, at the base of which there is often the pile of arms, sometimes including specifically Dacian weapons. The figure of the emperor or that of Mars may be associated with this trophy. Trophies of this kind are also represented on the Column, while this self-same trophy is the *ephiema* at the top of the Adamklissi monument. Moreover, both the Column itself and the Tropaeum Traiani appear as coin reverse-types from Roman and provincial mints respectively.

To the same symbolic trend belongs the classical personification of winged Victory, either inscribing DA CI CA or VIC DAC on an oval shield or adorning a trophy or crowning the emperor. The first type is that represented on the Column, but without words on the shield, at the centre of the spirals, serving to separate the two wars. The shield alone, with the inscription DACIA CAPTA, is the simplest way of commemorating the victory.

However, in the Roman concept of victory, the major aim was not to defeat and humiliate the enemy but rather to draw him into the orbit of romanization through that imposition of *pax* on the civilian population (cf. the Virgilian '... pacisque imponere morem') which normally followed in the footsteps of



21 The reverse of Trajan's *sestertius* with the legend *Dacia Augusta Provincia* (BMCG 960) symbolized and celebrated the Roman's military colonization of subdued Dacia.

Inscriptions relating to the Dacian wars

The dedicatory inscription on the base of Trajan's Column (Smallwood, 378, p. 128):

SENATVS POPVLSQVE ROMANVS / IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE
F. NERVAE / TRAIANO AVG. GERM. DACICO PONTIF. / MAXIMO
TRIB. POT. XVII IMP. VI COS. VI P. P. / AD DECLARANDVM
QVANTAE ALTIYDINIS / MONS ET LOCVS TANT [is oper]
IBVS SIT EGESTVS

The Senate and the people of Rome to the Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, *pontifex maximus*, at the time of his seventeenth tribunician power, of his sixth imperial salutation, and of his sixth consulship, the Father of the Country, to declare how high a hill and place have been excavated for these great works.

Inscription cut in the cliff-face on the right bank of the Danube west of Orsova (Smallwood, 413, p. 135; *ILS* 5863):

IMP. CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F. NERVA TRAIANVS AVG. GERM.
PONTIF. MAXIMVS TRIB. POT. IIII PATER PATRIAE COS. III
MONTIBVS EXCISIT[is] ANCO[mi]BUS SUBLAT[is] VIA[M] FECIT

The Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus*, at the time of his fourth tribunician power, the Father of the Country, at the time of his third consulate, after cutting down mountains and removing their projecting elbows, made the road.

The dedicatory inscription of the great Trophy at Adam-kissi (Smallwood, 303, p. 104; Picard, p. 394):

MA[tr]i VLTORI / IMP. [Caes] AR DIVI / NERVA[re] [f] NERVA
[T]r AIANVS AV [g.] [Germ.] / [Dac] I [cus] P [on] T. MA
[x.] / [trib.] [potes] T. XIII / [imp.] VI [cos.] V P. P. / ...
[Smallwood's version goes on] [per exerc?] TRV [m. . .]
SV. . . E. . . [Picard's version] [et] [exerc] TRV [s] [Moesia] /
[inferioris] SV [b]

To Mars the Avenger, the Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus

the actual conquest of the territory. Hence we find that the romanization of the new province of Dacia is commemorated both on the coinage and on the Column. Between AD 112 and 114 the reverse-type, with the legend DACIA AVGVSTI PROVINCIA, was struck: the personification of the province is seated peacefully and holding proudly a legionary standard, while children, with corn and grapes, play on her lap. The correct interpretation of this allegory has been supplied by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee, who states that it links together the 'military' (the standard) and 'colony' (children and harvest) symbols as a clear allusion to the colonization of Dacia by army veterans. This is in perfect accord both with history and, in the sphere of art, with one of the final scenes on the Column, where a group of short-cloaked, bearded men, all *in caliga* (i.e. wearing the sandals peculiar to the Roman soldier), is in the act of marching into the land evacuated by the natives. They are, indeed, Trajan's veterans, who will re-populate and romanize Dacia for the centuries to come.

Dacicus, *pontifex maximus*, at the time of his thirteenth tribunician power, of his sixth imperial salutation, and of the fifth consulate, the Father of the Country... [Picard's version] the army of Lower Moesia...

The dedicatory inscription of the cenotaph, the Dacian war memorial, at Adamklissi (*ILS* 9107):

... [Trajan, etc.] [Tri] B. POT. . . [in] MEMORIAM FORTISS
[imorum] [viro]rum [qui] PRO REP. MORTE OCCUB[uerunt]
[c]OL. NEAPOL. ITAL. PRAE[st]... [several names]

Trajan . . . tribunician power . . . In memory of the bravest of men who met death for the commonwealth . . . Prefect, from the *colonia* of Naples, in Italy . . .

MILITARY DIPLOMAS* recording auxiliary soldiers and units that took part in the Dacian wars:

A crack unit from Britain is granted the Roman citizenship, and other honorific titles, for outstanding service in Dacia. Trajan to Novantico, 11 August, AD 106 (a double bronze tablet found at Porolissum; *CIL* XVI, Suppl. 160):

IMP. CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F. NERVA TRAIANVS AVGVS-
TIVS GERMANIC. DACICVS / PONTIF. MAXIMVS TRIBVN. POTES-
T. XIII IMP. VI COS. V P. P. / PEDITIBVS ET EQVITIBVS QVI MILI-
TANT / IN COHORTE I BRITTONVM MILLIARIA / VLP-
TORQVATA P. F. CIVIVM ROMA / NORVM QVAE ESTIN DACIA
SVB D. / TERENCE SCAVRIANO QVORVM NO / MINA SVB
SCRIPTA SVNT PIE ET FIDELI / TER EXPEDITIONE DACICA
FVNGTIS / ANTE EMERITA STIPENDIA CIVITA / TEM ROMANAM
DEDIT / A. D. III IDVS AVG. / DARNITHITI / L. MINICIO NATALE
Q. SILVANO GRANIANO COS. / PEDITI / M. VLPPIO ADCOBROVATI
F. NOVANTICO / NI / RATIS / . DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM
EX TA / BVLA AENEA QVAE FIXA EST RO / MAE IN MVRO.
POST TEMPLVM / DIVI AVG. AD MINERVAM

The Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, *pontifex maximus*,

*It may be of help to readers of Roman military inscriptions to know that the symbol ∞ means *militaria* (for a cohort), while the signs > or O stand for *centuria* or *centurion*.

at the time of his fourteenth tribunician power, of his sixth imperial salutation and fifth consulate, the Father of the Country, to the horse- and foot-soldiers serving with the first cohort of Britons, 1000 men strong, Ulpia, decorated with the collar of honour, obedient and faithful, of Roman citizens, which is in Dacia under D. Terentius Scaurianus, and whose names are written below, who served with obedience and loyalty in the Dacian expedition, before the completion of their terms of service [thereby] granted the Roman citizenship. 11 August, at Darnithitis, the consuls being L. Minicius Natalis and Q. Silvanus Granianus. To the infantryman M. Ulpius, Adcobrovatus' son, Novantico, from Ratae (Coritanorum-Leicester). Copied from and compared with the bronze tablet fixed, at Rome, to the wall behind the temple of divine Augustus, near Minerva's temple.

On the other tablet, the names of the witnesses are listed:

P. CORNELI ALEXANDRI / L. PVLLI VERECVNDI / P. ATINI
AMERIMNI / C. TVTICANI SATVRNINI / L. PVLLI TROPHIMI /
C. IVLI PARATI / M. IVNI EVTYCHI

A similar diploma, found in Hungary. Trajan to Thacemus, 17 February, AD 110 (*CIL* XVI, Suppl. 57):

IMP. CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F. NERVA TRAIANVS AVG. GERM.
DACICVS PONTIF. MAXIMVS / TRIBVNIC. POTES-
TAT. XIII IMP. VI COS. V P. P. / EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN /
ALIS DVABVS ET COHORTIBVS DECIM QVAE AP / PELLANTVR I
CIVIVM ROMANORVM ET I AVG. / ITVRAEORVM ET I AVG.
ITVRAEORVM SAGIT / TAR. ET I BRITANNICA CO C. R. ET I
HISPANOR. / P. F. ET I THRACVM C. R. ET I ITVRAEORVM ET I /
FLAVIA VLP-
MACEDONICA ET III CAMPESTRIS C. R. / ET IIII CYPRIA C. R. ET
VIII RAETORVM C. R. / ET PEDITES SINGVLARES BRITANNICI ET
SVNT / IN DACIA SVB D. TERENCE SCAVRIANO QVINIS / ET
VICENIS PLVRIBVSVE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS / DIMISSIS
HONESTA MISSIONE QVORVM NO / MINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT
IPSIS LIBERIS POSTE / RISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET
CONV / BVLM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVissent / CVM
EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELI / BES ESSENT CVM IIS

QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT / DVMTAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS.A.D.
XIII K.MART. / SER.SCIPTONE SALVIDIENO OREITO / M. PEDY-
CAEO PRISCINO COS. / ALAE. I AVG.ITVRAEOR. CVI PRAEST /
C.VETTIVS PRISCVS / EX GRECALE / THAEMO HORATI F.
ITVRAEO / ET NAL. F.EIVS ET MARCO F.EIVS ET ANTONIO F.
EIVS / .SCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA / AENEA
QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST / TEMPLVM DIVI AVG.AD
MINERVAM

The Emperor Caesar [titles as above] to the horse- and foot soldiers who served with two *alae* and ten cohorts, the names of which are: 1st of Roman citizens and 1st of Augusta of Ituraeans and 1st of Ituraean archers and 1st of Britons – 1000 men strong – Roman citizens and 1st of Spaniards – obedient and faithful – and 1st of Thracians, Roman citizens, and 1st of Ituraeans and 1st of Spaniards Flavia Ulpia – 1000 men strong – of Roman citizens and 2nd of Gauls Macedonica and 3rd of Yeomanry, Roman citizens, and 4th of Cypriots, Roman citizens, and 8th of Raeti, Roman citizens, and selected British infantrymen, also being in Dacia under D. Terentius Scaurianus, who have fulfilled their twenty-five – or more – years of service and are honourably discharged from the army, whose names are written below, to themselves and to their sons and descendants is granted the Roman citizenship and the status of legal marriage with the wives that they had at the time the citizenship was granted; or for those who were bachelors the right of legal marriage with the brides to whom they will afterwards get married, provided that each man has only one wife. 17 February, the consuls being Ser. Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus and M. Peduceus Priscinus: to the ex-private in the ala Augusta of Ituraeans – commanded by C. Vettius Priscus – Thaeus, Horace's son, Ituraean, and to his sons Nalius[?], Marcus and Antonius. Copied from, and compared with... [as above].

The service of a future emperor in the Dacian campaign (an inscription at Athens; *CIL* III, 550):

... AELIO. . . SERG. HADRIANO / ... [some civilian titles]
IMP. NERVAE TRAIANI / CAESARIS AVG. GERMANICI DACICI
PANNONIAE INFERIORIS PRAETORI EODEMQUE / TEMPORE

LEG. LEG. I MINERVIAE P. F. BELLO. DACICO ITEM TRIB. PLEB.
QVAESTORI IMPERATORIS / TRAIANI ET COMITI EXPEDITIONIS
DACICAE DONIS MILITARIBVS AB EO DONATO. . . [etc.] [other titles follow]

To Aelius Sergius Hadrian . . . of the Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, *praetor* of Pannonia Inferior and, at this time, *legatus* [commander] of the 1st Minervian legion, obedient and faithful, in the Dacian war and also *tribunus plebis* and *quaestor* of the Emperor Trajan and his companion [adviser] in the Dacian expedition, having from him received military decorations...

The many decorations (see p. 79) earned by a gallant officer, eventually to become a consul, in the Dacian campaign (an inscription at Turin; *CIL* V, 6977):

... [Glitio]. . . [Stel. Atilio]. . . AGRICOLAE COS. II / ...
[civilian titles] LEGAT. PRO PR. / IMP. NERVAE CAES. TRAIAN.
AVG. GER. DACICI / PROVINC. PANNON. DONATO AB EODEM /
BELLO DACICO DONIS MILITARIBVS CORONA / MVRAI VAL-
LARI CLASSIC. AVREA HAST. / PVRS III VEXILLIS III LEGATO
PRO PR. / PROVINC. BELGIC. DIVI NERVAE LEG. / LEG. VI
FERRAT... [etc.] [other command posts]

... To... Glitius Atilius Agricola, twice a consul...
legatus propraetore of the Emperor Nerva Caesar Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus in the province of Pannonia, from him having received the military decorations of the crown for gallant wall-assault, that for gallant ditch-assault, that for gallant naval [or, better, amphibious] operations, that of gold, four spear-heads of pure [silver], four banners, *legatus propraetore* in the province of Belgica and divine Nerva's *legatus* [commander] of the 6th legion Ferrata ['Ironside']...

Another gallant officer, decorated in the Dacian campaign, who held posts of command in auxiliary and legionary units (an inscription at Contigliano, near Reate; *CIL* IX, 4753):

PREFERENTIO. . . PAETO / MEMMO APOLLINARI / ... [civilian titles]
/ PRAEF. COH. III BREVC. TRIB. LEG. X / GEM. PRAEF.

ALAE.I ASTVRVM DONIS / DONATO EXPED.DAC.AB IMP. /
 TRAIANO HASTA PVRA VEXILLO / CORONA MYRAII. . .
 [civilian titles follow]

To Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris . . . prefect of the 3rd cohort of Breuci, tribune of the 10th 'twin' legion (Gemina), prefect of the 1st *ala* of Asturians, who received in the Dacian expedition from the Emperor Trajan the military decorations of the spearhead of pure silver, of the banner, and of the crown for gallant wall-assault . . .

The brilliant career of an officer, which began with the command of a unit of 'irregulars' in the Dacian war (an inscription at Ujo, near Oviedo; Smallwood, 301, p. 102):

G.SVLPIC.VRSVLO PRAEF.SYMMACHIARIORVM ASTVRVM BELLI
 DACICI O LEG.I MINERVIAE P.F. O COH.XII VRBANAE O COH.III
 PRAETORIAE P.P.LEG.XIIX PR.ET LEG.III AVG. . . [the dedicat-
 or's name]

To C. Sulpicius Ursulus, prefect of the 'irregular unit' [*symmacharii*] of Asturians in the Dacian war, centurion of the 1st Minervian legion, obedient and faithful, centurion of the 12th urban cohort, centurion of the 4th praetorian cohort, *primus pilus* of the 22nd [?] legion [Primigenia ?] and of the 3rd Augustan legion . . .

A legionary of British origin who served with the 30th legion Ulpia Victrix (an inscription from Xanten; *CIL* XIII, 8631):

MATRIBVS / BRITIS / S.VALERIVS / SIMPLEX / MIL.LEG.XXX /
 V.V. / V.S.L.M.

To the British Mothers, S. Valerius Simplex, a soldier of the 30th legion Ulpia Victrix, gladly and duly fulfils his vow.

A British auxiliary unit is likely to have taken part in company with other units in the construction of the great bridge at Pontes-Drobetae (an inscription found in one of the pillars of the bridge, at Drobetae; *CIL* III, 1703):

COH.II HISP / . . HICRE. / [CO] H.III.BRIT.
 The 2nd cohort of Spaniards . . . the 1st cohort of Cretans, the 3rd cohort of Britons.

A possible hint at the perilous campaigning along the Olit's valley and in the hilly strongholds of Dacia by a legionary of the 1st Minervian legion (an inscription at Cologne; *CIL* XIII, 8213):

MATRONIS / AVFANIB.C. / IVL.MANSVE / TVS M. L. I. M. /
 P.F. V.S.L.M. FV[I] / T AD ALVTVM / FLVMEN SECVS / MONT.
 CAVCAS.

To the Aufanian Mothers Julius Mansuetus, a soldier of the 1st Minervian legion, obedient and faithful, gladly and duly fulfils his vow. He was on the river Alutus [Olit] near the Caucasus Mountains.*

The Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi

The complex of monuments at Adamklissi (in Dobruja, 40 miles from Constanta) comprises a war memorial, in the form of an altar (a cenotaph), and a mausoleum, about 200 yards apart, and the great Tropaeum Traiani. The cenotaph, badly ruined, was inscribed with a long list of names of fallen Roman service-men, headed by the statement that it is 'in memory of the bravest of men who lost their lives for the Roman commonwealth' in one of the Dacian wars. The list opens with a high-ranking officer [PRAE (*fectus*)] from Naples, whose name is, however, illegible (see p. 50). This name has given rise to much discussion. Some think it impossible that the name could be that of Cornelius Fuscus, who, as we have seen, fell in the Dacian disasters of Domitian's reign, and have surmised (Baradez, p. 209) that it was that of a *praefectus castrorum* of Trajan's time. The names that follow are those of Italian and Roman soldiers (probably praetorians), of junior officers (*signiferi*, *imaginiferi*), and of many *auxilia*.

The cenotaph and mausoleum are obviously related in purpose to the major monument, the Trophy, sacred to Mars

*It is an open question as to whether the river is the Alontas, which flows from the Caucasus mountains into the Caspian Sea, or whether Alutus is correct and the 'Caucasus' are the Transylvanian Alps.