

Sorin Nemeti

FINDING ARCOBADARA

Essay on the Geography
and Administration
of Roman Dacia

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FOREWORD

A little while ago, reading the inscription of an altar found in Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County), specialists have discovered the ancient name of the Roman settlement there: Arcobadara (maybe Arcobara), that provided the name of a *territorium*. The ancient names of thousands of settlements in the Roman Empire remain unknown. Inscriptions, Tabula Peutingeriana, and data recorded by Ptolemy and the “geographer from Ravenna” provide the ancient names of around 100 settlements from Dacia, large and small, cities, quasi-urban settlements, *vici militares*, *pagi* etc. Around 30 of them can only be located, with great approximation, on the map of the province of Dacia, some only in the area where they were found, while others seem (or seemed) to fall outside the boundaries of the province. There are numerous suggestions of identification, but it is rare case for an epigraphic inscription to confirm such identification. On the one hand, many of the un-localized toponyms are those of small settlements, never mentioned or mentioned in just few inscriptions. On the other hand, even in cases when stone inscription have been preserved in abundance, it can happen that none of them mention the name of the settlement in question. This has been – until recently – the case of the settlement in Ilișua as well. Out of the many inscriptions found there, the one mentioned above is the only one to reveal the ancient toponym. Therefore, to our satisfaction, we now know with certainty where Ptolemy’s Ἀρκοβάδαρα was.

Starting from this discovery, Sorin Nemeti investigates two layers in his new book: the ancient geography of the province of Dacia and the provincial administration in the Danubian region of the Empire. His familiarity with issues of ancient geography and with those of landscape and environment during Antiquity has been facilitated by two research stays, one at the Laval University in Québec and the other in Paris.

Thousands of pages have been written on the exceptional source that is Ptolemy's *Geografia*. For Dacia, the author provides precious pieces of information that are nevertheless accompanied by various questions and interpretations. Sorin Nemeti is among the Romanian specialists who have dissected Ptolemy's text: he dedicates an entire chapter to the ancient author (*Ptolemy and the Map of Dacia*). Sorin Nemeti corroborates the data in Ptolemy's *Geografia* with older sources, dated to the first century (Agrippa's *Geografia*, Pliny the Elder), but also with later sources (Orosius, Eutropius, Festus, Iordanes, the geographer from Ravenna etc.) in order to clarify the extent of the Roman province, the issue of the "Dacian tribes" mentioned by Ptolemy, and – in direct connection to the latter – the existence of *civitates peregrinae* in the province etc. Do the 15 tribes under discussion reflect the situation before the Roman conquest or are they administrative structures (*civitates*) from the second century? To what degree did the ancient geographer use official documents such as *formula provinciae* or *itineraria*? The answers remain in the sphere of hypotheses.

In order to identify and understand the administrative structure called *territorium Arcobadarense*, the author researches the meaning of *castellum* and *kastella*, the meaning and dating of *conventus civium Romanorum*, few of which are attested in Dacia, and the status of the rural settlements near auxiliary camps – focusing on the cases of Micia, Arcobadara, and Samum – and of their territories. The investigation is not limited to Dacia, but extends to the group of provinces on the Lower Danube. The analyzed inscriptions do not refer to military *territoria*, but to autonomous or semi-autonomous territories organized according to the municipal model, with similar structures of leadership. The author's incursion into "the life of Arcobadara" allows him to research, on epigraphic grounds, the onomastic structure of the population, the origin of the inhabitants, their social status, and their spirituality. There are no Dacian anthroponyms preserved, but the presence of the autochthons is attested archaeologically, especially by handmade pottery items of La Tène tradition. In order to place the territories in space, the author introduces a modern method, borrowed from British archaeology ("Thiessen's polygons").

A new reading of Ptolemy's map of Dacia, after having proven that Arcobadara was the (ancient, Dacian) name of a rural settlement near the auxiliary fort in Ilișua, lending its name to a *territorium* inhabited by a community of Roman citizens and peregrines with restricted

autonomy, has convinced Sorin Nemeti of the correctness of data recorded by Ptolemy. A new drawing of Ptolemy's map requires certain adjustments: the ancient geographer's toponyms placed by modern research in Moldavia are, according to Nemeti, those of small settlements on the eastern border of the province of Dacia, towards the Oriental Carpathians. Estimating the distortions of the ancient map, Sorin Nemeti suggests that other among Ptolemy's toponyms should be located between the 48th and 49th parallels thus: *Rucconium* in Bologa, *Docidava* in Buciumi, *Triphulum* in Orheiu Bistriței, *Patridava* in Brâncovenești and *Carsidava* in Sărățeni, while *Ulpianum* seems to have been located not in Bologa, but in Gilău.

Sorin Nemeti's book can be included among similar studies dealing with the geography of Dacia, ancient landscape, and the organization of territory. All are significant parts of a field of study that takes shape under our very eyes, reinvigorated with patience and competence.

Prof. Mihai Bărbulescu
Corresponding member of the Romanian Academy

ARGUMENT

The odyssey of finding the small town called Arcobadara, located on the north-eastern border of the Roman Empire, started in 2005. Since then I reflected on the consequences of this discovery. Many conclusions were already published in special studies, in volumes and reviews.¹ Researchers adopted some of my observations, rejected some hypothesis and theories, but, in the end, I believe that modern knowledge on the geography and administration of ancient Dacia was improved and pushed forward.

Data gathering for this study was possible through a research assignment in Laval University (Québec, Canada) between September 2008 and February 2009 and a project financed by the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris), through a Mellon scholarship between April and June 2009. I want to thank Professor Ella Hermon from Laval University for hosting me there, and for constructive discussions that oriented me in this new, for me at least, field of studies. In Paris I benefited from the kind help of Professors Alexandru Avram (University Le Mans, France) and Jean-Michel Carrié (EHESS, Paris). I had most fruitful discussions with my old friend and colleague, Dan Dana (CNRS, Paris). Corneliu Gaiu provided me with photos and hosted me during the field trip in Ilișua. My gratitude goes to all of them. Last but not least, I wish to thank my professor, Mihai Bărbulescu, from whom I learned, during time, pretty much everything I know. Even the reading of this inscription is due to our common efforts.

Given the fact that the entire book is centered around a single votive inscription (though not an ordinary one) and I use a lot of epigraphic analogies for explaining the geographical and administrative

¹ Nemeti 2006, 86–98; Nemeti 2006a, 271–288; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2006–2007, 107–118; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 446–457; Nemeti 2010, 395–433; Nemeti 2011, 37–49; Dana, Nemeti 2012, 431–437.

situations, the final steps in writing and assembling this book were made in the context of project PN-II-RU-TE-2011-3-013 entitled *Digital Corpus for the Virtual Exploration of the Antiquity. Art and Text on Roman Monuments from Dacia*.

I choose to preserve the ancient name in the form Arcobadara, instead of the more probable rebuilt form of *Arkobara, that figures in the first place in Ptolemy's manuscripts, in order not to contradict an ancient source. *Arkobara is probably a Dacian name, corrupted through the centuries in the process of transmission of handwritten copies of the Geography. I hope that future epigraphic discoveries will reveal the real name of this small town. Until then I will still use the strange, and improbable form of Arcobadara.

I. THE ALTAR FOR THE *GENIUS TERRITORII ARCOBADARENSIS*

The sources for the study of the administrative organization of the territory of the province of Dacia are few and lacunars. After reviewing the possible rural communal autonomies, Radu Ardevan noticed the fact that: "large areas of the territory of Roman Dacia remain shadowed to us. One cannot specify anything yet as to the settling and the administration of some vast territories, such as the east of Transylvania, the west of Banat, central Oltenia, and western Muntenia".² Given the lack of enlightening documents, R. Ardevan proposes the existence of some rural structures which he conventionally names *civitates* which have as residences a *vicus* functioning as *caput civitatis*, taking into consideration that, in certain situations, particularly in eastern Transylvania, "où les seules agglomérations humaines plus remarquables à l'époque de la province sont celles de la proximité des camps – c'est-à-dire les *uici* militaires, qui... auraient dû jouer le rôle de centres administratifs, faute de toute autre structure".³

*

Recently discovered documents seem to confirm these correct intuitions. An inscription found in the autumn of 1989 in the area of the civil settlement near the Roman camp of Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County), brings new important data about the administrative organization of the rural territory and, even more, it enable us to localize a toponym mentioned in the list transmitted by Ptolemy's Geography. The inscription was read in five steps, several persons being involved in the process of the successive readings which offered, at the end, the complete text of the half right part of the votive altar from Ilișua.

² Ardevan 1998, 104.

³ Ardevan 1998a, 54–55.



Fig. 1

1. The discovery consists of a fragmentary altar, of which only the right side has been preserved, found at ground level in 1989. The excavations of that year led to the discovery of three pottery kilns, two houses with earthen and wooden walls, and one house with walls made of stone and a *hypocaustum*, that were placed at approximately 150 m to the south of the Roman camp. In the publication of the research from the Roman camp and the civil settlement from Ilișua, the fragmentary altar was only mentioned, and reproduced as follows:⁴

[...] O · TERRI
 [...] ROCBA
 [...] R · SAL
 [...] AEL · NO
 [...] S · MAGG
 [...] AET · TAE
 [...] COS

The text of the inscription was abstracted in the same form, without additional comments, in a recent collection of inscriptions.⁵

2. Decisive steps towards the correct deciphering of the inscription were taken once V. Wollmann and R. Ardevan resumed its analysis.

The altar, made of volcanic tufa, described and illustrated, has the preserved dimensions of 0.95 × 0.32 × 0.32 m with the inscription field of 0.52 × 0.128 × 0.26 m, the letters being 6.5 cm tall (in the 7th line,

⁴ Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1996–1997, 56–57, 78–79, 109.

⁵ Petolescu 2005, 295, no. 800.

only 5.5 cm tall).⁶ The altar has a base and a capital, the latter being decorated with a triangular pediment with vegetal motifs.

The ligatures, as it results from the photograph and the drawing are the following: in line 1 – T+E, in line 2 – C+O, in line 6 – N+T+E and E+T. In order to complete the inscription, the authors suggest other probable ligatures in the missing part of the altar, i. e. line 4 – E+T, line 6 – V+D+E, and line 7 – I+A+N.

The new reading restores, in lines 3–5, the names of the persons who dedicated the altar, Aurelius Salvius and Aelius Nomus, named *magistri* in line 5, and, in lines 6–7, the names of the *consules suffecti* from 195–196 A. D., Pudens and Aelianus. The completion suggested for the inscription, which does not solve, however, the problem of the votive dedication from lines 1–2, is as follows:

[De]o Terri-
[...]rcoba(e)
[Au]r(elius) Sal(uius)
[et A]el(ius) No-
[mu]s mag(istri duo),
Pude]nte et Ael-
[ian(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

For the completion of line 1 the authors suggest the word (*de*)O, followed by “with great difficulty” the name of a divinity which begins with the letters TERRI and continues in the following line with ...RCOBA. As for the origin of this god, taking into consideration the fact that *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* was stationed at Ilişua, the authors state that “mussten wir mit einer keltischen oder germanischen Gottheit und Unteren Rhein rechnene”, but do not exclude the hypothesis of an Oriental or Microasian god.⁷

3. Concerning the reading of the inscription, a few observations are necessary. First it represents an inscription with votive character, an altar dedicated by two *magistri*, the appointed leaders of a community. It is not a personal act of faith, but an obligation, a *votum* made on behalf of the community by its representatives who also supervised its relations with the divine world. The official character of the gesture is highlighted by the dating comprised in lines 6–7, where

⁶ Preserved in the Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 15993.

⁷ Wollmann, Ardevan 2005, 673–675, 678, fig. 13–14.

appear the names of the *consules suffecti*. The votive act marks a certain moment of their magistracy, either their appointment as *magistri*, or the end of their mandate. From epigraphic point of view, one must notice that, in the missing part of the altar, there is room for two, three letters at the most. Thus, at the beginning of line 1, instead of *[de]o*, *[geni]o* would be more appropriate, with the possible ligatures E+N or N+I. The letters TERRI from line 1 belong to the word *territorium* and we believe that the first letter from line 2 was a T followed by a separating point, and thus we shall have the abbreviated word TERRIT so, therefore, *Genio territorii*, a Genius of a rural community named *territorium*. The letters preserved from line 2 must be part of a place name, the name of a settlement, centre of this *territorium*.⁸ According to the suggested restoration, only the first letter of this word is missing. The preserved letters ...RCOBA only allow one completion. We are dealing with a fortunate case when the place name in the inscription corresponds to a known settlement from the ancient cartographic sources. Among the settlements localized by Ptolemy in Dacia (*Geogr.*, III. 8. 4), one finds, eastwards from Porolissum, at the same latitude, the settlement of Ἀρκοβάδαρα / Arcobadara (50° 40', 48°). It is beyond any doubt that this unusual combination of letters ...RCOBA from the inscription in Ilișua belongs to a place name derived from the name of the settlement of Arcobadara. Line 2 ends with a separating point, thus the name of this *territorium* appears abbreviated in the form *A]rcoba*, for *Arcoba(darens)*, with the Genitive *Arcoba(darensis)*.

Taking these into consideration, we first suggested the following reading:⁹

*[Geni]o terri-
[t(orii) A]rcoba(darensis)
[Au]r(elius) Sal(vius)
[et A]el(ius) No-
[mu]s magistri (duo),
[Pude]nte et Ael-
[ian(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).*

This new reading engenders a few important conclusions regarding the topography and the administrative organization of Roman

⁸ RE, VII, 1910, col. 1168.

⁹ Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2006–2007, 107–109; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 446–448.

Dacia. Firstly, the fact that the military *vicus* beside the Roman camp from Ilișua was named Arcobadara, secondly the fact that the belonging area was organized as a rural structure with certain autonomy, named *territorium Arcobadarense*.

The new reading was accepted by colleague specialists,¹⁰ but not everyone agreed with the on-site identification of the settlement named Arcobadara. For C. C. Petolescu, for example, Arcobadara is the name of some rural settlement, center of a civil territory, located somewhere in the area of the Roman camp in Ilișua, meanwhile the auxiliary *vicus* next to the camp took the name of the encamped troop, ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana. Petolescu repeatedly supported an unattested toponym *Ad Tungros, following the pattern Ad Pannonios (Teregova, Caraș-Severin County) and Ad Batavos / Ad Vatabos (maybe Războieni-Cetate, Alba County). He found presumable written evidence for his new theory in the *Cosmography* written by Anonymus Ravennas that lists two toponyms, Sturium (sic) and Congri, on the so-called “road from Eastern Dacia”. For Petolescu, Congri could be a corrupt form of *Tungri (*Ad Tungros), meanwhile Sturium (sic) should be somehow related to ala I Asturum, deployed in Hoghiz (Brașov County).¹¹ The caducity of these identifications will be emphasized in the chapter dedicated to the so-called Phira – Certie road from Ravenna’s *Cosmography*.¹²

4. After further examination of the inscribed altar, I. Piso suggested a new reading of lines 6–7. In line 6 the above mentioned epigraphist observed the fact that the final letters –NTE could belong to the name [*Pude*]nte (i. e. the *consul suffectus* C. Valerius Pudens, identified by R. Ardevan and V. Wollmann), but also to the cognomen [*Praese*]nte. Then, at the end of the line, there is no AE ligature, thus the first syllable should be *Al-*. Starting with these observations, I. Piso was able to identify the names of the right consuls: [*Praese*]nte et *Al*/[*bin(o)*] *co(n)s(ulibus)*, the consuls of the year 246 A. D., [*C(aio) B*]rutio *Praesente* et [*C(aio) A*]llio *Albino co(n)s(ulibus)*. The new suggested reading is the following:¹³

¹⁰ AÉ, 2006, 1130; Petolescu 2007, no. 1191; Petolescu 2007–2008, no. 1272; the name Arcobadara is sometimes used to designate the archaeological site from Ilișua: Găzdac, Gaiu, Marchiș 2011; Mustață 2012.

¹¹ Petolescu 2010, 312, no. 1373; Petolescu 2011, 303, no. 1436.

¹² *Infra*, Chapter II. 4.

¹³ Piso 2006–2007, 163–166.

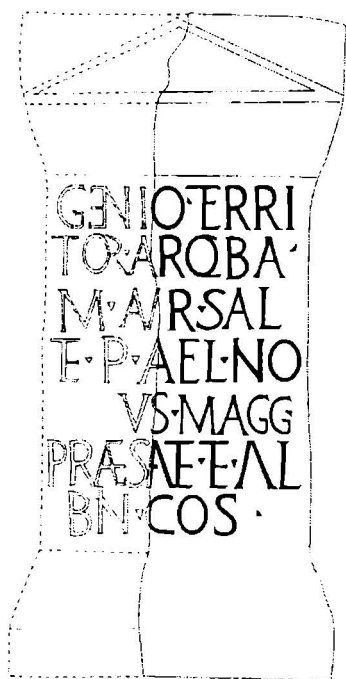


Fig. 2

[Geni]o terri-
 [tor(ii) A]rcoba(darensis)
 [M(arcus)? Au]r(elius) Sal(...)
 [et P(ublius)? A]el(ius) No-
 [..]s magg(istri)
 [Praese]nte et Al-
 [bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

The consular dating established by I. Piso was unanimously accepted¹⁴ and it demonstrates that a civilian settlement from North-Eastern Dacia was epigraphically designed in the middle of the third century A. D. with an indigenous toponym, mentioned by a geographical source from the very beginning of the new province.

5. The last attempt at reading the text of the altar from Ilișua was made from an etymological perspective. Since V. Pârvan, the name Arcobadara was interpreted as being Dacian. The above mentioned

scholar found the particle *arco-* in local toponyms such as Arcidava, Arcinna, and Arcunae, and *-badara* in the adjectival stem *παταρα* (just like in the name of the Bithynian hero from Tios, Πάταρος). The connection with the edonic name Βέδανρος seems to him less probable.¹⁵ For the explanation of the toponym we have initially suggested an approach related to the Celtic radicals: *arco-* like in the toponym Arcobriga from Hispania or in names such as *Arco*, *Arcontia*, *Arconsinius*, *Arcotamia*; the particles *bada-* / *badu-* / *bodu-* are frequent in Celtic toponymy – *Badacus* (settlement in Noricum), *Baduhennae lucus*, *Badonibus mons*.¹⁶ The hypothesis of the Dacian origin seems more probable if one takes into consideration the possibility that the name Arcobadara was transmitted down to us corrupted through the handwritten tradition. In the ancient editions of C. F. A. Nobbe and C. Müller the toponym

¹⁴ AÉ 2007, 1190; Petolescu 2010, no. 1373; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 246–247, no. 5; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 447, note 5; Nemeti 2010, 409, no. 9; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 70–71, no. I. 2.1.

¹⁵ Pârvan 1926, 256–257.

¹⁶ Holder 1896, 533–534, 325–326, 183–184.

was transcribed Ἀρκοβάδαρα / *Arcobadara*, following the majority of manuscripts. In a recent edition of the Geography the toponym was transcribed – Ἀρκοβάρα{δα} and suspected of corruption.¹⁷ The corrupt word would be Arkobara{da} and its origin would have been *Arkobara.¹⁸ In this case *Arkobara could be a composed toponym, with two known elements: *ark-* (from Ἀρκιν(ν)α – Ptol., *Geogr.* 3. 8. 10) and *-bara* (from Ζουρόβαρα / *Zourobara* – Ptol., *Geogr.* 3. 8. 10). The toponym Zourobara has a very transparent etymology – “the village of Zura”, where Zura is a Dacian personal name,¹⁹ and *-bara* might be the Dacian version of the well known Thracian word for “village” – *para*.²⁰ Another argument for the reading *Arkobara is the abbreviation used in the inscription ARCOBA, not ARCOBAD, as it would have been more natural if the name were Arcobadara.

The suggested reading with the rebuilding of the presumptive original form of the ancient toponym is:

[Geni]o terri-
[tor(ii) A]rcoba(rensis?)
[... Au]r(elius) Sal-
[... et] Ael(ius) No-
[.]s magg(istri),
[Praes]ente et Al-
[bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

Since the time when the inscription was read, the ancient toponym having been found in Ptolemy's list, new information came into light, regarding, firstly, the way of understanding Ptolemy's map of Dacia, secondly, the way of localizing the ancient toponyms, but also regarding the administration of the rural area of the province and the status of the “small towns” born near the auxiliary forts. In order to illuminate the notions contained by the text of the altar from Ilişua, we have started an extended, two-fold research: on provincial geography and its sources, and on the Roman provincial administration on the Danube area. The following pages contain the conclusions we have reached until the present moment.

¹⁷ Stückelberger, Graßhoff 2006: sic X: Ἀρκοβάρα{δα} codd. sec. nn.: lineam om. Ω; Cod. X: *Vaticanus Graecus* 191 (thirteenth century), codex unicus for recension X.

¹⁸ Dana, Nemeti 2012, 434–436.

¹⁹ Dana, Matei-Popescu 2009, 230–231.

²⁰ Detschew 1976, 356–357; Russu 1967a, 29, 114, 163, 166.

II. PTOLEMY AND THE MAP OF DACIA

Ptolemy (*Klaudios Ptolemaios*) was an astronomer, astrologist, geographer, and musical theorist who lived and wrote in Alexandria, Egypt, in the second century A.D., during the time of emperors Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius.²¹ The data of his astronomical observations, reported in *Almagest*, are essential for establishing the chronology of his life: a moon eclipse from 125 A.D. (the oldest date) and an observation about the planet Mercury from 141 A.D. (the most recent one). The "Stars Catalogue" enlists all the coordinates for the year 138 A.D. It is presumed that he was born around 100 A.D. in Alexandria and that he lived until circa 180 A.D. (the Arabian geographers comments that he lived 78 years).²² Among his many contributions to his time's science one should mention his three major treaties: the *Mathematical Syntaxis* (or *Almagest* – a catalogue of astronomic data for studying the geometry of the Sky – Earth system), *Apotelesmatica* (or *Tetrabiblos* – an astrological breviary for studying the astral influences on the geographical areas of the oikumene and on their inhabitants) and, of course, *Geôgraphikè Hyphêgesis* (or *Geographia* – a catalogue of geographical data – toponyms and coordinates – and a set of indications for drawing general and regional maps of the known world).²³

In the *Geography*, in fact a manual for drawing an atlas of the known world, Ptolemy followed the principles exposed in the *Almagest* and transposed landforms, rivers and settlements, that he knew from the depictions of travellers or from previous geographical works, particularly the one by Marinus of Tyr²⁴ into geographical coordinates,

²¹ Folkerts 2001, 559–570.

²² Aujac 1993, 8; Pagani 1990, III (*floruit* 125–151 A.D.); Dilke 1985, 75, suggested the years 90–168 A.D.

²³ Aujac 1993, 9–10.

²⁴ Riley 1995, 230–236.

expressed in degrees and minutes, according to their latitude and longitude.

Dacia can be found on map IX, that shows Europe, alongside regions such as the one of the Iazygi *Metanastai* or Chersonesus and provinces such as Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, and Thracia. Due to the distortions resulting from the use of disparate geographical data and to maps with different scales and orientations, it is difficult to apply a uniform, linear, unidirectional system of data reading. Consequently, the identification of the mentioned toponyms with ancient settlements archaeologically discovered also becomes almost impossible.²⁵ Unlike Ptolemy's list of settlements and geographical coordinates, the *itinerarium* named *Tabula Peutingeriana* depicts towns and *stationes* / *mansiones*, with the distances among them mentioned (in Roman miles): this is the reason why this latter cartographic source was used by modern authors to locate the settlements in Roman Dacia.²⁶

*

The settlements with Latin names from Ptolemy's Dacia indicate the fact that the geographer registered data actual during an epoch ulterior to the conquest. In the Romanian scientific milieu, the opinion according to which the ethnographic map of Dacia with the names of the 15 tribes refers to an epoch before the conquest has become common, only the map with the names of settlements referring to Trajan's Dacia. Gr. G. Tocilescu had already stated this idea, of the anteriority of the information about the 15 tribes, that became popular later on. Tocilescu correctly noticed that, besides the Anarti, Costoboci, Buri and the toponym Kaukaland, the rest of the tribes specified by Ptolemy do not feature in later sources and, thus, he suspected that they had disappeared before the conquest.²⁷ This opinion dominated the discussions regarding Ptolemy's information about Dacia,²⁸ but there were contrary opinions as well, namely that both the tribes' names and the settlements' names date from the same period, i. e. the first half of the second century A.D. The names of "tribes" ending in

²⁵ Strang ms., 5.

²⁶ Vulpe 1944, 551–559; Gostar 1958, 413–419; Gostar 1969, 171–176.

²⁷ Tocilescu 1880, 72, 73–75.

²⁸ Pârvan 1926, 247; Bogdan Cătănciu 1999, 224, for C. Goos and G. Schüte's opinions.

the suffix: *-ensioi* / *-enses* would rather be the names of some territorial Roman structures.²⁹

In my opinion the so-called Dacian “tribes” belong to the same chronological frame. In Ptolemy’s work one could find, besides the list of the settlements from Dacia (with Dacian and Roman names), also a list of 15 “peoples” which were living in Ptolemy’s Dacia. For almost all of the scholars these *peoples* / *tribes*’ names are those of the tribes of pre-Roman Dacia, before the Roman conquest, only the names of the towns being those of the settlements from the Roman province. In order to explain this situation the first task I assumed was to explore the geographical and historical data from the first century A.D. First of all one has to search through the historical literature in order to compile a “catalogue of barbarian peoples” which lived north of the Danube during that time. I have to state from the beginning that, except for the Anarti and the Taurisci, the geographical and literary sources from first century A.D. contain no clues for the presence of Ptolemy’s tribes.

Thus, I have to emphasise several aspects of the ancient geography of the area north of the Danube: for example, the problem of the Roman knowledge of this area in the first century A.D. Searching for Ptolemy’s sources for Dacia I encountered a poor traditional geographical image of Dacia, envisaged like a narrow zone between the Danube and the Northern Ocean. These data transmitted by Pliny the Elder and the minor Roman geographers from Late Antiquity are to be analyzed in order to correctly appreciate the problem of Ptolemy’s sources.

1. Before Ptolemy. Dacia and Roman Geographical Knowledge

Before the conquest of the regions north of the Danube in the beginning of the second century A.D., the Romans’ geographic notions on the areas north of the Lower Danube were limited. The modern image of the map of ancient Dacia is built starting from cartographic sources that reflect the realities during the Roman conquest, after the conquest, and after *redactio in provinciam* (Ptolemy’s Geography on *Daciae situs* and the most important settlements and the two *itineraria*: the so-called Tabula Peutingeriana and the one compiled in the Cosmography written by an anonymous geographer from Ravenna).

²⁹ Daicoviciu 1960, 266; Russu 1981, 181; Bogdan Cătăniciu 1987–1988, 145–162; Bogdan Cătăniciu 1991, 59–67.

All these geographical sources are due to the *exploratio* activities performed during the two conquest wars and the *agrimensores*' measuring the new provincial territory in order that it might be divided.³⁰ But what was the Roman perception of this geographical area before the conquest? I will attempt to provide an answer by analyzing certain minor geographical texts and fragments collected from the works of ancient authors that contain geographical data.

...decies centena milia passuum.

When referring to the province of Dacia conquered by Trajan, Eutropius provided a short piece of information on the perimeter of this province in his *Breviarium*:

Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe condita*, VIII. 2, 2:

"[Traianus] *Daciam Decibalo victo subegit provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victoali et Tervingi habent. Ea provincia decies centena milia passuum in circuitu tenuit*".³¹

Festus included the same piece of information in his own *Breviarum* several years later:

Festus, *Breviarium*, VIII, 1–5:

"*Traianos Dacos sub rege Decibalo uicit et Daciam trans Danuuuium in solo barbariae prouinciam fecit, quae in circuitu habuit decies centena milia passum*".³²

One can find similar data on the province's surface in Iordanes, *Romana*, 217:

"*Daces autem post haec iam sub imperio suo Traianus, Decebalu eorum rege devicto, in terras ultra Danubium, quae habent mille milia spatia, in prouinciam redegit*".³³

J. W. Eadie, editor of Festus' *Breviarium*, believes that the latter was based on Eutropius' text (VIII. 2. 2) for this information in

³⁰ Nicolet 1988a, 101, 167; Austin, Rankov 1995, 112–120.

³¹ Ruchl 1887, 54; Bird 1993, 48–49: "... after defeating Decebalus, (Trajan) subdued Dacia and created a province beyond the Danube in those territories which the Taifali, Victohali and the Thervingi now hold. That province was a thousand miles in circumference".

³² Eadie 1967, 52; Zugravu 2003, 166–167, 288, n. 166.

³³ FHDR, II, 406–407.

particular. The direct relation between the two fragments in Eutropius VIII. 2.2 and Festus, VIII.1–5 is easily perceived: only the word order is slightly changed. What could have been Eutropius' source for this geographic piece of information related to the perimeter of Dacia? H. W. Bird eludes the issue of the precise sources and supposes that Eutropius knew these facts from official sources ("probably derived from his administrative duties").³⁴ But one still wonders on the origin of this information featuring in the works of late Roman abbreviators. In order to find the answer, one must analyze Roman geographical sources that make reference to the dimensions of the area known during Antiquity as Dacia.

Modern historians took *ad litteram* this value of Dacia's perimeter, of "one million feet" and tried to identify it on the archaeological map of the province.³⁵ M. Bărbulescu transformed the 1000 Roman miles into kilometres and believed that the value of 1479 kilometres of the perimeter "probably" refers to the territories of the three Dacias (Superior, Inferior, and Porolissensis) during the reign of Hadrian.³⁶ D. Protase accepted the idea that the circuit refers to the length of the Dacian border after Hadrian's reorganization, but believed that "the 1479 kilometres match neither the circuit of Trajan's Dacia, nor the perimeter of the province during later periods; the on-site length of the borders must be at least double that figure".³⁷ For C. C. Petolescu the information on the perimeter of the province reflects the situation from around 140/143 A.D. and until the beginning of the third century when the borders of Dacia extended to western Walachia as well, along with the construction of the so-called *limes transalutanus*.³⁸

In my analysis of the data contained in the paragraphs from Eutropius and Festus concerning Dacia's perimeter I will not follow the same path, i. e. I will not compare the ancient figure with the real value of Dacia's perimeter as measured on the archaeological map, since I believe the Romans, and people of Antiquity in general, had an essentially different vision of geographic space.

³⁴ Bird 1993, 119–120; an old idea – Hodgkin 1887, 101: "this number is found in all the MSS. of Eutropius,..., and may very probably have been borrowed from some official record to which Eutropius had access".

³⁵ Hodgkin 1887, 100–101, 102 (Dacia is Transylvania, not Dacia on Ptolemy's map); against Haverfield 1887, 734–736.

³⁶ Bărbulescu 1998, 53–54.

³⁷ Protase 2001, 42.

³⁸ Petolescu 1999, 167.

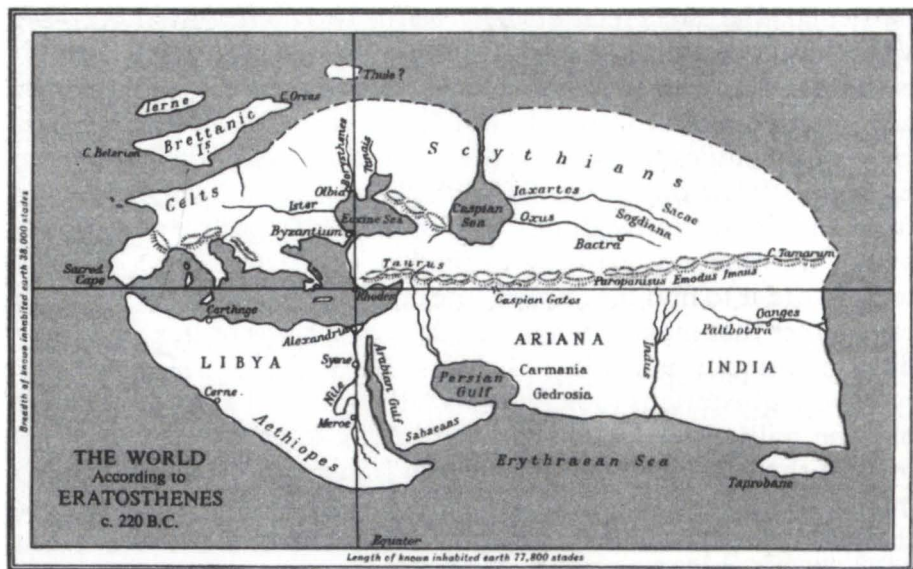


Fig. 3

For them, the known world, *terra cognita*, limited in size, was located in the northern hemisphere, as an island surrounded by the Ocean, and was divided in three regions (Europe, Asia, and Africa).

Greek mathematical geography and Roman recording of itinerary distances led to the partial knowledge of this oikumene, of the inhabited world. Numerous *eskhatiai* / *terrae incognitae* were placed between the Greeks and Romans and the margins of the circular Ocean.³⁹ For a long time Dacia was among these regions, a partially known area recorded as such by Roman geographical sources from the beginning of the Imperial period.⁴⁰ This geographical tradition prevailed in the Roman vision of areas located north of the Lower Danube and its remnants can be found in the later geographical tradition, that of Late Antiquity, and in medieval cartography.

Dacia in Agrippa's "Geography"

During the reign of Augustus, the image of the oikumene was based on the data and figures of Hellenistic geography in the elaboration of maps of the known world. The latter was divided into irregular rectangles like Eratosthenes's *sphragides* and their dimensions were indicated

³⁹ Harley, Woodward 1987, 148–160, 161–176; Dilke 1987, 201–211; Romm 1992, 3–42.

⁴⁰ Hennig 1944, 285–288 (Scribonius Curio).

by the values of longitude and latitude.⁴¹ The map reconstructed from preserved fragments of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* and the two geographic opuscula of Late Antiquity (*Demensuratio provinciarum* and *Divisio orbis terrarum*) is known as Agrippa's map. An uncertain geographical work was attributed by modern science to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, though a consensus has not been reached on the nature of that work. Data preserved in Pliny the Elder's text show that the author chose to place the chorographical description of the known world under the authority of Agrippa, citing him in 31 paragraphs from books III–VI in his encyclopaedia. For a century, German philology tried to explain which was the geographical work attributed to Agrippa or Augustus, attempting to decide whether it was an *orbis pictus* depicted in *porticus Vipsania*, if there were only some geographic *commentarii*, or both. V. Frandsen, K. Mannert, F. Ritschl, C. Petersen, Th. Mommsen, K. Müllenhoff, D. Detlefsen, A. Klotz, and E. Schweder gathered and interpreted the fragments of this lost geography starting from Pliny the Elder's text, the opuscula *Demensuratio* and *Divisio*, and the so-called Strabo's Chorographs.⁴²

In order to establish Agrippa's geographical initiative, researchers have discussed the semantics of the Latin terms in *Naturalis Historia*, III. 17: ...*cum orbem orbi spectandum propositurus esset*, where *proponere* is understood as a public depiction of the world.⁴³ Further on in this paragraph, Pliny states that Augustus completed this public display project: he finished the portico containing the "world" (image of the world?); Agrippa's sister Vipsania Polla started the construction of this portico on the basis of Agrippa's *commentarii* and *destinatio*:⁴⁴ "(*Divus Augustus*) *Is namque complexam eum (sc. orbem) porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit*".⁴⁵ P. Arnaud correctly observed that nowhere in the text is this *orbis* described as *pictus*, but still the terms used belong to the vocabulary of maps.⁴⁶ It was believed that this map in the portico was the prototype of the only ancient map of the known world preserved until today,

⁴¹ Dilke 1988, 196.

⁴² Arnaud 2007 – 2008, 74–79; Pallu de Lessert 1909, 223–245; Nicolet 1988a, 103–131; Cinque 2002, 357–363.

⁴³ Nicolet 1988 a, 109: *proponere orbem spectandum* – "mettre sous les yeux, pour qu'on le regarde".

⁴⁴ Riese 1964, VII–XVII; Klotz 1930–1931, 38–45; Tierney 1967, 17–22; Nicolet 1988, 134–136.

⁴⁵ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, III. 17:

⁴⁶ Arnaud 2007–2008, 83.

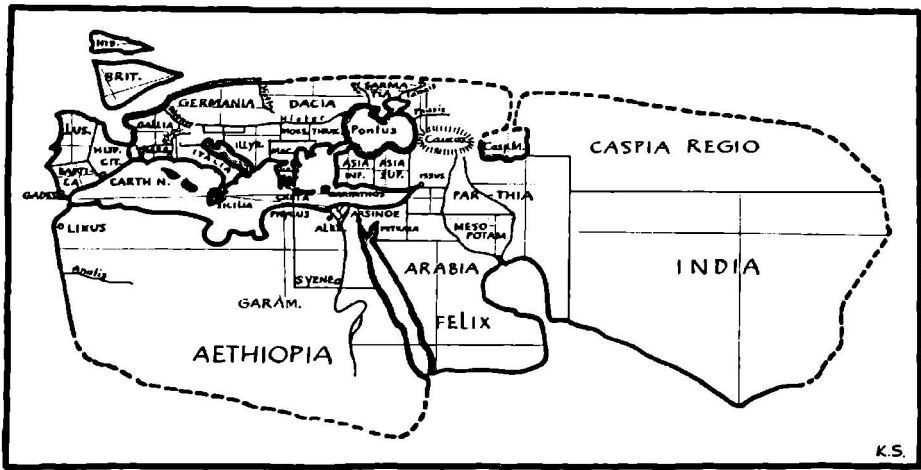


Fig. 5

the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and that the display in a portico might explain the extreme elongation of this Roman *itinerarium pictus*.⁴⁷ K. Brodersen was sceptical as to the existence of a map in *porticus Vipsania*: he rightfully noted that Pliny consulted one of Agrippa's texts, as indicated by his vocabulary – Agrippa *prodi(di)t, tradi(di)t, credit, estimavit, colligit, fecit, auctor est, taxat, computavit*. K. Brodersen rejected the idea of a map and admitted that the portico contained an inscription, a text containing a list of *landmarks* (regions and maybe also a list of cities).⁴⁸ P. Arnaud enumerated three possible scenarios for settling this issue: the existence of a simple text displayed in the portico, of a map, or of a text and a corresponding map. The author believed that it would be hard to support the idea of a simple text displayed there, since the *publicatio* of a map held an increased symbolical power in comparison to that of a simple text, and concluded that: "*l'hypothèse d'une carte, peut-être accompagnée d'un text,..., nous paraît donc la plus vraisemblable*".⁴⁹

I believe that Agrippa wrote a *geographia*, a description of the world known during his time, following Hellenistic inspiration models and using Roman itinerary data; I also believe this text was Pliny's source, the one he cites 31 times on issues related to the extent

⁴⁷ Dilke 1988, 196 (as the map that orator Eumenius saw in a portico in Augustodunum); Stahl 1983, 29–32; Brodersen 1995, 268–272, inventory of opinions.

⁴⁸ Brodersen 1995, 274–285.

⁴⁹ Arnaud 2007–2008, 117–118.

of regions, distances given in Roman miles, and other geographical data. Also, there is nothing against the existence of a map; rather on the contrary, I consider that such a map did exist.⁵⁰ M. C. Pallu de Lessert's analysis of the diverging opinions on citations from Agrippa in Pliny, *Divisio*, and *Demensuratio* is a significant argument in support of this. The author believed that these citations are difficult to explain in the context of a presumed common source in shape of a didactical treatise, but easily explained if the above mentioned authors worked on a map that each of them used according to his own comfort and whim.⁵¹

*

It is important to see what place Dacia held in the overall picture of the known world during the age of Augustus. The fragment that A. Riese and A. Klotz attributed to Agrippa is taken from Pliny and does not mention a region called Dacia explicitly. Its location, between the Danube and the Ocean, the Vistula and the Sarmatian Desert indicates the fact that it was a region north of the Lower Danube, traditionally identified by ancient authors with Dacia.

M. Vipsani Agrippae fragmenta ad chorographiam spectantia

18. "*Agrippa totum eum tractum ab Histro ad oceanum bis ad decies centum milium passuum in longitudinem, quattuor milibus quadrigentis in latitudinem, ad flumen Vistlam a desertis Sarmatiae prodidit*".⁵²

As in the case of the other 23 regions, Agrippa's geography gives the limits of the region to all four cardinal points – the Danube, the Northern Ocean, the Vistula, and the Sarmatian Desert, and two dimensions of the region *qua cognita est* expressed according to latitude and longitude. The eastern border is imprecise since it is not a water course but a *terra incognita*, the Sarmatian Desert, and the northern border is only suggested according to the ancient geographical vision that ignored the existence of a large continental mass in north-eastern Europe and Asia and for which the Caspian Sea was a gulf in the Northern Ocean.

⁵⁰ Müllenhoff 1875, 190, believed that the map was circular.

⁵¹ Pallu de Lessert 1909, 257–260.

⁵² Riese 1964, 3, no. 18; Klotz 1930–1931, 421, frg. 21.

One can find the same image in Pliny's detailed paragraph that also enumerates *Scytharum gentes* that inhabit the region between Germania and Sarmatia, a region that the author does not explicitly label as Dacia either.

Plinii Naturalis Historia, IV. XII. 80–81:

*"Ab eo in plenum quidem omnes Scytharum sunt gentes, variae tamen litori apposita tenere, alias Getae, Daci Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae, eorumque Hamaxobii aut Aorsi, alias Scythae degeneres et a servis orti aut Troglodytae, mox Alani et Rhoxolani. Superiora autem inter Danuvium et Hercynium saltum usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti Germanorumque ibi confinium campos et plana Iazyges Sarmatae, montes vero et (81) saltus pulsi ab his Daci ad Pathissum amnem. A Maro, sive Duria est a Suebis regnoque Vanniano dirimens eos, aversa Basternae tenent aliquae inde Germani. Agrippa totum eum tractum ab Histro ad oceanum bis ad decies centenum millium passuum in longitudinem, quattuor milibus minus CCCC in latitudinem, ad flumen Vistlam a desertis Sarmatiae prodidit".*⁵³

In order to understand these excerpts correctly, fragments from the above mentioned late opuscula *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum* are relevant. These two abridged geographical descriptions have been considered as missing links between Pliny's text and Agrippa's lost geography, both derived from the latter through a channel independent of Pliny.

Demensuratio provinciarum or *demonstratio provinciarum Hieronymi presbyteris* was first published by Schelstrate in his *Antiquitates ecclesiasticae* in 1697.⁵⁴ The opusculum was preserved in several manuscripts, among

⁵³ Rackman 1947, 178–181: "From this point all the races in general are Scythian, though various sections have occupied the lands adjacent to the coast, in one place the Getae, called by the Romans Dacians, at another the Sarmatae, called by the Greeks Sauromatae, and the section of them called Waggon-dwellers or Aorsi, at another the base-born Scythians, descended from slaves, or else the Cave-dwellers, and then the Alani and Rhoxolani. The higher parts between the Danube and the Hercynian Forest as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum and the plains and level country of the German frontiers are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss. From the river Maros, or else the Dora if it is that which separates them from the Suebi and the Kingdom of Vannius, the opposite side of the country is occupied by the Basternae and then other German tribes. Agrippa describes the whole of this area from the Danube to the sea as being 1200 miles in length by 396 in breadth, as far as the river Vistula in the direction of the Sarmatian desert".

⁵⁴ Pallu de Lessert 1909, 218.

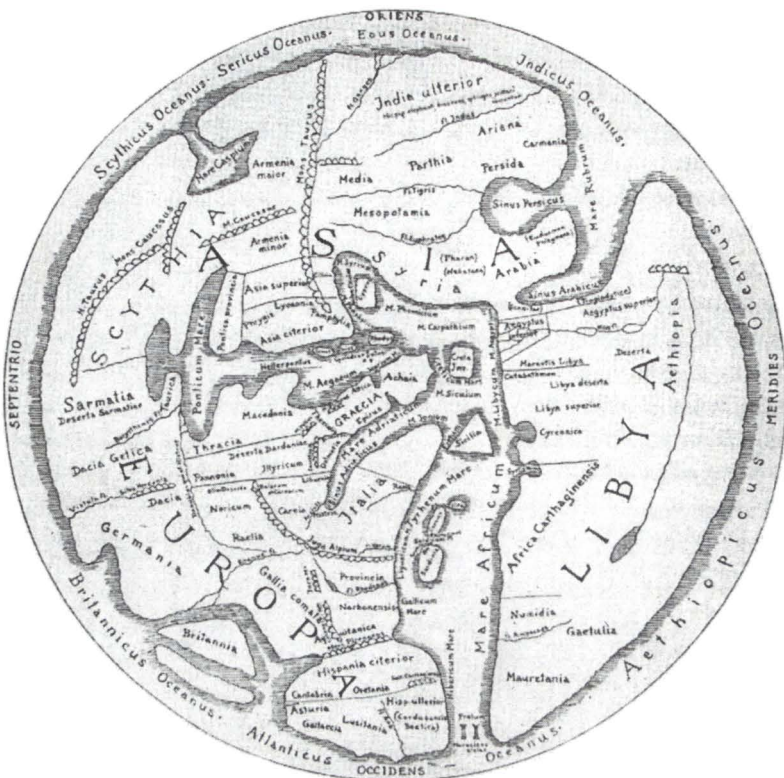


Fig. 6

which the oldest are *Vatic. Palat. 1357* (V, thirteenth century), *Monac. Lat. 794* (M, 1436), and *Laurent. LXXXIX sup. 68* (L, fifteenth century).⁵⁵ A related text is that preserved in *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* written by the Irish monk Dicuil in 825 A.D., first published in 1807 by Walknaër, and then by Latronne in 1814.⁵⁶ A text almost identical to Dicuil's, preserved in a single manuscript (*Vatic. Palat. 1357*, thirteenth century), was first published in 1876 by E. Schweder under the title *Divisio orbis terrarum*.

[Hieronymi Presbyteri] Demensuratio provinciarum:

8. "*Dacia Getica finiuntur ab oriente desertis Sarmatiae, ab occidente flumine Vistula, a septentrione oceano, a meridie flumine Histio. Quae patent in longitudine milia passuum CCLXXX, in latitudine, qua cognitum est, milia passuum CCCLXXXVI*".⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Klotz 1930–1931, 45.

⁵⁶ Pallu de Lessert 1909, 217–218; Cinque 2002, 355, 364.

⁵⁷ Riese 1964, 10.

Divisio orbis terrarum:

14. "Dacia. Finitur ab oriente deserto Sarmatiae, ab occidente flumine Vistla, a septentrione oceano, a meridie flumine Histro; patens in longitudine |X|CC milia, latitudo qua cognoscitur m. p. CCCXXXVT".⁵⁸

Dicuil, *Liber de mensura Orbis Terrae*, 16–17:

16. "Datia et Alania finiuntur ab oriente desertis Sarmatiae, ab occidente flumine Hiustia, a septentrione oceano, a meridie flumine Histro, patens in longitude decies centum milia, latitudo qua cognoscitur CCCLXXXVI. 17. Iuxta Plinium Secundum in secundo: Agrippa totum eum tractum ab Histro ad oceanum bis decies centum milium passuum in longitude, quattuor CCCC milibus in latitudine ad flumen Hiustia a desertis Sarmatiae prodidit".⁵⁹

Unlike Pliny, the three variants of the fragments referring to Dacia, preserved in similar but not identical form in *Demensuratio* and *Divisio* / Dicuil, mention the name of the region located between the Danube and the Ocean, a name that Pliny omitted in his citation from Agrippa: Dacia (*Divisio*), Dacia Getica (*Demensuratio*), Datia et Alania (Dicuil). One must also note that due to the fact that these texts were transmitted through a manuscript tradition, the distances they give according to longitude and latitude are different. The fact that *Demensuratio* and *Divisio* were inspired by a common source, independent of Pliny, is apparent in this fragment referring to Dacia as well. Further more, Dicuil, who gives in his work an abstract of a text identical to that of the *Divisio*, adds the different values of longitude and latitude that he finds in Pliny (citing Agrippa). Dicuil gives in this fragment two longitudes (1000 and 1200 miles) and two latitudes (386 miles according to the *Divisio*, 396 according to Pliny). In the *Divisio* edited after the manuscript and in *Demensuratio*, one finds the same latitude (of 386 miles).

As all modern commentators of these excerpts from Agrippa's geography agree, *longitudo* is longitude, i. e. the value of distance

⁵⁸ Riese 1964, 17.

⁵⁹ Tierney 1967, 50–51: 16. "Dacia and Alania are bounded on the east by the desert of Sarmatia, on the west by the river Vistula, on the north by the ocean, on the south by the Danube. The longitude is one thousand miles, the latitude, so far as it is known, three hundred and eighty-six. 17. According to Plinius Secundus in his second book: Agrippa gave the whole distance from the Danube to the ocean as twelve hundred miles in longitude, and three hundred and ninety-six in latitude, from the deserts of Sarmatia to the river Vistula".

measured along the west-east direction, while *latitudo*, the latitude, is the distance along the north-south direction.⁶⁰ All graphic reconstructions of Agrippa's map (envisaged as those of Erathostene, Strabo, or Mela as an ovoid representation of the oikumene located in the northern hemisphere in the Ocean) show Dacia as a rectangle measuring 1000 (Dicuil) / 1200 (Plinius, *Divisio*) Roman miles along its longitude and 396 (Plinius), 386 (*Demensuratio*, *Divisio* / Dicuil) Roman miles along its latitude. Giving the value of the latitude, late opuscula add the mention *qua cognoscitur* (*Divisio* / Dicuil) or *qua cognitum est* (*Demensuratio*), considered as a mark of their borrowing from Agrippa's geography. The excerpt from Pliny suggests another interpretation: for him, the entire region measures 1200000 feet in length (*longitudo*) "between the Danube and the Ocean" and 396000 feet in width (*latitudo*) "between the Sarmatians' Desert until River Vistula". One might add *qua cognoscitur* and then the length and width given in this ancient text might be understood without reference to the cardinal points or the projection of geographic space on the terrestrial globe, according to the Greek mathematic geographic method with coordinates according to latitude and longitude. In Pliny, *longitudo* and *latitudo* would thus mean strictly the length (the longer side) and width (the shorter side) of a rectangle. *Demensuratio* and *Divisio* / Dicuil just give the limits towards the four cardinal points (the Sarmatian Desert to the east, River Vistula to the west, the Ocean to the north, and the Danube to the south (in this order) and go on mentioning the longitude and latitude (also in this order). According to my interpretative key, the sides of the rectangle would consist of the Sarmatian Desert – Vistula, i. e. the longitude (east-west) and Ocean – Danube (north-south), as known at the time. I therefore believe that in Pliny's inclusion of Agrippa's text, the dimensions of the rectangle were reversed, with the longitude understood as the north-south distance (Danube – Ocean) and the latitude as the east-west distance (Vistula – the Sarmatian Desert).

In this case, one must take into consideration a smaller value of the latitude, of 396 (Pliny) / 386 Roman miles (*Demensuratio*, *Divisio* / Dicuil), i. e. 396 / 386 thousand feet from the Danube to the Ocean, *qua cognitum est*. Navigators did not explore the Northern Ocean beyond the Cimbrian Promontory, therefore Scandia (the Scandinavian Peninsula) was seen in Antiquity as an island, not as a peninsula. Greeks and Romans imagined that people could navigate around

⁶⁰ Mattern 1999, 49.

the inhabited world. Several arguments support this idea, such as Pytheas's travels through the Northern Ocean, the news of Indian messengers reaching the Roman court from the Northern Ocean, and maps depicting the Caspian Sea as a gulf in the Septentrional Ocean.⁶¹ Thus the Romans knew that the Ocean must have been located somewhere north of Dacia, but the extent of these areas along the north-south direction were only known over a distance of ca. 400 Roman miles.

Orosius also described this part of Europe in a similar fashion.

Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversus paganos libri primi caput alterum. 21; Cosmographia. 21:

*"A montibus Riphæis ac flumine Tanai Maeotidisque paludibus, quae sunt ad orientem, per litus septemtrionalis oceani usque ad Galliam Belgicam et flumen Rhenum, quod est ab occasu, deinde usque ad Danubium quem et Histrum vocant, qui est a meridie et ad orientem directus ponto accipitur: ab oriente Alania est, in medio Dacia, ubi est Gothia; deinde Germania est, ubi plurimam parte Suevi tenent (...)"*⁶²

Between the Rhine and Gallia Belgica to the west and Tanais, Palus Maeotis, and Montes Riphæi to the east stretched the following countries, in this order: *Germania*, *Dacia* (*ubi et Gothia*), and *Alania*. One must note that Orosius mentioned the meridional border (Danube and Pontus Euxinus), but did not set the northern limit which he also understood as being the Ocean. Orosius' geographical introduction, inspired by the Agrippan tradition,⁶³ was the source of medieval depictions of the TO mappaemundi (Beatus' map, the mapamundi in Hereford etc.),⁶⁴ in which Germania, Dacia, and Alania are bordered towards the north by the Ocean.

Pomponius Mela, in his chorography, described the area without mentioning Dacia. Germania and Sarmatia, separated by River Vistula, stretched between the Danube and the Ocean. Mela's image of Europe thus differs, through the absence of Dacia, from Agrippa's image, transmitted by Pliny and the late Roman opuscula, but not essentially: one finds the same flattened version of North-Eastern Europe between the Danube and the Ocean.

⁶¹ Mattern 1999, 51, 64.

⁶² Riese 1964, 62, frg. 21; 95, frg. 21.

⁶³ Merrills 2005, 70–77.

⁶⁴ Janvier 1982, 61, 266–267.

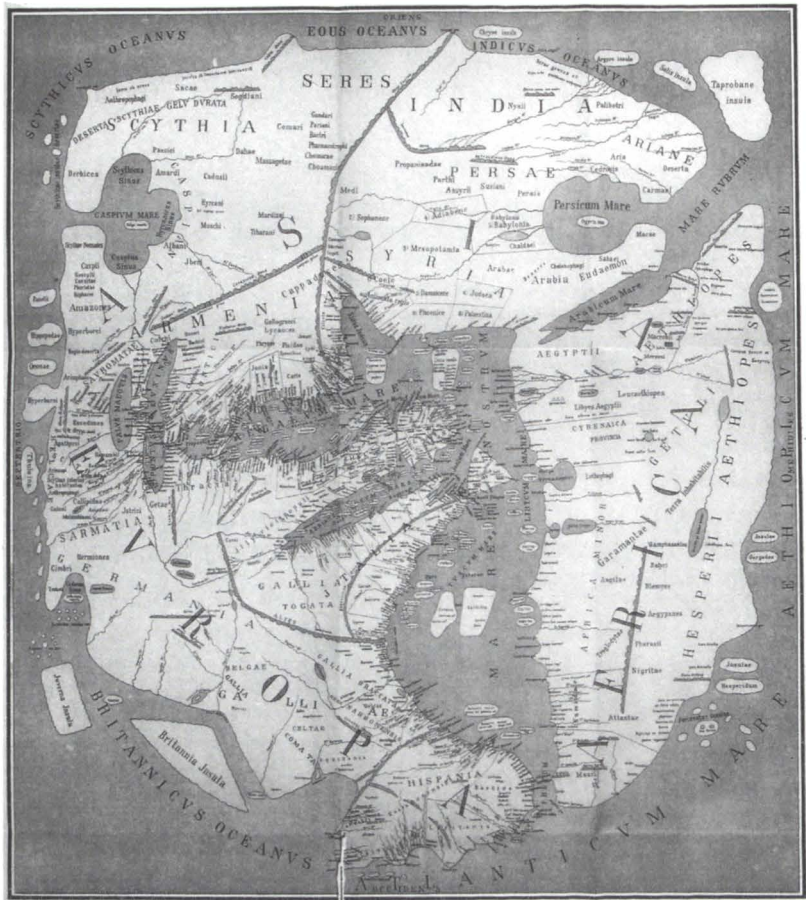


Fig. 7

Pomponii Melae, *De situ Orbis*, I. 3; III. 3, 4:

I. 3. “*Europa terminus habet, ab oriente Tanain et Maeotida, et Pontum; a meridie reliqua Nostri maris; ab occidente Atlanticum; a septentrione Britannicum Oceanum.* (...) III. 3. *Germania hinc ripis ejus usque ad Alpes, a meridie ipsis Alpibus, ab oriente Sarmaticarum confinio gentium, qua septentrione spectat, Oceano littore obducta est.* III. 4. *Sarmatia intus, quam ad mare latior, ab his quae sequuntur, Vistula amne discrete, qua retro abit usque ad Istrum flumen immittitur*”.⁶⁵

In conclusion, one can state that Roman geography / chorography preserved for a long time this image of North-Eastern Europe, flattened along its latitude, an area bordered by the Danube and the

⁶⁵ Nisard 1863, 604, 648, 649.

Pontus in the south and the Ocean in the north. Tabula Peutingeriana reproduces exactly this image of Dacia bordered towards the north by the Ocean, with the Caspian Sea depicted as a gulf in the latter.⁶⁶ The dimensions transmitted by Pliny and the late opuscula are not to be taken strictly, since they were corrupted through the manuscript transmission of Pliny's texts and of the treatises *Demensuratio* and *Divisio*. One must only note that the distance, along the latitude, is under-valued at ca. 396 / 386 Roman miles (a recurrent value), while the longitude is accompanied by formulae such as *bis ad decies centum millium passuum* (Pliny) and *decies centum milia* (Dicuil). But how did fourth-century abbreviators come to the value of *decies centena milia passuum in circuitu*?

Theodulf's Mappamundi and *in circuitu* dimensions

Roman geographic tradition (Agrippa / Plinius, *Demensuratio*, *Divisio*) shows regions as irregular rectangles with dimensions given according to two coordinates (latitude and longitude). There are nevertheless a few cases, especially for islands, when the dimensions of a geographical unit are given *in circuitu*, thus stating their perimeter. Agrippa's map also included such perimeters (*ambitus*, *circuitus*): *circuitus Siciliae* (Plinius, Hist. Nat., III. 86), *ambitus sinus Italiae et Illyrici* (Plinius, Hist. Nat., III. 150), and *circuitus Ponti* (Plinius, Hist. Nat., IV. 77). An excerpt from Suetonius, that P. Arnaud believes to have been directly inspired by Agrippa's geography, renders thus the dimensions of Gallia:⁶⁷

Suetonius, *Vitae duodecim Caesares*, XXV:

"(...) *Omnem Galliam, quae saltu Pyrenaeo Alpibusque et monte Cebenna, fluminibus Rheno ac Rhodano continetur patetque circuitu ad bis et tricies centum milia passuum, praeter socias ac bene meritas civitates (...)*".⁶⁸

Similar paragraphs in Pliny (Hist. Nat. IV. 105) and *Divisio*, 7 that mention the same borders (the Pyrenees, Mons Cebenna, the Rhine,

⁶⁶ Prontera 2003, 30 (Hellenistic model / Eratosthenes, Caspian Sea – gulf of the Northern Ocean, the continuous chain of the Taurus Mountains that divides Asia in two unequal parts).

⁶⁷ Arnaud 2007–2008, 121.

⁶⁸ Rolfe 1914, 32–33: "(...) All the part of Gaul which is bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Cevennes, and by the Rhine and Rhone rivers, a circuit of some 3200 miles, with the exception of some allied states which had rendered him good service (...)"

and the Rhône) but give the dimensions expressed in distances along longitude and latitude, support the idea of a borrowing in Suetonius:

M. Vipsani Agrippae fragmenta ad chorographiam spectantia:

"Agrippa Galliarum inter Rhenum et Pyrenaeum atque oceanum ac montes Cebennam et Jures, quibus Narbonensem Galliam excludit, longitudinem CCCCXX, latitudinem CCCXVIII computavit".⁶⁹

One must note that, in this case as well as that of Dacia, the added dimensions in Pliny and *Divisio* do not match the value of the perimeter in Suetonius, i. e. 3200 miles (420 miles in longitude, 318 miles in latitude in Plinius, 828 miles in longitude, 263 miles in latitude in *Divisio*).

Expressing the extent of regions through perimeter size is an exceptional trait of Roman cartography. One finds the same in Hyginus' fables for example, where the perimeter size of certain regions or islands is expressed in *stadia*:

Hygini Fabulae, CCLXXVI, 5–20:

5. "Mauretania posita ad solis occasum in circuitu stadia LXXVI. Aegyptus in sole et austro posita, quem Nilum circumlauat, circuitu stadia.... Sicilia in triselo posita, circuitu stadia XXXDLXX. 2. Sardinia in circuitu stadia XCCL. 10. Creta in longitudine ... et oppida utraque parte centum possidet, circuitu stadia XXC. Cyprus posita est inter Aegyptum et Africam, similis scuto Gallico, circuitu stadia XLIC. Rhodos in rotundo posita, circuitu stadia XXC. 15. etc."⁷⁰

The presence of these fragments, *disiecta membra* of an ancient geographical tradition that used to present regions expressing the size of their perimeter (*circuitus*, *ambitus*), proves the existence in Antiquity of maps of the known world with dimensions expressed in *circuitu*. As the excerpt from Suetonius on *Gallia comata* indicates, the main source must have been the lost geography attributed to Agrippa or the map inside the above mentioned portico. Before establishing a direct connection between Agrippa's commentaries and the fragments including the dimensions of regions expressed in *circuitu* (Suetonius, Hyginus, Eutropius, Rufius Festus) by indicating the source that might be the "missing link", one must return to the Carolingian treaty signed by monk Dicuil. In the prologue of his treatise, *De mensura*

⁶⁹ Klotz 1930–1931, 392, frg. 7; Riese 1964, 5, frg. 23.

⁷⁰ Rose 1933, 169–170.

orbis terrae, he copied a text and a twelve-line epigram that explains that *mensura orbis* was done at the order of Theodosius II during his 15th consulship, i. e. in 425, by two of his *famuli*, according to older models (*veterum monumenta*).⁷¹ Two other manuscripts of the *Divisio orbis terrarum* (Vatic. Lat. 642 and Leyde, Bibl. Der Rijksuniv. Scaliger 39) also make reference to Theodosius II.⁷²

Thus, an early medieval tradition makes note of Theodosius II ordering the creation of a map of the known world by bringing up to date older information on the topic. Two manuscripts, dated to the ninth and eleventh centuries, bring to our knowledge a map known as Theodulf of Orléans' mappamundi: *Leyde, Bibl. Der Rijkuniversiteit Voss. Lat. F. 12 d* (L, ninth century), originating from the region of Orléans and *Vatican, Reginensis latinus 123* (V, eleventh century), written in Santa María de Ripoll.⁷³ The latter manuscript (V) is not a copy of the first, but it derives from a shared model. The manuscripts include a circular mappamundi each, measuring 30 cm in diameter, surrounded by a blue ring representing the Ocean and protomae of the 12 winds. Under the drawing there are cartouches that contain the map legend and a Latin poetry written by Theodulf, bishop of Orléans. The manuscript in Ripoll also preserves an opusculum entitled *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana* that has the peculiarity of rendering the size of regions in *in circuitu* values.

After a short description of the division of the world in three parts – Europe, Asia, and Lybia – with the dimension of each expressed in longitude and latitude the manuscript includes the enumeration of Europe's regions, with size *in circuitu*. Hispania, Gallia, Italia, Retia et Vindelica (sic) are followed by Germania, Sarmatia, Thracia et Getica, Moesia, Macedonia, Illyricum, and Peloponensus (sic).

Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana:

"[18] *Germania utreque, proxima Gallie et +Senonica, patent in circuitum milia passus* [19] */XXX/DLXXV*. [20] *Sarmatia omnis a flumine Vistula perque Histrum flumen et litora Pontici maris, et* [21] *ex parte Caspii et ore septentrionali in*

⁷¹ Tierney 1967, 23–24: Dicuil, *De mens. Orbis terrae*, I, 1: "in quinto decimo anno regni imperatoris Theodosii praecepit ille suis missis prouintias orbis terrae in longitudinem et latitudinem mensurari".

⁷² Riese 1964, 15: Dicuil praef.: "cogitavi ut liber de mensura provinciarum orbis terrae sequeretur, secundum illorum auctoritatem quos Sanctus Theodosius imperator ad provincias praedictas mesurandas miserat..."

⁷³ Gautier Dalché 1994–1995, 91–93.

circuitum patent milia /L/DCCXII. [22] *Thracia et Getica in unum patent milia passus* /X/DCLXXXIII. (ms. V – |X|DCLXXVIII). ”.

Thus, the Carolingian geographical text that takes over a late Roman source mentions that Thracia and Getica (like in *Demensuratio* – Dacia Getica) have together a perimeter of 1684 Roman miles (1679 Roman miles in the manuscript in Ripoll). These figures have no real value for the actual geography of the North-Danubian area, no more than the distances along longitude and latitude provided by Agrippa / Plinius, *Demensuratio* and *Divisio* / Dicuil or Dacia’s perimeter mentioned by Eutropius and Festus. Moesia, mentioned in the following paragraph, is located between Thracia and Getica (if it is indeed Dacia) in the actual geographical space.

The Carolingian map inspired by a late Roman source, a *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana*, contains, in its main data, information transmitted by Agrippa’s map tradition and the late geographical treatises, with the difference that the dimensions of the provinces are expressed in perimeters. It is irrelevant if it is the result of a *mensura orbis* ordered by Theodosius II, as the medieval tradition claims, but it is proof of a rich and varied production of geographical compendia and opuscula spread in late Roman libraries. *Divisio orbis terrarum*, *Demensuratio provinciarum*, *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris*, *Excerpta eius sphaerae vel continentia* by Iulius Honorius, *Aethici Cosmographia* are but a few examples of such works.⁷⁴ Excerpts from historians that provide the size of regions *in circuitu* (Suetonius, Eutropius, and Rufius Festus) and the existence of geographic descriptions such as *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana* allow me to suspect the fact that fragments referring to Dacia’s *circuitus* of 1000 Roman miles also come from a Latin geographical opusculum that could be found at the imperial court in Constantinople during the fourth century.

The value of Dacia’s perimeter in Eutropius and Festus, the 1,000,000 feet (*decimum centena milia passuum*) they mention, cannot be found in the figures provided by the Roman tradition. One could calculate the perimeter of rectangular Dacia and thus Pliny’s data lead to a size of 3192 Roman miles, almost as much as Gallia’s perimeter in Suetonius. Close figures can be found in *Divisio* – 3172 miles and Dicuil – 2772 miles. The closest value to the 1000 miles found in the writings of fourth-century abbreviators can also be found in *Demensuratio*, where Dacia measures only 1332 miles in perimeter.

⁷⁴ Dilke 1987, 243–244.

Also, in *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana*, Thracia and Getica together measure only 1684 miles.

Traianus... litus totum arctoum oceanum ambulavit.

One peculiarity of this Roman geographical vision is their imagining the northern and north-eastern parts of Europe as a narrow strip between the Danube and the Pontus to the south and the Ocean to the north. All mentioned sources – Agrippa / Plinius, *Demensuratio*, *Divisio* / Dicuil underestimate the latitude distance between the Danube and the Northern Ocean, *qua cognita est*: 396 or 386 Roman miles. The tendency towards flattening the northern regions continues as one goes from west to east: Romans only navigated up to the Cimbrian Promontory and were not aware of the fact that Scandinavia was a peninsula or that present-day Russia was such a vast territory. The unexplored territories north of the Black Sea were populated by Amazons and Hyperboreans and included the Rhiphaei Mountains. The Caspian Sea was just a gulf in the Northern Ocean for Plinius, Mela, Seneca, and Aelius Aristides and on the Tabula Peutingeriana.⁷⁵ This sketched vision of the world influenced, according to Susan P. Mattern, Roman strategy and statesmen's decisions. When Julius Caesar wanted to conquer the Persian Empire, he intended to start with conquering Dacia and then to surround the Persians from the north (Suet. *Caes.* 44.3). Conquering the territories up to the Ocean was a source of glory and pride for the emperors. Dacia's location on a modern map is bizarre because it extended the empire's border and was a vulnerable province, exposed to attacks. According to Susan P. Mattern, Trajan wanted to conquer the entire territory between the Danube and the Northern Ocean by conquering Dacia: "but the most likely frontier imagined by Trajan when he invaded this territory was the Ocean itself. It is likely that he shared the prevalent view of a flattened northern Europe; Agrippa had, after all, placed the ocean only 396 miles from the Danube River".⁷⁶ An echo of this ancient tradition can be found in a passage from the anonymous cosmographer from Ravenna:

⁷⁵ Mattern 1999, 54–55; Nicolet 1988a, 88–89 (the Hyrcanian / Caspian Sea communicates freely with the Northern Ocean through a straight called "Northern Hercules' Columns" – Strabo, II. 1. 17; VII. 2. 4; XI. 6. 1; Tacitus, *Germ.*, 34; Lucan, III.278); Raczka 2000, 189–199.

⁷⁶ Mattern 1999, 61.

Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, I. 13. 12:

*“Sed si legeris, Odo care, bellum quod gessit Traianus Romanorum imperator, quando litus totum arctoum oceanum ambulavit, quando et Dacorum regem devicit,...”*⁷⁷

After this remark on Trajan's walks along the shores of the Northern Ocean during the Dacian wars, the anonymous geographer expressed his amazement on how the wisest among the Romans believed that they owned the entire Earth.

This search focused on *circuitus Daciae*, on the sketched Dacia in Agrippa's map tradition and the transmission channels of this tradition in Late Antiquity, and on Trajan wanting to reach the Ocean through Dacia, has led to a simple conclusion: the Romans, in the fore day of their conquest, did not know much on the actual geographical area north of the Danube. One must wait for their conquest, for military itineraries, cadastral operations of people such as Balbus, and for *formulae provinciarum* in order for Dacia to appear on maps or in geographical works in the shape that we are accustomed with today. Ptolemy, Tabula Peutingeriana, and the itinerary of the anonymous geographer from Ravenna resize the sketched Dacia and depict it as a Roman province, part of *terra cognita*.

2. The Fifteen “Dacian” Tribes and the Indigenous Districts

The problem of the “fifteen tribes” named by Ptolemy as inhabiting Dacia opens a new line of enquiry: if these are not the names of first-century tribes, what are they? The simple acknowledgement that the so-called tribes could belong to another chronological frame (that of the Roman province) escalades in a series of theories strongly marked by an ideological construct, i. e. the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity. The very presence of these indigenous “tribes” was perceived as a strong argument for the theory of Dacian continuity in the ancestral land, turned into a Roman province, *Dacia Augusti provincia*.

★

The theory of Daco-Romanian continuity was born as a response to another theory, the so-called “immigration theory”, that stipulated

⁷⁷ Schnetz 1940, 12.

that the Dacians were exterminated and vanished during the Roman conquest wars. One of the fathers of this theory was R. Roesler, who asserted that the year 106 A.D. marks the end of the Dacian State and of the Dacian people.⁷⁸

This idea of the Dacians' extermination during the conquest wars, expressed organically in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Austrian and Hungarian scholars and, equally by those belonging to the Transylvanian Aufklärung, continues to exist even among today's historians.⁷⁹ This old idea is still shaping the few historical data concerning the fate of the Dacian people in the Roman Era.

Excepting the three literary fragments⁸⁰ that suggest "the huge losses suffered by the Dacians during the conquest wars", the arguments used in modern historical speech for the extermination of the Dacians are the *ex silentio* arguments. The three main Dacian elements missing in the Roman province are: a) individuals with Dacian names, b) indigenous names or epithets of the gods (or any kind of historical source for certifying the gods of the Dacians) and, c) indigenous districts (administrative units that preserved the Dacians tribal structures).⁸¹

Representatives of Romanian historiography have always supported the persistence and continuity of the Dacians in the new Roman province of Dacia, in spite of the fact that this opinion was contradicted by the ancient sources.⁸² The notable absences, namely Dacian proper names, Dacian gods, and the indigenous districts, made them try to explain the singular position of this province among the others, from the point of view of the survival of the native peoples. All the explanations have as a starting point the particular position of Dacia, before the Roman conquest, in the Barbarian World (a kingdom, highly centralized, characterized by the dissolution of the tribal society), the special context of the wars against Romans (a huge amount of casualties especially among the male population, warriors and aristocracy), and the special measures taken by the Romans after

⁷⁸ Roesler 1871, 44.

⁷⁹ Boia 1997, 83–114.

⁸⁰ Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 8. 6. 2; Iulian, *Caes.* 28, 327 C-D, p. 59–60 ed. Lacombrade; *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig, 1906, 24. 16.

⁸¹ Balla 1974–1975, 142; about the absence of Dacian names and Dacian gods in the province of Dacia – Dana 2003, 166–186; Dana 2004, 430–448; Nemeti 2005, 185–218 (the chapter "The Religion of the Dacians in the Roman Period and *interpretatio Dacica*"); Nemeti 2013, 136–155.

⁸² Protase 2000, 15–168.

the conquest (the displacements of the Dacians, destruction of the sanctuaries and interdictions applied to the Dacians' cults).⁸³

Then, repeatedly emphasizing the particularities of Dacia as a Roman province, Romanian scholars have tried to explain the above noticed absences. It must also be shown that all these problems are inter-correlated and that all are derived from the idea of the extermination of the Dacians mentioned by literary sources (retained by some Romanian scholars also in a milder variant: the extermination of the warlike aristocracy and of divine functionaries). The absence of individuals bearing Dacian names in the epigraphic repertoire of Roman Dacia was seen as a result of the decimation of the native upper class. Because the use of epigraphic dedication was restricted to socially and politically active population groups, the conclusion was that "the upper class of native society in a province, which normally should be the first co-opted for the Roman administrative system,..., is missing".⁸⁴

In order to tackle the problem of the administrative organization of the Dacians in the Roman province, at least two complementary and partly opposed scenarios have been suggested.

The First Scenario: the Absence of *civitates peregrinae*⁸⁵

The lack of all kind of information about the indigenous districts in preserved inscriptions is interpreted as a complete absence of the native *civitates peregrinae*, i. e. any kind of Dacian administrative structures that inherited the tribal organization within the Dacian Kingdom before 106 A.D.⁸⁶ This scenario proceeds to explaining the administrative organization of Roman Dacia taking into account this absence, without assuming that the entire Dacian people was exterminated (just the decimation of the elite is retained).

The model of the province's organization during the first decades after the conquest is perceived to be identical with that applied in the neighbouring provinces (Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia), in spite of the missing proofs of such similarities. It was noticed that in Dalmatia, Noricum, the two Pannonia and the two Moesia provinces the native tribal communities had been organized in the form of *civitates*

⁸³ Trynkowski 1976, 81–88; Babeş 2000, 323–338.

⁸⁴ Ruscu 2003, 55; Ruscu 2004, 78–79.

⁸⁵ That idea implies the fact that information about Ptolemy's "tribes" ending with the suffix – ensioi / – enses is not relevant to the discussion about Dacian continuity into the Roman province.

⁸⁶ Ardevan 1998, 92–95.

peregrinae, ruled during the military occupation by *praefecti civitatis* (supervising officers selected from the centurions of the troops displaced in the area). The tribal councils were preserved, its members having been called *principes*. During a second phase of development, these communities gained a higher degree of autonomy, these *civitates* being now ruled by local aristocracy, *principes civitatis*. The subsequent evolution of these settlements towards the municipal status led to the transformation of the local council into *ordo decurionum* and of the *principes* into *decuriones*.

The impossibility of identifying such a model in the Dacian case is explained through "the absence of native structures able to sustain self-government,..., and then to undergo a process of Romanization and to dedicate epigraphic inscriptions".⁸⁷ Although, "the absence of the upper class of the native society" should be the explanation also for "the particular aspects of the organization of the province of Dacia after the conquest, different from the usual model".⁸⁸

Unfortunately, there are no historical sources available to attest this scenario either. The word *civitas* is known from two inscriptions: *civitas Paralissensium*⁸⁹ and *civitas Romulensium Malvensium*.⁹⁰ The general opinion is that in both cases the term was used in relation to two settlements which had gained the municipal status, and not to *civitates peregrinae*.⁹¹ Four individuals called *principes* are attested in Dacia, all treated as "the chieftains of some migrated peregrine clans",⁹² but this quality is certain, in our opinion, just for Titus Flavius Aper from Splonum (Dalmatia).⁹³ For M. Antonius Sabinianus and Aurelius Manneus, the title *princeps* could also mean magistrate in a rural settlement (like *principes locorum* from Moesia Inferior⁹⁴) or sub-officer in an auxiliary unit (e.g. *decurio princeps*).⁹⁵

⁸⁷ Ruscu 2003, 56–60.

⁸⁸ Ruscu 2003, 55–56.

⁸⁹ IDRE II, 293 (Nedinum, Dalmatia).

⁹⁰ IDRE I, 179 (Hispalis, Baetica).

⁹¹ Cocceius Umbrianus is *decurio*, *augur* and *pontifex* in *civitas Paralissensium*, then in *municipium Septimium Porolissensis*; only D. Tudor believed that *civitas* from this inscription is the name of a rural self-governing community; the opposed opinion was largely expressed by many scholars, from Daicoviciu 1944, 17–21 to C. C. Petolescu, IDRE, I, p. 183.

⁹² IDR III/1, 165, III/3, 345, CIL III 110, 838; Ardevan 1998, 94–95; Ardevan 1998a, 47.

⁹³ Popescu 1967, 191–192.

⁹⁴ Avram 1984, 160–161.

⁹⁵ Speidel 1984, 189–195.

One could notice, also, the absence of data about *praefecti civitatis*, *principes civitatis* or communities under military control (excepting, maybe, the so-called *regio Ansamensium* supervised by *beneficarii*.⁹⁶) In order to emphasize the intrusion of the army on civil life, N. Gostar has counted some soldiers who had become municipal magistrates in the Dacian towns.⁹⁷

The same idea of the dissolution of the Dacian tribal society before the conquest and “l’absence dans la Dacie devenue province de l’élite indigène, le principal interlocuteur social...”, is found also in other scholarly works as an explanation of the particular system applied for the administrative organization of the province, in absence of indigenous districts.⁹⁸ The view of the Dacian Kingdom as a highly centralized state in first century B.C. – first century A.D. is supported, in some authors view, by a series of direct and indirect proofs: the cease of local mints in the time of Burebista, the fragment from the Suda Lexicon (quoting Criton) about royal functionaries in charge of the fortresses (“simple functionaries of the state and not local aristocrats were recruited from the entourage of the king to command these forts.”)⁹⁹ the absence of toponyms ending in *-dava* in the urbanized area of the province, and their presence only at the periphery.¹⁰⁰ The result of this centralized system should be the lack, in all kinds of sources, of the names of the Dacian tribes, and is reflected also in the manner in which soldiers of Dacian origin indicated their *natio* or *origo*: in all known cases *natione Dacus* or simply *Dacus*, without the mention of the tribe (*natione Moesiacus* but also, *natione Dardanus*, *natione Thrax*, but also *natione Bessus*.)¹⁰¹

Beginning with these assumptions, Decebalus’ kingdom is seen as “a highly centralised system, controlling not only the armed forces and religious life, but also economic resources.”¹⁰² As a result, the lack of indigenous districts is due to a militarised Roman administration: “the troop disposition shows the typical pattern of an occupation army, each unit controlling a certain area”. In this case “a *centurio* or *primipilarius* of a legion, or the commanding officer of

⁹⁶ On this *regio Ans.* – Daicoviciu 1969, 396–401; Opreanu 1994, 69–77; Isac 2003, 48–58; to be compared with *regio Montanensis*, Speidel 1984a, 185–188.

⁹⁷ Gostar 1963, 259–266.

⁹⁸ Opreanu 2004, 652–654.

⁹⁹ Diaconescu 2004, 123.

¹⁰⁰ Opreanu 2004, 654.

¹⁰¹ For the formula used to indicate *origo* and *natio* see Ricci 1993, 141–208.

¹⁰² Diaconescu 2004, 125.

equestrian rank of an auxiliary unit, had under his jurisdiction non only the auxiliary fort and its *Kastellvicus* but also a larger territory, including local communities of *dediticii*, or *civitates stipendiariae*, which were not self-governing communities. Excepting for the *territoria* of the towns, the provincial territory could be covered by Roman troops under such *praefecturae*".¹⁰³ In order to support this assertion one possible argument would be the disposal of the *alae* in the north-western part of the Transylvanian Plain (in Gherla, Ilișua, Brâncovenești, Cristești, and Războieni-Cetate). Another is the pattern observed in south-western Transylvania where the auxiliary forts are placed near the former Dacian fortresses but in open space (the fort of Cincșor next to the Dacian fortress from Breaza, the fort of Feldioara next to those from Arpașu de Sus). This pattern "seems to show that in most cases the army of occupation had taken over the administrative function of the citadels of the Dacian kingdom (...). In this way the pre-Roman administrative units, each associated with a citadel, were directly incorporated into the province, natives in the territory of an auxiliary unit probably received the inferior status of *dediticii*".¹⁰⁴ (...) Probably the *Kastellvici* of the auxiliary forts played the role of the *civitas* capitals of the Roman West, attracting natives from the surrounding region and ultimately contributing to their Romanisation".¹⁰⁵ This variant of the first scenario is grounded on the fact that the *civitates peregrinae* are unattested, a fact explained through the idea of the dissolution of the tribal society in the age of the Dacian Kingdom. The idea of the extermination of the Dacian elite, even if not explicitly expressed, is implied by this scenario, where the Dacians are seen as a mass of *dediticii* under military control.¹⁰⁶ But, one should keep in mind that preserved inscriptions mention no *praefectura*¹⁰⁷ and no commanding officer of an auxiliary unit as chief of an administrative rural community (Sextus Iulius Possessor is *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium* at the time when Romula is a self-governing city, a *municipium*).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Diaconescu 2004, 127.

¹⁰⁴ Diaconescu 2004, 128.

¹⁰⁵ Diaconescu 2004, 128.

¹⁰⁶ The latest critique of this scenario – Bogdan Cătănicu 2006, 959–967.

¹⁰⁷ Jacques, Scheid 1990, 190: "Les préfets militaires ne sont plus attestés dans les provinces européennes après les Flaviens".

¹⁰⁸ C. C. Petolescu, IDRE I, p. 183.

The Second Scenario: Presence of *civitates peregrinae*

Complementary and partly opposed, a second scenario was built on the assumption that some native administrative structures existed in the province of Dacia.

The inscription from Almaşu Mare attests the existence of a *vicus* An[...], that A. v. Domaszewski read as *vicus Anartorum*.¹⁰⁹ C. Patsch thought that this *vicus Anartorum* was the chief-place of a district of the tribe of the *Anartoi* / *Anartes* mentioned by Ptolemy and localised in the north-western part of the province.¹¹⁰ For H. Wolff, who criticised C. Patsch's opinion, this case should not be treated as proof of such an organisation, the *vici* (*vicus Anartorum*, *vicus Patavissensium* and *vicus Pirustarum*) being just rural settlements, and not *civitates*. Wolff believed the task of Sextus Iulius Possessor as *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium* was to supervise a neighbouring region (contemporary with the command of *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum*), a rural non-self-governing unit called with a general term *civitas*, instead of *regio* or *territorium*.¹¹¹ Wolff's conclusion was that "in Dacien sind nicht nur *curatores civitatis* anderweitig unbekannt, sondern auch,..., keine weiteren peregrinen Stammesgemeinden bekegt".¹¹²

The second scenario founded on the idea of the presence of the natives, of their elite and their administrative structures in the Roman province of Dacia, relies, as a main proof, on the list of the Dacian "tribes" from Ptolemy's *Geography*. In Ptolemy's work one could find, besides the list of the settlements from Dacia (with Dacian and Roman names), also a list of 15 "peoples" which inhabited Ptolemy's Dacia.¹¹³

Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, III. 8. 3:

*"Habitant Daciam in septentrionali parte, si ab occasu incipimus, Anarti et Teurisci atque Coestoboci; infra hos Predavenses et Rhatacenses et Caucoenses; infra quos eodem ordine Biephi et Buridavenses et Cotenses, atque infra hos Albocenses et Potulatenses et Senses; infra quos in meridiana regione Saldenses et Ciagisi et Piephigi".*¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ CIL III 8060.

¹¹⁰ Patsch 1937, 140; I. Piso has recently suggested a new reading of the last line – *vicus Au[relianus]* – rejecting "la lecture...improbable" *vico An[artorum]*, see Piso 2011, 323–324.

¹¹¹ Wolff 1976, 111–116; see also Alföldi 1940, 29–30.

¹¹² Wolff 1976, 114.

¹¹³ Müller 1883, 442–451.

¹¹⁴ Stevenson 1991, 82: "The Anarti, the Teurisci and the Coestoboci inhabit Dacia in the northern part, beginning from the west; below these are the Praedavenses,

For almost all scholars these *peoples / tribes*' names are the tribes of pre-Roman Dacia, before the Roman conquest, while only the names of the towns are those from the Roman province.¹¹⁵

Few Romanian scholars have claimed the contrary. For C. Daicoviciu the names with the *-ensioi / -enses* suffix should be assigned to "rural administrative structures (*civitates*), and not to genuine Dacian tribes,"¹¹⁶ meanwhile for R. Florescu the peoples' names are "rural circumscriptions under military authority".¹¹⁷ I. I. Russu thought that the map of Dacia that Ptolemy transmitted us is to be dated between 106–117 (including the tribal names), and drew the conclusion that "the Daco-Getian tribes are already named with forms of *ethnika – demotika* with Roman suffixes *-ensioi (ensi)*" being "more probably territorial structures,..., a kind of *civitates peregrinae*".¹¹⁸

The task of analysing and demonstrating this idea (i.e. that the Dacian "tribes" from Ptolemy's list are in fact *civitates peregrinae* from Roman Dacia) was assumed by Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu.¹¹⁹ In her opinion, the toponyms and the names of the "tribes" from Ptolemy's Geography belong to the first half of the second century A.D. For establishing the chronological frame of Ptolemy's information regarding the Danubian area, Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu takes into account the mention of three settlements on the bank of the Hierasos river, Zargidava, Tamasidava, and Piroboridava. The Romanian scholar considers that the three settlements are located by Ptolemy north of Danube, in the vicinity of the province of Moesia Inferior (*ad Moesiam*). As it is well known from Hunt's Papyrus, Piroboridava belonged to Moesia Inferior between 102–117/118 A.D., then Ptolemy's map of the Northern Danubian area should be dated after 117/118 when emperor Hadrian gave up the Moesian territories north of Danube.¹²⁰ After the analysis of Ptolemy's information, Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu reaches the conclusion: "... le suffixe – enses ajouté au nom d'une localité forme le nom de la majeure partie des "peuplades" de la Dacie ptolémaïque (...), mais ces noms

the Rhatacenses, and the Caucoenses; below these, in this order, are the Biephi, the Burideenses, and the Cotenses, and below these are the Albocenses, the Potulatenses, and the Senses; below these, in the southern region, are the Saldenses, the Ciagisi, and the Piephigi".

¹¹⁵ Bogdan Cătănciu 1999, 224; Bogdan Cătănciu 1987–1988, 145–147.

¹¹⁶ Daicoviciu 1960, 266.

¹¹⁷ Florescu 1982, 544, n. 176, 547, n. 203.

¹¹⁸ Russu 1961, 92–93; Russu 1981, 182–183.

¹¹⁹ Bogdan Cătănciu 1999, 223–231; Bogdan Cătănciu 1987–1988, 145–162; Bogdan Cătănciu 1997, 11–12; Bogdan Cătănciu 1999a, 64–83.

¹²⁰ Bogdan Cătănciu 1991, 60.

sont propres à des créations territoriales romaines et non à des tribus daces" (i. e. "divisions territoriales, c'est à dire civitates de la Dacie au commencement du règne d'Hadrien...").¹²¹ Thus, all these "tribes" are located on a modern map inside the province of Dacia: *Anarti* and *Teurisci* in the western and north – western part, the *Coestoboci* in the north-eastern part, near Orheiul Bistriței, *Predavenses* in the Apuseni Mountains, *Rhatacenses* in the central zone of Transylvania, *Caucoenses* in Harghita County, *Buridavenses* on River Olt, *Cotenses* on Pârâul Negru and the upper valley of the Olt, *Albocenses* on River Timiș, *Saldenses*, near the Danube, *Potulatenses* in the north – western part of Oltenia, *Senses* near Slatina, *Ciagisi* and *Piephigi* in the Oltenian Plain. All these names are no more than Dacian tribes organised by the Romans in the form of *civitates peregrinae* (some bearing genuine tribal names such as *Anarti*, *Teurisci*, *Coestoboci*, *Biephi*, *Piephigi*, *Ciagisi*, some names derived after the tribal capital, *Predavenses* from *Predava*, *Buridavenses* from *Buridava*, *Potulatenses* from *Potula* etc.).¹²²

This scenario does not provide information on the evolution of such *civitates*, on their transformation into administrative Roman structures. All the sources are connected to the time when Ptolemy drew his ninth map of Europe.

Today's Data or the Third Scenario?

The two main ideas of modern historical Dacian *logos*, that of the extermination of the Dacian population during the conquest wars and that of a highly centralised state in the time of Decebalus' reign found little support in the repertoire of ancient sources.

An honest historian can't solve the problem of the cruel fate of the Dacians after the conquest basing his analysis only upon a general assertion (Eutropius), a rhetoric statement (Emperor Julian) and an anecdote (Lucian, quoting Crito). There is another example where modern historians are going too far with their conclusions: following Crito's text about the existence of a "function aristocracy" in the Dacian kingdom during Decebalus' reign, namely some functionaries charged with controlling the fortifications, other controlling the pastures,¹²³ they create a picture of a centralised state with no parallel in the barbarian world.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Bogdan Cătănciu 1991, 62.

¹²² Bogdan Cătănciu, 1987–1988, 154–158.

¹²³ Crito, *FrgHist* 200, F 5, see Petre 2004, 669.

¹²⁴ Dana 2000, 48–50.

The issue of Ptolemy's data is far more complicated. For drawing the IXth map of Europe Ptolemy use several independent sets of information connected with the period 106–118 A.D. [the existence of the province of Dacia / after 106 A.D. and the town Nicopolis ad Istrum / after 110 A.D., the absence of the province of Dacia Inferior / before 118–120 A.D., legio IV Flavia garrisoned at Singidunum / after 117–118 A.D.]¹²⁵ The so-called Dacian “tribes” belong to the same chronological frame, and their presence raises two different set of problems: a) what is hidden behind these ethnonyms? and b) where could the tribes be located on the modern map of the North-Danubian region?

a) Out of the 15 names of the “tribes”, only six are genuine ethnonyms: *Anarti*, *Teurisci*, *Coestoboci*, *Biephi*, *Ciagisi*, and *Piephigi*, the other nine being names derived from a town name and the suffix – ἥνσιοι / – enses: *Predavenses*, *Ratacenses*, *Caucoenses*, *Buridavenses*, *Cotenses*, *Albocenses*, *Potulatenses*, *Saldenses*, and maybe *S(i)enses*. From other sources one only knows of *Buridava*,¹²⁶ *Potula*,¹²⁷ and *Salda*,¹²⁸ but **Predava* (or **Piedava*, ms. X Πιεδανῆνσιοι), **Rataca*, **Alboca*, and the others should be similar, unattested settlements. A lot of tribes with genuine tribal names, not derived from localities, are known in the neighbouring provinces: for example *Sevaces*, *Alauni*, *Norici*, *Ambidravi* in Noricum, *Azali*, *Latobici*, *Varciani*, *Boii*, *Oseriates* in Pannonia Superior, *Amantini*, *Hercuniates*, *Breuci*, *Aravisci*, *Scordisci* in Pannonia Inferior, *Iapydes*, *Maezaei*, *Dindari*, *Ditiones*, *Cerauni*, *Daurisii*, *Pirustae*, *Scirtiones* in Dalmatia, and many others quoted by Ptolemy.¹²⁹ In Dalmatia there are also the *Narensi* and the *Docleatae*, with the names derived from Naron and Doclea. The same situation can be found in the two *Moesiae*, where the tribal names are combined with ethnonyms built with suffix – enses. In Moesia Superior besides *Dardani* and *Moesi*, there are also the *Tricornenses* (from Tricornium) and the *Picenses* (from Pincum), meanwhile in Moesia Inferior, besides the *Triballi*, *Troglodytae*,

¹²⁵ Strang ms., 30–31.

¹²⁶ Miller 1916, 554.

¹²⁷ Anonymus Ravennas, *Cosmographia*, IV, 14, 6 (Pinder, Parthey 1860, 204); Daicoviciu 1969, 298 interpreted Canonica Potula from Geographus Ravennas as a distortion of Centum Putea from Tabula Peutingeriana, quite improbable because of the existence of *Potulatenses* in Ptolemy's Geography.

¹²⁸ Pârvan 1926, 247.

¹²⁹ Ptol., *Geogr.* II, 13, 2; II, 14, 2; II, 15, 2; II, 16, 5 (Müller 1883, 286–287; 290–291; 298; 309–312).

Peucini and *Crobyzi*, one could also find the *Oetenses*, *Obulenses*, *Dimenses* and *Appiarenenses*.¹³⁰

The fact that the "tribes" recorded by Ptolemy at the beginning at the second century A.D. in Noricum, Dalmatia, the two Pannonia, and the two Moesia are *civitates peregrinae*, indigenous administrative structures in the Roman provinces is a *communis opinio*.¹³¹ This interpretation is even more obvious when one talks about the "tribal" names build with the suffix *-enses*. *Narensi* are those who living along the Narenta river, in *conventus Narona*,¹³² and the names *Tricornenses*, *Picenses*, *Dimenses* etc. designate some indigenous administrative structures developed around the settlements of Tricornium, Pincum or Dimum, garrisons of some auxiliary units. These Moesian districts were created before the year 86 A.D.¹³³ or after the re-organization of the Danubian *limes* during Trajan's Dacian Wars.¹³⁴ The similar manner of designation and the same chronological frame show that *Predavenses*, *Buridavenses* or *Potulatenses* are also some districts from the new province or Dacia during Trajan's reign, probably under military control.

b) As far as the location of these "tribes" on the modern map is concerned, I have to notice since the beginning the fact that Ptolemy does not provide precise information, i. e. co-ordinates expressed in latitude and longitude, like for settlements, only a vague distribution from north to south: "*Habitant Daciam in septentrionali parte, si ab occasu incipimus ..., infra hos..., infra quos eodem ordinem, ...atque infra hos, ... infra quos in meridiana regione...*"¹³⁵ The whole map of Dacia reconstructed after Ptolemy's co-ordinates has nine rectangular grids on longitude and five on latitude. It is obvious that Ptolemy has placed the names of the "tribes" in order to cover the entire, very distorted along the longitude map of Dacia, following his system: 3 grids on longitude / 1 grid on latitude. Thus, all the names of the "tribes" were conventionally placed in 3/1 grids in order to fill up the entire space divided then in 15 geometrical units (1 unit = 3 grids on longitude / 1 grid on latitude). This purely conventional system is responsible for the presence of the *Buridavenses* in the centre of Transylvania, near Apulum and Germisara, and not in Oltenia where others sources

¹³⁰ Ptol., *Geogr.*, III, 9, 2; III, 10, 4 (Müller 1883, 452–453; 463).

¹³¹ Mócsy 1974, 66–70.

¹³² Wilkes 1969, 165.

¹³³ Mócsy 1974, 66, 68.

¹³⁴ Poulter 1980, 729–744.

¹³⁵ Ptol., *Geogr.*, III, 8, 3 (Müller 1883, 444).

locate the settlement of Buridava (on River Olt, at Stolniceni, as one can see on the Tabula Peutingeriana). Thus, an attempt to transfer Ptolemy's Dacian "tribes" onto a modern map is meant to fail.

Interpreting in this manner Ptolemy's map of Dacia, a modern historian could conclude that there were some districts with names derived from settlements (Predavenses, Potulatenses, Albocenses etc.) and, maybe, some neighbouring tribes (Anarti, Teurisci, Coestoboci etc.) in Dacia during Trajan's reign. The *poleis'* names and the *tribes'* names are indigenous, so one can conclude that the natives were still living in the province at that time. It is hard to say if these districts were under military control, but they probably were, through comparison with the Moesian districts of Tricornenses, Picenses, Dimenses, or Appiarenenses. These districts co-existed with the territory of *colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* and there is no information on them after Hadrian's re-organization of the Dacian provinces. Beside new *municipia* like Napoca, Drobeta and maybe Romula, some rural self-governing communities, having *territoria* or *regiones* sprang from these Trajanic districts: the territory of Arcobadara, *territorium Sucidavense*, the territory around Samum called *regio Ans(amense)*.

3. Ptolemy's Map of Dacia and the *formulae provinciarum*

Formulae provinciarum

It has long been accepted that for the drawing of their books ancient geographers used official sources, including the so-called *formulae provinciarum*.

This type of official records were probably kept in the imperial archives and some people could have had access to this information, such as Pliny the Elder for example. The text of the *Naturalis Historia* suggests the existence of an official source apart from M. Vipsanius Agrippa's geographical work. The *formulae* were of course associated with other sources and mixed with them, thus becoming hardly recognizable.¹³⁶

In order to explain the map of Pannonia in Ptolemy's Geography, the Hungarian historian Bence Fehér has supposed that the ancient geographer had extensively used *formulae provinciarum*, and he tried to explain, starting from this, the many faults in his work. Fehér assumed the existence of a map of Illyricum dating back to the Augustan era, a survey of Pannonia (before 20 A.D.) and, finally, of two surveys

¹³⁶ Christol 1994, 45–46.

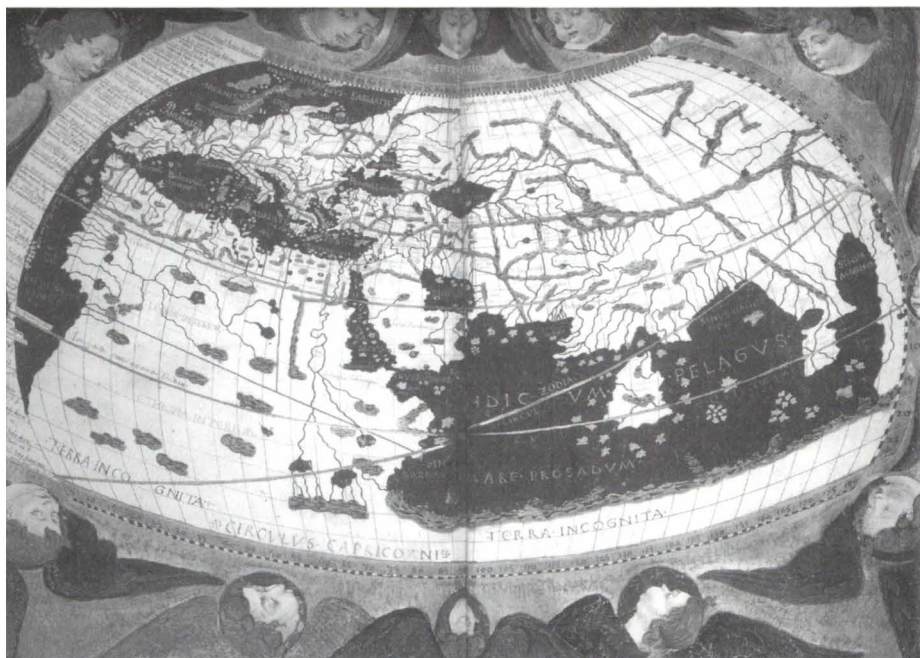


Fig. 8

of Pannonia Superior and Inferior dated to the first decade of the second century A.D. Because each measurement of a province had a different starting point, the data found in the surveys were diverging, so that some regions overlap, while others are separated by open spaces.¹³⁷ In conclusion, the errors contained by regional maps of Ptolemy are explained by the effort to reconcile data from literary sources, general geographical works, chorographies, military *itineraria* and, perhaps, *formulae provinciarum*.

In his second volume of the *Fasti provinciae Daciae*, Ioan Piso assumed that Ptolemy's list of the 44 *poleis* of Dacia was most likely inspired by a *formula provinciae*.¹³⁸ It is tempting to attribute the data in Ptolemy's regional maps to official documents called *formulae provinciarum*. In this case, the information would become more truthful, allowing for the reading of the provincial maps in an administrative key. One should interpret the *formula provinciae* as the organic law and the map of the province, then a direct source for the organization

¹³⁷ Fehér 2004, 300.

¹³⁸ Piso 2013, 2: "Am wahrscheinlichsten ist es, dass die auf einer *formula provinciae* herausgegriffen wurde Ptolemaios list".

of a conquered territory. The *formula* includes the setting of the territory's boundaries through survey work and the official nomenclature of the administrative and judicial districts with the indication of the hierarchical rank of the units in each district.¹³⁹

The use of a *formula provinciae* in Pliny the Elder's book is textually attested in the description of *Gallia Narbonnensis*, where it is stated that Emperor Galba added to the *formula* the Alpine peoples of the *Avantici* and *Bodiontici*, whose main town was Dinia.¹⁴⁰ The description of *Gallia Narbonnensis* is organized, therefore, as follows:

- (1) a very brief introduction;
- (2) a geographic presentation, with many notations (rivers, towns);
- (3) the proper description of the province, from south to north, divided into regions (*regiones*), as well as a long list of communities (towns and peoples);
- (4) the paragraph closes with the words of Agrippa concerning the dimensions of the province.¹⁴¹

Ptol. Geogr. III. 8. 1–2:

Daciae situs (Europae tabula nona)

1. *Dacia finitur septentriones versus Sarmatiae Europaeae parte ea, quae est a Carpatum monte usque ad terminum, in quo Tyram fluvium inflecti demonstravimus, quae inflexio sita est, ut diximus, 53, 48.30, ab occasu Iazygibus Metanastis iuxta Tibiscum fluvium; a meridie vero Danubii fluminis parte ea, quae est a Tibisci fluvii ostio usque ad Pontum et ostia sua Danubius iam appellatur Ister; cuius partis positio ita se habet:*

2. *Post Tibisci fluvii ostium prima Africum versus inflexio 47. 20, 44. 45, inflexio ad influentem Rabonem fluvium, qui ex Dacia decurrit 49, 43.30, inflexio ad Ciabrum influentem 49. 30, 43. 45, inflexio ad Alutam fluvium influentem, qui a septentrionibus profectus per Daciam decurrit 50. 15, 44, inflexio prope Oescum 51, 44, inflexio prope Axiopolim 54. 20, 45. 45 inde a qua Danubium flumen usque ad ostia Istrum vocari diximus; ab oriente autem Dacia finitur Istro flumine, qui hinc est usque ad flexum apud Dinogetiam oppidum, cuius flexus positio est 53, 46.40 et deinceps Hieraso fluvio, qui apud Dinogetiam in Istrum sese effundit a septentrionibus et oriente decurrens, usque ad indicatam Tyrae fluminis inflexionem.*¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Pallu de Lessert 1909, 279–281.

¹⁴⁰ Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, 3 5. 37: *adiecit formulae Galba Imperator ex Inalpinis Auanticos atque Bodionticos, quorum oppidum Dinia.*

¹⁴¹ Christol 1994, 51.

¹⁴² Stevenson 1991, 81–82: “Dacia is bounded on the north by that part of the European Sarmatia, which extends from the Carpathian mountains to the terminus where, as we has shown, the Tyras river is deflected in its course in 53 48. 30 on the

Ptolemy's text on Dacia is comparable to this description of Gallia Narbonensis made by Plinius the Elder. It contains a brief geographical outline, where the limits of the province are indicated using rivers (Danubius, Tibiscus, Hierasus, and Tyras). The communities were only listed afterwards: the 15 tribes living in Dacia, arranged in three columns,¹⁴³ and the 44 *poleis* (towns and other kinds of settlements).¹⁴⁴

As for the general geographical description, one should clarify from the start that in Ptolemy's geography Dacia has a reduced area as compared to that of Dacia known in the earlier geographical tradition (Strabo, Agrippa, etc.). In Ptolemy's Geography, Dacia lies along nine degrees in longitude (675 Roman miles) and five degrees in latitude (312.5 Roman miles). If one compares these values to the dimensions of Dacia in Agrippa's geography, 1200/1000 Roman miles in length and 396/386 Roman miles in width,¹⁴⁵ it becomes pretty clear that Ptolemy actually indicated the dimensions of the Roman province and not those of the abstract region called Dacia, located between River Vistula and the Sarmatian Desert, between the Danube and the Ocean, Dacia known from Agrippa's map and the short geographical treatises of late Antiquity, like *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum*.¹⁴⁶

west by Iazyges Metanastae along the Tibiscus river; on the south by that part of the Danube river between the mouth of the Tibiscus river and Axiopolis, from which town as far as the Pontus and the mouth of Danube it is called Ister; the several sections of this southern boundary are: after the mouth of the Tibiscus river the first turn which is west-southwest is in 47.20 44.45 then a bend near the entrance of Rabon river which flows from Dacia in 49 43.30 an a bend at the entrance of the Ciabrus river which is in 49.30 43.45, a bend near the entrance of the Alutas river which comes from the north in Dacia 50.15 44, a bend near Oescus 51 44, a bend near Axiopolim 54.20 44.45, thence the Danube river to its mouth is called Ister as we said. On the east Dacia is bounded by the Ister river near the bend close to the town Dinogetia, the location of which is in 53 46.40, then by the river Hierasus, which near Dinogetia flows into the Ister from the north, and turning eastwards extends as far as the indicated bend of the Tyras river”.

¹⁴³ Ptol. Geogr. III. 8. 3; *supra*, Chapter II.2.

¹⁴⁴ Ptol. Geogr. III. 8. 4.

¹⁴⁵ Riese 1964, 4 (*M. Vipsani Agrippae fragmenta ad chorographiam spectantia*, 18); 10 (*Demensuratio provinciarum*, 8); 17 (*Divisio orbis terrarum*, 14); Tierney 1967, 50–51 (*Dicuil, Liber de mensura Orbis Terrae*, 16–17); *supra*, Chapter II.1.

¹⁴⁶ Nemeti 2011, 37–49.

The "Tribes"

Dacia

Ptol. Geogr. III. 8. 3:

*"Habitant Daciam in septentrionali parte, si ab occasu incipimus, Anarti et Teurisci atque Coestoboci; infra hos Predavenses et Rhatacenses et Caucoenses; infra quos eodem ordine Biephi et Buridavenses et Cotenses, atque infra hos Albocenses et Potulatenses et Senses; infra quos in meridiana regione Saldenses et Ciagisi et Piephigi".*¹⁴⁷

Germania Magna

Ptol. Geogr. II. 11. 11:

*"(...) infra Orcynium Saltum Quadi, infra quos ferri fodinae et Luna Silva, infra quam magna gens Baemorum Danubio tenus, et finitimi eis iuxta fluvium Racatrae quique ad fluminis flexiones habitant Racatae.".*¹⁴⁸

Sarmatia Europaea

Ptol. Geogr. III. 5. 7:

*"Habitant Sarmatiam gentes maximae Venedae propter totum Venedicum sinum; atque supra Daciam Peucini et Basternae; et praeter totum lacum Maeotidis Iazyges et Rhoxolani; atque magis ab his intorsum Hamaxobii et Alani Scythae".*¹⁴⁹

Ptol. Geogr. III. 5. 8:

*"Minores autem gentes Sarmatiam incolunt iuxta Vistulam fluvium infra Venetes Gythiones, deinde Finni, deinde Suiones (?); infra quos Phrugundiones, deinde Avarini juxta initium Vistulae fluvii; infra quos Ombrones, deinde Anartophracti, deinde Burgiones, deinde Arsietae, deinde Saboci, deinde Piengitae et Biessi praeter Carpaten montem".*¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Stevenson 1991, 82: "The Anarti, the Teurisci and the Coestoboci inhabit Dacia in the northern part, beginning from the west; bellow these are the Praedavenses, the Rhatacenses, and the Caucoenses; below these, in this order, are the Biephi, the Burideenses, and the Cotenses, and below these are the Albocenses, the Potulatenses, and the Senses; below these, in the southern region, are the Saldenses, the Ciagisi, and the Piephigi".

¹⁴⁸ Stevenson 1991, 64: "...below the Orcynium forest are the Quadi, and below these are the iron mines and the Luna forest, below which is the great race of the Baemi extending as far as the Danube, and the Racatrae bordering them on the river, and the Racatae near the bending of the river".

¹⁴⁹ Stevenson 1991, 80: "The Greater Venedae races inhabit Sarmatia along the entire Venedicus bay; and above Dacia are the Peucini and the Basternae; and along the entire coast of Maeotis are the Iazyges and the Rhoxolani; more toward the interior are the Amaxobi and the Scythian Alani".

¹⁵⁰ Stevenson 1991, 80: "Lesser races inhabit Sarmatia near the Vistula river. Below the Venedae are the Gythiones, then the Finni, then the Sulones; below whom are the

Ptol. Geogr. III. 5. 9:

*"Ab his quos diximus ad ortum sunt infra Venedas Galindae et Sudini et Stavani Alanis tenuis; infra quos Igylliones, deinde Costoboci et Transmontani usque ad Peucinos montes".*¹⁵¹

Ptol. Geogr. III. 5. 10:

*"... inter Hamaxobios et Rhoxolanos Rheucanali et Exobygitae; atque rursum Peucinos inter et Basternas Carpiani, supra quos Gevini, deinde Bodini; inter Basternas vero et Rhoxolanos Chuni, atque infra montes ab ipsis cognominatos Amadoci et Navari".*¹⁵²

The enumeration of the 15 communities, five on each column, from north to south and from west to east, poses several problems.¹⁵³ First of all, some are real tribes, bearing the tribal names known also from other sources, such as the Anarti, the Teurisci,¹⁵⁴ and the Costoboci¹⁵⁵, or even previously unknown, as the Biephi, the Ciagisi, the Piephigi.¹⁵⁶ One can easily observe that these names are deployed on the limits of the territory that Ptolemy called Dacia, i. e. the Roman province and its surroundings. My hypothesis is that Ptolemy has found these names in written sources: further east, near Dacia, lived the Amadoci¹⁵⁷ and the Bodini (Budinoi),¹⁵⁸ peoples

Phrungundiones; then the Avarini near the source of the Vistula river; below these are the Ombrones, then the Anartophracti, then the Burgiones, then the Arsietae, then the Saboci, then the Piengitae and the Biessi near the Carpathian Mountain."

¹⁵¹ Stevenson 1991, 80: "Among those we have named to the east: below the Venedae are the Galindae, the Sudini, and the Stavani, extended as far as the Alauni; below these are the Igylliones, then the Coestoboci and the Transmontani extending as far as the Peuca mountains."

¹⁵² Stevenson 1991, 80: "...between the Amaxobi and the Rhoxolani are the Rheucanali and the Exobygitae; and between the Peucini and the Basternae are the Carpiani, above whom are the Gevini, then the Bodini; between the Basternae and the Rhoxolani are the Chuni, and below the mountains named from these are the Amadoci and the Navari."

¹⁵³ *Supra*, Chapter II. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Unattested in the written sources for more than a century: Teurisci are mentioned for the last time in Strabo VII. 3. 11 (Burebista's campaign against the Celtic Taurisci / Teurisci); on the other hand the Anarti are listed in the inscription of the M. Vinucius in 19 B.C. (see Gostar 1956, 184).

¹⁵⁵ Russu 1959, 341–352; Macrea 1968, 187–191.

¹⁵⁶ Gostar 1980, 25–32.

¹⁵⁷ RE I. 1–2, 1894, s.v. Amadokoi, c. 1712–1713 (Tomaschek).

¹⁵⁸ Hdt. IV. 21; RE III. 1, 1897, s.v. Bodinoi, c. 592 (Tomaschek); s.v. Budinoi, c. 989–991 (Tomaschek).

known from the time of Hellanicos and Herodotus. Ptolemy's ethnographic pieces of information therefore overlap: the Anarti and the Costoboci inhabit the far north, while one can find their duplicates in southern European Sarmatia: the Anartophracti, the Costoboci Transmontani,¹⁵⁹ the Saboci, the Piengitae, and the Biessi.¹⁶⁰ There is also a duplicate for the Racatenses/Ratacenses from Dacia: a people called Racatae is mentioned on the banks of the Danube, near the bend of the river, in Germania Magna.¹⁶¹ One may wonder if these names are really tribes living near the Roman province of Dacia¹⁶² or, simply, the corrupt form of the tribes names confusedly placed by writers and geographers in a poorly known *Barbaricum*.

On the other hand, in the central part of the territory of Dacia one finds the names of communities built with the suffix *-enses* / *-ήνσιοι*: Predavenses, Racatenses, Caucoenses, Buridavenses, Cotenses, Albocenses, Potulatenses, Saldenses, and S(i)enses.¹⁶³ In my opinion, they are not strictly tribes, but regions of the new province conquered by Trajan, a sort of administrative and judicial districts.¹⁶⁴ Due to subsequent changes in municipal life, I am inclined to believe that they are not the *civitates peregrinae*,¹⁶⁵ despite their names that are derived from those of the Dacian centers, such as *Predava, Buridava, *Alboca or *Potulata.

The distribution of the peripheral tribes and districts on the Ptolemaic map is quite vague from the point of view of current geography, but they are not random. The territory of the province, lying along nine degrees in longitude and five degrees in latitude, is divided into 15 geometric units: a unit consisting of three degrees in

¹⁵⁹ One must observe that, in this case Ptolemy enlists the peoples from north to south: then *infra* Igylliones are the *Coestoboci Transmontani* (in this case located to the south of the Carpathian Mountains, probably, somewhere in Northern Moldavia).

¹⁶⁰ The Saboci, the Piengitae and the Biessi were interpreted as duplicates from the time of V. Pârvan (Pârvan 1926, 223).

¹⁶¹ Tribes duplicated in Sarmatia in Bagrow 1945, 377.

¹⁶² For the problem of the peripheral tribes, see: Opreanu 1994a, 193–220.

¹⁶³ Ptol. Geogr. III. 8. 3. For *Siensioi, see Russu 1947, 398–403.

¹⁶⁴ *Supra*, Chapter II. 2.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, the opinions of Ioana Bogdan Cătănicu, expressed many times: Bogdan Cătănicu 1987–1988, 158; Bogdan Cătănicu 1991, 59–67; Bogdan Cătănicu 2002, 723: "...l'organisation administrative de la province est fondée sur des communautés territoriales autonomes – *civitates* – dont le nom dérive généralement de celui de la localité centrale..."; Bogdan Cătănicu 2007, 55: "*civitate peregrinaes (sic !)*" (against any material evidence; there are no inscriptions in Dacia mentioning autochthonous *civitates* – Ardevan 1998, 92–95; Piso 1995, 69–70; Piso 2008, 317–318, des districts pérégrins, 325).

longitude per one degree in latitude. Each unit of 3/1 degree is defined by a tribal name, or a district. Using this purely conventional system, the geographer was able to cover the entire map.¹⁶⁶ The total absence of a precise relationship between communities should be noted, whether they are tribes or districts and settlements mentioned shortly thereafter, with geographical indications according to longitude and latitude. For example, in the territory of Buridavenses, one could find Apulum and Germisara (located, in fact, in the centre of Transylvania), and not Buridava, placed by the Tabula Peutingeriana on River Olt (Alutus), in Oltenia.¹⁶⁷

The towns

I tried to show on another occasion that the list of 44 towns reflects a situation recorded during the conquest of Dacia and in the first years after Trajan's wars.¹⁶⁸ I have already suggested an early dating of Ptolemy's prototype at the beginnings of the Roman province. The list of 44 towns contains a series of Roman toponyms, therefore should refer to realities arisen after the conquest (like, for example, Ulpianum, Salinae, Praetoria Augusta, Angustiae, Pirum, Aquae, Pontes, Pinum).¹⁶⁹ There are some internal criteria available for dating the prototype: *termina postquam* are provided by mentions of the Iazyges in the Tisza Plain (after the reign of Tiberius) and the very existence of Dacia as the Roman province (after 106 A.D.). An important *terminus antequam* is, in my opinion, the listing of three *poleis* ending with the particle *-dava* among the towns from Moesia Inferior: i. e. Zargidava, Tamasidava, and Piroboridava, on the left bank of River Hierasus.¹⁷⁰ This chronological clue is

¹⁶⁶ Nemeti 2006, 94–95.

¹⁶⁷ Berciu 1931, 1–28; Tudor 1964, 404–405.

¹⁶⁸ Nemeti 2006a, 271–289.

¹⁶⁹ Pârvan 1926, 251.

¹⁷⁰ Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1987–1988, 148, believed that three towns are listed under the formula *ad Moesiam*, and, strangely, she preferred a dating after 117–118 A.D. (the abandonment of some territories in the Wallachian Plain by Hadrian in the context of the Sarmatian Wars, and the organization of the new procuratorial province of Dacia Inferior). But, the Xth chapter of the Geography's IIIrd book, is entitled simply *Moesiae Inferioris situs*, and contains several sub-chapters. The first four sub-chapters contains the general geographical description in order to outline the surface of the province (rivers *inflexiones*, promontories, etc.); the sub-chapters from five to eight enlist the *oppida* from the province of Moesia Inferior, meanwhile sub-chapter IX describes "*Insulae adjacent Moesiae Inferioris*". Sub-chapter VII shows the realities from a region called *ora maritima ab Istri ostio*, located between the mouth of River

really valuable, even if one is not able to locate precisely the mentioned toponyms (Hierasus is usually identified with River Siret, in today's Moldavia¹⁷¹ and Piroboridava with the native settlement from Poiana, Galați County¹⁷² or even with the Roman centre from Barboși–Galați¹⁷³). The important fact is that Piroboridava is recorded in Hunt's *pridianum*¹⁷⁴ as *intra provinciam*, with the province being Moesia Inferior, therefore during Trajan's reign, after the Dacian Wars (106–117 A.D.)¹⁷⁵ A wider *terminus antequem* is suggested by the fact that legio V Macedonica is garrisoned in Troesmis (Moesia Inferior) (106–169 A.D.). The impressive number of towns with indigenous names, many of them ending in *-dava*, not listed in the subsequent sources like *Tabula Peutingeriana* or the Cosmography of *Anonymus Ravennas*, suggests that Ptolemy's information is close to the date of the conquest. The towns, settlements, and *stationes* like Ruconium, Dokidava, Arcobadara, Patridava, Karsidava, Petrodava, Sangidava, Utidava, Markodava, Singidava, Komidava, Ramidava, Zusidava, Polonda, Zurobara, Netindava, Arkinna, and Sornum are spread in the territory of the new province, Trajan's Dacia. None of the listed towns belong to the area of the future Dacia Inferior, and none of the toponyms are among those known from this southern region, like Sucidava, Romula, and Malva. Ptolemy does not include Buridava in the category of the "most important *poleis* from Dacia".

Borysthene and River Hierasus, a territory inhabited by the tribes of the Harpii, the Tyragetas Sarmatas, the Britolagae and the Peucini. Sub-chapter VIII, listing the *poleis* of this *ora maritima*, is still a part of chapter X, "*Moesiae Inferioris situs*: 8. *Oppida sunt huius quoque partis mediterranea eaque propter Hierasum fluvium Zargidava 54.40, 47.45, Tamasidava 54.20, 47.30, Piroboridava 54, 47...*". Three *oppida* located between Hierasus and Tyras (Niconium, Ophiussa and Tyras *oppidum*) are also listed beside the town from the left bank of the Hierasus – Ptol. *Geogr.*, X, 1–9; Müller 1883, 456–471. In my opinion, the ancient source clearly states that these areas belong to the province of Moesia Inferior.

¹⁷¹ Pârvan 1923, 10–11.

¹⁷² Vulpe 1931, 237–276; Vulpe 1964, 223–246.

¹⁷³ Gostar 1965, 146.

¹⁷⁴ FHDR, I, 466–471; Popescu-Spineni 1978, 32–33, with the bibliography.

¹⁷⁵ Cantacuzène 1928, 38–74 (67, dating of the papyrus: 110–117 A.D.; 86, Piroboridava in Southern Moldavia, maybe Poiana, Galați County); the same interpretation in Syme 1959, 26–33 (32–33: after the conquest of Dacia, probably 105–108 A.D.); a different dating in Fink 1958, 102–116 (113: Faustinus is identified with A. Caecilius Faustinus, consul suffect in August 99 A.D.; Fink pointed out that "but on the other hand the fact that Piroboridava, Buridava and the parties *trans Danuvium* ... are all likewise *intra provinciam* in 99 A.D. is, to say the least, unexpected".

On the other hand, one should note the absence from Ptolemy's list of *poleis* ending with suffix *-ianus* / *-iana*, prevalent in other, later geographical sources (Blandiana, Optatiana, Largiana)¹⁷⁶ or known through epigraphy (Bassiana).¹⁷⁷ The absence of toponyms designating properties, derived from the name of landowners (Blandus, Optatus, Largus, and Bassus)¹⁷⁸ also speaks of an earlier dating of the cartographic source used by Ptolemy in preparing the list of settlements.

According to Ioan Piso, the list was compiled immediately after the creation of the province, but before the foundation of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa. The argument actually resides in the words Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα τὸ Βασίλειον, considered, in this context, as being the ancient capital of the Dacian kings.¹⁷⁹ One could envisage an earlier dating of the main source used for the cities of Dacia, maybe a military *itinerarium*, as suggested by the double presence of Tibiscum (an error, probably, due to the calculus of the coordinates starting from the geographical data taken from an *itinerarium* similar to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*¹⁸⁰). However, the presence of Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα τὸ Βασίλειον is, in my opinion, simply a *terminus postquem*. One can follow in this matter A. Strang, who believes that the information contained in the IXth map could be linked to the years 118–120 A.D., because legio IV Flavia Felix is already deployed at Singidunum and Dacia Inferior, resulted from Hadrian's administrative reforms, is not visible on the map.¹⁸¹

In addition, the city called just Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα appears among the cities mentioned in another of Ptolemy's works, Κανὼν πόλεων ἐπισήμων, 9. 2 (*Catalogue of remarkable cities*). In book VIII of the *Geography*, Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα τὸ Βασίλειον reappears, but this time with the position expressed not in degrees but in the difference of equinoctial hours.¹⁸²

To sum up, as far as the list of the “most important *poleis* of Dacia” is concerned, one has to remark that this comprises names of settlements founded by the Romans in Dacia and, therefore, the Latin toponyms, so it must refer to an epoch after the year 106 A.D.

¹⁷⁶ On the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, see Miller 1916, 548–550.

¹⁷⁷ Facella, Speidel 2011, 207–215, pl. 1–2, 42.

¹⁷⁸ Arnaud 1998, 201–224.

¹⁷⁹ Piso 2008, 321–322.

¹⁸⁰ Florescu 1997, 365; Ptolemy's use of a military map for Britain – Strang 1998, 43–45.

¹⁸¹ Strang ms., 30–31.

¹⁸² Dana, Nemeti 2014, 98–103.

Almost without exception, specialists have dated the prototype of the settlement map used by Ptolemy in an epoch close to the turning of the territory north to the Danube into a Roman province. Gr. Gh. Tocilescu thought that all the data refers to Trajan's epoch.¹⁸³ V. Pârvan thought the same, i. e. "as far as the towns of Dacia are concerned, Ptolemaeus knows the oldest phase of the Roman province, right after the conquest."¹⁸⁴ A. Strang claimed that in order to create the IXth map of Europe Ptolemy used information connected to the years 106–118 A.D.¹⁸⁵ J. Lennart Berggren and Al. Jones, discussing Ptolemy's sources, drew the conclusion that Ptolemy included in his geographical atlas data which reflect the state of the Roman Empire in the first decade of the second century A.D., extremely few data being added after 110 A.D. Honigman emphasized the existence in the *Geographia* of toponyms regarding Trajan's Dacian campaigns ended in 106 A.D. and the complete absence of the ones referring to the Parthian campaigns begun in 114, while Desange set for the description of Northern Africa a similar *terminus ante quem*, the year 110 A.D.¹⁸⁶

This important epigraphic discovery, i. e. the identification of the toponym Arcobadara to Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County),¹⁸⁷ opens the way for the new interpretation of Ptolemy's map of Dacia. From the same source one can establish that Arcobadara is the name of a small rural settlement, born near an auxiliary camp, a community with a restricted autonomy, but still the centre of a territory, *territorium Arcobadarense*. Thanks to a recently published inscription, a new territory can be added, the *territorium Bassianae*, in Dacia Superior.¹⁸⁸

Concerning the location of the toponyms on a modern map, the old and widespread opinion in Romanian historiography was that Ptolemy's Dacia is, in fact, the Dacian Kingdom from the first century A.D., before the Roman conquest.¹⁸⁹ The Roman names of towns, such as Angustia, Augusta Praetoria, Pontes, Aquae, and Ulpianum, are just late additions made by Marinus of Tyr and Ptolemy.¹⁹⁰ Thus, Ptolemy's Dacia would be the ideal Dacia, imagined by Vasile Pârvan

¹⁸³ Tocilescu 1880, 71.

¹⁸⁴ Pârvan 1926, 250.

¹⁸⁵ Strang ms., 30–31.

¹⁸⁶ Lennart Berggren, Jones 2000, 23.

¹⁸⁷ AÉ, 2006, 1130; AÉ 2007, 1190.

¹⁸⁸ Facella, Speidel 2011, 207–215, pl. 1–2, 42; Matei-Popescu 2011, 351–361.

¹⁸⁹ Tocilescu 1880, 72–75.

¹⁹⁰ Pârvan 1926, 251.

and others, a projection of great, modern Romania in antiquity.¹⁹¹ In this way, toponyms like Petrodava and Utidava have been placed in Moldavia, in the territories of the so-called “free Dacians”, Petrodava being identified with the fortress of Bâta Doamnei (Piatra Neamț) and Utidava with that of Tisești (Târgu Ocna).¹⁹² For N. Gostar, six of Ptolemy’s toponyms must be placed in Moldavia, east of the Carpathian Mountains, namely Triphulum, Patridava, Carsidava, Petrodava, Utidava, and Polonda.¹⁹³

The location of Arcobadara on the eastern border of Roman Dacia shows that none of these places was in fact located to the east of the Carpathian Mountains, but in Eastern Transylvania. A very simple calculation, made on the basis of four settlements whose positions are known, in the northern and central part of the province, allows for the replacement of the entire group of eastern toponyms. On the 48° parallel, between Porolissum and Arcobadara, Ptolemy established a distance of 1°40', then a distance of 1000 *stadia*, that equals approximately 185 km. The actual distance between Moigrad (Sălaj County) and Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County), is as the crows flies of about 70 km¹⁹⁴ or 110 km¹⁹⁵ on the modern road. In the centre of the province, at the latitude 46°40', between Apulum and Cumidava, Ptolemy established a distance of 2°15', then a distance of 1350 *stadia*, which means approximately 250 km. The actual distance from Alba Iulia (Alba County) to Râșnov (Brașov County) is about 156 km as the crow flies¹⁹⁶ and 218 km on the modern road. Since Ptolemy transposed road distances into his geographical projection system, one could estimate the correction. The error for the distance between Porolissum and Arcobadara is about 40%, and between Apulum and Cumidava about 17%. Applying the correction, all localities between Ilișua and Râșnov become Roman settlements in the eastern part of the province of Dacia (in Transylvania), and not *davae* from Moldavia.

Out of all 44 settlements listed by Ptolemy in Dacia, one can only locate twelve, grace to the epigraphic discoveries that confirm the ancient toponyms:¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Pârvan 1926, 247.

¹⁹² Vulpe 1964, 243.

¹⁹³ Gostar 1974, 38.

¹⁹⁴ 45 miles = 72.42 km (calculation made online, at <http://tjpeiffer.com/crowflies.html>).

¹⁹⁵ Calculus made with the website <http://www.viamichelin.com>.

¹⁹⁶ 97 miles = 156.10 km.

¹⁹⁷ Miller 1916, 544, 546–552; Popescu – Spineni 1978, 41.

Porolissum 49, 48 (Moigrad, Sălaj County)

Arcobadara 50.40, 48 (Ilișua, Bistrița-Năsăud County)

Napoca 49, 47.40 (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County)

Patrouissa (Potaissa) 49, 47. 20 (Turda, Cluj County)

Apulum 49. 15, 46. 40 (Alba Iulia, Alba County)

Germizera 49. 30, 46. 15 (Geoagiu, Hunedoara County)

Comidava (Cumidava) 51. 30, 46. 40 (Râșnov, Brașov County)

Tibiscum 48. 30, 45. 15; 46. 40, 44. 50 (Jupa, Caraș-Severin County).

Zarmizegethusa regia 47. 50, 45. 15 (Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara County)

Hydata-Aquae 49. 30, 45. 15 (Călan, Hunedoara County)

Dierna 47. 15, 44. 30 (Orșova, Mehedinți County)

Drubetis 47. 45 (Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți County).¹⁹⁸

The probable position of some settlements on a modern map can be approximated with the help of *Tabula Peutingeriana*.¹⁹⁹ On this *itinerarium pictum*-type map, the distances between two points (toponyms designating towns, settlements, *stationes*, and *mansiones*) is expressed in Roman miles. Measuring from the starting point, following the traces of the ancient roads, one establishes the area where the toponyms are located. A good example is Salinae 49. 15, 47. 10 (Salinis, TP) located somewhere in the Mureș Valley, close to the mouth of River Arieș or Amutrium 50, 44.45 (Amutria, TP), probably along River Motru. But it is difficult to say if Salinae is Decea, Ocna Mureș, or Războieni-Cetate (all in Alba County) or if Amutrium could be identified with Răcarii de Jos (Dolj County). In conclusion, 30 toponyms in Dacia are left unlocalized. Ptolemy's map contains errors, distortions, and erroneous orientations; identifying the toponyms and putting them on a modern map is, in this case, very difficult to do. After the discovery of the inscription from Ilișua I have tried to estimate the distortion of the map of Northern Dacia and I have suggested, as a hypothesis, that the toponyms from the first group, Rucconium – Carsidava, between parallels 48 and 49, are in fact the names of the settlements located on the frontier road of Dacia Porolissensis. The identifications run as follow:

Rucconium – Bologa (Sălaj County)²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Bratu 1992, 54–57 (Porolissum), 53–54 (Napoca), 28–30 (Apulum), 42–44 (Germisara), 32–34 (Cumidava), 75–78 (Tibiscum), 60–70 (Sarmizegetusa), 30–32 (Aquae), 36–38 (Dierna), 38–42 (Drobeta).

¹⁹⁹ Fodorean 2002–2003, 51–58, with the bibliography.

²⁰⁰ Bogdan-Cățăniciu 1991, 64: a similar identification, with the lecture Rucconium, instead of Resculum, in line 7 of the inscription from Almașu Mare (CIL III 8060);

Docidava – Buciumi (Sălaj County)

Porolisum – Moigrad (Sălaj County)

Arcobadara – Ilișua (Bistrița–Năsăud County)

Triphulum – Orheiul Bistriței (Bistrița–Năsăud County)

Patridava – Brâncovenești (Mureș County)

Carsidava – Sărățeni (Mureș County).

From the second group, between parallels 47 and 48, one knows for sure the position of two settlements: Napoca and Patrouissa, and the approximate position of Salinae can be guessed. It is nevertheless quite difficult to estimate the distortion and the error in distances, and thus the position of Praetoria Augusta, Sangidava and Utidava remain unknown. On the other hand, two settlements with Latin names, Ulpianum and Angustiae, should be located on the western and eastern frontiers, respectively. In this case, Ulpianum is, probably, a *castellum Ulpianum* on the western border (as N. Gostar believed a long time ago²⁰¹), not Bologa (Sălaj County), but Gilău (Cluj County).

These new settlements, created near camps (a normal situation in a newly conquered province), borrowed the names of previous Dacian settlements.²⁰² The nuclei of these new foundations were groups of Roman citizens (*cives Romani consistentes*) and peregrins, developing, after a certain time, autonomous communities, well attested in Dacia and the Danube region.²⁰³ These small settlements were centres of rural territories (called *territoria* or *regiones*), and their administration was inspired by a municipal one (elected *magistri*, an *ordo* composed of *curiales*). This type of rural communities are to be found everywhere in the Danubian provinces, as we shall see in the following chapters.²⁰⁴

Conclusions

In order to conclude, I will try to answer the question announced since the beginning: was Ptolemy's map of Dacia inspired by a *formula*

the reading *vico Rucco/ni* was suggested for a recently discovered altar from Jebucu (Cluj County), Ardevan, Zăgreanu 2012, 78, fig.1, 6.

²⁰¹ Gostar 1969, 171–176.

²⁰² Settlements connected to forts: Arcobadara – Ilișua (Bistrița–Năsăud County) – Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2006–2007, 107–118; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 446–456; Angustia – Brețcu (Covasna County) – Vulpe 1944, 551–559; Cumidava – Râșnov (Brașov County) – Macrea 1941–1943, 234–261.

²⁰³ Nemeti 2010 b.

²⁰⁴ Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2006–2007, 112–116; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 452–455; Matei-Popescu 2010, 61–67; Matei-Popescu 2011, 353–359.

provinciae? It is nevertheless difficult to solve this issue in the absence of additional data.

The presentation form in the *Geography* is similar to Pliny the Elder's text: a geographical introduction, the regions (the tribes), and the communities (the towns). However, Pliny mentions the *formula* of Gallia Narbonensis, but there is no certainty that he followed the structure of a *formula*. The only trace of an official document of the *formula provinciae*-type in Ptolemy's map of Dacia is, perhaps, the presence of seven regions, administrative-judicial districts named after Dacian centres, i. e. Buridavenses, Potulatenses, Albocenses, etc. The geographical description is, therefore, tributary to previous works (the tradition of Agrippa's map), while external tribes names are borrowed from the current ethnographic tradition and literary sources. It is very likely that Ptolemy transposed in his work the data taken from *itineraria*. At the origin of his list of "towns" was, most likely, a military *itinerarium* written during Trajan's wars and immediately after the conquest. Marinus of Tyr and Ptolemy probably had access to very up to date *itineraria*. I agree with Pascal Arnaud that nothing indicates the fact that they had privileged access to administrative documents, such as, for example, the *formulae provinciarum*. "C'est bien de documents du domaine public qu'ils semblent avoir tiré les renseignements nécessaires à leur description du monde".²⁰⁵

4. The Road through Eastern Dacia in the Work of the Anonymous Geographer from Ravenna

As previously indicated, the settlements mentioned by Ptolemy in eastern Dacia are those between Arcobadara (Ilișua, Bistrița-Năsăud County) and Cumidava (Râșnov, Brașov County). They reveal a limes road in the eastern side of the province, at least between Arcobadara and Brețcu (to be identified with Angustia).²⁰⁶ Without being able to identify exactly the location of each Ptolemaic toponym, it is certain that the settlements of Triphulum, Patridava, Carsidava, Petrodava, Utidava, and Angustia should be located inside the province of Dacia (thus inside the Carpathian Arch) on the limes road from Orheiul Bistriței to Brețcu and not beyond the Carpathians, in Moldavia.

The general acceptance of this solution in the Hungarian historiography in Transylvania and in the Romanian historiography

²⁰⁵ Arnaud 1993, 34.

²⁰⁶ Vulpe 1944, 551–559.

was delayed, among other factors, by the chimerical existence of a road through eastern Dacia, a road from Tyras (Olbia, Ukraine) to Porolissum (Moigrad, Sălaj County), a road entering Transylvania through the Oituz Pass and following the line of the eastern and northern frontiers of the Roman province.

Since Carl Goos and Josef Ornstein's attempts and until today, the identifications of the settlements mentioned in the work of the geographer from Ravenna have differed. J. Ornstein, for example, identified the settlements thus (and established the numbers of the lost distances in Roman miles):

Congri – Szamosujvár XIV (Gherla, Cluj County)

Sturum – Alsó Kosály XV (Cășeu, Cluj County)

Urgum – Alsó Ilosva XXXVI (Ilișua, Bistrița-Năsăud County)

Ermerium – Vărhely XXIV (Orhei Bistriței, Bistrița-Năsăud County)

Alincum – Vécs XIX (Marosvécs, Brâncovenesti, Mureș County)

Capora – Görgény Szt. Imre XX (Gurghiu, Mureș County)

Iscina – Mikháza XIII (Călugăreni, Mureș County)

Tirepsum – Sóvárád VII (Sărățeni, Mureș County)

Phira – Siklód (Șiclod, Harghita County).²⁰⁷

The line of the forts along the eastern limes of Dacia, identified as such since the second half of the nineteenth century,²⁰⁸ was seen as identical to the road mentioned by the anonymous geographer from Ravenna, that started in Tyras, along the Troțuș and Siret, entered Transylvania through the Oituz Pass and continued through eastern and northern Transylvania until Porolissum.²⁰⁹

V. Pârvan, in his study dedicated to the fort in Poiana and the Roman road through southern Moldavia, identified a segment of the Roman road along the Siret, but is reticent on the topic of the existence of a road eastwards, until Tyras, the existence of which had been postulated starting from the text of the anonymous geographer from Ravenna.²¹⁰ In his work *Getica*, nevertheless, V. Pârvan saw the line of settlements Phira – Certie as “the direct road Tyras – Porolissum – Certie, through the north-eastern part of Dacia”. Still, he noted the fact that the geographer from Ravenna was the only one mentioning

²⁰⁷ Ornstein 1897, 393; Ornstein 1898, 10.

²⁰⁸ Goos 1877, 30–35.

²⁰⁹ Schuchhardt 1885, 224–225: “Diese ganze Linie könnte identisch sein mit dem beim anonymen Geographen von Ravenna erwähnten Strassenzuge von Porolissum nach Tyras”.

²¹⁰ Pârvan 1913a, 120.

it.²¹¹ In the same work V. Pârvan also discussed the issue of the commercial road between the Iazyges and the Roxolani, mentioned by Cassius Dio (LXXI. 19. 2) under the rule of Marcus Aurelius. Since the road passed "through Roman Dacia" he suggested two solutions: 1. Szolnok – Oradea Mare – Cluj – Reghin – Biczau sau Ghimeş – Bacău, then, through Moldova, until the Dniester and 2. Szeged – Arad – Mureş Valley until Alba Iulia, then along Târnava Mare, through Oituz, Valea Trotuşului, Poiana on River Siret, Folteşti on River Prut, and then until Cetatea Albă.²¹² One should note that the solutions suggested by Pârvan only partially overlap the presumed road from Certie to Tyras through eastern Dacia and that the direct connection between the two sources (GR. IV. 5 and Cassius Dio, LXXI. 19. 2) has not been yet made.

In 1929, V. Christescu discussed the two fragments together. In his opinion, the road mentioned by the geographer from Ravenna, from Tyras to Porolissum, passed through several settlements in north-eastern Dacia and entered Transylvania at Breţcu, through the Oituz Pass (according to the hypotheses formulated by C. Goos and C. Schuchhardt), running from Tyras, along River Siret, through Poiana (according to V. Pârvan's theory). V. Christescu remarked the fact that "inside Transylvanian Dacia, this road is nevertheless more difficult to define" and that "the Iazyges Sarmatians were probably conducted along this road when they passed through Dacia in order to make commerce with their Roxolani brothers from the Ukrainian steppe" (Cassius Dio, LXXI, 19). In order to identify the intermediary points, he quoted the opinions of J. Ornstein and C. Torma, according to which Ermerium is Domneşti (Bistriţa-Năsăud County) and Urgum is Ilişua (Bistriţa-Năsăud County).²¹³

Due to the scarcity of data on the geography and toponymy of Dacia, this interpretation was easily accepted in historiography, without more detailed enquiries into the context of the passage related to the so-called Tyras – Porolissum road or into the nature of the source and the method of the anonymous geographer from Ravenna.

For M. Macrea, the geographer from Ravenna mentioned a road that started in the country of the Iazyges, entered the province in Porolissum and passed through a series of unidentified settlements (Congri, Sturum, Urgum etc.) among which the first can be located

²¹¹ Pârvan 1926, 240.

²¹² Pârvan 1926, 110.

²¹³ Christescu 1929, 101–102.

“in northern Dacia, on River Someș, the others in the eastern part of the province, as the road exited into the Barbaricum in Angustia (Brețcu), from where it probably continued until Tyras, at the mouth of River Dniester”. This was “probably” the commerce road of the Iazyges with the Roxolani mentioned by Cassius Dio (LXXI. 19. 2).²¹⁴

This transmitted idea solidified, so that nobody questioned the existence of this road through eastern Dacia, either as the commercial road of the Roxolani with the Iazyges or otherwise.²¹⁵ One also notes the persistence of the alluring existence of some toponyms, even if corrupted, yet unidentified in the northern and eastern parts of Dacia.²¹⁶ Recently, Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu remarked in passing that none of the toponyms transmitted by the anonymous geographer from Ravenna “for the road on which people could travel from Tyras, through eastern Dacia, to Porolissum” is to be encountered in Ptolemy. Her conclusion is that either it is a different route, or the geographer from Ravenna chose other settlements, that developed subsequent to the era when Ptolemy recorded them, in order to illustrate the stages of the road.²¹⁷

...iuxta regionem Meotidam est patria maxima que dicitur Dardania

A closer look at the context of this paragraph (GR IV. 5) indicates, nevertheless, that the series of settlements between Phira and Certie does not belong to either one of the real *patria*, Dacia (“Datia”) or Moesia Inferior, but to a legendary *patria*, that the geographer called Dardania and located near the land of the Amazons and near Palus Macotis. He claims that the description of this legendary *patria* is made with data from Porphyrius, Libanios and Eutropius, mentioning the fact that the towns (*civitates*) are described after Libanios. The first series of settlement names is followed, with the mention *ad aliam partem*, by the list of 11 *civitates* that starts in Phira and ends in

²¹⁴ Macrea 1969, 153.

²¹⁵ Bogdan Cătănciu 2002, 725: “le Géographe de Ravenne...on a considéré nécessaire de noter une route reliant Tyras à Porolissum...”; Hügel 2003, 86; Fodorean 2006, 61–62.

²¹⁶ Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 14 (discussion of the identification – Gherla, Cluj County – Congri, corrupted from a hypothetical Ad Congruentem); Petolescu 2010, 312; Petolescu 2011, 303: (on the identification of the toponyms Congri, corrupted from Tungri / Ad Tungros with Ilișua, Bistrița–Năsăud County and Sturium, corrupted from Ad Asturos with Hoghiz, Brașov County).

²¹⁷ Bogdan Cătănciu 2007, 67.

Certie. The text continues with the third series of settlements from Dardania, where, despite some corrupted forms, one recognizes toponyms from Moesia Inferior, in present-day Dobrudja (for example Stoma Peuci, Salsovia, Novioduno, Dinogessia, Arubion, Carsion, and Cappidava). The enumeration of the large rivers, taken from Jordanes, indicates where the anonymous geographer located this fictitious country: Borystenes, Tyras, Tanais, Danapris, that flows in *Mare Ponticum*, near *regio Meotida*.

In order to understand how two Dacian *civitates*, Porolisum and Certiae, known from the Tabula Peutingeriana and located in the north-western part of the province of Dacia feature in a legendary country north of the Black Sea, between Tyras (Olbia) and the settlements in northern Dobrudja (Salsovia, Aegyssus, Dinogetia, Noviodunum) one must analyze the method and sources employed by this anonymous geographer.

The cosmography of the anonymous geographer from Ravenna, a cleric who lived in Italy around 700 A.D., is known today through three manuscripts (A. *codex Vaticanus urbinas 961*, fourteenth century, B. *codex Parisinus biblioth. nation. 4794*, thirteenth century, and C. *codex Basiliensis F. V. 6*, fourteenth century). Until now it has been edited five times, among which, the most important are those published by P. Porcheron (1688), M. Pinder, G. Parthey (1860), and J. Schnetz (1940).²¹⁸

Due to the partial and confused knowledge of the quoted sources, to the unequal method of describing the countries and of populating them with *civitates*, settlements from Dacia feature in three distinct *patriae*: Dacia "Datia", Moesia "Mysia", and Dardania.

[RAC] IV. 10–14 (§ 201–203, § 203–207). 14. *Iterum ad partem quasi meridianam, ut dicamus ad spatiosissimam terram, sunt patriae spatiosissimae que dicuntur Datia prima e secunda, que [30] et Gipidia appellatur, ubi modo Uni, que et Avari, inhabitant. Quas utrasque Datias plurimi descripserunt philosophi, ex quibus ego legi Menelac et Aristarchum Gothorum philoso[35]phos. Sedego secundum Sardatium ipsas patrias designavi. In quas Dacorum patrias antiquitus plurimas fuisse civitates legimus, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumes, id est [40]*

7 Drubetis

8 Medilas

9 Pretorich

10 Panonin

11 Gazanam

12 Maschlunis

13 Tibus, quae coniungitur cum civitate

²¹⁸ Stolte 1949, 2–4; Dilke 1987a, 260; Dilleman 1997, 13.

*Agmonia patriae Misie. [45]**Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates in ipsas Datias, id est*

17 Tema 18 Tiviscum

1 Gubali 2 Zizis

[5] 3 Bersovia 4 Arcidaba

5 Canonias 6 Potula

7 Bacaucis

Per quas Dacorum patrias transeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera quae di[10] cuntur

11 Tisia 12 Tibisia

13 Drica 14 Marisia

15 Arine 16 Gilpit

17 Gresia

*[15] Quae omnia flumina in Danubio merguntur. Nam fluvius Flautasis finit ipsam patriam. Tamen ipsas patrias praefatus Iordanis cosmographus subtilius exposuit.²¹⁹**[RAC] IV. 6–7 (§ 185–189, § 189–193). 7. Iterum ... ponuntur Misie due, id est inferior et superior. Quas patrias [5] plurimi descripserunt phylosophi. Ex quibus ego legi praefatum miserrimum Porphyrium nec non Livanium Grecorum phylosophos, sed et Castorium et Lollianum atque Arbitionem Ro[10]manorum phylosophos. Sed non concordarunt equaliter in designare ipsas. Ego vero secundum praefatum Livanium inferius dictas civitates de super scriptis Mysiis nominavi. In qua Misia [15] plurimas fuisse civitates legimus, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumes id est*

13 Bireon 14 Carsion

15 Capidaba 16 Sancidapa

17 Durostolon 18 Tegulitia

[20] 19 Nigrinianis 1 Stamarisca

2 Apiaris 3 Tigris

4 Pistis 5 Trimamion

6 Latron 7 Nobas Italica

[25] Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates, id est

10 Paratis 11 Martianopolis.

Quae Martianopolis ex Mysia inferiore pertinet, ut testatur mihi multotiens dictus Iordanis cosmographus, [30] asserens quod Martianopolim civitatem Traianus imperator pro amore Martie sororis sue edificasset. Per quam Martianopolim medio transit fluvius qui dicitur Potamia. [35]

12. Panusion 13. Scatras

14. Carsaleon 15. Aquis calidis

16. Berzamis 17. Gavilis

Item trans fluvium Danubium sunt civitates Mysie inferioris, id est [40]

3 Porolissos 4 Certie

5 Lagiana 6 Optatiana

²¹⁹ Schnetz 1940, 53–54.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 7 <i>Macedonica</i> | 8 <i>Napoca</i> |
| 9 <i>Patabissa</i> | 10 <i>Salinis</i> |
| 11 <i>Brutia</i> | 12 <i>Apulon</i> [45] |
| 13 <i>Sacidaba</i> | 14 <i>Cedonia</i> |
| 15 <i>Caput Stenarum</i> | 16 <i>Betere</i> |
| 17 <i>Aluti</i> | |
| 18 <i>Romulas</i> | |

Item iuxta ipsam Cedoniam est civi[50]tas que dicitur

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 <i>Burticum</i> | 2 <i>Blandiana</i> |
| 3 <i>Germigera</i> | 4 <i>Petris</i> |
| 5 <i>Aquas</i> | 6 <i>Sarmazege</i> |
| 7 <i>Augmonia</i> | 8 <i>Augusti</i> . ²²⁰ |

[RAC] IV. 3–6 (§ 176–180) [p. 46–47]. 5. *Item ad frontem Roxolanorum re[35]gionis sunt patriae, id est Sithotrogorum, item patria Campi Campanidon, nec non Getho Githorum, Sugdabon, Fanaguron, paludis Meotidon. Qui Meotida regio, vel si in hoc loco nomi[40]nata est, [que] tamen dum satis spatiosa existit, usque ad praefata Bosphoranam patriam pertingit. Nec no iuxta regionem Meotidam est patria [5] maxima que dicitur Dardania. In qua diverse patrie usque ad Mare Magnum Ponticum pertingunt; quarum multi fuerunt ascriptores, id est superius nominatus nefandissimus Porphirius et [10] Livianus atque Eutropius. Sed nos earundem regionum civitates secundum praenominatum Livanium exposuimus. In quas diversas patrias et plurimas fuisse civitates <legimus>, ex quibus [15] aliquantas designare volumes, id est*

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4 <i>Stamuamum</i> | 5 <i>Lamsacum</i> |
| 6 <i>Ancarum</i> | 7 <i>Anlansum</i> |
| 8 <i>Saram</i> | 9 <i>Numuracum</i> |
| 10 <i>Alecturum</i> | 11 <i>Dandarium</i> |
| [20] 12 <i>Oluvium</i> | 13 <i>Totale</i> |
| 14 <i>Furice</i> | 15 <i>Nicerantici</i> |
| 16 <i>Solana</i> | |

Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates quae dicuntur

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| [25] 19 <i>Phira</i> | 1 <i>Tirepsium</i> |
| 2 <i>Iscina</i> | 3 <i>Capora</i> |
| 4 <i>Alincum</i> | 5 <i>Ermerium</i> |
| 6 <i>Urgum</i> | 7 <i>Sturum</i> |
| 8 <i>Congri</i> | 9 <i>Porollisum</i> |
| [30] 10 <i>Certie</i> | |

Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates, id est

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 13 <i>Stoma Peuci</i> | 14 <i>Salsovia</i> |
| 15 <i>Egyppsum</i> | 16 <i>Novioduno</i> |
| [35] 17 <i>Dinogessia</i> | 18 <i>Arubion</i> |

²²⁰ Schnetz 1940, 49–50.

19 Roranus 1 Birafon

2 Carsion 3 Cappidava.

Per quas diversas patrias transeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera que dicuntur [40]

7 Ava 8 Oristhenis

9 Danapris, qui cedunt in Mare

Ponticum

*Et desuper ipsum fluvium Danapri per longum intervallum est superius [45]
nominatus fluvius maximus*

14 Tanais, item 15 Tîram, item

fluvius 16 Bagossolam.

*De quibus fluminibus testatur mihi supra scriptus Iordanis sapientissimus [50]
cosmographus. Item fluvius*

19 Mariscus.²²¹

One should first note that the authors that the anonymous geographer pretends to use in the description of these *patriae* are largely fictitious (Menelac, Aristarch, the Goth philosophers, Hylas and Sardatus for Dacia, Castorius and the consuls of 355, Lollianus and Arbitio, for Mysia) or known authors, but without geographical contributions (Porphyrius, Libanios, and Eutropius). To some degree one can recognize for the three *patriae* data from Jordanes and an itinerary source of the Tabula Peutingeriana type (the so-called Castorius, who is nevertheless quoted only for "Mysia", and not for "Dacia").

As previously noted, it is hard to believe that the anonymous geographer made direct use of an *itinerarium pictum* of the Tabula Peutingeriana type, but rather segments noted in the form of a notebook, easier to handle, like the *Itinerarium Antonini*. For the description of the known world he certainly used a circular or elliptical map.²²² The fact that 18 settlements from inter-Carpathian Dacia were moved to Mysia can only be explained if the geographer did not have access to a map where the roads were depicted through zigzag lines and the distance in Roman miles was marked between settlements.²²³ Just settlements from Banat and north-western Oltenia remain in Dacia proper.

The confusion between the settlements in Dacia, Moesia, and Dardania, resides, as B. H. Stolte noted, on the paragraph from Jordanes, Romana, 217, referring to Gallienus loosing "the Dacians" and Aurelianus founding south-Danubian Dacia:

²²¹ Schnetz 1940, 46–47.

²²² Dillemann 1997, 39, 29; on a possible *itinerarium* at the origin of books II–V see Dillemann 1975, 165.

²²³ Stolte 1949, 121.

*"sed Gallienus eos (scil. Daci) dum regnaret amissit, Aurelianusque imperator, evocatis exinde legionibus, in Mysia conlocavit ibique aliquam partem Daciam mediterraneam Daciamque ripensem constituit et Dardaniam iunxit".*²²⁴

Dardania is, as previously indicated, an imaginary *patria*, just like Mauretania Gaditana. As in the case of another province, *Patria Carneola*, the author transcribes in corrupted form toponyms taken from known sources and enumerated out of order in a *patria* with uncertain boundaries (in this case, all the toponyms are related to Noricum, the territory of the tribe of the Carni, a so-called *patria Carnium* on one hand, and of another, of the Julian Alps, on the other).²²⁵

The identification of the toponyms from Dardania under these corrupted names is the accomplishment of L. Dillemann. Some were taken from Jordanes, others from Tabula Peutingeriana or Ptolemy's *Geographia*, such as Stamuamum – Sta(gnum) Mu(rsi)anum (Iord. Get. 5. 30), Lamsacum – La(cu)m (Nu)sacum (TP VII C) or Ancarum and Saram instead of Azagarium and Sarum (Ptol. III. 5. 14).²²⁶

The nine toponyms between Phira and Congri were similarly identified as part of a road that crossed eastern and northern Dacia, only because the anonymous geographer added two *civitates* that, in his opinion, were part of Mysia Inferior, *trans fluvium Danubium*, namely "Porolisso" and "Certie". Right after them one finds other settlements located in present-day Dobrudja (thus in Moesia Inferior), among which Carsium and Capidava are also repeated in the Moesian list, as Porolissum and Certiae.

Among the identifications suggested by L. Dillemann, the majority can be taken into consideration. The corruption fashion of the toponyms is found everywhere in the anonymous geographical work and they are sometimes born of the transliteration into Latin alphabet of names found in Greek sources (such as Ptolemy's *Geographia* or Arrian's *Periplus*).

Phira – Thira (**Tyras**)

Tirepsum – Tira ipsum (**Tyras ipsum**), in other words, the river after the city (Plin. N. H. IV. XII. 82: *...clarus amnis Tyra, oppido nomen inponens ubi antea Ophiusa dicebatur*).²²⁷

²²⁴ Stolte 1949, 71.

²²⁵ Dillemann 1972, 320, 322.

²²⁶ Dillemann 1997, 135.

²²⁷ Rackham 1961, 180: "...and the famous river Tyras, which gives its name to the town on the site which previously was called Ophiusa".

Iscina – the harbor of certain Isiakoi (Arrian, *Peripl.* 20.2: Ἰσιακῶν λιμὴν).²²⁸

Capora – Tagorae (Plin. N. H., VI. VII. 22: ...*Tanaim vero transisse Satharcheos, Herticheos, Spondolicos, Synhietas, Anasos, Issos, Cataeetas, Tagoras, Caroni, Neripi, Agandei, Meandareos, Satharcheos Spalaeos*).²²⁹

Alincum – Leianon, in European Sarmatia (Ptol. *Geogr.* III. 5. 12: Λείανον πόλις).

Ermerium – Hermisium (Plin. N. H. IV. XII. 87: *Bospori Cimerii longitudo XII D passuum oppida habet Hermisium Myrmecium et intus insulam Alopecem*;²³⁰ Mela, II. 1. 3: ...*in Bosphorum Cimmerica oppida Murmecion, Panticapaeon, Theodosia, Hermisium*.²³¹)

Urgum – Hyrgis (Hdt. IV. 57), affluent of River Tanais; Ὑργεῖς πόλις (Ptol. *Geogr.* III. V. 13); Ourgoi, for Strabon a nomad people between Borysthene and Istros (*Geogr.* VII. 2. 17: Οὔργοι).

Sturum – Στοῦρνοι (Ptol. *Geogr.* III. V. 23, Sturnoi, people from European Sarmatia).

Congri – Τάγροι (Ptol. *Geogr.* III. V. 25, Tagroi, people from European Sarmatia, living south of the Bastarnae, near Dacia).

Even if not all the corrupted toponyms from Dardania are identified by L. Dillemann with certainty, one must note that under these hypothetical names of *civitates* from the imaginary *patria* of Dardania lay hidden fortifications, water courses, and tribes names that are all to be found in the narrow area between Tyras and the Danube Delta (Stoma Peuci). They are borrowed by the anonymous geographer, through intermediaries, from Ptolemy and Arrian and transliterated into Latin. Others come from known sources such as Plinius or Mela and are all used to fill the area of this *patria* located between Palus Maeotis and Mare Ponticum, on one hand, and between *patria Amazonum* and Datia and Mysia, on the other. One certain thing, for the time being, is that the paragraph mentioning the road from Phira to Certie provides no clue for the reconstruction of the real ancient

²²⁸ Silberman 1995, 18: 20. 2. "Sur le Borysthène quand on le remonte par bateau, est établi un cité grecque du nom d'Olbia. (...) Après Odessos vient Port des Istriens. Jusque là, 250 stades. 3. Ensuite vient Port de Isiaques. Jusque là, 50 stades. De là jusqu'à la bouche de l'Ister appelée Psilon, 1200. L'intervalle est désert et sans nom".

²²⁹ Rackham 1961, 352–353: "...but the Tanais has passed through the Hertichean tribe of Satharchei, the Spondolici, Synhietae, Anasi, Issi, Cataeetae, Tagorae, Caroni, Neripi, Agandei, Meandaraei and Spalaeam Satharchei".

²³⁰ Rackham 1961, 184–185: "On the Cimerian Bosphorus, the length of which is 12 ½ miles, are the towns of Hermisium and Myrmecium, and inside the Straits the island of Alopec".

²³¹ Silberman 1988, 34–35.

geography of the province of Dacia. The Phira – Certie road is not the commerce road of the Roxolani with the Iazyges through Dacia, neither is it a road through eastern and northern Dacia, along the *limes*, as previously thought. Ilişua is Arcobadara, not Urgum or Congri, and Ermerium is not Domneşti, but Hermisium, a Greek polis north of the Pontus Euxinus, located between Theodosia and Kalos Limen.

III. TERRITORIUM ARCOBADARENSE

1. *Kastellum territoriumque. Vici militares* and Autonomous Communities near Auxiliary Forts

There are, in Dacia, several civilian rural settlements that developed near auxiliary camps. Most of them are anonymous, their names not attested by inscriptions and their administrative status not very clearly defined.²³² The aim of this chapter is to establish how the civilian settlements born near auxiliary camps in Dacia and in the Danubian provinces were organized.²³³

I started with the phrase *kastellum territoriumque* (inspired by *civitas territoriumque*), known from *lex Rubria (lex de Gallia Cisalpina)* that lists several types of urban and rural settlements, for example, *o(ppido), m(unicipio) c(olonia) p(raefectura) f(oro) v(eico) c(onciliabulo) c(astello) t(erritorio)ve* (XXI, 1. 1–2),²³⁴ in order to suggest the existence of an administrative unit composed of a *castellum* (a civilian settlement arisen near an auxiliary camp) and its territory.²³⁵

How can one designate the civilian settlements born near auxiliary camps in Dacia and in the Danube region? The term commonly used in today's scientific jargon is *vicus militaris*. This is mostly a convention, because everyone realizes that the syntagm is a modern creation (*Militärvici / vici militares*; *vicus* being a Latin noun frequently used in order to designate military settlements arisen near legionary and auxiliary camps in *Germania*²³⁶). Indeed, in my opinion, it is unlikely that the ancient inhabitants of Dacia used the term *vicus* for naming these small civilian settlements.

²³² Macrea 1969, 147–148; Tudor 1968.

²³³ Benea 1993 267–292; Benea 2000, 31–61; Tamba 2001, 249–274.

²³⁴ Bruna 1972, 32, 33, 36.

²³⁵ For the Roman Empire as a “cellular space” composed of thousand of territorial units (the city – *polis / civitas* and its territory – *ager, territorium, pertica, chôra*) see Corbier 1991, 629–634.

²³⁶ Bérard 1993, 67–82.

Among the military centers of the Danubian provinces one must distinguish those born around legionary camps, systematically called *kanabae* in the Latin inscriptions.²³⁷ Although, the word is used for civilian habitations arisen near auxiliary camp (for example, the case in Dimum is very clear: *fines canabarum Dimensium* in the *horotheresia* of M. Laberius Maximus²³⁸), one can observe that the rule is to call *kanabae* the pre-municipal civilian settlement belonging to a legionary camp.²³⁹

Castellum and *kastella*

Regarding the civilian settlements developed near auxiliary forts, usually called *vici* in the Latin inscriptions from the Rhine area, one should observe that the epigraphy from the Danube area seems to favor the word *castellum*: see, for example, the case of *Castellum Vixillum* (*Pannonia Inferior*) and *Castellum Abrittanorum* (*Moesia Inferior*).²⁴⁰

Rome, Italy. CIL VI 2544:

D(is) M(anibus) / Pletorio Primo fisci / curatori coh(ortis) / IIII pr(aetoriae) (centuria) / Silvani oriundus ex pro/vincia Panno(nia) inferiore / natus castello Vixillo qui / vixit annis XXXV m(ensibus) IIII / mil(itavit) an(nis) XV m(ensibus) VIII Veturia / Digna marita b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Aquileia (Regio X), Italy. CIL V 942; ILS 2670:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Val(erius) Longinianus / vixit annos XLV / militavit optio leg(ionis) XI Clau(diae) ann(os) XV centurio / ord(inatus) ann(os) VI natus in M[oe]si[a] / Infer(iore) castell(o) Abritanor(um).

Hisarlîk, near Razgrad, Bulgaria. AE 1957, 97:

[Her]culi sacrum / [p]ro salute Antoni[ni] / Aug(usti) Pii et Veri Caes(ari) / veterani et c(ives) R(omani) / et consistentes / Abrito ad c[ast(ellum)] / posueru[nt].

The first meaning of the word *castellum* is given by Vegetius (III. 8): *a castris diminutivo vocabulo sunt nuncupata kastella, castellum* – being,

²³⁷ Vittinghoff 1971, 299–318; Bérard 1993, 61–67.

²³⁸ ISM I, 67, lines 71–72; ISM I, 68 lines 71–72.

²³⁹ *Contra*, Suceveanu, Zahariade 1986, 114, 116; Suceveanu 1998, 12–15.

²⁴⁰ AE 1957, 97: ... *veterani and cives Romani consistentes Abrito ad ca[stellum]*; Matei-Popescu 2010, 61–67.

therefore, the name for a small auxiliary fort. A more complex definition can be found in the work of Isidorus, (*Etymologiae* XV, 2, 11): *vici et castella and pagi sunt, quae nulla dignitate civitatis ornantur, sed vulgari hominum conventu incoluntur and propter parvitatem sui maioribus civitatibus attribuuntur*. One finds the same word, *castellum*, in legal texts and also in *agrimensores* treaties, listed among other communities with different statutes. In *Lex Rubria* (XXI, 1.1–2) *castellum* and *territorium* are the last to be mentioned, after *forum*, *v(e)icus* and *conciliabulum*.²⁴¹ Paulus (*Sent.* IV. 6. 2) places *castellum* between *vici* and *conciliabulum*, while Frontinus (*De contr. agr.*, p. 35, 13) distinguishes between *ager colonicus*, *aut municipalis aut alicuius castelli aut conciliabuli*. According to the official vocabulary of land administration during the Imperial era, *castellum* usually means a civilian agglomeration that does not form a *res publica*, lacking proper jurisdiction, with limited autonomy, and located on the territory of a settlement of municipal status.²⁴²

There are many different *castella* attested by inscriptions scattered throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire, from Hispania to Armenia and from Numidia to Germania.²⁴³

In literary works, such as those of Virgil (*Georg.* III. 474–475) and Livy (XXI. 33. 2) for example, one encounters another use of the word *castellum* with a totally different meaning: mountain village / settlement (*Gebirgsdörfer*). F. J. Bruna considers that in *Lex Rubria* *castellum* was used to designate, probably, this type of mountain village common in the Southern Alps and in the Ligurian and Tuscan – Emilian Apennines area.²⁴⁴

In the province of Dacia, the occurrence of the word *castellum* in epigraphy is linked mainly to the second meaning. Several toponyms determined by the abbreviated *K(astellum)* appear on wax tablets and in inscriptions discovered in Alburnus Maior. The following toponyms were attested there in inscriptions known in the nineteenth century: *Kartum*, *Kavieretium*²⁴⁵ or *Kansum* (*Platinonis Verzonis Kanso*).²⁴⁶ In 1958, C. Daicoviciu completed the dedication made by Seneca Bisonis as *Genio collegii Kastelli Baridustarum*, thus providing the solution for the reading of the other toponyms: *Kastella Ansum*,

²⁴¹ Bruna 1972, 32, 33, 36.

²⁴² Langhammer 1973, 5; Tarpin 2002, 78.

²⁴³ *DizEp*, II.1, 1900, s.v. *castellum*, 129–132; *RE* III. 2, 1989, s.v. *castellum*, c. 1754–1760 [Kubitschek].

²⁴⁴ Bruna 1972, 261; the same interpretation in Dészpa 2012, 29.

²⁴⁵ *IDR* I, TC VI.

²⁴⁶ *CIL* III, 1271; *IDR* III/3, 422.

Artum, Avieretium.²⁴⁷ Later discoveries have confirmed C. Daicoviciu's correct intuition. A significant moment was the discovery of the lot of altars on the plateau of Hăbad Hill, published by V. Wollmann, which added new data on the location of that *K(astellum) Ansum*, the village of the *kastellani Ansi* (or *Ansienses*).²⁴⁸ Besides the *Ansi*, an altar discovered in the above mentioned location attests the existence of a Dalmatian *gens* called *Maniates*,²⁴⁹ which might be identified with the Μαυιοί.²⁵⁰

The completion of the picture and the real topography of the Alburnus Maior area through the on-site location of these *kastella* and their corresponding cemeteries were facilitated by discoveries made in recent years.²⁵¹ New altars were found on the Hăbad Hill plateau attesting a *kastellum Ansum* while archaeological research revealed the existence of a religious building there.²⁵² Two funerary monuments found in the necropolis in the area of Țarina attest people from the Delmatae tribe, natives of *kastellum Starva*.²⁵³ Another altar, from the same place, attests a *k(astellum) Man(iatium)*.²⁵⁴ A religious building was discovered in Valea Nanului, on the spot called Székely, where a *collegium kastelli Barisdustarum* was previously known.²⁵⁵ Several altars discovered in various points in Valea Nanului attest the *Sardiatae*, grouped in a *collegium Sardiatarum*.²⁵⁶ *Kastellum Artum* is attested on a wax tablet (*Actum K(astello) Arto*) and the religious center of the *Artani* can be identified with edifice TII in Valea Nanului (on the spot called Dalea), where an altar dedicated to *Dii Artani* (the gods of certain Artanes) has been found.²⁵⁷

In short, at the present state of research one can maintain the existence in the gold extraction area of several tribes or *gentes* with origins

²⁴⁷ Daicoviciu 1958, 259–266.

²⁴⁸ Wollmann 1985–1986, 263–295; Wollmann 1995, 68; Piso 2004, 294.

²⁴⁹ Wollmann 1985–1986, 263, no. 5, fig. 8; Petolescu 2005, no. 363.

²⁵⁰ Russu 1969, 224; Wollmann 1985–1986, 265; Ardean 1998, 292, footnote 127 (for the identity *Maniates* / *Manioi*).

²⁵¹ Ardean 2004, 593–598.

²⁵² Pescaru et alii 2003, 123–148; Cociș, Ursuțiu, Cosma, Ardean 2003, 149–191; Ardean, Cociș, Cosma, Ursuțiu 2007, 67–72.

²⁵³ Timofan, Barbu 2007, 185–191; Ciongradi, Timofan, Bărcă 2008, 249–266: *kastellum Starva* identified in Dalmatia.

²⁵⁴ Beu-Dachin 2003, 189–192, reads *k(astellum) Man(iatium)*.

²⁵⁵ IDR III/3 388; Crăciun et alii 2003, 255–285.

²⁵⁶ Crăciun, Sion 2003, 287–337; Ardean, Crăciun 2003, 227–240; Ciongradi 2009, 15, no. 8, 16, 22, 58, 64, 85, 109, 119.

²⁵⁷ Nemeti 2010a, 98–104.

in the Dalmatian area: the *Pirustae*, *Delmatae*, *Baridustae*, *Sardiatae*, *Maniates*, *Ansi*, and *Artani*. Their communities bear various names taken from the municipal Latin vocabulary: one *vicus Pirustarum*, one *collegium Sardiatarum*, and several *kastella*: *Ansum*, *Maniatium* (?), *Baridustarum* and *Artum*.²⁵⁸

Civilian Settlements near Auxiliary Forts in Dacia. Their Names and Status

The word *castellum*, used to designate a civilian settlement, is not attested in the province of Dacia outside the mining area of the Apuseni Mountains.

After recording the failure to establish the true name of such a civilian settlement, I will open the epigraphic dossier of the so-called *vici militares* from Dacia. Despite the fact that many auxiliary forts are archaeologically attested, not much is known about their civilian environment.²⁵⁹ For the issues related to their status, administration and territory one has to interrogate the written (i.e. epigraphic) sources. The data contained by inscriptions available today provide information for three settlements of this type, mentioning the ancient name, the type of the civilian settlement (according to the municipal vocabulary), and details about their administrative institutions. The word *vicus* is never used, but there are instead three different types of rural self-governing communities: a *pagus*, a *regio*, and a *territorium*, somehow related to three auxiliary forts, those in Micia, Samum and, of course, Arcobadara.

MICIA

The auxiliary fort and the surrounding civilian settlement from Micia are located in the Mureş Valley, in the western part of the new province. Some inscriptions found there speak of a settlement called Micia designated as *pagus*, a *pagus Miciense*.²⁶⁰ Six votive altars are known so far dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by the people of this community, represented, in front of the supreme god, by their elected *magistri*.²⁶¹

IDR III/3 81; Russu 1983, 448–449, no. 1:

²⁵⁸ Dacicoviciu 1958, 259–266; Piso 2003, 292–295; Ciongradi 2009, 9–18; Nemeti, Nemeti 2010, 111–114.

²⁵⁹ Gudea 1997, *passim*.

²⁶⁰ Ardevan 1998, 75–78.

²⁶¹ Macrea 1960, 346–349; Russu 1983, 445–454; Piso 1995, 72–74.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / v(eterani) et c(i)v(es) R(omani) / Miciens(es) / per Aur(elium) / Alpinum / et Claud(ium) / Nicomae(dem) / mag(istros) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibenter) m(erito).

IDR III/3 80; Russu 1983, 448–449, no. 2:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) / per C(aium) Anton(ium) / Crispinum / mag(istrum) p(agi) M(iciensis).

IDR III/3 82; Macrea 1960, 346–348; Russu 1983, 450–451, no. 3:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / vet(erani) et c(ives) Ro[m(ani)] / per T(itum) Aurel(ium) / Verum et Cor(nelium) / Fort(unatum) mag(istros) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibenter) m(erito).

CIL III 1352; IDR III/3 83; Russu 1983, 451–452, no. 4:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) / per M(arcum) Ul(pium) / Quint(u)m / mag(istrum)..../.....

CIL III 7852 = 1350; IDR III/3 94; Russu 1983, 452, no. 5:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iunoni / Reg(inae) / pro salu/te Miciens(ium) / L(ucius) Atil(ius) Faus(tinus) et M(arcus) Ul(pius) / Romanus mag(istri) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibenter) m(erito).

CIL III 7847 = 1405; IDR III/3 69; Russu 1983, 452, no. 6:

Genio pag(i) / Mic(iae) T(itus) Aur(elius) / Primanus / mag(ister) pag(i) eiu/sd(em) ex suo / fecit l(ibens) m(erito).

There are either one or two donors of the votive altars, always designated as *magistri*. The *magistri* made a civic religious gesture, a *votum* to the supreme god of the State, as the elected representatives of a community constantly named *veterani et cives Romani* (once *veterani* and *cives Romani Micienses*, or, simply, *Micienses*, which means the inhabitants of Micia). So it seems that some of these *Micienses*, living in a settlement next to an auxiliary fort, were Roman citizens and veterans (they were citizens, but they were keen on preserving their peculiar identity in the mass of citizens). The citizens and veterans from Micia formed a community called *pagus*, a community *sine iure civitatis*, but enjoying a certain degree of autonomy (self-governance),

having the right to elect their *magistri*.²⁶² This pagus never belonged to Colonia Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, like, for example, *pagus Aquensis*, where a decurion of the city was responsible with managing the village, a certain C. Iulius Marcianus, *praefectus pagi Aquensis*, but also *decurio coloniae*.²⁶³

CIL III 1407; IDR III/3, 10:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Marcia/nus dec(urio) col(oniae) / praef(ectus) pag(i) / Aquensis / genio eor(um) / posuit.

The Micienses (citizens and veterans) surely had their own territory, which was not a military territory, but a civilian territory, different from the *ager* of the Colonia Sarmizegetusa. The vicinity of the territory of the city partially explains why this small town has received the unusual name of *pagus*:²⁶⁴ after a change in status of a part of the population – through colonial foundation – there remained a marginal community that could manifest itself only as a *pagus*.²⁶⁵ The *conventus civium Romanorum* (because the term *cives Romani* in Latin epigraphy always implies a *conventus*²⁶⁶) was not included in the territory of the colony, but managed autonomously a part of the *ager publicus*, while preserving its autonomy in relation to Sarmizegetusa. So, in this first case, the civilian settlement born near the camp from Micia was a *pagus*, having its own territory and being governed by two elected *magistri*.

Another *conventus civium Romanorum* is epigraphically attested in Potaissa where the two *magistri*, Satrianus and Decumus, erected two votive altars to Hercules and Terra Mater on behalf of the *cives Romani*.²⁶⁷

Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County). Altar, made of calcareous conglomerate; found in 1985, on Cheii Street, in front of the house at no. 16; 1.06 × 0.58 × 0.36 m; Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1992, 113–114, no. 3; Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1993, 50, no. 3; AÉ 1992, 1468 = AÉ 1993, 1332:

²⁶² Ardevan 1998, 75–78; Ardevan 1998a, 52.

²⁶³ Piso 1995, 72; Ardevan 1998, 74; Tarpin 2002, 226–232.

²⁶⁴ Tarpin 2002, 231–232.

²⁶⁵ Hermon 2007, 30–32.

²⁶⁶ Van Andringa 2003, 49–60; Avram 2007, 91–109; for the *consistentes* – Inschriften see Lenz 2003, 379, 384, n. 68.

²⁶⁷ Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1992, 113–117.

Herculi / cives Rom[a]/ni per Satria/{a}num et Dec(u)m/um mag(istros).

Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County). Altar, made of calcareous conglomerate; found in 1985, on Cheii Street, in front of the house at no. 16; 1.12 × 0.59 × 0.40 m; Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1992, 114–115, no. 4; Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1993, 50, no. 4; AÉ 1992, 1469 = AÉ 1993, 1332:

Terrae / Matri / c(ives) R(omani) per / [S]atrianu[m] / [et De]cumum / [m]ag(istros).

Cives Romani consistentes from Potaissa lived either in a civilian settlement²⁶⁸ near an auxiliary fort²⁶⁹ (therefore before 170 A.D.) or in the *kanabae* of *legio V Macedonica* (after 170 A.D.).²⁷⁰ The second hypothesis is preferable, in spite of the fact that *kanabae* or *kanabenses* have not been yet attested epigraphically in Potaissa.²⁷¹

ARCOBADARA

The second case is that of the civilian settlement that grew around the auxiliary camp from Ilişua on the north-eastern limes of Dacia. The ancient name of the town was Arcobadara or *Arcobara, as mentioned in the inscription dedicated to *Genius territorii Arcoba(da)rense* by two magistri in 246 A.D.²⁷²

Ilişua (*Arcobadara*), Bistriţa-Năsăud County; Right side of an altar, made of volcanic tufa; found in 1990, near the camp, in the civilian area; 0.95 × 0.32 × 0.32 m; Bistriţa-Năsăud County Museum, inv. no. 15993; Wollmann, Ardevan 2005, 673–675, 678, fig. 13–14; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2007, 107–109; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 448; Piso 2008, 165–166:

[Geni]o terri/[t(orii) A]rcoba(darensis) / [Au]r(elius) Sal(...) / [et A]el(ius) No/[...]s magistri (duo) / [Praese]nte et Al/[bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

Ilişua (*Arcobadara*), Bistriţa-Năsăud County; Fragmentary inscription; CIL III 820, 4; Torma 1866, 49, no. 31; Nemeti 2010, 419, no. 53:

/[...]/[...]g/[...]em / [... magi]ster.

²⁶⁸ Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1992, 111–124; Bărbulescu, Cătinaş 1993, 49–64.

²⁶⁹ Nemeti 1999, 194–204.

²⁷⁰ Petolescu 2011a, 97.

²⁷¹ The same idea was recently expressed by I. Piso – Piso 2014, 73.

²⁷² Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 446–456.

The inscription also shows that there was a civilian territory administered by the elected *magistri* of an autonomous community; the altar belongs to the so-called category of “territory inscriptions”, a fairly well documented category in the Danubian provinces.

Another very fragmentary inscription mentions one *magister*. In the end of row 4 I can distinguish two letters ...EM and in the next row I see 4 letters ...STER, so an anonymous *magister*.

The municipal status of Arcobadara remains unknown because of the poor state of the epigraphic documentation. Was it a *pagus* like Micia, a *vicus*, or simply a *castellum*? In the province of Dacia only Sucidava, as communal autonomy, is epigraphically designated as *territorium*.

Celei (*Sucidava*), Olt County; Limestone slab, decorated with a *tabula ansata*; 54 × 83 × 14 cm; from the ruins of the *castellum*. IDR II 190; AÉ 1914, 122; Pârvan 1913b, 23–25:

[D]eae Nemesi / pro salute Augg(ustorum) / curial(es) territ(orii)
Suc(idavensis) / templum a solo / restituerunt.

The inscription which speaks of a *territorium Sucidavense* also mentions the *curiales territorii*.²⁷³ As far as the administration of this civilian settlement is concerned, one can presume the existence of *magistri* (one or two) and an *ordo* made of *curiales*.²⁷⁴

There is also a new discovery attesting a rural structure called *territorium* in Dacia. A funerary inscription from Tell-Dülük (*Doliche*), in Syria, mentions a *territorium Bassianae* (*Bassianense*) in Dacia Superior, probably at the beginning of the third century A.D. One can speculate about the location of this Bassiana, in the proximity of the main city of the province, i. e. Apulum, because Aelius Vitalis and Aurelius Valerianus were soldiers in *legio XIII Gemina*.²⁷⁵

Tell-Dülük (*Doliche*), Syria. Facella, Speidel 2011, 207–215, pl. 1–2, 42. Limestone stele, with a relief depicting a soldier in the upper register. 1.54 × 48.5 × 41.5 m; found in 2008, at the foot of the Keber Tepe Hill, near Dülük; Gaziantep Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2009. 34. 1:

²⁷³ Tudor 1965, 34–35; Tudor 1968, 209–210.

²⁷⁴ Tudor 1965, 35.

²⁷⁵ Facella, Speidel 2011, 207–215; Matei-Popescu 2011, 351–361; Dana 2014a, 166–167, no. 22; Petolescu 2012, 137–140.

D(is) M(anibus) / secur(itati) (a)e<t>e(r)nae(?) / et [quie]ti / + A[eliu]s / Vitalis / ex provinc[ia] Dacia sup(eriore) / te(r)i(torio) Bassia/na(e) vixit an/nis XXIII / Aur(elius) Valeri/anus dupla(rius) leg(ionis) / XIII c(o)ho(rtis) III frat(ri) / carissimo / [f(aciendum) vel p(onendum)] c(uravit).

SAMVM

In the northern part of Dacia, on River Someș, two inscriptions mention a civilian settlement growing near the camp of *cohors II Brittanorum milliaria*, which was later replaced by *cohors I Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum equitata*.²⁷⁶ The name of this settlement is written on two altars erected by the *beneficiarii consularis*.

Cășei (*Samum*), Cluj County; CIL III 827 = 7633:

Deae [Nem]esi / reg[im]in(ae)] M. Val(erius) Va[le]n[ti]nus b(ene)ff(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [m]i[l]l[es] le[g]ionis)] / XIII G(eminae) Gordi(anae) / aed[il]is)] col(oniae) Nap(ocae) / agens sub sig(nis) / Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amensium) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / [I]mp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) M(arco) A[n]t(onio)] Gordi(ano) Augus[ti] et A[ug]ust[us] co(n)s(ulibus) XIII (?)

Cășei (*Samum*), Cluj County; Russu 1956, 120–123, no. 1, fig. 1:

I(oui) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / P(ublius) Ae(lius) Marcellinus / b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) / Gord(ianae) agens Sa/mo cum reg(ione) Ans(amensium) / sub seg(nis) pro salute sua / et suorum v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit) / Arriano et Papo co(n)s(ulibus).

The employed formulae are: *agens Samo cum regione Ans(...)* *sub signo* and *agens sub signis Samum cum regione Ans(...)*. Other inscriptions discovered in the area of Cășei contain information on *beneficiarii consularis* and their *statio* on the northern frontier of the province.²⁷⁷ The toponym was recognized since the beginning and linked to the hydronym Samus (today Someș), the name of the river that flows through the neighboring area. Attested in the Ablative (*Samo*) and Nominative (*Samum*) cases, the name is interpreted as being that

²⁷⁶ Isac 2003, 33–47.

²⁷⁷ Isac 2003, 49–50; Cupcea 2010, 390–391, correctly pointed out that during the reign of Severus Alexander *beneficiarii* were detached in a *statio* (*agentes in curam stationis, in munere stationis*). After that, in the time of Gordianus, “by the authority granted by their *signum*, they would extend their competence over the *vicus Samum* and the surrounding *regio Ansamensium*”.

of the civilian settlement. The administrative unit called *regio Ans(...)* raised new questions V. Pârvan restored *regio Ansamensium*,²⁷⁸ where Ansamenses should be interpreted as the name of a Dacian tribe living beyond the border, an opinion largely accepted in Romanian historiography.²⁷⁹

In my opinion *regio Ansamense* is a better reading, linking the administrative unit (*regio*) with a toponym (*Ad Samum, i. e. on River Samus), and not with a Dacian tribe beyond the frontier (*regio Ansamensium*). The toponym itself can be explained from the form *Ad Samum, contracted to Ansamum, similarly to Ad Mutrium (on River Mutrius) which became Amoutrion and Amutria in Ptolemy's list and in the Tabula Peutingeriana. In this case *regio Ansamense* is not some sort of military district located beyond the border, but a civilian territory²⁸⁰ belonging to a settlement that had developed near the camp. This interpretation is supported by epigraphic data from the Danube region where one can find the use of the term *regio* instead of *territorium* in certain cases.

In the time of Severus Alexander and Gordian, for unknown reasons, the *beneficarii* from this *statio*²⁸¹ also received the mission to survey the civilian territory²⁸² located far north of the Empire (a situation similar to that from Montana, in Upper Moesia, where *beneficarii consularis* and *centuriones regionarii* surveyed the *territorium Montanensium* or the *regio Montanense*, in other words the pre-municipal territory).²⁸³

Regarding the status of the civilian settlement I rather prefer envisaging a *castellum Samum* than a *vicus Samum*, as it was always suggested, because it fits better in Latin. Nothing is known on the administration of Samum. The simple mention of an administrative entity called *regio* (in some particular cases a metonymy for *territorium*) implies the existence of a certain degree of autonomy.

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²⁷⁸ Pârvan 1926, 275.

²⁷⁹ Isac 2003, 48–58 (with a critical presentation of the theories).

²⁸⁰ Opreanu 1994, 72–73.

²⁸¹ Russu 1956, 122–123, interpreted *agens sub signis Samo* as *agens curam stationis*.

²⁸² For B.-V. Vătavu *regio Ans (...)* is not a rural territory, but a “circumscription of judicial police”, like an administrative reality called *regio* was created for this particular reason. The *beneficarii consularis* should fulfill the supervising mission in a pre-existing administrative unit, i. e. a territory (Vătavu 2011, 226–227).

²⁸³ E. g. a *beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae agens territorio Montanensium*; an *optio legionis VII Claudia* *agens regione Montanensium*; Speidel 1984, 185–188; Ott 1995, 106, n. 55.

I have to clearly state that none of these settlements (a *pagus*, or the centers of a *regio*, or a *territorium*) are the type of habitation that modern scholars commonly understand under the syntagm *vicus militaris*.²⁸⁴ All three realities – Micia, Arcobadara, and Samum – are rural settlements that developed in the neighboring areas of military camps, but on the *ager publicus*. Next to the fort, in its nearest proximity, on the military territory, there are civilian buildings, strip houses, public buildings, deposits, and wooden barracks, populated with civilians strongly related with some of the soldiers' activities, that all together form a separate community. We should label this different anonymous civilian reality (that bears the name of the encamped troop – *Ad Pannonios*, *Ad Batavos*, or is understood under the term *castris* designating the soldiers' *origo*) with the term *vicus militaris*.

The "Territory" Inscriptions

The problem of the civilian settlements born near auxiliary forts in Dacia should be presented in the context of the so-called "territory inscriptions", well attested in the Danubian provinces.

In Antiquity, the word *territorium* was used to designate, according to the tradition set by Pomponius, "*uniuersitas agrorum intra cuiusque ciuitatis*" (Digeste, L 16, 239).²⁸⁵ The word appears both referring to the territory of a town and to that of a province. It was not only towns that had a *territorium*; this word also designated a certain stretch of land, limited and connected to a human community, town, tribe, military unit, sacerdotal college or mine.²⁸⁶ In epigraphy, this word is used to designate the territory of towns, but there are other territories of different communities which enjoyed autonomy relative to the central power (the territories of the tribal communities, the military

²⁸⁴ A slightly different opinion in Bérard 1992, 88–89: "On sait que les garnisons romaines étaient entourées d'agglomérations civiles, dont nous avons trouvé de nombreuses traces archéologiques aux portes même des camps. On appelle traditionnellement ces agglomérations *uici* quand il s'agit de camps auxiliaires et *kanabae* quand il s'agit de *castra* légionnaires. Mais, ..., on remarquera que, ..., il y a un point commun à toutes ces agglomérations établies aux portes des camps militaires romains c'est que, loin d'être administrées directement par l'armée, comme on l'a cru, elles disposent, comme du reste beaucoup d'autres *uici*, d'une organisation quasi-municipale, avec un *ordo* et des décurions, des magistrats, des finances publiques, etc. (...) N'avaient-elles pas aussi cet autre élément indissociable de la cité que constitue son territoire?"

²⁸⁵ Forcellini 1875, 71.

²⁸⁶ DA, V, 124.

territories).²⁸⁷ A *territorium* existed also around every auxiliary Roman camp, a community with quasi-municipal organization, which had *magistri* and *ordo decurionum*.²⁸⁸ The word is used quite frequently in the epigraphy of the Danubian provinces to designate the territory of civilian settlements born near auxiliary camps. This territory is a civilian one, and one should not confuse it with the so-called *military territory*, viewed by A. Schulten or A. Mócsy as a part of provincial soil administered directly by the army.²⁸⁹ In my opinion, *territorium Arcobadarensis* in the inscription from Ilişua seems to be such a community developed near the Roman camp of *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*.

As I have already mentioned, the word *territorium* does not appear for the first time in Dacia. At the beginning of the twentieth century, V. Pârvan published an inscription which attested a *territorium Sucidavense*, whose *curiales* were rebuilding a temple of goddess Nemesis.²⁹⁰ Similarly, in the provinces around the Danube, the word is present in epigraphy, designating territories of the settlements next to the auxiliary Roman camps. In Moesia Inferior, C. Iulius Quadratus was *quinquennalis territorii Capidavensis*,²⁹¹ and other inscriptions attest *ex magister territorio Dianensium (Dimensium?)*, a *territorium Abritanorum*²⁹², and, recently, a *territorium Aegyssense*.²⁹³

Capidava, Constanţa County, Romania. Tocilescu 1900, 111, no. 5; Tocilescu 1891, 17; CIL III 12491; AE 1891, 41; AE 1901, 44; ISM V 77. Limestone funerary altar, found in 1893, among the ruins of the Roman camp, 1.91 × 1.16 m; Constanţa Museum, inv. no. 2062:

*C(aius) Iul(ius) C(ai)ffilius) Quadr[at(us)] / memoriam si/bi et Iuliae Te/rent-
iae con/iugi suae se vi/vo per liberos / suos fecit lo/ci princeps / quinquenn/
alis territo[rrii] / Capidavensis.*

Pleven (*Storgosia*), Bulgaria. AE 1911, 16; ILB 223. Limestone base, found in the Roman camp, built in the walls. 0.93 × 0.53 × 0.40 m; 198–209 A.D.:

²⁸⁷ Leveau 1993, 466.

²⁸⁸ Langhammer 1973, 5.

²⁸⁹ Schulten 1894, 481–516; Mócsy 1953, 179–199 (the historiography and the present *status quaestionis* in Bérard 1993, 63; for the main five theories about the *military territory* see Le Bohec 2005, 238–239).

²⁹⁰ Pârvan 1913, 23–25, no. 27.

²⁹¹ Munteanu 1970, 211–222.

²⁹² i. e. the territory of the *castellum Abritanorum*, inhabited by *cives Romani et consistentes Abritto*.

²⁹³ Conrad 2004, 183, no. 219.

[...] / [pro salute?] / [dominorum nn(ostrorum)?] / Severi et Anto/nini [[et Getae Cae]] / [[saris]] et Iul[ae] / Aug(ustae) territorio / Dianensiu(m) P(ublius) Aeli/us Victorinu[s] / ex mag(istratu) et [ex] / decur(ionatu) [suo pos(uit)].

Razgrad (Abritus), Bulgaria. AÉ 1985, 712. Milliarum, found near Razgrad, 1.31 × 0.45 m; 15 August 244 – 30 August 247 A.D.:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Iulio / Philippo / Pio Fil(ici) (sic) inuicto / Aug(usto) et M(arco) / Iulio Philipo (sic) nob(ilissimo) Caesa/res (sic) per / ter(ritorium) Abri(tanorum) / m(ille) p(assuum) I.

Tulcea (Aegyssus), Tulcea County, Romania. Baumann 1984, 223–224, no. 3, fig. 55; Conrad 2004, 183, no. 219. Funerary *stela*, fragmentary; 0.75 × 0.49 m; found in 1970 in the southern part of the city of Tulcea, on M. Costin Street. In the upper part: a depiction of the Hero Rider:

[...] Fl(avio) R[...] / dec(urioni) ter(ritori) A(eg(yssensis) v(ixit) ann(os)) XL. Sciat[is] quod] / dum vive[bat] vic[o] VRBIIN[...] / Obitu[s] ad villam s(uam)] / F(ieri) i(ussit) IM[...] / ses[quipedarius].

A similar community could be identified in Halmyris (*Noviodunum*), where several *magistri* from *vicus classicorum* erected altars for the supreme god of the Roman state.²⁹⁴

The territory of Troesmis raises different problems; it was clearly related to a community of *veterani et cives Romani consistentes Troesmi, ad legionem V Macedonicam* (then, probably, *ad canabas*). *Troesmis* became *municipium* after the departure of *legio V Macedonica*, during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, in 177–180 A.D., as indicated in the recently discovered text of the municipal law.²⁹⁵ In this case, *territorium Troesmense* is the civilian *territorium* of a self-governing community composed of *veterani et cives Romani consistentes ad canabas*.²⁹⁶

Iglița (*Troesmis*), Tulcea County, Romania. Pârvan 1913, 493–502, no. 2, fig. 10–11; AÉ 1920, 54; ISM V 135; AÉ 1980, 818. Marble slab, 0.76 × 0.84 × 0.05 m; 161–163 A.D.:

²⁹⁴ Suceveanu, Zahariade 1986, 110–113, no. 1–8.

²⁹⁵ Eck 2013, 201: *municipium M(arcum) Aurelium Antoninum et L(ucium) Aurelium Commodum Aug(ustum) Troesm(ensium)*.

²⁹⁶ A different opinion in Doruțiu–Boilă 1972, 46–55 (a military *territorium*).

Imperatoribus [Caes(aribus)] / M(arco) Aurelio Antoni[no Aug(usto) et] L(ucio) Aureliio Vero A[ug(usto) Armeniaco] / sub M(arco) Servil(io) F[abiano leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)] / pr(o) pr(aetore) C(aius) Planc[us ... domo?] Ancyr(a) M(arcus) IN?[steius?...] / territor[um] Troesmensis templ[um] a so[lo] fecerunt vet(eran)s et c(ivib[us]) R(omanis) con[sistentib[us]] Troesmi ad legionem V Mac(edonicam)].

A *praefectus territorii* at *Tîmacum Minus* and a *territorium* in *Montana*²⁹⁷ are mentioned in *Moesia Superior*.

Ravna (*Tîmacum Minus*), Bulgaria. AÉ 1990, 858. Funerary monument, limestone; re-used in the tower of the Late Antique fortification; 1.05 × 0.62 × 0.55 m.:

D(is) M(anibus) / Ulp(ius) Aquilinus / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) / lib(ri)arius offici(i) prae(fecti) [te]/r(r)it(orii), vixit ann(is) XXII / Aquileiensis / et Ulpia Diotima / filio dulcissimo / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).

Mihailovgrad (*Montana*), Bulgaria. AÉ 1987, 881. Marble altar found in the temple of Diana and Apollo, on Kaleto Hill. 1.08 × 0.29 × 0.29 m.:

Diis sanctis / Dianae reginae / et Apollini / Phoebos / Iul(ius) Mucaze/nus b(ene)ficiarius co(n)sularis leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), ag(ens) t(erritorio) M(ontanensium) / pro sal(ute) sua / et Iuliae coniu(gis) / eius, gratias / agens, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The inscriptions in *Pannonia Inferior* bring more clarifications regarding the inhabitants of two *territoria* which had auxiliary *vici* as centres: *cives Romani* from *territorium Matricensium* and *cives Romani et consistentes* from *territorium Vetussalinesium*.

Dunaújváros (*Intercisa*), Hungary. AÉ 2001, 1667. CIL III 10305. Right side of a slab, found in *Intercisa*, probably brought from *Adony (Vetus Salina)*. Width (preserved) – 1.38 m.:

[Templum et statu]am Geni civib(us) R(omanis) / [et consistentib(us) terri] t(orii) Vetuss(alinensium) quae M(arcus) Ulp(ius) / [... datis ex tes]t(amento) (sestertium) X (milibus) n(ummum) fieri iusserat. / [M(arcus) Ulp(ius) ... II uir?] m(unicipii) Aq(uicensium) d(ecurio) col(oniae) Murs(ensium) sacerd(os) / [prou(inciae) Pann(oniae) Infer(ioris) trib(unus) l(eg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae) in memoriam / [patris loco publico te]rritori ex (sestertium) XXXX (milibus) n(ummum) fec(it).

²⁹⁷ Mirković 2004, 63.

Százhalombatta (*Matrica*), Hungary. AÉ 1980, 712. Limestone block, found in 1969 near the Roman camp; 0.38 × 0.35 × 0.25 m. 267 or 268 A.D. *Pater[no et Arcesilao cos.]* or *Pater[no II et Mariniano cos.]*:

[...pro salute] / ciuerom[an]/orum (sic) territ(orii) / Matric/ensium / Ael(ius) Vic[t]or uet(eranus) [leg(ionis)] / II Ad[i(utricis)] / Pater[no ...].

An inscription from Rome mentions a *territorium Arrabonensium* from Pannonia Superior.

CIL VI 36351, Kovács 2006, 165–170. Rome, Italy. Fragmentary marble slab:

D(is) M(anibus) / Silvania Cresce[ntina vix]/it annis LX nata [Panno]/nia Su[pe]r[i]ore ter[ritorio] / Ar(r)abone(nsiu[m]) Silban[ius...]/ us Silbania Rom[ana...]/es matri et do[mina]e b(ene)meren[ti] posuerun[t].

All these inscriptions refer not to military territories, but to autonomous territories of some settlements, governed after the rules of municipal communities (led by *magistri*, *quaestores*, *quinquennales* chosen from among the *cives Romani et veterani*,²⁹⁸ having *ordines* composed of *decuriones* or *curiales*).

In the municipal vocabulary, the word *regio* designated the territory where the jurisdiction of the magistrates was performed and it was synonymous, in some particular cases, to *territorium*.²⁹⁹ In the Danubian provinces, the word *regio* seems to have cover two precise meanings: the division of the territory of a *civitas* and the territory of a rural community born around a military *uicus*. In Thracia the word *regio* was used for the territory of cities (Serdica – *regio Serdicense*, Marcianopolis – *regio Marcinopolitana*), but also for the parts that divided that territory. Three inscriptions dated to 152 A.D. show that the territory of the towns Serdica, Marcianopolis, and Augusta Traiana were divided into *regiones*, just like the territory of towns from the western provinces were divided into *pagi*.³⁰⁰ *fines ciuitatis Serdicensium regione Dyptensium* or *regio Gelegetiorum, ciuitas Marcinopolitanorum*.

CIL VI 2605. Rome, Italy:

²⁹⁸ Kovács 2000, 40–42; Kovács 2006, 165–170.

²⁹⁹ DA, V, 124; Leveau 1993, 465; Kovács 2000, 48–49, enumerates several words used to designate territory: *territorium*, *regio*, *civitas*, *fines*, *pertica*, *solum*, *leuga*; see also Mirković 2004, 63.

³⁰⁰ Leveau 1993, 465.

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Victorinus mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) natione Dacisca, regione Serdicen(se) vixit an(nis) XXX, mil(itavit) in legione an(nis) VI, in pr(aetorio) an(nis) IIII, fecit memoria Valerius Augustus mil(es) coh(ortis) pr(aetoriae) fratri benemerenti fec(it).

AE 1957, 279; AE 2000, 1291; ILB 211; 152 A.D.:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) T(itus) Ael(ius) Hadri(a)n(us) / Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius p(ater) p(atriciae), trib(unicia) / potestate XV, co(n)s(ul) IIII, praesidia / et burgos ob tutelam provinc(iae) / Thraciae fecit curante C(aio) Gallonio / Fron(to)ne Q(uinto) M(a)rcio Turbone leg(ato) / A[u]g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore). Per fines ciuitatis / Serd(ic)ensium regione Dyptens(ium) / praesidia n(umero) IIII, burgi n(umero) XII, phruri / n(umero) CIX.

CIL VI 2808; 32583. *Tabula marmorea*. On the relief, goddess Iuno with a sceptre in her left hand:

De(a)<h>e sanct(a)e Iunoni ex (sic) / reg(ione) Marcianopolita[n(ae)] / [...] NI cives posuerunt.

AE 2000, 1268. Marble plate, found in Nevsa, near Varna (in the territory of Marcianopolis). 152 A. D:

... / Turbone leg(ato) A[u]g(usti) pro pr(aetore)]. / Per fines ciuitat[is Mar]/ cianopolitanorum re]/gion[e] Gelegetio[rum] in propi]/nquo phruri n(umero) [...]/...

The same meaning of the word *regio* is also encountered in Moesia, where some municipal territories are designated in this way: *regio Viminacense*, *regio Ratiarense*, and *regio Nicopolitana*.

Cyrrhus (*Khoros*), Syria. CIL III 195:

D(is) M(anibus) / U[l]p(io) Victor(e) im[ag]ini/[fer]o leg(ionis) VII ex (centurione) (cohorte) II pr(incipi) / post(eriori) vixit ann(os) XXXVIII / militavit ann(os) XVI Aur(elius) / Martinus mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII / Fl(aviae) frater et Secundus / heres fratri ex pr(ovincia) Moesia Super(iore) / reg(ione) Viminac(ense) / f(ratri) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

Rome, Italy. CIL VI 2730; *tabula marmorea*. *In domo de Ursinis, in monte Cordano*:

D(is) m(anibus) / Antonius Paterio m(iles) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) (centuria) Artemonis / vix(it) an(nos) XXXV mil(itavit) an(nos) XI / nat(us) Mysia (sic)

Superiore / reg(ione) Ratiarense vico Ca[...]/nisco Aurelia Vener[a] / co(n)iux co(n)iugi karissimo [...] / RES b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Rome, Italy. CIL VI 2933; Ricci 1993, 153, no. 2. *In regione Parionis in domo d. Pauli Tifernatis:*

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurr(elii) Diza ne[g]lotia(ns) et / Putine coniugi. Natus ex / provincia Moesia Inferiore / regione Nicopolitane, vico / Sapisara. Vixit annos XXXX / et co(n)iux vix(it) annos XXX. / Aur(elius) Herculanus mil(es) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), bene merentib(us) posuit.

In Moesia Superior and Inferior, the word, however, designates also communities whose territory lay near an auxiliary Roman camp, named, in other inscriptions, *territoria*, the synonymy *regio* – *territorium* being, thus, confirmed:³⁰¹ for example, *regio Montanense* from Montana and a *regio Dimense*.

Lom (*Almus*), Bulgaria. AÉ 1969–1970, 577. Marble altar:

Dianae et Apo/llini sacrum / G(aius) Val(erius) Valens / optio leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), agens re(gione) Mont[an(ensium)] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

Mihailovgrad (*Montana*), Bulgaria. AÉ 1985, 738. Marble altar; 0.93 × 0.35 × 0.34 m.:

Apollini / sancto / C(aius) Iulius / Saturni/nus (centurio) / region/arius / ex uoto.

Rome, Italy. Laterculus of the pretorians (10 fragments). CIL VI 32549:

Provin[cia] Mysi[a] Infer[io]re reg(ione) Dime(n)si(s) / Imp(eratore) D(omino) N(ostro) Gordiano Aug(usto) (iterum) et [Pom]peiano / consu[libus] / ... (nomina praetorianorum).

The debate around the meaning of *regio Histriae* remains open. In order to explain the duality, the coexistence of two distinct administrative units in Histria, a *chora* and a *regio*, one hypothesis stated that *regio* could be “a former strategy from the time of the Odrýssian Kingdom” (a territory belonging to Histria, returned nominally to

³⁰¹ In two cases, Dimum and Montana, the territory is called either *territorium* (*territorium Dimensium* AÉ 1911, 16; *territorium Montanensium*, AÉ 1987, 881) or *regio* (*regio Dimense*, CIL VI 32549; *regio Montanense*, AÉ 1969–1970, 577).

Histria after 46 A.D., when Histria became *civitas libera et immunis*.)³⁰² Numerous *veterani et cives Romani* are attested in the so-called *regio Histriae* and the latter thus seems to be a self-governed administrative unit (*archontes regionis*).³⁰³

Nistorești (Kuciuk-Kiöi), Tulcea County, Romania. CIL III 12489; ILS 7182; ISM I 373. MNA inv. no. L 351; 157 A.D.:

D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus) / Lucius Pompe/ius Vale(n)s na(t)us / Fabia Anquira / consist(it) r(egione) Hist(ri) / muneraque fe/cit Histro in / oppido arc(h)on/tium et aediliciu(m) / et sacerdotium / at Liber[um] et sepul/crum se vivo <me> / ipse sibi fecit et ara(m) / posuit cum fuit ann(or)um / LXXVI et [...] Man/suetae coniu[g]i suae / p(iae) bene merenti que / vixit an(nos) L et Do/nato filio suo qui nu(n)c est an(norum) XX et d(ierum) m(inus) pl(us) V M(arcus) ma/rio(rarius) rerum supr[a]s(cripti) e[t] supra[scrip]t/te [p]osuit quem com(m)en(do [...] / tus cum libert[i]s me[i]s scrip[tum] / [...] XIII Octob(ribus) Barbaro co(n)s(ule).

Gârliciu, Tulcea County, Romania. ISM V 123. Altar, found in the wall of the fortress in Cius. 1.49 × 0.60 × 0.22 m. MNA, inv. no. L 1803.:

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / et Iunoni Reg(inae) [p]/ro salu(te) imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) / civit(at)is et reg(ionis) His/tr(iae) cura agent(ibus) / Cl(audio) Amando et Ulp(io) / Hectore et Aelio / [...] ge arch(ontibus) reg(ionis).

Gârliciu, Tulcea County, Romania. ISM V 124; AÉ 1960, 356. Altar, found in the wall of the fortress in Cius. 1.03 × 0.49 × 0.29 m. MNA inv. no. L 1802. 244–246 A.D.:

[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)] / pr(o) [salute] / imp(eratorum) D(ominorum) n(ostorum) / Marci Iuli / Philippi / et Marco Iul/io Philippia(no) / nobil(issimo) Caes(ari) et / Otaciliae Se/verae Aug(ustae) a[r]/c(h)ontes r(egionis) His(triae) su/b arc(hontatu) Aur(elii) Euxi/ni Leontisci / [...] Cociei Aur(elius) Victor, Ulp(ius) Mart(inus), Ael(ius) Iulius, Aur(elius) Castus, Mu/catra (?) Stoinis, Mess(ius) Frontin(us) / [...] n[...] Sil[ius] Ingenus, Herc(ulius) Marcia(nus) / [...] ci f(ecerunt)?.

Sinoe – Casapchioii / Vicus Quintionis, Tulcea County, Romania. ISM I 329. Limestone altar; 0.97 × 0.60 × 0.25 m. MNA inv. no. L 513. 170–176 A.D.:

³⁰² Recently, Matei-Popescu 2013, 207, 215, with bibliography.

³⁰³ Matei-Popescu 2013, 216–217 (after the fall of the Odrissian Kingdom *regio Histriae* became *ager publicus* and it was nominally given to Histria; in the territory of the town – *chora* – the land was in possession of the inhabitants of Histria, thanks to the status of *civitas libera et immunis*, meanwhile the veterans and the Roman citizens from *regio* only enjoyed the right of beneficial interest.)

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / et Iunoni Re/gi(nae) pro sa(lute) Imp(eratoris) / Aug(usti) civit(at)is / et reg(ionis) His(triae) cur/agen(tibus) Cl(audio) Ia/nuar(io) et Lupo T[...]/[magi(stris) et quaest(ore)].

Histria, Tulcea County, Romania. ISM I 343. Altar, found in the walls of precinct K, near tower I. 0.58 × 0.40 × 0.35 m. Histria Museum, inv. no. 21. 198–211 A.D.:

[I]ovi optimo maxi/mo c(ives) R(omani) et Lai consi/stentes reg(ione) Si(tri?) (sic) / vico Secundini / posueru[nt p]ro salutem (sic) Dominorum no/strorum Imperato/rum Luci Septumi (sic) / Severi Pertenaci[s] (sic) / [et impera]t(or)is Ma[rci] Aur[eli] / [Antonini] ...

Only two *regiones* are clearly attested in Dacia: *regio Ans(amensium)* with the centre at Samum, and the recently identified *regio Neridonisense*. A new reading for an inscription discovered long ago has lead to the founding of a new *regio*, just near *territorium Arcobadarense*, and a new un-localized toponym, Nerido, on the north-eastern border of Dacia Porolissensis.³⁰⁴

Domnești, Bistrița–Năsăud County, Romania.

CIL III 7625. Altar, volcanic tufa; 1.32 × 0.49 × 0.54 m; found in 1886 in the household of the Reformed priest from Domnești:

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / Dulcen/o P(ublius) Caius / Valerianu/s (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fre/tensis re/g(ionarius) r(egionis) Neridon/is(---) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

It is still unclear if *regio Scodrihense* should be localized in the province of Dacia before the Aurelian retreat, or in the new province created south of the Danube after 271 A.D. (as specialists have believed since V. Pârvan).³⁰⁵ In my opinion there is no strong argument for dating the inscription to the end of the third century A.D. The name of the attested praetorian is known from Dacia (he was one of the many Aurelii recruited after *Constitutio Antoniniana*), meanwhile the word *commanipularius* is common in the vocabulary of the legionaries from Dacia.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Piso, Cupcea, 2014.

³⁰⁵ Pârvan 1926, 229–230; Ricci 1993, 189.

³⁰⁶ Beu-Dachin 2011, 79–85.

Rome, Italy. CIL VI 2698, in villa Pellucchia:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Passar mil(es) coh(ortis) VIII / pr(aetoriae) / (centuria) Hilariani vix(it) an(nos) / XXX mil(itavit) an(nos) VIII domo / Daciae regione Scodri/he(n)se. Tullius Lupus / et Masculinus Ter/tullinus et Claudius / Longinus / commani/pul(ar)i b(ene)m(e)r(en)t(i)f(e)c(e)r(unt).

One knows of a *regio Bassianensis* in Pannonia Inferior and a *regio Aquense* in Moesia Superior.

Dunaújváros (*Intercisa*), Hungary. CIL III 3336; RIU VI 1552a; AÉ 2001, 1669. Left side of a funerary inscription; 0.45 × 0.60 × 0.24 m; third century A.D.:

[...] / [...Satur]/nin(us) / q(uon)d(am) armat(ura) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) stip(endiorum) XVI, o[r]/iundus ex regio/ne Bassiane(n)si desi/deratus in Dacia q(uon)d(am) / qui vixit ann(os) XXXIII / Sept(imius) Maximi[a] n[us]/...

Turičevac, Bulgaria. AÉ 1981, 724; AÉ 1982, 841. Altar; 0.60 × 0.40 × 0.40 m. 1 February 225 A.D.:

[I(ovi) o(ptimo)] M(aximo) et G(enio) Illyr(ici) / [pro] salute Belli/[ci Au]g(usti) n(ostr)i, vil(ici) stati/onis Petobionen/sis et Moes(iae) r(egionis) Aq(uensis) / Castricius Bel/lici vik(arius) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito),/ anni XXV, [k] al(endis) F(ebruariis), Fusco II Dextro co(n)s(ulibus).

After this brief examination of the occurrences of the words *territorium* and *regio* connected to the *vici militares* from the Danubian provinces, one can notice that the *territoria* from Arcobadara, Capidava, Dimum, Abrittus, Aegyssus, Matrica, or Vetus Salina and those *regiones* from Montana, Samum or Bassiana are administrative units born around rural settlements developed next to auxiliary Roman camps. As for the administration of some *territoria*, such as the one of Arcobadara, it is obvious that there are institutions which replicate the municipal ones: representatives chosen from among the best people (*magistri* at Arcobadara, Dimum, Micia, *quinquennalis* at Capidava, maybe with censorial attributes, a *quaestor* at Micia), an *ordo* made of *curiales* (Sucidava) or *decuriones* (Dimum).

2. Living in Arcobadara

Over the last two centuries a considerable number of epigraphic and sculptural monuments have been found in the settlement established near the auxiliary camp in Ilişua. The camp was built a few years after the Roman conquest of the Dacian Kingdom by a *vexillatio* of *legio XIII Gemina* or by *cohors II Britannica*. From the time of Emperor Hadrianus, the Ilişua castrum was occupied by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*.³⁰⁷ The civilian settlement, an *Auxiliariovicus*, was a rural self-governing community with its own territory, run by two elected *magistri*. The name of the settlement, *Arcobadara* (**Arcobara*), is indigenous, and is also mentioned by Ptolemy.³⁰⁸

Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana was created by Augustus, the auxiliary soldiers being recruited from the German tribe of *Tungri*. The first garrison was probably in Germania Inferior, at *Asciburgium* (Asberg) and Bonn, until 71 – 72 A.D.; then it was moved to Dalmatia, and after that to Pannonia, at Carnuntum and Campona. In 114 A.D. this auxiliary unit was part of the *Exercitus Pannoniae Inferioris*. During the 117 – 118 A.D. war against the *Iazyges*, the unit was brought to Western Dacia (traces discovered at Vrşac/Vârşet and Pojejena in today's Banat), then, probably after the end of the war and after the organization of Dacia Porolissensis, it was deployed at Ilişua.³⁰⁹

Data on the inhabitants of this rural settlement in a modern historical reconstruction is available only through the epigraphic and sculptural monuments they produced. Their onomastic and religious preferences could tell us today something about the people who lived in Ilişua during the second – third centuries A.D. The material analyzed here contains 99 monuments, both epigraphic and sculptural. Comparing the *vicus* of Ilişua with other rural settlements which developed near auxiliary forts, one can estimate that the number of inscriptions is rather high. This may be due to a more intensive research of the site (by C. Torma between 1858 and 1862 and a team led by D. Protase since 1978).³¹⁰ Then, one has access to relevant evidence which allows statistic analyses. But two types of limitations have to be taken into account: the limits of statistic and onomastic analyses. From the onomastic point of view, I will follow the principle which proclaims that we are able to know today only the origin of the name

³⁰⁷ Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, 45–47; Marcu 2009, 78–85.

³⁰⁸ Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2007, 107–118.

³⁰⁹ Petolescu 2002, 78–80; Husar 1999, 118–120, with bibliography; Marcu 2009, 84–85.

³¹⁰ Torma 1866, 11–55; Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, 6–44.

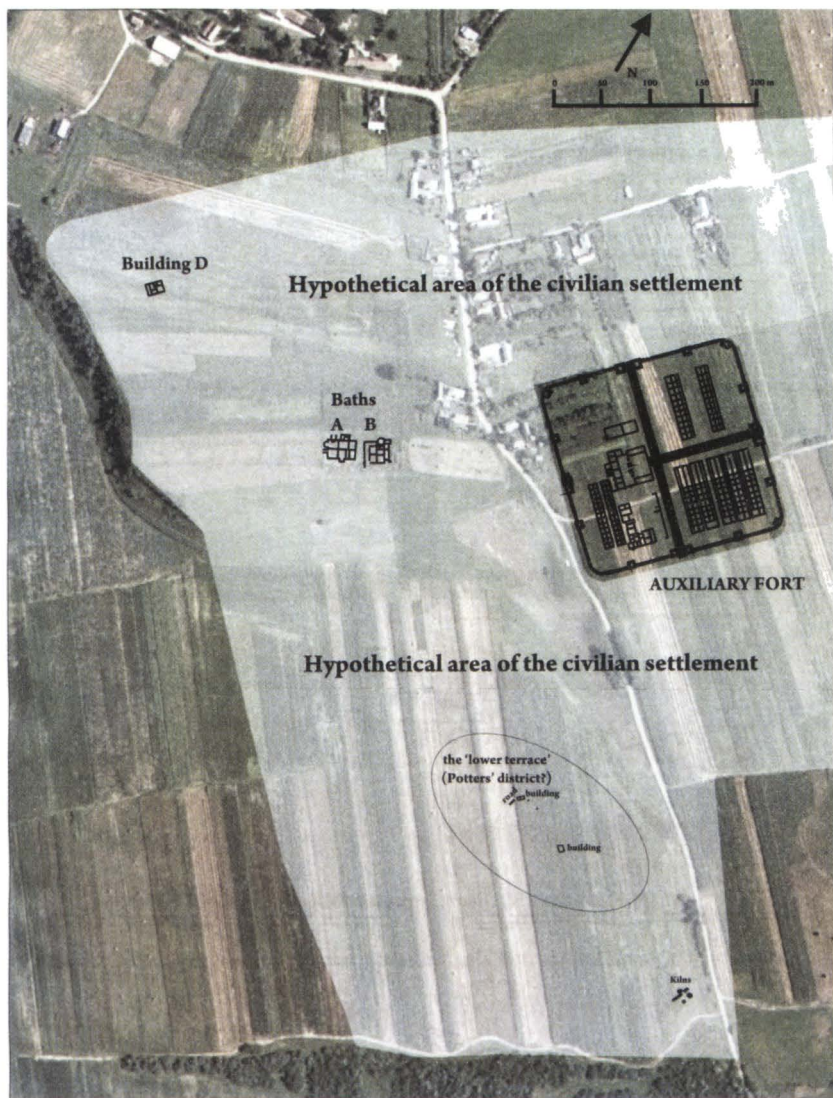


Fig. 9

and not the ethnic origin of a person who bore it. I will therefore not speculate on the possibility that provincials of different ethnic origins are hidden under the guise of Latin names, taking as a main criterion for establishing this fact the frequency of some Latin names in different geographical areas (historical regions, provinces etc.). Only in a few special cases, when extra data is available, I will refer to the ethnic origin of the persons who bore Latin names.

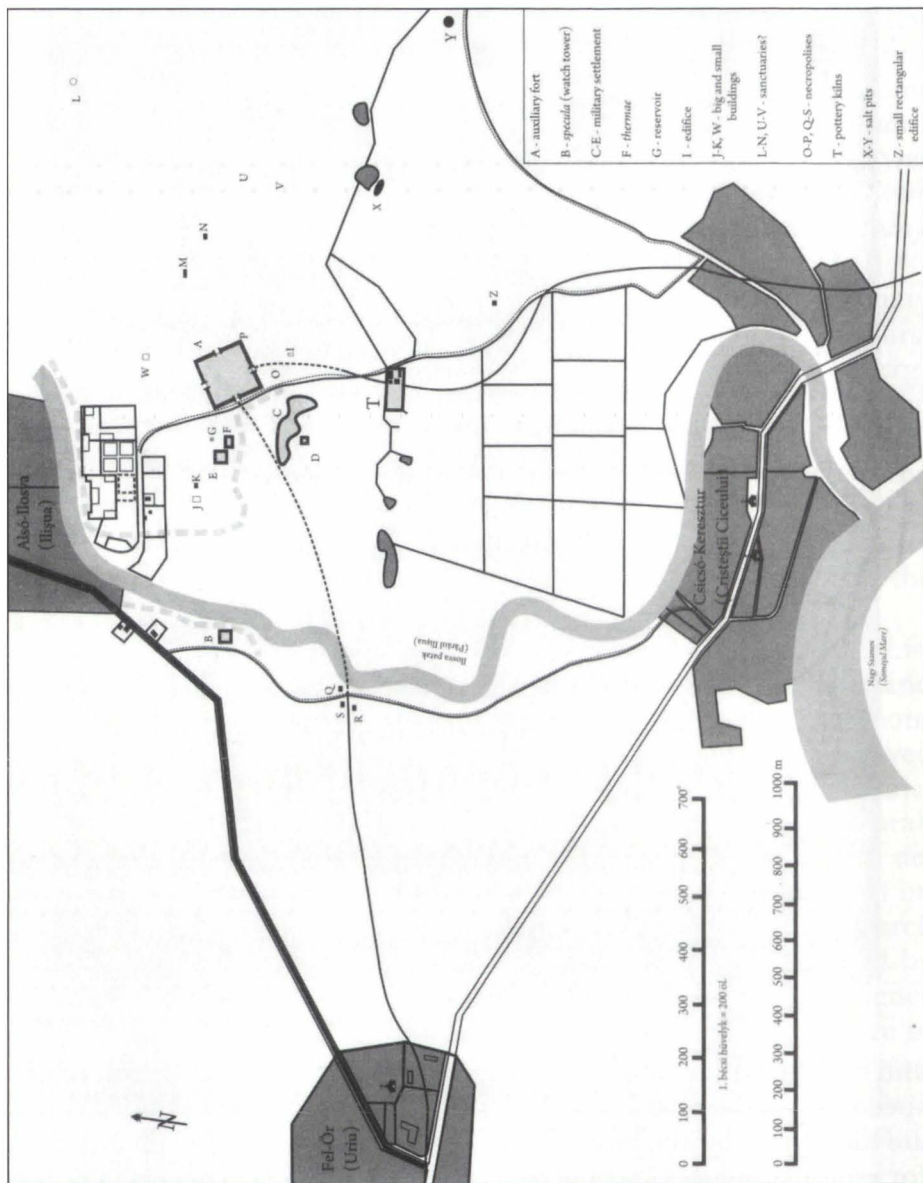


Fig. 10

Onomastics and the Origin of the Inhabitants

The problem of the ethnic/provincial origin of the colons from Dacia is not very well studied. Only few centers in Dacia benefit from detailed and accurate analyses of their population. One has to note here some general onomastic studies,³¹¹ some signed by Adela Paki for Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa,³¹² Porolissum,³¹³ and the eastern rural area of the province,³¹⁴ by Mihai Bărbulescu for Potaissa,³¹⁵ and by Ioan Piso for Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Apulum.³¹⁶ Different methods used in these analyses led to slightly divergent conclusions, therefore one must be aware of the limits of onomastic analyses.

The names of the soldiers from *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* recruited during the first century – beginning of the second century B. C. (when the *ala* was garrisoned in Asciburgium and Carnuntum) are of Celtic and German origin.³¹⁷ The known military diplomas and inscriptions mention the names of Reburus Friattonis f.,³¹⁸ C. Petillius C. f. Vindex, Batavus,³¹⁹ Nertomarus Irducissae f., Boius,³²⁰ Tersus Precionis f., Scordiscus,³²¹ Flavus Blandi f., domo Batavus.³²²

Only 74 names were partially or completely reconstituted from the entire lot of well-preserved inscriptions in Ilișua. A classification according to the origin of the names shows the following percentages:

Latin names	46	62.16%
Greek names	7	9.45%
Thracian names	6	8.10%
Celtic names	5	6.75%
Syrian names	2	2.70%
Illyrian names	1	1.35%
Uncertain names	7	9.45%

³¹¹ Kerényi 1941; Russu 1944, 186–233; Russu 1949, 282–295; Russu 1977, 353–363; Paki 1995, 19–37; Paki 2001, 61–85.

³¹² Alicu, Paki 1995, 49–91.

³¹³ Paki 1988, 215–227.

³¹⁴ Paki 1996, 283–296.

³¹⁵ Bărbulescu 1995, 119–130.

³¹⁶ Piso 2005, 209–229.

³¹⁷ Wollmann 1975, 167.

³¹⁸ AÉ 1963, 49.

³¹⁹ CIL XVI 164.

³²⁰ CIL XVI 61.

³²¹ CIL III 3400.

³²² AÉ 1938, 125.

Only in two cases there are certain extra pieces of information available on the non-Roman origin of a bearer of a Latin name: Iustus was a Celt because he was the brother of a certain Cittius Ioivai, if the word “brother” is not used with the meaning “comrade”, and Aurelius Maximianus was a Thracian, because he was the son of Aurelius Brisanus and brother of Aurelius Mucatius. These observations modify the first four entries in our table:

Latin names	44	59.45%
Greek names	7	9.45%
Thracians	7	9.45%.
Celts	6	8.10%

One can note therefore the tendency to decrease the number of people who bear Latin names in favor of the Romanized provincial ones with visible Celtic and Thracian origin. Once more data becomes available, the percentage of “Romans” will decrease and that of the Romanized provincials arrived from the western provinces will increase (persons like Aurelius Respectus, C. Iulius Atianus, and Montanius Viator etc.).

Recent citizens are also those with strange *tria nomina*, like Aelius Publius or P. Caius Valerinus. Still, if we try to keep in mind the limits of onomastic analyses (especially regarding the hypothetical attribution of ethnic/tribal origins of persons based on the frequency of certain Latin names in a province), some already expressed opinions who found at Ilişua mainly individuals of Celtic and German origin are exaggerated. In this regard, Adela Paki considers that “such onomastic analyses allowed the hypothesis that almost all persons attested at Ilişua (20 out of 39) were of Celto-German origin and Rhenish provenance”.³²³

In the case of the *gentilicia*, one can observe a particular frequency of some *nomina* like Aelius (15 occurrences Aelius/Aelia) and Aurelius (14 occurrences, exclusively Aurelius), followed by Iulius/Iulia (7 occurrences) and Valerius (6 occurrences). One has to note the high percentage of imperial *gentilicia* (Iulius, Aelius, Aurelius, Septimius), forming 69.81% of all preserved names. The names Aelius and Aurelius are very frequent (54.71%) showing the provincial origin of these new citizens and suggesting the way they received citizenship – i. e. through military service. Some rare *gentilicia* (such as Vetullenus,

³²³ Paki 1998, 307.

maybe Cutius) belong to the *praefecti* of the *ala*, young *equites* doing their *militia equestris* on the north-east frontier.

Social Structures

From the total of 69 attested persons, 55 (representing 79.71%) are Roman citizens. Some of them had complete *tria nomina* (like P. Aelius Paulinus, C. Valerius Vitallis, T. Vettulenus Nepos, C. Iulius Apigianus, Aulus Cuttius Secundanus), but these are exceptional examples. In almost all cases the persons, Roman citizens, do not mention their *praenomen*. Some of the other 14 persons (20.28%) are clearly peregrines (like Sola Mucatralis, Serena Licconis, Zananiniethes? or Mucapuis). Only one personal name is sometimes mentioned, like Aponius, Iustina, Iustus, or Iovinus, and this could be due to several reasons, including that they were peregrines. But if one accepts these percentages (79.71% citizens and 20.28% peregrines), the ratio between citizens and peregrines is 4:1. Similar ratios are attested in the case of *colonia* Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and *municipium* Porolissum. On the other hand, the analysis of the rural area of Eastern Dacia shows a 1:1 ratio between citizens and peregrines.³²⁴ Under this respect the rural settlement of Ilișua can be compared to the highly Romanized cities from Western Dacia.

One can expect that in an *Auxiliarius*, the soldiers would form the majority of the population. Soldiers and veterans are, mainly, the donors of votive inscriptions and recipients of funerary stone monuments. It is also true that most archaeological researches focused on the areas in and around the Roman fort.

Out of 83 persons whose names and/or function were preserved in inscriptions, 29 were officers, *principales*, soldiers and veterans, representing a percentage of 34.93%. The other 13 individuals belonged to the soldiers' families (wives and children), representing 15.66%. For the rest of 41 persons (49.39%) no data is available, but some were certainly civilians (meaning also that they could be the wives and children of soldiers). For others, the social status remains uncertain, but probably some like Aelius Maximinus, Aelius Maximus, Aurelius Maximianus (bearers of some soldierly *cognomina*), Aelius Ursinus and the Thracians Aurelius Brisanus and Aurelius Mucatius were also soldiers. With this precaution in mind, I suggest a percentage of 42.16% civilians, compared to 56.62% military (soldiers and theirs families).

³²⁴ Paki 1996, 285.



Fig. 11

Beyond the Statistics

Some particular cases underline the fact that conclusions based only on statistics are not strong enough. Why, for example, the Thracian veteran Sola Mucatralis still used in the text of a votive altar (no. 3) his peregrine name (build according to the barbarian system with a personal name and a patronym in Genitive), instead the *tria nomina* of Roman citizen, since the *civitas Romana* was granted to him after discharging with *honesta missio*? At the time the altar was erected in honor of Apollo, Sola Mucatralis was a veteran, therefore a Roman citizen. In which

group should he be included? Among the citizens I suppose, in spite of his peregrine name.

The case of the family of Aurelius Themaes (no. 35) is also very interesting: this *librarius* of Palmyrean origin³²⁵ died at the age of 50. His wife Aelia Iulia had also died, at an unspecified age, like her daughter Aelia Pupula who lived only for two years. The funerary monument was erected by Aurelius Themaes's respectful son, Aurelius Thementianus (also a soldier?) and dedicated *parentibus benemerentibus*. At Aurelius Themaes' death, his son ordered a stone monument for the entire family, his stepmother and his infant stepsister. The iconography (following the description in CIL) shows four persons in the upper register: a mature man, a mature woman, a young man and a child, therefore a standard Roman family, a cliché of sepulchral imagery. But the lower register shows a sitting woman holding an infant child, therefore Aelia Iulia and her daughter Aelia Pupula. Al. Stănescu believes that Aurelius Thementianus was the son born to Themaes by his first wife, who died before Themaes ended his military carrier, and that the *concubinatus* between Themaes and Aelia Iulia also existed before the *honesta missio*. Therefore Aelia Pupula took her mother's

³²⁵ Sanie 1981, 241–242.

nomen gentile.³²⁶ At the time Aurelius Themaes died, he was a citizen, but the inscription in question shows a long history of his peregrine status. This case raises the problem of the soldiers' inscriptions: some are present in our frozen images of the past as peregrines, but sometime they had become citizens.

Another problem is that of homonyms: one can be sure that Aelius Celer, the *praefectus equitum* who erected an altar to Fortuna Redux (no. 5) is the same person as T. Aelius Celer from the inscription on a statue base (no. 6). But nobody can be sure that Valerius Valerianus *veteranus ex decurione*, husband of Bonosa, who died at 42 (no. 36), is identical to Valerius Valerianus *vet. ex. dec.*, father of Iulia Mansueta (no. 39). The name is rather common, as other four *Valerii* are attested in Ilişua and one can wonder why the daughter of Valerius Valerianus bears the *nomen gentile* Iulia. Is Iulia Mansueta the daughter of (Iulia) Bonosa? Valerius Valerianus was a veteran, but he had no imperial *nomen* like Aelius or Aurelius; was he then recruited as a citizen? Still, why did his daughter not inherit his *nomen*?

Many other unsolved issues could be added as examples from this inscription *corpus* from Ilişua to suggest not only the limits of statistic analyses but also the large spectrum of exceptions in the Roman system of civil rights and our modern ignorance as well.



Fig. 12

The Pantheon

The statistic of the names of the peoples from Ilişua *vicus*, according to the origin criterion, indicates over 60% persons with Latin

³²⁶ Stănescu 2003, 137–138.

names. A higher percentage (79.71%) seems to be that of Roman citizens.

The picture of the worshipped deities shows also a classical, Greek-Roman aspect for the pantheon of this military *vicus* located in a remote area on the north-eastern *limes* of Dacia.³²⁷ In spite of the fact that an *ala* recruited, at least in the beginning, among the German tribe of the *Tungri*, was deployed there, nothing indicates the preservation of native German cults. An altar for Epona, the Celtic goddess of horses, is dedicated by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* through the *praefectus* C. Iulius Apigianus, who bears a *cognomen* typical for the western provinces. But one must not forget that Epona was known in Rome until the end of the first century A.D. and in the time of the Principate she used to be worshipped by the units of horsemen.³²⁸ A bronze statue of Mercurius, in his *Pantheus* hypostasis, belongs to the Gallic iconographic repertory and could have been an import from the West, but the depicted god is essentially the Greek-Roman Hermes – Mercurius (young, beardless, nude, with *caduceus* and *petasos*). The context of Epona's worship indicates also an official religious attitude: the altar erected in the name of the entire unit by *praefectus* C. Iulius Apigianus was discovered in the civilian settlement, in the N point (according to Torma's indications³²⁹) east of the Roman camp. An altar dedicated to Mars was found in the same spot, also erected in the name of the entire unit, by *praefectus* T. Vettulenus Nepos. This kind of religious gestures – connected with the official state religion – are known from other places where they had been explained as related to "the official religious observance of the garrison, on the fort's parade ground", like in the cases of Maryport and Birdoswald.³³⁰ Three other votive altars, dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Liber Pater and Libera, and Apollo were found north of this N point, in the M point. Their donors were Aurelius Vitellianus *sesquiplicarius*, Sola Mucatralis *veteranus*, both soldiers, and Montanius Viator. One can postulate here the existence of at least one cultic place.³³¹

Other monuments can be interpreted as symbolically placed between state religion and political loyalty: the bases of the honorific statues erected in the honor of the "earthen gods", the emperors. There are

³²⁷ Popescu 2004, 234–236, 299–300.

³²⁸ Husar 1999, 229–234; Nemeti 2005, 158–160, with bibliography.

³²⁹ Torma 1866, plate (for all these references in our text and repertory see Fig. 10).

³³⁰ Wilmott 2001, 107–108.

³³¹ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 160–161.

six such inscriptions, four of them found in the Roman camp (no. 94, 99 in the *principia*) and one in the C point (no. 98). Only one base dedicated to emperor Hadrian by unit *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* (the epithet *Antoniana* was added in the age of Caracalla) from the second century A.D. has been preserved. Two inscriptions were dedicated to Caracalla (no. 95, 96) in the year 213 A.D, one to Severus Alexander and another to his mother, Iulia Mamaea (no. 97, 98). The latter is the fragmentary base of a statue dedicated to Philippus Arabs by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana Philippiana* (no. 99). The divine power of the living emperors is underlined by epithets, Caracalla and Severus Alexander being called *principes optimi maximi*, using the epithets of the supreme god of the state, and by the dedication to the *numen* of the emperor (no. 95: *numini eius semper ac merito devota*, no. 99: *devota numini maiestatique eius*).³³²



Fig. 13

The classical gods are well attested in Ilișua: Fortuna, Aesculapius and Hygia, and Iupiter Optimus Maximus received two dedications each. It is also sure that this picture depends on the hazard of findings. If one also counts the sculptural monuments, there are three ex-votos for the goddess Fortuna and two for the divine couple that patronized medicine. But all these five monuments were found in *thermae* and illustrate the common Roman idea of a strong relation between hygiene and health, marked through the association of Fortuna *balnearis* and the gods of medicine, Aesculapius and Hygia.³³³

An anonymous erected a typical “travel inscription”, dedicated to Iupiter and to Lares viales, after a divine command received in a dream (*ex imperio*) (no. 17).

³³² Fenechiu 2008, 233–240.

³³³ Bărbulescu 1985, 154.

The Hellenophones seem to have formed a homogenous group in Ilişua (seven names of Greek origin), where two votive Greek inscriptions have been discovered. The altar dedicated to Asklepios and Hygeia by Kointos/Quintus is also an evidence of bilingualism. The monument of Zanariniethes (?), a Greek-speaking person from Asia Minor or Near East, is dedicated to some anonymous gods called *Theoi Epekooi* (no. 16). R. Ardevan and V. Wollmann read in the last row *Theois Chth[oni]ois*,³³⁴ but the correct reading is *Theois Epekoois*.³³⁵ The upper part of the relief is broken and one can see (from left to right) two tunica-dressed persons and a nude man. They could be identified with Aesculapius, Hygia and Telesphorus, for example.

The number of ex-votos, epigraphic and figurative items (29 pieces), indicates a clear preference for classical gods (ca. 83%, 24 pieces). Only three epigraphic monuments (ca. 10%) are dedicated to foreign gods: Jupiter Dolichenus (a Syrian cult adopted and spread by the Roman army), the Celtic mother-goddess Epona (also a member of the soldiers' pantheon) and the unknown *Theoi Epekooi*, probably from Asia Minor.

There is also a slight possibility that other local deities of different origins are hidden under the names of Roman gods, but this situation is very difficult to attest in the absence of epichoric epithets or specific attributes. Sola Mucatralis worshiped Apollo and Aulus Cuttius Secundanus worshiped Silvanus, but gods from these donors' homelands could be hidden under the names of Roman gods. But, for the rest, everything is at first glance classic and official.

The World of Shadows

The monuments related to the other world do not contradict this image of a consolidated Roman provincial society. One does not know, yet, of any burial ground or isolated grave found in Ilişua. The cemeteries of the auxiliary *vici* remain undiscovered. A burial area is supposedly situated beyond the Ilişua rivulet, along the Roman road, in today's Uriu village (but only three funerary monuments were found there – no. 34, 41, and 74). All the others monuments were found in secondary positions in the Roman camp and concentrated in two points (O and P) near the south-western and south-eastern corners of the camp's precinct (see the repertory). This position does not indicate the place of the cemetery, just near the walls, but the fact

³³⁴ Ardevan, Wollmann 2006, 260, 263, pl. 1–4.

³³⁵ Dana 2014, 85–95.

that the monuments were re-used, recycled sometimes in the era of the *Soldatenkaisers* or after Aurelian's retreat from Dacia.³³⁶

The *stela* is the monument preferred by the inhabitants of this rural settlement (over 70% of all monuments types attested here). Most of them are preserved fragmentarily and without much data on their iconography. The common motif of a Roman family (the deceased person and his/her family – no. 43, 47, and 48) is depicted on four *stelae*. A supplementary scene was added on the *stela* of Aurelius Themaes: a sitting woman holding a baby, a reference to this particular family. Three other *stelae*, belonging to the *equites alae* Aurelius Quadratus and Aponius and to Aurelius Dec[...], *decurio alae*, are decorated with the motif of the Hero-Rider (*Heros Equitans*) (no. 31, 32, and 33). An un-epigraphic *stela* contains the image of the *Lupa Capitolina*, a *signum originis* used to enhance the civil status (citizenship) of the deceased person.

There is not much data on funerary architecture in Ilişua: two lateral *aedicula* walls are the only evidence for such buildings. The repertoire of monument types is completed by two *aedicula*-shaped altars, two medallions, and several copings with funerary lions.

Regarding the funerary beliefs, the poor iconography does not provide many clues: three images of the Hero-Rider³³⁷ are in fact portraits of the deceased soldiers, *equites* after all. Attis *tristis* who deco-



Fig. 14

³³⁶ Hügel 2003, 74–78; Isac 2009, 789–792.

³³⁷ Nemeti 2003, 294–320.

rates two monuments is a general funerary symbol associated with the ideas of mourning and rebirth. *Piniae* and funerary lions are ubiquitous symbols in Roman sepulchral art. An *aedicula*-shaped altar contains the image of the funerary banquet, while a lateral wall of the *aedicula* shows a *camilla*. Special meaning could be given only to a fragmentary altar depicting a symbolic Attis, which is to be related with the more profound knowledge of the Phrygian cult.³³⁸

Conclusions

One can only conclude that in spite of the German original composition of the military unit or the moderate presence of Celts and Thracians in Ilişua, the preserved monuments picture a highly Romanized society. Some *cognomina* still indicate the peregrine origin of individuals and families, but the bearers of these names are integrated into a Romanized social environment. In spite of the indigenous name of the *vicus*, no monument speaks of the Dacian presence. The names are Latin, Greek, Thracian (South-Danubian) or Celtic and the majority of the worshipped gods belong to the official Greek-Roman pantheon. The exceptions are the gods of Oriental and Celtic origin, integrated for a long time in the pantheon of the “second paganism” (Iupiter Dolichenus and Epona). It is also true that the inscriptions and sculptural monuments show only a partial picture of this micro-society, reflecting only the existence of the socially active group. In Ilişua this category is mostly composed of soldiers and their families, of citizens and land owners, all civically active. The others, the Dacians, are in some way marginal; they do not appear in written or figurative sources.

³³⁸ Nemeti 2008, 179–185.

Appendix I. Names

Nomina

Aelius/Aelia 15 (no. 5–6, 9, 30, 31, 35, 46, 50, 53, 64).

Aurelius 14 (no. 9, 10, 33, 34, 35, 43, 47, 51, 65).

Iulius/Iulia 7 (no. 1, 4, 39, 50, 49, 63).

Valerius 6 (no. 11, 36, 42)

Antonius (no. 50), Calpurnia (no. 48), Cittius (no. 38), Cocceius (no. 37), Cutius (no. 15), Herenia (no. 46), Montanius (no. 12), Pompeius (no. 50), Rocius? (no. 66), Septimius (no. 41), Vettulenus (no. 13).

Cognomina, personal names and patronyms

Latin names

Publius Aelius Paulinus

Aelia Iulia

Aelia Pupula

Aelia Rufilla

Aelius Celer

Aelius Maximinus

Aelius Maximus

Aelius Mercurius

Aelius No(...)s

Aelius Publius

Aelius Respectus

Aelius Quadratus

Aelius Ursinus

Augu(rinus?)

Aurelius Iustinus

Aurelius Maximus

Aurelius Maximianus

Aurelius Sal(...)

Aurelius Vitellianus

Bonosa

Publius Caius Valerinus

Calpurnia Macrina

Cocceius Iulius

Herenia Ianuaria

Iulia Mansueta

Caius Iulius (2)

Caius Iulius Apigianus

Caius Iulius Atianus

Caius Iulius V...

Iovinus

Iulius

Iustina

Iustus

Kointos (Quintus)

Montanius Viator

Pompeius ...

Primus

Septimius Sine...

Titus Valerius ...ani..

Valerius Avitus

Valerius Laetillus

Valerius Saturninus

Valerius Valerianus (2)

Caius Valerius Vitalis

Valerius Vitalianus

Titus Vettulenus Nepos

Uncertain and fragmentary names

Aelius A(...)

Aurelius ...

Aureliusanus

Aurelius Dec...

Aurelius De..

Ro(cius) (Satu)rio?

Se(verus) R(...)

Greek–Oriental names

Aelia Fronime

Amarantus

Antonius Mem[non?]

Aurelius Castor

Hediste

Iulia Ammia

Zanariniethes

Celtic and German names

Al. Cuttius Secundanus

Aponius

Aponia

Lelius

Cittius Ioivai

Thracian names

Aelius Mu...

Aurelius Brisanus

Aurelius Mucatus

Sola Mucatralis

...s Mucaporis

Mucapuis

Syrian names

Aurelius Themaes

Aurelius Thementianus

Illyrian names

Serena Licconi

Appendix II. Repertory of monuments

Votive Inscriptions

1. CIL III 786; Torma 1866, 39, no. 8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 75, no. I. 2. 12. Altar found in 1862 in the Roman camp, near the western gate (Torma 1866, pl. III, point c). Dimensions: 0.47 × 0.44 m.

Aesculapio et Hy/g(iae) C(aius) Iul(ius) Atianus / [p]raef(ectus) eq(uitum) ob resti[tutionem...]

C. Iulius Atianus: Attius – Latin *nomen gentile* (Schulze 1933, 423); Atiantus – Celtic personal name (Holder 1896, 263); Celtic origin in Paki 1998, 110. Atianus, *cognomen* in Hispania (Nomenclator 1983, 34; OPEL I, 198); Attianus, *cognomen* frequent in the western part of the Empire (OPEL I, 208).

2. CIL III ad 786; Torma 1866, 39–40, no. 9; CIGD 55; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 75–76, no. I. 2. 13. Altar found in 1862 in the Roman camp, in the northern tower. Dimensions: 0.71 × 0.395 m.

Ἀσκληπι(ῶ) | καὶ Ὑγεία | Κόιντος (...)

Kointos, Greek transliteration of the Latin name Quintus (Pape 1863, 685–686). Quintus, *cognomen* spread in all western provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 239).

3. CIL III 787; Torma 1866, 37, no. 3; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 74. No. I. 2. 9. Altar found in 1863 in point M. Dimensions: 0.65 × 0.21 m.

Apolli/n(i) sac(rum) / Sola / Mucatr[alis] / vet(eranus) al(a)e F/ron(tonianae) v(otum) s(olvit).

Sola Mucatralis – Thracian personal name and patronym. Sola – Thracian (Detschew 1976, 465–466; Dana 2004, 443), considered also Illyrian (Russu 1969, 249) and Celtic (Holder 1904, 1599); Mucatra – Thracian name (Detschew 1976, 317; Dana 2004, 441–442); Thracian origin and south-eastern Pannonian provenance in Paki 1998, 12.

4. CIL III 788; Torma 1866, 38, no. 5; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 77, no. I. 2. 18. Altar found in 1863 in point N. Dimensions: 1.17 × 0.32 m.

Epo[nae] / Ala I [Tun]/gr(orum) Fro[n(ton)iana]) / cui p[raest] / C(aius) Iul(ius) Apigi/anus praef(ectus) / eq(uitum) / [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

C. Iulius Apigianus: Latin *cognomen* derived from Apicius (Schulze 1933, 347); for the career of this *praefectus* see Devijver 1976, 437, no. 22; Wollmann 1975, 168; Celto-Germanic origin in Paki 1998, 109–110. Apicianus, *cognomen* in Dacia, Apicius, *cognomen* found mostly in Italia (3) and Gallia Narbonensis (7), but also in Dalmatia (1) and Moesia Superior (Nomenclator 1983, 23; OPEL I, 141).

5. CIL III 789; Torma 1866, 38, no. 6; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 76, no. I. 2. 15. Altar found in 1858 in the Roman camp, in the building of the baths (*thermae*). Dimensions: 1 × 0.37 m.

Fortunae / Reduci Ael(ius) / Celer praef(ectus) / eq(uitum) alae Fro/nt(onianae) ob res/titutio/nem bal<i>/nei posuit.

Aelius Celer: Devijver 1976, 58, A 28; Wollmann 1975, 168; Celer and other derived *cognomina* (like Celerianus, Celerinianus, Celerinus, Celerio) are spread all over the Western provinces, with visible predominance in Italia and Hispania. (Nomenclator 1983, 73; OPEL II, 47).

6. Wollmann, Ardevan 2006, 671–672, no. 5; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 244, pl. 7–8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 72–73, no. I. 2. 5; Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23393. Votive inscription (statue base?), found nearby the Roman camp (ca. 250 m). Dimensions: 0.23 × 0.38 × 0.3 m.

T(itus) Ael(ius) Celer / praef(ectus) eq(uitum) / u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).

7. CIL III 790; Torma 1866, 39, no. 7; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 76–77, no. I. 2. 16. Altar found inside the Roman camp, in the *praetorium*, room c. Dimensions: 0.25 × 0.9 m.

Fo[r]tunae] / R[educi] / Se[verus?] / R[...].

8. CIL III 7626; Torma 1880, 60–62; Torma 1880 a, 125; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 76, no. I. 2. 14. Altar described by Elek Makrai in 1776.

P(ubius) Ael(ius) Pauli/n[u]s templ(um) / instituit / pro se suo/r[u]mque / salute / Genio sanc/to sc(h)olae de/curionum.

P. Aelius Paulinus: Latin *cognomen* derived from Paulus (Schulze 1933, 503, no. 3). Paulinus, *cognomen* generally spread in the Western provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 217).

9. Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, 56–57, 78–79, 109; ILD 800; Wollmann, Ardevan 2006, 673–675, 678, fig. 13–14; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2007, 107–109; Piso 2008, 163–166. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 70, no. I. 2. 1. Altar found in 1989 in the area of the civilian settlement. Dimensions: 0.95 × 0.32 × 0.32 m; Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 15993.

[Geni]o terri/[t(orii) A]rcoba(darensis) / [Au]r(elius) Sal(...) / [et A]el(ius) No/[...]s magistri (duo) / [Praese]nte et Al/[bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

Sal(...): possible restitution Salius, Saluius (frequently used as *cognomen*). No[...]: various possible *cognomina* could be suggested, the most frequent being Nomus, Nomys, Nomas, Nonius, Nonnus, Nothus, Nouius (Nomenclator 1983, 202–204; OPEL III, 103–104).

10. CIL III 791. Torma 1866, 36, no. 1; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 73–74, no. I. 2. 7. Altar found in 1863 in the so-called M point (in the civilian settlement). Dimensions: 0.73 × 0.30 m.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / Aurel<l>(ius) / Vitell<i>anus / sesq(uiuplicarius) p(ro) [s(e)] / et sor(ore) s(ua) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

Aurelius Vitellianus: Latin *cognomen* derived from Vitellius (Schulze 1933, 153, 257, 445); Vitellius is generally spread in the Western provinces, Vitellianus is rather rare, with a few occurrences in Pannonia and Noricum (Nomenclator 1983, 316).

11. CIL III 7627; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 74, no. I. 2. 8. Altar found in Ilișua.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / et Iuno(ni) / R[e]g(inae) Val(erius) A/vitu[s] ve[t(eranus)] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Valerius Avitus: Latin *cognomen* (Schulze 1933, 34, no. 6). Celtic origin and Rhenan provenance in Paki 1998, 113. Avitus, *cognomen* spread in all Western provinces with a noted preponderance in Hispania (148 occurrences), Gallia Belgica (27) and Gallia Narbonensis (36) (Nomenclator 1983, 39; OPEL I, 231–232).

12. CIL III 792. Torma 1866, 36, no. 2; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 75, no. I. 2. 11. Altar found in 1863 in the M point (in the civilian settlement). Dimensions: 0.78 × 0.475 m.

[*Liberō*] / [*P*]atri / et *Liberæ* / *Montaniu(s) Viator*.

Montanius Viator: *nomen gentile* derived from a Latin *cognomen* (Schulze 1933, 170). Viator: Latin *cognomen*. Celtic origin in Paki 1998, 112. Very frequent in the Western provinces of Celtic *substratum* (Nomenclator 1983, 192, 310 – Viator; OPEL III, 87).

13. CIL III 793. Torma 1866, 37, no. 4; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 74–75, no. I. 2. 10. Altar found in 1863 in point N. Dimensions: 0.87 × 0.405 m.

Marti / Ala I Tungr(orum) / Front(oniana) per / T(itus) Vettulenum / Nepotem / praef(ectus) eq(uitum) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

T. Vettulenus Nepos: Old Latin *nomen gentile* (Schulze 1933, 256; Nomenclator 1983, 309); for the career see Devijver 1977, V 82, 857; for the Nepos *cognomen* see OPEL III, 98; North-Italic provenance in Paki 1998, 116.

14. CIL III 794; Torma 1866, 40, no. 10; Hornum 1993, 246, no. 164; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 77, no. I. 2. 17.

Nemesi / [...]

15. CIL III 7628; Torma 1879, 87; Protase 1956, 133–134; ILD 797; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 72, no. I. 2. 5. Altar found in the *thermae*; 0.61 × 0.28 m. Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 3022.

Silvano / Domestico / Aul(us) Cutius / Secunda/nus pro s[e] / et suis v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito).

Aulus Cutius Secundanus: Latin *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* (Schulze 1933, 78); Latin *cognomen* derived from Secundus. Cutius – Celtic for Holder 1896, 1209, *nomen* known from Italia, Hispania and Gallia Narbonensis (Nomenclator 1983, 96; OPEL II, 90). Celtic origin and Rhenan provenance in Paki 1998, 107; probably Celtic also for Falileyev 2011, 156–157.

16. Ardevan, Wollmann 2006, 259–267; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 241–243, pl. 1–4; Dana 2014, 85–95. Votive relief with inscription, fragmentary; 0,39 × 0,24 × 0,9 m. Found in the Roman camp in 2001. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23021. In the preserved part of the relief one can see the lower body of three persons: those from the right side and from the center wear long, draped clothes, while the character on the left is nude.

ZANAPINIEΘΗΣ / εὐχῆν | Θεοῖς / (*hedera*) ἐπηκ(ό)οις (*hedera*).

Zamannistes: Pape 1863, 437 (Zamameixon, Zamaspes).

17. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 77–78, no. I. 2. 19, pl. V. I. 2. 19; Piso 2013 b, 48–49, no. 12. Altar, now lost (the picture is preserved in Iulian Marțian's photographic collection).

[I(ovi)] o(ptimo) m(aximo) / et Lari viali / ex imperio / muro / [in pristinū]m [statum refecto?] / [...].

18. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 78, no. I. 2. 20, pl. V. I. 2. 20. Altar, now lost (the picture is preserved in Iulian Marțian's photographic collection).

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / [...] Silvano [...]

Bronze statues

19. Iupiter Dolichenus. Torma 1866, 58, no. 1b, pl. X; Isac 1971, 571–576; Popa, Berciu 1978, 23, no. 21; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, 93, no. 133, pl. XXIX; Țeposu–Marinescu, Pop 2000, 110, no. 133; Bronze statue (H – 15.5 cm) found in the Roman camp in the area of the eastern gate. MNIT Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. v 1126. Jupiter Dolichenus wears a Phrygian cap and a crown and is dressed with a *Muskelpanzer*. His attributes are missing.

20. Libera. Torma 1866, 57–58 pl. IX; Pop 1973, 596–598, pl. 2; Țeposu–Marinescu, Pop, 2000, 108–109, no. 130; MNIT Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. v 1125. Bronze statue (H – 16.8 cm), found in the Roman camp, by the eastern gate, depicting a female deity wearing leaves and grapes on her head.

21. Mercurius. Gaiu 1997, 39, no. 241, pl. XI; Țeposu–Marinescu, Pop, 49, no. 38. Bronze statue (H – 9 cm) depicting Mercurius, found in the Roman camp. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 18239. The god wears a *chlamys* and a winged *petasos* and holds a *cornucopia* and a *caduceus* in his right hand.

22. Venus. Gaiu 1997, no. 243; Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, 42, 70; Țeposu–Marinescu, Pop 2000, 92, no. 103. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 20647. Bronze statue (H – 15 cm) depicting a nude Venus *anadyomene* found in the Roman camp, near *porta praetoria*.

23. Venus. Protase 1961, 137–138, no. 6, pl. 6 a, b. Țeposu–Marinescu, Pop, 2000, 95, no. 110. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 6905. Bronze

statue (H – 12 cm) found in 1948 in the village. Nude Venus *anadyomene* wearing a crescent diadem on her head.

Stone reliefs

24. Fortuna. Gaiu 2003, 15–19; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 107–108, no. IV. 1. 1, pl. XVII/IV. 1. 1. Relief. Dimensions: 1.10 × 0.74 × 0.38 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23022. Found in the Roman camp's *thermae*, in the eastern wall of the *prae-furnium*. The relief depicts a goddess dressed with *chiton* and *himation*, wearing a *modius*, holding in her left hand a *cornucopia*. In the upper left side, near the goddess' head there is the depiction of a small *genius* sitting on the globe, wearing a *calathos*, and holding in his hands a scepter and an unidentified spherical object.

25. Liber Pater. Pop, Milea 1965, 201–202, no. 2; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 108–109, no. IV. 1. 3, pl. XVII/IV. 1. 3.. MNIT Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. v 19613 (=3195). Marble votive relief, fragmentary, found in Ilișua (Torma's excavations). Dimensions: 0.115 × 0.12 × 0.015 m; The preserved part of the relief depicts god Liber Pater with a *nebrys* on the left shoulder and the *thyrsos* in his left hand.

26. Liber Pater?. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, p. 168–169, no. 6, fig. 6; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 108, no. IV. 1. 2, pl. XVII/IV. 1. 2. Limestone relief found in the Roman camp in 1984, in the *principia*. Dimensions: 0.44 × 0.43 × 0.05 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23456. The relief depicts a nude bearded man, facing left, holding a stick (scepter?, *thyrsos*?) in his right hand (hypothetically identified with Liber Pater).

Terracotta

27–29. Venus. Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, p. XLII. Three fragmentary clay statues depicting Venus *pudica*, found in the Roman camp.

Funerary monuments

Stelae

30. CIL III 799; Torma 1866, 48, no. 27; Russu 1967, 91; Țeposu – Marinescu 1982, 129, S 110; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 81–82, no. I. 3. b. 1. Found in 1830 near the eastern gate of the Roman camp; dimensions: 1.51 × 0.61 m; Dej Museum. Two-register *stela*: on the left side bordered by a pilaster decorated with ivy leaves. The relief depicts a man with a *thyrsos* in his left hand and a woman.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [...]*s* Mucaporis / [eq(ues)? al(ae)] Front(onianae) / [vix(it) ann(is)...] III Ael(ius) Mu / [... eq(ues) a] lae eiusd(em) / [...].

Mucapor: Thracian name (Detschew 1976, 314–316; Dana 2004, 441–442).

31. CIL III 800; Torma 1866, 48, no. 25; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 85–86, no. I. 3. b. 11. *Stela* found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 0.73 × 0.60 m. *Eques et protome mulieris*.

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Ael(ius) Quadratus eq(ues) alae Fro/ntonian(a)e T(itus) / Val(erius) [...]ani[...] / [...].

32. CIL III 801; Torma 1866, 48, no. 26; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 86, no. I. 3. b. 12.; *Stela* found in 1830. *Puer equum tenens*.

D(is) M(anibus) / Apon(ius?) / eques alae [Front(onianae)] / vix(it) an(nis) L Aponia [...] / et Lelius patri [...] / posuerunt / b(ene)m(erenti).

Aponius/Aponia – Schulze 1933, 66; Aponius – very much spread as *nomen* in the Western provinces; used also as *cognomen* in a few case in Italia, Hispania and Moesia Inferior (Nomenclator 1983, 24; OPEL I, 147). Lelius, maybe a Latin version of the Celtic name Lella (Paki 1998, 100; Nomenclator 1983, 161; OPEL III, 22: Lella); Lelius, -a are Celtic names for Falileyev 2011, 158.

33. CIL III 802; Torma 1866, 45, no. 18; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 85, no. I. 3. b. 10. *Stela* found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 1.46 × 0.40 m. *Eques*.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / Aur(elius) Dec[...] / vix(it) [an(nis) ...] / Me[...] / Ma[...] / vix(it) an(nis) [...] / Aur(elius) De[...] / dec(urio) alae [Front(onianae)?Ius] / tina m[ater filiis pientis] / simis po[suit].

34. CIL III 803; Torma 1866, 53, no. 47; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 79, no. I. 3. a. 3. *Stela*, volcanic tufa. Rediscovered in 1947 in the yard of the Horvath family. Dimensions: 1.18 × 0.80 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 9.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Iustin(us) / eques N(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium) / vix(it) ann(is) XL / Aurel(ius) Maximus frater / et heres f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Iustinus/Iustina – very common *cognomina* in the Latin speaking provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 155; OPEL II, 209–210); Maximus – OPEL III, 70–72.

35. CIL III 804; Torma 1866, 46, no. 20; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 83, no. I. 3. b. 5. *Stela* found in 1863 in point P. Dimensions: 1.11 × 0.85 m. *Protomae quattuor viri barbati, iuvenis, uxoris, pueri, qui manibus tenent pocula; infra*

mulier sedens ante tripodem infantem tenens; in ima parte leones duo et nux pinea.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Themaes librar(ius) / al(a)e Fronto(nianae) vixit annis / L, et Aelia Iulia co(n)iug(i) et / Aelia Pupula vixit annis / II Aurel(i)us Thementianus / filius parentibus bene/merentibus posuit.

Themaes: Semitic name from Palmyra (Sanie 1981, 241–242; Paki 1998, p. 102–103). Thementianus: a Latin derivate form of Themaes; Pupula: Latin name (Schulze 1933, 213, n. 2; Nomenclator 1983, 236).

36. CIL III 805; Torma 1866, 44, no. 16; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 80–81, no. I. 3. a. 5. Funerary inscription found in 1830 in the O point (near the Roman camp). Dimensions: 0.83 × 0.58 m.

D(is) M(anibus) / [...] Bonosa / [vix(it) ann(is)] XLII Val(erius) Vale/[rianus] vet(eranus) ex de(curione) al(ae) Fro[nt(onianae)] / [coniu]gi pientissimae / [b(ene)] m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Bonosa: Latin name, known in the Latin speaking area only in the Danubian provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 52; OPEL I, 311); Antonia Bonosa from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa came from Viminacium (IDR III/2, 379).

37. CIL III 806; Torma 1866, 47, no. 23; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 84–85, no. I. 3. b. 8. Funerary inscription found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 1.17 × 0.83 m.

D(is) M(anibus) / Cocceius Iulius / eq(ues) al(ae) Front(onianae) stip(endiorum) VII / vix(it) an(nis) XXVII / Primus / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Cocceius – here as *nomen*, is very spread in the Western provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 83; OPEL II, 67); Iulius as *cognomen* is also well attested (OPEL II, 200–201). For Primus see OPEL III, 161–162.

38. CIL III 807; Torma 1866, 47, no. 24; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 86, no. I. 3. b. 13. Funerary inscription found in 1830 in the Roman camp.

D(is) M(anibus) / Cittius Ioivai / eq(ues) al(ae) Fro(ntonianae) s(tipendiorum) XVI / vix(it) [an]n(is) XXXVI. Iustus e(ques) a(lae) e(iusdem) / her(es) et frater / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Cittius: Celtic *nomen gentile* (Holder 1896, 1034); as *nomen* only in the case in Dacia (Nomenclator 1983, 80; OPEL II, 58); Ioiva: Celtic personal name

(see Ioimarus, Ioitus, Ioincorix, Ioincius – Holder 1904, 63; Nomenclator 1983, 152; OPEL II, 195). Celtic – German origin and Rhenan provenance in Paki 1998, 105. Iustus – a frequent Latin *cognomen* (Paki 1998, 119; OPEL II, 210); see also, Falileyev 2005, 76 (Cittius), 93 (Ioivai).

39. CIL III 808; Torma 1866, 45, no. 17; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 81, no. I. 3. a. 6. Funerary inscription found in 1863 in point O (near the Roman camp). Dimensions: 0.26 × 0.89 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / Iul(ia) [M]ansueta vix(it) / an(nis) [.]XIII Val(erius) Valerian(us) / [...] vet(eranus) ex de[sc(urione) alae] / [Frontonian]ae / [...]

Mansueta – Latin *cognomen* (Paki 1998, 108–109), well-spread in the Celtic speaking provinces (Nomenclator 1983, 177; OPEL III, 51).

40. CIL III 809; Torma 1866, 49, no. 28; Russu 1967, 91; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 86–87, no. I. 3. b. 15. Fragmentary *stela* found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 0.87 × 0.77 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...] / eq(ues) alae [Fro]/nt(onianae) ic situs est vix/it annis XXXX Muc/apuis coniugi bene/merenti posuit.

Mucapuis: Thracian personal name (Detschew 1976, 316; Dana 2004, 441; Paki 1998, 119)

41. CIL III 810; Torma 1866, 46, no. 21; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 85, no. I. 3. b. 9. Two fragments of a funerary inscription found in 1863 in point P. Dimensions: 0.57 × 0.85 m; 0.36 × 0.39 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...]nirus vet(eranus) [... vixi]t ann(is) X[...] / [...]ne coniun[gi...] Sept(imi)us Sin[...] / [secu]ndum volun[tatem] testator[is].

42. CIL III 811; Torma 1866, 43–44, no. 15; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 80, no. I. 3. a. 4. Inscription found in 1830, near the southern gate of the Roman camp. Dimensions: 2.43 × 0.37 m.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / C(aius) Val(erius) V[ita]lis / vet(eranus) ex [dec(urione)] alae / Front(onianae) [vix(it)] ann(is) / L et Val(erius) V[itali]an[us] / fil(ius) huius[us] vix(it) an(nis) II et me(n)si[bus] VII / Val(erius) Laet[il]lus / dec(urio) al(ae) s(upra)[s(c)riptae] V[al(erius) Sa/turni[nu]s dupl(iciarius) / d(ecuriae) e(iusdem) ba[re]ntibus / fratr[is] (ue) pie[ntis] / si[mi]s / b(ene) m(erentibus).

Valerius Laetillius: Latin *cognomen* replacing a Celtic name (the people of Laeti in Belgica); well known as *nomen* (Laetilius), only once as *cognomen*

(Laetilius) (Nomenclator 1983, 158; OPEL III, 17). Celtic origin and Rhenan provenance in Paki 1998, 114.

43. CIL III 812; Torma 1866, 47, no. 22; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 84, no. I. 3. b. 6. *Stela* found in 1863 in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 1.25 × 0.44 m. *Vir barbatus poculum tenens*.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...] ius vet(eranus) / [vixit anni]s LX Aur(elius) / [...] anus fil(ius) / [patri b(ene)] m(erenti).

44. CIL III 813; Torma 1866, 45, no. 19; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 91–92, no. I. 4. 15. Fragmentary inscription found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 0.22 × 0.22 m.

[...] / [...] XX / [...] XXII / [...] sig[nifer]

45. CIL III 814; Torma 1866, 49, no. 29; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 89, no. I. 4. 6. Fragmentary funerary inscription found in 1863 in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 0.14 × 0.21 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...] EN[...] / [eques?] al(a)e Fro[nt(onianae)] / [stip(endiorum)?] XIII vi[x(it) annis] / [...]

46. CIL III 815; Torma 1866, 50, no. 34; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 82, no. I. 3. b. 3. Funerary inscription found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 0.65 × 0.54 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 13291.

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(ius) Mercuri/us vix(it) ann(is) XXXX / Ael(ia) Rufilla vix(it) / annis VIIII Ael(ius) / Publius vix(it) ann(is) / VI / Nennia (?) Ianua[ria] / [...]

Mercurius and Publius – well known as *cognomina* (Nomenclator 1983, 187, 235; OPEL III, 77, 170); The *nomen* Nennius / Nennia is only known from this inscription (Nomenclator 1983, 199; OPEL III, 96). In CIL the name is read as Herenia Ianuaria, where Herenia is a common Latin *nomen gentile* (Schulze 1933, 282).

47. CIL III 816; Torma 1866, 51, no. 36; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 84, no. I. 3. b. 7. *Stela* found in 1863 in point O. Dimensions: 1.80 × 0.43 m. *Mulier, infans pocula tenentes; protome tertia deest*.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / Augu[rinus? vix(it)] / ann(is) III[...] / Aur(elius) [...] / VP F

Augurinus or Augurius are well-known *cognomina*, but the preserved part of the name could be read as some name derived from the theme *August** (like Augustus, Augustalis, Augustanius, Augustianus, Augustinus etc.) (OPEL I, 225–228).

48. CIL III 817; Torma 1866, 50, no. 33; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 83, no. I. 3. b. 4. *Stela* found in 1834. Dimensions: 1.79 × 0.88 m. *Protome duae*.

D(is) M(anibus) / Calpur(nia) Macri/na vix(it) ann(is) XL / Ael(ius) Respectus / coni(ugi) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Calpurnius / Calpurnia – Latin *nomen gentile*, probably of Etruscan origin (Schulze 1933, 138; OPEL II, 25–26); Macrinus / Macrina – Latin *cognomen* (Nomenclator 1983, 172; OPEL III, 43).

49. CIL III 818; Torma 1866, 51, no. 35; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 87, no. I. 3. b. 16. Funerary monument found in 1863 in point P. Dimensions: 0.66 × 0.60 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [I]ovinus / [v]ix(it) ann(is) II m(ensibus) / II Aur(elius) Castor / posuit.

Iovinus – Latin *cognomen* (Nomenclator 1983, 152; OPEL II, 196); Celtic origin and Rhenan provenance in Paki 1998, 118. Castor – *cognomen* of Greek origin (Ruscu 1998, 158), known also from Latin speaking provinces (OPEL II, 42).

50. CIL III 819; Torma 1866, 50, no. 32; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 86–87, no. I. 3. b. 14. Funerary inscription found in 1862 in point Q. Dimensions: 0.96 × 0.52 m.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / Pompe[ius...] / vix(it) a[nn(is) ...] / [...]N[...] / [A]el(ia) Fronime VM[...] / et Iul(ia) Ammia V[...] / Antonius Mem[...] / S B M.

Pompeius – Latin *nomen gentile* (OPEL III, 150–151); Fronime – *cognomen* of Greek origin (Pape 1870, 1648; Ruscu 1998, 165; Paki 1998, 95). Ammia – Celtic *cognomen* for Holder I, 130; related forms like Ammus, Amma, Ammias known from provinces of Celtic *substratum* (Nomenclator 1983, 16; OPEL I, 96–98); possible Celtic origin in Paki 1998, 108; Ammia – considered as a Greek *cognomen* (Ruscu 1998, 152); the *cognomen* Mem* – could be read as Memnon (Greek – Ruscu 1998, 170) or Memor and the derivatives (Latin) (OPEL III, 75) etc.; in this association probably Aelia Fronime, Iulia Ammia and Antonius Memnon are Greeks.

51. CIL III 819 a; Torma 1866, 51, no. 37; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 87–88, no. I. 3. b. 17. Funerary monument found in point P.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / C(aius) Iul(ius) [...] / et Da[...] / [...].

52. CIL III 820, 1; Torma 1866, 52, no. 39; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 90, no. I. 4. 10. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863 in Q point. Dimensions: 0.28 × 0.25 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [Am?]arantus / [He?]diste / [...].

Amarantus – Greek *cognomen* (Ruscu 1998, 152; Nomenclator 1983, 15; OPEL I, 88–89); Hediste – Greek *cognomen* (feminine) (Ruscu 1998, 166; Nomenclator 1983, 141; OPEL II, 174).

53. CIL III 820, 2; Torma 1866, 52, no. 40; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 88, no. I. 4. 3. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863 in point P. Dimensions: 0.30 × 0.36 m.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / Ael(ius) A[... vix(it)] / an[n(is) ...] / [...].

54. CIL III 820, 3; Torma 1866, 51, no. 38; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 90, no. I. 4. 9. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.29 × 0.11 m.

[...] / [...]gii [...] / [...]XXX[...] / [...]CM[...]

55. CIL III 820, 4; Torma 1866, 49, no. 31; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 90, no. I. 4. 8. Fragmentary inscription. Dimensions: 0.21 × 0.13 m.

[...] / [...]g / [...]em / [...magi]ster / [...]

56. CIL III 820, 5; Torma 1866, 52, no. 43; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 90, no. I. 4. 12. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.19 × 0.23 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...]BET[...] / [...]AT[...] / [...]

57. CIL III 820, 6; Torma 1866, 53, no. 44; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 90, no. I. 4. 13. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.25 × 0.27 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...]TAV[...] / [...]P[...].

58. CIL III 820, 7; Torma 1866, 52, no. 42; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 89, no. I. 4. 5. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.40 × 0.30 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...] SN[...] / [eques] al[ae Front(onianae)] / [...]

59. CIL III 820, 8; Torma 1866, 49, no. 30; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 92, no. I. 4. 16. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.25 × 0.27 m.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / T[...] / [...]

60. CIL III 820, 9; Torma 1866, 52, no. 41; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 91, no. I. 4. 12. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.12 × 0.32 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...] / [...vix(it)] ann(is) [...] / [...] di[...] / [...].

61. CIL III 820, 10; Torma 1866, 53, no. 45; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 91, no. I. 4. 14. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.19 × 0.17 m.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...vi]x(it) [ann(is) ...] / [...] MA[...].

62. CIL III 820, 11; Torma 1866, 53, no. 46; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 88–89, no. I. 4. 7. Fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1863. Dimensions: 0.45 × 0.31 m.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [...].

63. CIL III 7629; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 89, no. I. 4. 4. “*Alsò – Ilosvae prope castra in balneis rep.*”

[...] / C(aius) Iul(ius) V[...] / stip(endiorum) X[V...] / stip(endiorum) XV[...] / et Iul(ius?) [...].

64. Protase 1957, 320, no. 1, pl. 1 a-b; AÉ 1960, 218; ILD 798; Protase 2005, 42–43; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 78, no. I. 3. a. 1. Altar, gritstone. Dimensions: 1.20 × 0.80 × 0.20 m. Found in 1948. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 7.

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(ius) Maximi/nus vix(it) ann(is) / VL et Aeli Maxi/mus vix(it) ann(is) VII / Ursinus vix(it) / ann(is) IIII. Serena / Licconis co(n)i(ugi) / et filis b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuit).

Serena – Latin *cognomen* related to moral qualities; Licco – Illyrian personal name (Russu 1969, 222; for diffusion see OPEL III, 26); Celtic origin and Pannonian provenance in Paki 1998, 120; for some Celtic etymologies see Falileyev 2007, 99.

65. Protase 1957, 320–323, no. 2, pl. 2 a-b; AE 1960, 218; Russu 1967, 90; Protase 2005, 43–45; ILD 799; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 79, no. I. 3. a. 2. Altar, gritstone. Dimensions: 1.30 × 0.87 × 0.17 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 6.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius / Brisanus / vixit annis / L Aur(elius) Mucatius / ed Aurelius / Maximianus / fili et heredes / p(atri) p(ientissimo) p(osuerunt).

Brisanus – Thracian personal name (Dana 2004, 438), Thracian origin (Paki 1998, 100); see also Brisanus Aulusani from Tibiscum (IDR III/1 163); Falileyev 2007, 62–63.

66. Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 245, no. 4, pl. 9–10; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 73, no. I. 2. 6; Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23427. Funerary inscription, gritstone. Found in the Roman camp, in the *principia*, in 1986. Dimensions: 0.27 × 0.33 × 0.075 m.

... /... (hedera) Ro[...?] / [...?]rio m(iles) [num(eri)] / [Palm(yrenorum)] Poro[liss(ensium)] / [p(ientissimae)] p(osuit).

Rocius but also Roscius, Romanus are frequently used *nomina* (Nomenclator 1983, 244–245); Saturio – Nomenclator 1983, 255, but also many others *cognomina* ending in -rio (like Glabrio, Celerio, Curio, Surio etc.) (Nomenclator 1983, 335–336).

67. Wollmann, Ardevan 2006, 675, no. 8; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 247–248, no. 6, pl. 13–14; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 82, no. I. 3. b. 2. Funerary inscription, gritstone. Found in the Roman camp, near *porta principalis dextra*. Dimensions: 50 × 26 × 11.5 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23427.

[D(is) M(anibus)] /... /N[...] /OR[...] /N ET [...] /FN[...] /P[...].

68. Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 248, no. 8, pl. 16; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 88, no. I. 4. 2. Funerary inscription, limestone. Found in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 0.134 × 0.17 × 0.11 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23432.

[D(is) M(anibus)] /... /...nis vi/[xit an(nis)] ...anus / [...]avu[...] / [...].

69. Pop 1971, 178, no. 3, pl. 4; Țeposu – Marinescu 1982, 151, no. 213; Bărbulescu 2003, 166, no. 8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 109, no. IV. 2. 1, pl. XVIII/IV. 2. 1. Limestone *stela*. Dimensions: 1.20 × 0.65 × 0.25 m. Dej Museum, inv. no. 11/88. The fragment shows the she-wolf facing right and the twins.

70. Protase 1961, 135, no. 4, pl. 4; Protase 2005, Chiș 2007, 171, no. 31; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 96, no. II. 2. 3, pl. XII/II. 2. 3. Side wall of an *aedicula*, limestone. Dimensions: 0.92 × 0.55 × 0.30 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 10. The relief shows Attis *tristis* holding a *pedum*.

71. Dănilă 1973, 605–609; Pop, Moga, Aldea 1972, 510, no. 28; Țeposu – Marinescu 1982, 196, M 34; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 100–101, no. III. 1. 1, pl. XIV/III. 1. 1. Fragmentary medallion. Dimensions: 0.60 × 0.38 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 5113. Found in 1950 nearby the Roman camp, in the south-western area. A family, consisting of a bearded man on the right, a woman on the left, and a child in the center, is depicted in the coping round field.

72. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 101, no. III. 1. 2, pl. XIV/3. 1. 2. Fragmentary coping (a picture is preserved in I. Marțian's archive). A man and a woman holding an object (probably a glass).

73. Protase 1961, 127–134, no. 1, pl. 1 a-c; Protase 2005, 56–62; Țeposu–Marinescu 1982, 171, no. 44, pl. XXI; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 94–95, no. II. 2. 1, pl. X/II. 2. 1. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 11. *Aedicula*-shaped altar, found in the Roman camp in 1949. Gritstone. Dimensions: 1.20 × 0.70 × 0.37 m. The main field shows the funerary banquet (a man between two women in front of a *mensa* tripes; below, a wine-jar and a *panarium*). On the lateral sides Attis *tristis* holding a *pedum* and a *kantharos* with wine-stalk and grapes.

74. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, p. 169, no. 7, fig. 7; Nemeti 2008, 179–185; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 95–96, no. II. 2. 2, pl. XI/II. 2. 2. Fragment of a funerary pilaster, limestone. Dimensions: 0.95 × 0.53 × 0.14 m. Found in Uriu village. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 15062. The relief shows a bull's head surmounted by a pine tree with a pine cone. Interpreted as a symbolic image of Attis.

75. Protase 1956, 133; Țeposu–Marinescu 1982, 189, M 6; Protase 2005, 39–40. Independent medallion, gritstone. Dimensions: 0.58 m. Năsăud Museum. Tree persons, a man (on the right), a woman (on the left), and in front of them a child are represented in a medallion (a shell-shaped niche).

76. Protase 1961, 135–137, pl. 5; Protase 2005, 63–64; Țeposu–Marinescu 1982, 207, AÉ 38; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 96–97, no. II. 2. 4, pl. XII/II. 2. 4. Left side wall of an *aedicula*, limestone. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 1. Dimensions: 1.18 × 0.55 × 0.12 m. The relief shows a *camilla* with a wine-jar and a napkin; on the *anta* stylized leaves.

77. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 165–166, no. 1, pl. 1; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 102, no. III. 2. 1, pl. XV/ III. 2. 1. Coping, limestone. Dimensions: 0.45 × 0.625 × 0.25 m. Two lions flanking a pine cone.

78. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 166, no. 2, pl. 2; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 97–98, no. II. 2. 6, pl. XII/II. 2. 6. Fragmentary coping, limestone. Found in the civilian settlement in 2004. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 21051. Dimensions: 0.565 × 0.53 × 0.30 m. Only the lion on the right side has been preserved.

79. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 167, no. 3, pl. 3; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 102–103, no. III. 2. 2, pl. XV/III. 2. 2. Coping, limestone. Found on the right side of the Ilișua valley in 1977. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 12517. Dimensions: 0,52 × 1,06 × 0,29 m. Two lions sitting on a base (the left side lion is better preserved).

80. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 167–168, no. 4, pl. 4; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 102–103, no. III. 2. 3, pl. XV/III. 2. 3. Fragmentary coping, limestone. Found in 1980 in Săsarm village. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 13290. Dimensions: 0,40 × 0,67 × 0,23 m. Two lions flanking a pine cone (the right side lion is better preserved).

81. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 103–104, no. III. 2. 4, pl. XV/III. 2. 4. Coping, volcanic tufa. Dimensions: 0.55 × 0.41 × 0.29 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 13297. From the entire monument, only the left side lion is partly preserved.

82. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 104, no. III. 2. 5, pl. XV/III. 2. 5. Fragmentary monument, limestone. Dimensions: 0.55 × 0.41 × 0.29 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23456. Two fragmentary lions back to back, flanking a pine cone, with paws resting on a calf's head.

83. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 105, no. III. 2. 7, pl. XVI/III. 2. 7. Coping, volcanic tufa. Dimensions: 0.60 × 0.48 × 0.24 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 21134. Only the right side lion has been preserved.

84. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 105, no. III. 2. 8, pl. XVI/III. 2. 8. Coping, volcanic tufa. Dimensions: 0.54 × 0.40 × 0.29 m. Bistrița–Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 13685. Fragmentary lion.

85. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 105, no. III. 2. 9, pl. XVI/III. 2. 9. Coping, volcanic tufa. Dimensions: $0.47 \times 0.32 \times 0.17$ m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23453. Head of a funerary lion.
86. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 106, no. III. 2. 12, pl. XVI/III. 2. 12. Coping, now lost (a picture is preserved in I. Marțian's archive). Two lions flanking a human figure.
87. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 168, no. 5, pl. 5; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 104, no. III. 2. 6, pl. XVI/III. 2. 6. Fragmentary coping, limestone. Found in the Roman camp in 2001. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23438. Dimensions: $0.60 \times 0.48 \times 0.24$ m. Only the left side lion sitting on a base has been preserved.
88. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 169–170, no. 8, pl. 8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 106, no. III. 2. 10, pl. XVI/III. 2. 10. Fragmentary coping, limestone. Found near the *porta principalis dextra* of the Roman camp in 1988. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23458. Dimensions: $0.24 \times 0.17 \times 0.13$ m. Only the upper part of the lion's head has been preserved.
89. Protase 1961, 134, no. 2, pl. 2; Protase 2005, 62–63; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 97, no. II. 2. 5, pl. XII/II. 2. 5. Fragmentary coping, gritstone. Dimensions: 0.46×0.51 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 16. Only the left side lion has been preserved.
90. Protase 1961, 134, no. 3, pl. 3 a-b; Protase 2005, 63; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 98, no. II. 2. 7, pl. XIII/II. 2. 7. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 2. Two fragments from the lower part of a funerary monument. Found in the Roman camp, in 1949. The first fragment ($0.49 \times 0.42 \times 0.47$ m) shows a sitting lion stepping on an animal's head. The second fragment ($0.49 \times 0.44 \times 0.47$ m) is decorated with a *kantharos*, wine-stalk and a lion stepping on a ram's head.
91. Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2006, 170, no. 9, pl. 9; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 106, no. III. 2. 11, pl. XVI/III. 2. 11. Fragmentary coping, limestone. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 11514. Dimensions: $0.34 \times 0.35 \times 0.48$ m. Only the pine cone has been preserved.
92. Gaiu 2003, 17, pl. 8; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 109, no. IV. 2. 2, pl. XVII/IV. 2. 2. Fragment of a funerary monument. Found in the Roman camp baths, in the *tepidarium*. H – 23 cm. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23433. The fragmentary relief shows the head of a bearded man.

93. Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 248, no. 7, pl. 15; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 88, no. I. 4. 1. Fragmentary inscription, limestone. Found in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 0.138 × 0.167 × 0.075 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23431.

[...] / [...]ON[...] / [...]DEX[...] / [...].

Honorific inscriptions

94. Protase 1985, 249–253; ILD 796; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 67, no. I. 1. 1. Honorific inscription, tufa. Dimensions: 0.86 × 0.73 × 0.59 m. Found in 1983 in the *atrium* of the *principia*.

[*Imp(eratori) Caesar*]*i divi Traian(i) / [Parthic]i filio divi N[ervae] / nepoti / Traiano Hadriano [Aug(usto)] / pont(ifici) maximo trib(uniciae) pot(estatis) X[V?] / co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae) / ala I Tungrorum Frontoni(ana) / Antoniniana.*

95. CIL III 795; Torma 1866, 40–41, no. 11; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 67–68, no. I. 1.2. Inscription found in 1830 in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 0.71 × 1.16 m. Bistrița-Năsăud Museum, inv. no. 23020.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco / Aurel<l>io Antonino / pio felici Aug(usto) Partico / max(imo), Brit(anico) max(imo), pont(ifici) max(imo), / trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI, co(n)s(uli) IIII, optimo / maximoq(ue) principi ala I Tung(rorum) Front(oniana) / Antoniniana numini eius semper ac merito devota.

Dated: 213 A.D.

96. CIL III 796; Torma 1866, 41, no. 12; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 70, no. I. 1. 6. Inscription found in 1830. Dimensions: 0.49 × 0.84 m.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Mar(co) Aur(elio) An[tonino] / pio felici Aug(usto) Part[ico max(imo)] / Brit<t>(anico) max(imo), pont(ifici) [max(imo)], t[rib(unicia) po]t(state) [X]VI co(n)s(uli) IIII / ... /

Dated: 213 A.D.

97. CIL III 797; Torma 1866, 43, no. 14; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 69–70, no. I. 1. 5. Inscription found in 1830 in the Roman camp. Dimensions: 0.55 × 0.59 m.

[*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio*] / [*Severo Alexandro*] / [*pio felici augusto optimo*] / [*maxi*]moque princi[pi] / [*indul*]gentiis eius aucta / [*libe*]

ralitatibusque di/[lat]a ala Frontoniana / [Alex]andriana ex quaestur(a) / [sua] / dedicante Iasdio / [Domi]tiano leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).

98. CIL III 798; Torma 1866, 42, no. 13; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 68–69, no. I. 1. 3. Inscription found in 1830 in point C. Dimensions: 1.16 × 0.84 m.

Iuliae Mameae Au/gustae matri sanc/tissimi Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / Severi Alexandri / Aug(usti) et castrorum / Senatusque ala / Frontoniana Ale/xandriana ex / quaestura sua / dedicante / [Ia]sdio Domitia/[no l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).

99. Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 243–244, no. 2, pl. 5–6; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 69, no. I. 1. 4; Piso 2013b, 49–50, no. 13. Honorific inscription, fragmentary. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.38 × 0.31 × 0.045 m. Found in the Roman camp, in the *principia*, in 1986.

[[[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)]] / M(arco) Iulio Phi]/[li]ppo [Aug(usto)]]] / ala [Fronto]/nian[a [[Phi]]]/[[lippia[na]] de]/vota [numi]/ni m[aiesta]/[tique eius].

3. The territory of Arcobadara

In order to establish the limits of the territory of a Roman city, the distribution of inscriptions that mention the magistrates of that city in the rural areas, milestones (*termini*) that mark the boundaries between territories belonging to different communities, traces of ancient centuriation, and the routes of the communications ways provide very important indications. In the attempt to delimitate the territory of colonia Sarmizegetusa, I. Piso observes that in the absence of milestones and traces of the centuriations, inscriptions (especially funerary ones) that mention the high dignitaries of the *Colonia Dacica*, owners of properties in its rural territory are very important sources.³³⁹ Other significant indications are provided by the natural relief, such as mountain ridges or water courses. They can be corridors of terrestrial communication or they can separate the territories of two communities. In the same manner, the watersheds (*divergia aquarum*), often mentioned in land-survey treatises as landmarks for the drawing of the borders³⁴⁰, also fulfilled the role of separating different territories. Data from subsequent eras, such as the medieval county organization or the domains of royal fortifications is less important due to the repeated discontinuities that have marked the history of the North Danubian area between Antiquity and the Middle Ages (by comparison, at least, with some of the areas from the western part of the former Roman Empire).

In the attempt to establish the borders of this epigraphically mentioned administrative entity, i. e. *territorium Arcobadarense*, most of the enumerated indications are missing or are irrelevant. As Arcobadara was a rural settlement, without a municipal status, it did not have a centuriated territory and one finds no inscriptions of wealthy people from Arcobadara who were owners of agricultural properties in the territory of the rural community. In order to indicate the limits of this territory one must rely on the natural features (mountains, water courses, *divergia aquarum*) and the spatial analysis of the distribution of archaeological vestiges (*spatial archaeology*) around the center of Arcobadara and in the neighboring areas in order to identify other centers of *territoria* in its proximity. The traces of the Roman roads along rivers and valleys, in connection to the distribution pattern of

³³⁹ Piso 1995, 71.

³⁴⁰ Siculus Flaccus, *De cond. agr.* 290; Hyginus, *De limit. De cond. agr. De generib. controuv.*, 74.27, 76.40, 91.151, 89.130, 97.199.

the vestiges can be used rather to establish a center's area of economical influence than its rural territory *per se*.

It is more difficult to circumscribe the extent of the rural territory of the settlement of Arcobadara. R. Ardevan presumed the existence, in north-eastern Dacia, of just one rural *civitas* with the center in the settlement of Cășei (Cluj County), the ancient *Samum*.³⁴¹ D. Tudor established for *territorium Sucidavense* a rather restricted area, taking as reference lines the courses of rivers Danube, Olt, and Jiu, and towards the north the territory of colonia Romula, the border between them being located on the line connecting the villages of Scărișoara (on the Olt) and Amărăștii de Jos (near Caracal).³⁴² The territory of Arcobadara is bordered to the north and north-west by the border of the province, as suggested by the towers in Ciceu-Giurgești, Negrilești, and Zagra³⁴³. No Roman discoveries have been noted north of this line. To the west, the edge of the territory must have been bordered by the limits of the territories of the settlements in Cășeu (attested epigraphically as *regio Ansamense*) and Gherla, while to the east by the limit of the territory with the center in the settlement near the auxiliary fort in Orheiul Bistriței. According to the spots with Roman discoveries I had previously estimated that the territory of Arcobadara included the villages and the farms with traces found in the present-day settlements of Reteag, Branîștea, Cristeștii Ciceului, Căianu Mic, Beclean, Rusu de Jos, Nușeni, Feleac, Bretea, Chiraleș, Cristur Șieu, Șieu Sfântu, Șieu Odorhei, Șintereag, Tăure, Tărpiu, Cepari, Rebrîșoara, Nimigea de Jos, and Piatra. The border that might have separated this territory from the one of Orheiul Bistriței could be the line connecting the villages of Țigău, Arcalia, and Șieu Măgheruș.³⁴⁴ Due to these vicinities with the *territoria* of equivalent settlements (at least on the basis of available information) one must envisage this territory of Arcobadara as rather restricted in size, a rural community administered by Roman citizens who lived in the village near the fort of ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana.

* * *

³⁴¹ Ardevan 1998a, 53, fig. 1.

³⁴² Tudor 1965, 57–70, fig. 1.

³⁴³ Ferenczi, Ferenczi, Baias 1974, 181–189.

³⁴⁴ Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2006 – 2007, 113; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 455; for the map of discoveries – Bărbulescu et alii 2005, 108, C7.

In order to form a more exact image on the settlements / forms of rural habitation that gravitated, economically, around the more important settlements in north-eastern Dacia, I shall create a hierarchy of the discoveries from a qualitative perspective, according to three categories.³⁴⁵

Category I. Spots with concentrations of archaeological discoveries

Settlements included in Category I are those that have revealed, in one or more archaeological spots grouped over a restricted area, all of the four categories of discoveries envisaged here: *a) traces of habitation* (i.e. spots, identified on-site, with on-surface discoveries that mainly consisted of Roman pottery, tegular material – especially roof tiles, quarry stones and / or stone blocks with traces of processing, iron and bronze artefacts; cases where wall substructures were also signaled are more conclusive); *b) funerary-type discoveries* (necropolises and isolated tombs, but also funerary monuments, in cases when they might have been found in the cemetery of some rural settlement in the area); *c) discovered epigraphic and sculptural items* (statuettes and votive reliefs, altars); *d) monetary discoveries* (hoards or isolated finds consisting of coins) and *e) depositions of tools* (or tools and other artefacts made of iron and bronze, discovered independently). If all these types of discoveries are concentrated in a restricted area, then it is probable that a kind of rural habitation existed in that area (though one is unable to specify the character of that rural settlement – *pagus, vicus, villa rustica* etc.), just on the basis of such on-surface finds or isolated discoveries).

Category II. Secondary spots

The second category includes settlements where just three of the four types of discoveries have been mentioned. The distinction between categories I and II is sometimes due to hazard or to the stage of research. Category II includes spots with the following three types of discoveries: *a) habitation traces, b) funerary discoveries or epigraphic / sculptural items or artefacts* and *c) monetary discoveries*.

Category III. Settlements with few discoveries

I included here settlements where just traces of habitation have been mentioned, maybe associated with another type of discoveries (mainly discoveries of isolated coins from the same area).

³⁴⁵ A method that I have used before, in defining the territory of the city of Potaissa – Nemeti, Nemeti, Fodorean 2003, 69–75.

Category I. Performing this hierarchy of the distribution of archaeological discoveries according to their importance in the territory located in the north-eastern part of Dacia Porolissensis, north and north-east of the large urban center of Napoca, one can easily observe the existence of certain nuclei illustrated by the five types of discoveries (a-e). From west to east, these are: Gherla and Cășeu (*Samum*), Cluj County, Ilișua (*Arcobadara*) and Orheiul Bistriței, Bistrița-Năsăud County, and Brâncovenеști, Mureș County³⁴⁶. It is not by chance that military units were located in those spots, i. e. auxiliary forts, garrisons of some *alae* (*ala II Pannoniorum*, *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, *ala I numeri Illyricorum*) and *cohortes* (*cohors I Britannica milliaria equitata*, *cohors I Hispanorum milliaria equitata*, located, with the exception of the one in Gherla, along the northern and north-eastern *limes* of Dacia. Civilian settlements developed in the proximity of these forts³⁴⁷, just like in Ilișua, through the settlement of groups of *cives Romani*, veterans and peregrines. Besides Ilișua and Cășeu, where the territories of such communities are attested epigraphically (*territorium Arcobadarense* and *regio Ansamense*), in the other three cases one does not know the ancient toponyms and there is no epigraphic confirmation of the existence of a civilian settlement and of the fact that it was the center of a rural territory. But, through analogy, one can presume that it was so, especially since, after mapping all the discoveries published as belonging to the Roman Era in this region, it becomes apparent that smaller settlements gravitated around these centers.

Category II. The limited stage of research in the rural environment renders the identification of the centers belonging to this intermediary category more difficult. When such researches exist, they are rather due to hazard (rural habitations tested or researched archaeologically unlike more numerous cases of other habitations that are only mentioned through on-surface researches). Near the center of Gherla one can just mention the rural settlement in Țaga, where several discoveries have been made: traces of a settlement (in two spots), a coin hoard consisting of *denarii* and *antoniniani*, a funerary

³⁴⁶ Gudea 1997, 102–103 (Gherla), 51–53 (Cășei), 53–54 (Ilișua), 55–56 (Orheiul Bistriței), 56–57 (Brâncovenеști); Crișan et alii 1992, 88–92 (Cășei), 212–216 (Gherla); Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1996–1997, 27–114 (Ilișua); Dănilă 1989, 171–175 (Orheiul Bistriței); Lazăr 1995, 84–88 (Brâncovenеști).

³⁴⁷ Tamba 2001, 260 (Brâncovenеști), 268 (Cășei).

monument, and Roman iron tools.³⁴⁸ No such center can be noted in the proximity of Căței and Ilișua. An interesting situation seems to be that in Domnești (Bistrița–Năsăud County)³⁴⁹ where traces of Roman habitation have been mentioned in three spots on the territory of the present-day village. Substructures of a building with stone walls were identified in the center of the village, where an altar dedicated to Iupiter Dolichenus and two bronze statuettes were found. An altar,³⁵⁰ the one dedicated by P. Aelius Marius, *conductor pascui et salinarum*, to the Capitoline Triad, was found on the spot called “La slatină”.³⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the altar for the god of Doliche is dedicated by Publius Caius Valerianus, centurion of legio X Fretensis³⁵², who was, according to a new reading of the inscription, *reg(ionarius) re(gionis) Neridonis(ensium)*.³⁵³ Thus, *regio Neridonisense* can be a new rural territory in north-eastern Dacia, with the center right in Domnești, where the altar was found, or, more likely, in Orheiului Bistriței (in case Nerido is not somewhere in the Near East, where legio X Fretensis had been encamped).

Category III. The majority of spots signaled in the rural environment in north-eastern Dacia can be included in the third category. For a better visualization of the borders of the territories, I will apply, as an experiment, the graphic model of the Thiessen polygons, a technique of mathematical analysis of geographic space suggested by the British direction New Archaeology (C. Renfrew, B. W. Cunliffe, I. R. Hodder, N. D. C. Hammond etc.). The method is geometric and consists of drawing parallel lines through the median points of the lines that connect neighboring centers. One thus constructs parts of territories in the shape of polygons, where each point inside the polygon is closer to the center of that polygon than to any other nearby center. In order to delineate the territories as precisely as possible, another variable can be introduced, i. e. the size and importance of the centers, and thus one can correct the purely geometric model by constructing the so-called “pondered polygons”, with main centers, enjoying larger areas of influence than the secondary centers. In order to draw the borders of the territories one can also take into

³⁴⁸ Crișan et alii 1992, 412–414.

³⁴⁹ Dănilă 1989, 93–95.

³⁵⁰ AE 1930, 10 = ILD 804.

³⁵¹ Marinescu 1989, 14, no. 34; Popa 2002, 79, no. 243.

³⁵² CIL III 7625.

³⁵³ Piso, Cupcea 2014.

consideration the natural environment, the water courses, mountain ranges, and watersheds (*divergia aquarum*).³⁵⁴ These polygons, as models of habitation, of space occupation, can be interpreted as optimal areas to serve the center and “service areas” around a central settlement that enjoys centralized services (functions as foodstuffs market, market for artisan and specialized products, administrative, military, police-like, and religious services).

The territory of the settlement of Samum (*regio Ansamense*) can be included in a polygon. To the north it is bordered by the province limes, where several watchtowers have been noted (in Rugăsești, Chiuiești, Cetan, Fălcușa, Căpâlna, Bârsău Mare, and Ileanda)³⁵⁵. The border between *regio Ansamense* and *territorium Arcobadarensense* should be somewhere in the area of the village of Ciceu – Mihăiești. In the region, in the close proximity of the center in Cășeu, discoveries have been made on the territory of the villages of Urișor, Cuzdrioara, Peștera, Nireș, and Ocna Dejului.³⁵⁶

South of the center in Cășeu and south-west of the center in Ilișua is the important Roman center of Gherla, maybe a *pagus* in the territory of colonia Napoca, taking into consideration the fact that several inscriptions that mention magistrates and *collegia (nocturni)* from Napoca were found, over time, in Gherla. The small settlement in the valley of Someșul Mic and its tributary, the Fizeș, gravitate around this center. More numerous discoveries were made in Pintic, Sic, and Țaga³⁵⁷, but Roman traces have also been mentioned in Bunești, Băița, Iclod, Iclozel, Bont, Fizeșu Gherlii, Sântejude, Mureșenii de Câmpie, Pălatca (*villa rustica*), Buza, Sava and Feldioara.³⁵⁸ Coin hoards were found in Țaga, Iclod, Lujerdiu,³⁵⁹ and Diviciorii Mari.³⁶⁰

Eastwards, *territorium Arcobadarensense* borders a territory formed around the settlement in Orheiul Bistriței. The settlement on the

³⁵⁴ Filippi 1988, 62–63, 71.

³⁵⁵ Crișan et alii 1992, 329 (Rugăsești), 110–111 (Chiuiești), 93 (Cetan); Luca, Gudea 2010, 103 (Fălcușa), 37–38 (Căpâlna), 26–27 (Bârsău Mare), 61 (Ileanda).

³⁵⁶ Crișan et alii 1992, 417 (Urișor), 172 (Cuzdrioara), 311 (Peștera), 295–296 (Nireș), 298 (Ocna Dejului); Popa 2002, 72, 133–134, 207.

³⁵⁷ Crișan et alii 1992, 313–314 (Pintic), 347, 350–351 (Sic), 412–414 (Țaga); Popa 2002, 147, 174–175, 202; Protase 1980, 70; Gudea 2008, 78, no. 31.

³⁵⁸ Crișan et alii 1992, 74 (Bunești), 53 (Băița), 242–243 (Iclod), 244–245 (Iclozel), 68 (Bont), 209 (Fizeșu Gherlii), 358 (Sântejude), 286 (Mureșenii de Câmpie), 303 (Pălatca), 76 (Buza); Popa 2002, 83 (Feldioara), 47, 33, 102, 85, 170; Protase 1980, 50; Gudea 2008, 77–78, no. 28, 78, no. 29, no. 30 (Sava).

³⁵⁹ Crișan et alii 1992, 256; Popa 2002, 113.

³⁶⁰ Crișan et alii 1992, 186; Popa 2002, 79.

territory of the village of Domnești is much too close to that in Orheiul Bistriței in order to believe that it was the center of a secondary territory. The presence of a *regionarius* and of P. Aelius Marius, *conductor pascui et salinarum*, makes me rather think of a check point connected to the exploitation and selling of salt.³⁶¹ On the basis of available data, it is difficult to say if Orheiul Bistriței was called Triphulum or Nerido, but it is clear that between Ilișua and Brâncovenești there is room for just one rural territory. The border between the latter and the territory of Arcobadara was somewhere in the area of the villages of Chiraleș and Arcalia. The settlements in Bistriței Valley and on the Upper Șieu probably belonged to the territory with the center in Orheiul Bistriței. The southern limit of this territory and that on the Mureș and its northern tributaries, with the center probably in Cristești, is on the watersheds, i. e. on the Budești – Sânmihaiu de Câmpie – Stupini – Ocnița line. Similarly, for the south-eastern area, where it borders the territory of the settlement in Brâncovenești, the limit can be drawn on the watersheds, i. e. the line connecting the villages of Logic – Uila – Monor – Gledin.

The settlements in the valley of River Mureș, from Deda to Voivodeni, belong to a territory with the center in Brâncovenești.

Through this geometric method, i. e. of the Thiessen polygons, I have attempted to define the territories created around the significant settlements in northern and north-eastern Dacia. One can thus select the polygon that represents the *territorium Arcobadarense*. There, the only important settlement is the one in Ilișua, while around it one can find secondary settlements and *villae* distributed along the valley of River Someșul Mare and along its tributaries (Ilișua, Șieu, and Meleș). The northern limit is given by the line of watchtowers in Ciceu-Giurgești, Negrilești, and Zagra, that also marks the border of the province. The limit between the territories of Arcobadara and Samum is the Ciceu-Mihăiești – Reteag area and continues southwards along the watershed that separates it from the territory centered in Gherla. The eastern limit, that separates it from the territory centered in Orheiul Bistriței is in the Chiraleș – Arcalia area and continues to the south-west along the watersheds. There, the settlements in Meleșului Valley signaled on the territory of the villages of Rusu de Jos, Nușeni, Feleac, Bidiu, Bozieș, Corvinești, Apatiu,

³⁶¹ Balla 2000, 136–141; Benca 2010, 45–74.

Matei, Strugureni, and Ciochiș³⁶² can belong to the territory of the settlement in Ilișua. On the contrary, those in Lechința, Vermeș, Fântânele, Galații Bistriței, Dipșa, and Archiud³⁶³ rather belong to the territory centered in Orheiul Bistriței.

* * *

In the chapter dedicated to the analysis of the epigraphic and sculptural monuments from Ilișua I have indicated that among the dedicators of the inscriptions there are no persons with Dacian names and I have concluded that the Dacians did not express themselves in this Roman civilian construction that belonged to Roman citizens, veterans, and peregrine colonists.

But what was the situation in the rural territory? In order to identify native Dacian presences in provincial archaeology, one fossil-index is La Tène tradition handmade pottery, that is part of the repertory of shapes and decoration of Dacian pottery before the Roman conquest.³⁶⁴ A significant quantity of handmade pottery has also been discovered during researches in the auxiliary fort in Ilișua.³⁶⁵

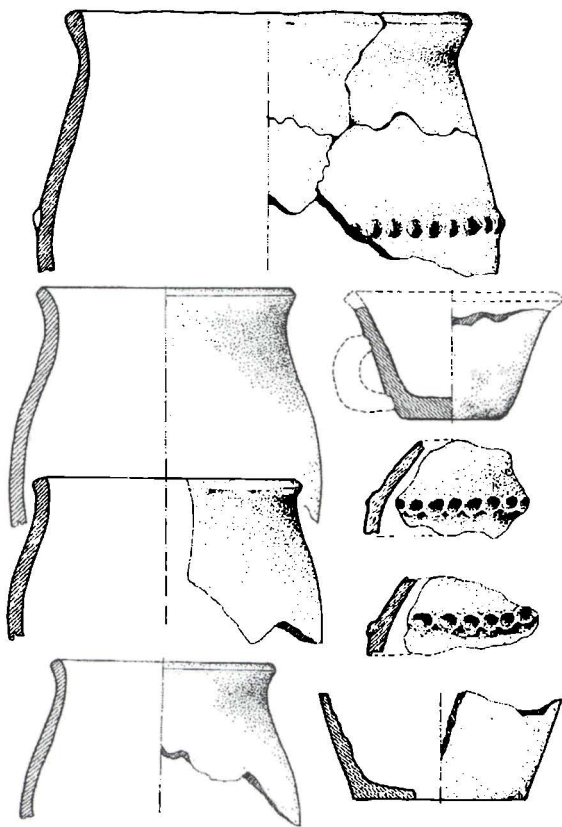


Fig. 15

³⁶² Marinescu 1989, 22 (Rusu de Jos), 20 (Nușeni), 15 (Feleac), 7 (Bidiu), 8 (Bozieș), 12 (Corvinești), 5–6 (Apatiu), 19 (Matei), 10–11 (Strugureni), 25 (Chiochiș); Popa 2002, 159, 131, 84, 37, 42, 66, 24, 115, 57, 184.

³⁶³ Marinescu 1989, 18 (Lechința), 27–28 (Vermeș), 15 (Fântânele), 16 (Galații Bistriței), 13–14 (Dipșa), 6 (Archiud); Popa 2002, 108, 213, 82, 86, 78, 26–27.

³⁶⁴ Protase 1980, 157–165; Țentea 1999, 123–132; Rusu-Bolindeț, Voişian, Cociș 2000, 141–199; about natives in rural areas – Oltean 2004, 151–152, 160–163.

³⁶⁵ Gaiu 2014, ms.

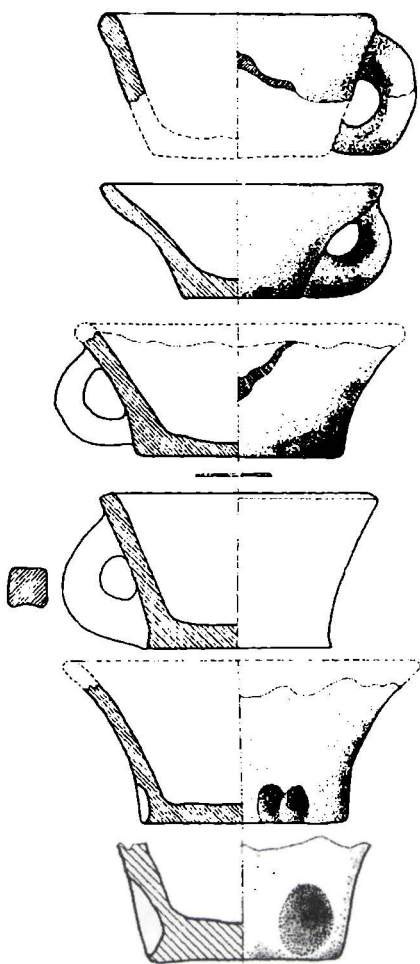


Fig. 16

In the rural area of Dacia, in increasingly more numerous spots, settlements conventionally labeled as “Daco-Roman” are being identified through on-surface researches or partial researches, where provincial Roman pottery and handmade pottery of La Tène tradition are associated in the same levels of culture.

In the *territorium Arcobadarense* that I have tried to identify through the method of the Thiessen polygons, handmade pottery of La Tène tradition was only noted on sites signaled through on-surface researches in Șieului Valley. Thus, Roman pottery and handmade pottery was noted in the center of the present-day villages of Șintereag and Șieu–Odorhei, in Cristur–Șieu, spot of “La Baie”, and Feleac, spot of “Piatra Mică”.³⁶⁶ An incineration tomb, in urn, was discovered in the proximity of these settlements, in Chiraleș.³⁶⁷

Discoveries of this type become more numerous as one leaves the main communication corridors opened by the valleys of the large

and proceeds towards the “deep province”, on the valleys of rivers Meleș, Șieu, and Dipșa. Some of these settlements can belong to the territory of Arcobadara, but others belong to the rural territory with the center in Orheiul Bistriței. Sites where wheel-made Roman pottery and handmade vessels were found are located on the territory of the city of Bistrița, on the spots of “Cimitirul vechi”, “Vama Veche”,

³⁶⁶ Marinescu 1989, 26, no. 89 (Șintereag), 25–26, no. 86 a-b (Șieu–Odorhei), 13, no. 28 b (Cristur–Șieu), 15, no. 37 (Feleac); Popa 2002, 190, 189, 69, 84; Protase 1980, 74; Gudea 2008, 80, no. 41.

³⁶⁷ Marinescu 1989, 11, no. 19; Popa 2002, 57.

and “La Han”,³⁶⁸ and also on the territory of the village of Ghinda, on the spot of “Podul Paielor”.³⁶⁹ A nucleus of such sites is also encountered in the valley of Șieu, around the secondary center in Domnești: in Monariu, Herina “Crucile Drumului”, and even in the territory of the village of Domnești, on the spot of “Tabla Pietroasă”.³⁷⁰ An incineration tomb, in urn, was discovered in the vicinity, in Mărișelu, on the spot of “Dealul Calului”.³⁷¹ Settlements that can be dated to the Roman Era where handmade pottery is also associated become more numerous in the isolated area in the border parts of these *territoria*: two settlements were identified on the territory of the village of Matei, one in Fântânele, on the spot of “Rât”,³⁷² and one in Vermeș.³⁷³ Several incineration tombs in urns were destroyed in this area as well, on the territory of the village of Vermeș, during the construction of the annexes of the former collective farm.³⁷⁴ Similar discoveries (handmade and wheelmade Roman pottery on the surface) were made in Bungard, the spot of “În vii”, Sânmihaiu de Câmpie, the spot of “Podișele”, and Archiud, the spot of “Bidișcut”.³⁷⁵ The settlement in Stupini, the spot of “Fânațele Archiudului”, is located in the same area, and it has been systematically researched. The rectangular huts and the storage pits there have revealed pottery and artefacts common during the Roman Era associated with handmade pottery of La Tène tradition.³⁷⁶

Through this brief repertory of “Daco-Roman” settlements and of discoveries of incineration tombs in urns I have tried to sketch the division manner of the territory in the rural area in the north-eastern part of Dacia Porolissensis, in the region of these rural communes that are epigraphically attested as *territoria* and *regiones*. *Auxiliarvici* were born in the close proximity of the forts and colonists and

³⁶⁸ Marinescu 1989, 7–8; Popa 2002, 38.

³⁶⁹ Marinescu 1989, 16, pl. XVII/1–4; Popa 2002, 90.

³⁷⁰ Marinescu 1989, 19, no. 54, pl. XXI/4–5 (Monariu), 16–17, no. 44b, pl. XVII/6–10, XVIII/1–7, 8–10, XIX/1–3 (Herina), 14, no. 34c (Domnești); Popa 2002, 128, 97–98, 79.

³⁷¹ Marinescu 1989, 19, no. 52; Popa 2002, 117.

³⁷² Marinescu 1989, 19, no. 51 a-b (Matei), 15, no. 39 b (Fântânele); Popa 2002, 115, 82; Protase 1980, 54 (Matei).

³⁷³ Gaiu 2005, 121–137.

³⁷⁴ Marinescu 1989, 27–28, no. 96; Popa 2002, 213; Gudea 2008, 80, no. 43.

³⁷⁵ Marinescu 1989, 10, no. 15 (Bungard), 24, no. 80 a (Sânmihaiu de Câmpie), 6, no. 3 (Archiud); Popa 2002, 47, 167, 26–27; Protase 1980, 42–43, 71; Gudea 2008, 74, no. 5.

³⁷⁶ Gaiu 1999, 84–90; Gaiu 2004, 77–93; Gudea 2008, 79, no. 37.

veterans settled there. The forts and the civilian settlements are located along the main roads that followed the corridors of the large rivers. Habitation branches in a capillary fashion towards the inner parts of the rural areas, along the valleys of the tributaries and creeks, and in these isolated regions one can encounter archaeological indications of the native presence, communities of Dacians caught in the inertia of traditional life, village communities living in huts, preserving their provisions in storage pits, but using Roman pottery, jewelry items, and coins that they obtained in the centers of these "service areas", in Ilișua (*Arcobadara*) or Orheiul Bistriței.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical knowledge advances unpredictably, in a non-linear way, according to sinuous and capricious rhythms. New important discoveries are separated by decades, and the moments when the discoveries are made are dictated by hazard. The very moment of a discovery and its publication in the specialized historical literature does not always determine the raise of new conclusions, of new interpretative breakthroughs in the veil of traditional knowledge, that is well seated and even sedimented thanks to the work of generations of scholars. The importance of such discoveries sometimes remains unobserved, either because of insufficient and erroneous interpretations, or just because the lack of other sources that are essential for the picturing of ancient reality, for arranging the complex puzzle of modern knowledge regarding classical antiquity. Even after the correct setting of new information the scientific community usually needs a time of reflection and a time of reaction. Similar data will arise from the dusty boxes, from museums deposits and will be arranged in the new dossier. It is, simply, about the difference between *inventio* and *inovatio*, the assimilation of the invention.

Identifying Arcobadara with the small town that arose near the auxiliary camp from Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County) has enabled me to re-draw Ptolemy's map of Dacia. Consequently, all the toponyms previously located by modern scholarship in today's Moldavia are, in fact, small Roman settlements from eastern Transylvania, on the border of the province of Dacia. The mention of the word *territorium* associated with toponyms designating an auxiliary *vicus* or an autonomous settlement born near a camp has opened a new dossier: that of the administrative organization of the rural area of the province. The context of this rural commune is offered by the so-called "territory inscriptions", quite common in the Danubian area. The purpose of this book was to explain, with the sources available at the present,

the meaning this new information. Arcobadara or Arcobara is a rural settlement with an indigenous Dacian name, with a certain degree of autonomy, with its own territory, inhabited by *cives Romani*, veterans and peregrines. The discovery has proved, once more, the accuracy of Ptolemy's data and has shown the way for interpreting his map.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Corpora

AE – L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.

CIGD – Ligia Ruscu, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum (CIGD), Debrecen, 2003.

CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.

IDR – Inscriptiile Daciei romane, București, I, 1975 – III/5, 2001.

IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, I–II, 1996, 2000.

ILB – B. Gerov, Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae, Sofia, 1989.

ILD – C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptiile latine din Dacia, București, 2005.

ILS – Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin, I (1882) – IV (1916).

ISM – Inscriptiile Sciției Minor, D. M. Pippidi et alii, București.

RIU – Die Römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest.

Dictionaries

DA – Ch. Daremberg, Edm. Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris, I–V, 1877–1919.

FHDR – Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae / Izvoarele istoriei României, II, București, 1970.

OPEL – Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, I, Budapest, 1994 (eds. B. Lőrincz and Fr. Redő); II, Wien, 1999 (ed. B. Lőrincz); III, Wien, 2000 (ed. B. Lőrincz).

RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Pauly – Wissowa – Kroll), Stuttgart – München, 1893–1972.

Reviews

AB – Analele Banatului, Timișoara.

ACD – Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis, Debrecen.

Acta Ant. Hung. – Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.

Acta Arch. Hung. – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.

- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
 ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
 ActivMuz – Activitatea Muzeelor, Cluj.
 AEM – Archäologische – Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich – Ungarn, Wien.
 AIIA Cluj – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
 AIIIN – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională, Cluj.
 AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj (Sibiu)
 Apulum – Apulum. Buletinul Muzeului Regional Alba Iulia.
 ArchÉrt – Archaeológiai Értesítő, Budapest.
 Arch Korr – Archäologische Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz.
 BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara.
 BJ – Bonner Jahrbucher, Bonn.
 Cahiers Glotz – Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, Paris.
 CAJ – The Cartographic Journal, Leeds.
 Cercetări arheologice – Cercetări arheologice, București.
 Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München.
 C&C – Classica & Christiana. Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
 Dacia – Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București, I–XII, 1924–1948; Nouvelle série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
 EDR – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
 EHR – The English Historical Review, Oxford.
 EMÉ – Erdélyi Múzeum – Évkönyve, Kolozsvár.
 EN – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
 FI – File de Istorie, Bistrița.
 Geographia Antiqua – Geografia Antiqua. Rivista di geografia storica del mondo antico e di storia della geografia, Firenze.
 Geografiska Annaler – Geografiska Annaler, Stockholm.
 Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Frankfurt am Main.
 Hermes – Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Stuttgart.
 Istros – Istros. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei. Studii, comunicări, note, Brăila.
 JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London.
 Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Berlin.
 Latomus – Latomus. Revue d'études latines, Bruxelles.
 Materiale – Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
 MÉFRA – Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité, Paris.
 Peuce – Peuce. Studii și comunicări de istorie și arheologie, Tulcea.

- Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
- RA – Revue Archéologique, Paris.
- RB – Revista Bistriței. Muzeul Județean Bistrița, Bistrița.
- RÉA – Revue des études anciennes, Bordeaux – Paris.
- RHSEE – Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen, Bucharest.
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași.
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie), București
- Specimina Nova – Specimina Nova, Pécs.
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București.
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-  Rural settlement (surface researches)
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-  Watch tower
-  Salt mine
-  Stone quarry
-  Baths (*thermae*)
-  Farm (*villa rustica*)
-  Temple
-  Cemetery
-  Workshop
-  *Milliarum*
-  Coin hoard



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