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THE DANUBIAN ROAD FROM VIMINACIUM TO DVROSTORVM IN THE ROMAN ITINERARIES

FLORIN-GHEORGHE FODOREAN*

Keywords: the Peutinger map, the Antonine itinerary, the Danubian road, Roman geography, exploration, military maps.

Abstract: This paper focuses on the analysis and comparisons between the most important documents concerning travel in the Roman world: the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary. I also used data regarding other ancient sources, such as the Bordeaux itinerary, *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the Ravenna Geographer. To provide new insights with focus on the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary, I applied a new method: I compared the distances mentioned between settlements. I have chosen for my investigation a very important road sector, the Danubian road from Viminacium to Durostorum. The in-depth investigation allowed me to conclude that the Antonine itinerary lists distances with values higher than the Peutinger map: 20 to 30 miles, while in the Tabula the distances are much smaller: 8 to 16 miles. Therefore, I concluded that in the case of the Peutinger map, the map-maker used early, military itineraries to compile the document. The redactor of the Antonine itinerary used, instead, official late documents from the state archives, related to *cursus publicus*. Using the facilities and the logistic offered by the state, it was normal for a traveler to cover bigger distances, of 20, 25, 30 miles. In the case of the Peutinger map, the values of the distances reflects, in my opinion, the distances covered by the marching armies, during the conquest of new territories, so, obvious, these values are smaller, in many cases of 12 miles. In the future, when I intend to extend this method and to investigate all the territories depicted or listed in these two documents.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini*, drumul de-a lungul Dunării, geografie romană, explorare, hărți militare.

Rezumat: În acest articol autorul analizează și compară două documente extrem de importante privind călătoriile în epoca romană: *Tabula Peutingeriana* și *Itinerarium Antonini*. De asemenea, autorul a folosit și alte surse, precum itinerariul de la Bordeaux, *Notitia Dignitatum* și *Geographia* anonimului din Ravenna. În scopul de a oferi noi informații privind *Tabula Peutingeriana* și *Itinerarium Antonini*, autorul a aplicat o metodă nouă: compararea distanțelor între așezări. Autorul a ales pentru această investigație un foarte important sector de drum, și anume drumul de-a lungul Dunării între localitățile Viminacium și Durostorum. Analiza detaliată a permis câteva concluzii importante. *Itinerarium Antonini* menționează distanțe mult mai mari decât *Tabula Peutingeriana*: de la 20 la 30 de mile romane, în timp ce distanțele din *Tabula Peutingeriana* sunt mult mai mici, marea majoritate fiind cuprinse între 8 până la 16 mile romane. De aceea, autorul a concluzionat că în cazul *Tabulei Peutingeriana*, autorul acestui *itinerarium* a utilizat, pentru a compila documentul, *itineraria* militare, timpurii. Redactorul care a realizat *Itinerarium Antonini* a utilizat, în schimb, documente oficiale târzii din arhiva statului, legate de *cursus publicus*. Utilizând facilitățile oferite de stat, era normal ca un călător să poată parcurge, într-o zi, distanțe mai mari, de 20, 25 sau 30 de mile romane. În cazul *Tabulei Peutingeriana*, valorile distanțelor reflectă, în opinia autorului, distanțele parcurse în marș de armatele romane, în momentul cuceririi de noi teritorii, deci aceste distanțe sunt mai mici, în general apropiate de valoarea de 12 mile.

1. INTRODUCTION. MOESIA. SHORT HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Moesia developed its own particular history in this area, strongly related to that of Dacia and Pannonia. Moesia became a Roman province in the last years of Augustus' reign. In the ancient geographical sources, the province was bounded to the east by the *Pontus Euxinus* (Black Sea), to the west by

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the Drinuş (Drina) river, in the north by the Danubius (Danube) and to the south by the *Haemus* (Balkan) and Scardus (Šar) mountains. Today it includes territories from Macedonia, Southern Serbia (Moesia Superior), Northern Bulgaria and Dobrudja (south-east Romania). The first moment when the Romans approached this territory corresponds with Caesar's last years of reign. Burebista wanted to expand his control over the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. As a response, Octavian Augustus, Caesar's successor, thought that a war against the Dacians will be inevitable. In 35 B.C. he captured Siscia. This settlement is strategically positioned at the confluence of the rivers Odra, Kupa and Sava, in Croatia. After this, Octavian dropped the idea of a war against the Dacians, but anyway the benefits were important. He secured the Eastern Alps and the control along the coastal strip of the Northern Adriatic.¹ Few years later, in 29 B.C., Marcus Licinius Crassus, later proconsul of Macedonia, defeated the inhabitants. During Augustus' reign, in 6 A.D., it was organized as an imperial province. In 87 A.D., after the attacks of the Dacians, the emperor Domitian personally arrived in Moesia and divided it into two provinces: Moesia Superior to the west and Inferior to the east. The provinces were separated by the Ciabrus River.

The Danube never represented a "real" frontier between the Dacians and the Roman Empire. In fact, on contrary, "rivers, like highways, are not barriers but means of lateral communication and transport".² David Braund published an excellent analysis regarding rivers frontiers in the environmental psychology of the Roman world.³ Quoting Maxfield, he considers rivers not to be such good frontiers.⁴ On contrary, he notes that they are lines which unite, not divide. If we look at the history of Dacia before the conquest, we see that numerous military attacks made by the Dacians affected the territories south of the Danube (Moesia Inferior). So, conquering Dacia was not an unwise decision from this point of view. The line of the Danube was as hard to defend as the frontier of Roman Dacia. Another important issue provided in the study is that rivers offered during time lines across the landscape, "particularly valuable were other features were lacking and while mapping was rudimentary".⁵

2. THE PEUTINGER MAP. DEBATES, OPINIONS

The bibliography regarding the Peutinger map is vast. The most important contributions remain the books of Miller,⁶ Levi and Levi,⁷ Weber,⁸ Bosio,⁹ and Talbert's monograph published in 2010.¹⁰ To these, a large amount of articles or chapters in books¹¹ discussing various aspects about the history of the map, the dating, its design and character, are useful in understanding the complexity of this document.¹² Comparisons with other maps were also made, for example between the Peutinger map and the Madaba Map.¹³

The map kept today in the National Library of Wien is a copy of another map created during late Roman era. Even this early medieval document was subject of debates regarding its date. Richard Talbert

¹ Mócsy 1974, p. 22.

² Isaac 1990, p. 410.

³ Braund 1996, p. 43-47.

⁴ Braund 1996, p. 43: "Similarly, Maxfield, developing a classic paper of Mann (and using "frontier" to mean "boundary-barrier") affirms: ...rivers did not make good frontiers. They may be bureaucratically convenient, providing clear lines of demarcation as long as the people on both sides agree to observe them, but they are lines which are difficult to enforce, they are military weak; they are highways which unite, not barriers which divide".

⁵ Braund 1996, p. 43.

⁶ Miller 1887; Miller 1888.

⁷ A. and M. Levi 1967.

⁸ Weber 1976.

⁹ Bosio 1983.

¹⁰ Talbert 2010.

¹¹ See especially Whittaker 2004, ch. 4 (*Mental maps and frontiers. Seeing like a Roman*), p. 63-87; or Talbert 2008, p. 9-28.

¹² Arnaud 1988, p. 302-321; Weber 1989, p. 113-117; Brodersen 2001, p. 7-21; Talbert 2000; Salway 2001, p. 22-66; Allen 2003, p. 403-415; Brodersen 2003, p. 289-297; Gautier Dalché 2003, p. 43-52; Prontera 2003; Gautier Dalché 2004, p. 71-84; Talbert 2004, p. 113-141; Albu 2005, p. 136-148; Salway 2005, p. 119-135; Talbert 2005, p. 627-634; Talbert 2007, p. 353-366; Talbert 2007a, p. 221-230; Albu 2008, p. 111-119; Elliot 2008, p. 99-110; Talbert 2008, p. 149-156; Talbert 2008a, p. 9-27; Talbert, Elliott 2008, p. 199-218; Pazarli 2009, p. 101-116; Fodorean 2011, p. 9-19.

¹³ Weber 1999, p. 41-46.

cooperated for his book with a specialist in paleography, Martin Steinmann, who concluded: 'On the basis of the scripts used, there is no cause to dispute the general consensus that our copy of the map was produced in the last quarter of the twelfth century or in the first quarter of the thirteenth. The likeliest match for the map is script of the first quarter of the thirteenth century [...]'.¹⁴ This is what the researchers name 'copy/medieval copy'. Dating the original map still remains, in my opinion, an unsolved issue.¹⁵ Dozens of attempts were made. The original is a 'compilation tardive',¹⁶ was dated in the late third, fourth, fifth century A.D., created in the third century and then completed with other data in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.,¹⁷ around 250 A.D.,¹⁸ after 260 A.D.,¹⁹ during Diocletian's Tetrarchy (c. 300 A.D.)²⁰, in 365-366 A.D.²¹, in between 402 and 452 A.D.²², in 435 A.D.²³, 'the fourth to fifth centuries',²⁴ or, according to an attempting / speculative, but, unfortunately, not sufficient argued hypothesis, in the early nine century A.D.²⁵ These attempts were based on the content of the map, the presence of certain cities and settlements (Rome, Constantinople, Antiochia²⁶ - personificated vignettes; Ravenna, Aquileia, Nicea, Nicomedia, Tessalonicae, Ancyra? - vignettes type 'cities surrounded by walls'), the mentioning of landscape details (*silva Vosagus*: 2A2 - 3, *silva Marciana*: 2a4 - 3a1), the mentioning / non-mentioning of certain roads, the representation / non-representation of vignettes type 'double-tower', the signification of special vignettes/draws (Ad Sanctum Petrum, temple of Apollo in Antiochia). Suppositions about the author, place of production, method of creation, dimensions, purpose, role, sources used were also emitted. The document kept today is a roll parchment composed of 11 segments. Miller stated the idea that one left segment is missing, so, accordingly, all the other researchers accepted this hypothesis, with one exception, Talbert, who argued that the original had 14 segments.²⁷ Even the numbering of these segments is patchy. According to Miller's reconstruction, segment no. 1 is the lost one (representing, according to his opinion, Britain, Western Spain and North-Western Africa).²⁸ Weber numbers the segments starting with the first conserved.²⁹ Currently, the more accurate division developed by Talbert in his online databases can be used.³⁰ The map was thought to serve as road map,³¹ reflecting the official transport system (*cursus publicus*),³² or propaganda map, presenting during Thetrarchy the former glory, power and geographical extent of the Roman Empire.³³ The distances written between settlements are correct or sometimes not, the vignettes represent important cities, or *mansiones*, accomodations along routes.³⁴ The map was ordered by a private, or by an emperor

¹⁴ Talbert 2010, p. 83 (ch. 2 - coauthored with Martin Steinmann, entitled *The Surviving Copy: The Material Object and Its Paleography*).

¹⁵ Fodorean 2004, p. 51-58.

¹⁶ Chevallier 1997, p. 53-56.

¹⁷ Levi and Levi 1967.

¹⁸ Von Hagen 1978, p. 14.

¹⁹ Manni 1949, p. 30-31.

²⁰ Talbert 2010, p. 136, p. 153.

²¹ Miller 1916, XXX. Bosio 1983, agree with this date.

²² Weber 1999 (see <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/mad/articles/WeberPeutingeriana.html#Web9>).

²³ Weber 1989, p. 113-117.

²⁴ Salway 2005, p. 131.

²⁵ Albu 2005, p. 136-148; Albu 2008, p. 111-119.

²⁶ Leylek 1993, p. 203-206.

²⁷ Talbert 2010, p. 89.

²⁸ Miller 1916, L-LI.

²⁹ Weber 1976, the maps (1:1 scale).

³⁰ See: <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert>; <http://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a>. Very useful, even sometimes the name of the settlements or some distances are not perfectly correct, is <http://omnesviae.org>. This site links the reader to Talbert's database from Cambridge University Press page. Talbert's database is complete: all the settlements, rivers, networked symbols, islands, mountains, people, regions etc., are separately catalogued, and listed as clickable items with provide exactly the part of map in which appear.

³¹ Most researchers agreed with this.

³² Levi and Levi 1967.

³³ Talbert 2010, ch. 5: *The Original Map*, p. 133-157.

³⁴ See recent information at Klee 2010.

(Septimius Severus,³⁵ Theodosius II)³⁶, stood as a parchment roll in a library, or was displayed on a wall in Diocletian's palace in Split (Spalatum).³⁷ The author of the original was Castorius, or an anonymous, or a team. The Peutinger's map mentions Pompeii, Roman Dacia, Constantinople, Antiochia, old St. Peter's church in Rome, regional names such as *Francia*, *Suevia* and *Allamania*.

So, the biggest challenge is: how to date such document, with so many and different chronological information? Is it like today one should attempt to date a map containing cities (random example) spread between the XVIII century and nowadays, or regions such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire and current countries. Can we explain the variegated data contained in the document?

In 1988 Arnaud noticed this situation.³⁸ In 2001, Salway wrote: 'This variegated nature of the information makes the attempt to date the whole on the basis of the omission, inclusion or highlighting of any particular location as a fruitless exercise'.³⁹ And again: '[...] The chronological variety of the data reflects not the work of layers of subsequent redactors but rather the differences in the dates of the sources used by the cartographer for each region'.⁴⁰

3. THE ANTONINE ITINERARY

Itinerarium Antonini has had the same fate and has generated almost the same amount of literature. Arnaud notices: '*L'Itinéraire d'Antonin* ne fait pas exception à la règle: dérivé de la carte d'Agrippa pour les uns, recueil d'itinéraires suivis par les empereurs pour d'autres, instrumente de l'Année militaire pour d'autres encore, lorsqu'il n'est pas considéré comme une émanation assez direct du pouvoir central'.⁴¹ The last contribution on this document belongs to Bernd Löhberg.⁴² For method a good study is the book of Hans Bauer about the main roads between Iller and Salsach investigation in close connection with the data provided by *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁴³ An important study was published by Ray Laurence in 2001.⁴⁴ He provided an interesting insight of roads from Roman Britain, comparing data from Ptolemy's geography and the Antonine Itinerary.

The document's aspects regarding the content, the dating, and other problems, are, in my opinion, far from being solved. Still, in 2005, Benet Salway affirmed: "Although opinions differ about the immediate sources of its information, it is now generally agreed that it is a private production, not any sort of officially commissioned survey put together from government archives".⁴⁵

The Antonine itinerary lists the following regions (mentioned here using its internal subheadings):

I. PROVINCIAE AFRICAE (2,1): Mauretania – Numidia – Africa – Tripolitania – Cyrenaica – Aegyptus (1,1 – 78,3); II. SARDINIA. ITER SARDINIAE (78,4); III. CORSICAE (85,4); IV. SICILIAE (86,2); V. ITALIAE (98,2): Italia – Noricum – Pannonia – Moesia – Thracia – Bithynia – Galatia – Cappadocia – Syria – Palaestina – Aegyptus (98,2 – 173,4); VI. ITER THRACIAE (175,1); VII.

³⁵ Levi and Levi 1967.

³⁶ Weber 1989, p. 113-117.

³⁷ Talbert 2010, p. 149.

³⁸ Arnaud 1988, p. 309.

³⁹ Salway 2001, p. 44.

⁴⁰ Salway 2001, p. 44; Brodersen 2003, p. 270. I want to remind a similar state of research concerning Agrippa's map, well described by Brodersen 2003, p. 269-270, and Brodersen 2004, p. 185: '[...] scholarship, it is true, has variously describe it: depending on which opinion one follows, it was a globe or a 'large scale map', executed as a mosaic, painted in color, engraved in bronze, or hewn into marble; it was circular, oval, or rectangular, and it measured 6-10 m in height (on a pediment of 5 m), or 75 m wide, but only 4.5 m high. At the top was east, south, or north, and it resembled the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a schematic medieval *mappamundi*, or an early modern portolan chart – *quot homines tot sententiae*.'

⁴¹ Arnaud 1993, p. 33, with the essential bibliography. The first edition is Cuntz 1929, reproduced with updated bibliography by Gerhard Wirth (Stuttgart, B. G. Teubner, 1990).

⁴² Löhberg 2006.

⁴³ Bauer 2007.

⁴⁴ Laurence 2001, p. 67-94.

⁴⁵ Salway 2005, p. 182.

Cappadocia – Syria (176,3 – 217,4); VIII. Moesia – Thracia – Bithynia (217,5 – 231,7); IX. ITEM DE PANNONIIS IN GALLIAS (231,8): Pannonia – Noricum – Raetia – Gallia; X. ITEM PER RIPAM PANNONIAE ... IN GALLIAS (241,1 - 2): Pannonia – Noricum – Raetia – Germania; XI. Raetia – Noricum – Pannonia (256,4 – 265,3), DE ITALIA PER HISTRIAM IN DALMATIAM (333,1); XII. ITER DE DALMATIA IN MACEDONIAM (337,3); XIII. DE ITALIA IN GALLIAS (339,6): Italia – Gallia – Germania; XIV. DE ITALIA IN HISPANIAS (387,4), DE HISPANIA IN AQUITANIA (453,4), DE AQUITANIA IN GALLIAS (461,1); XV. ITER BRITANNIARUM (463,3).

4. THE DANUBIAN ROAD FROM VIMINACIUM TO DUROSTORUM. ALONG THE DANUBE RIVER

This is the route along the line of the Danube. The settlements and the distances are: Viminatio – X – Lederata – XIII – Punicum – XI – Vico cuppae – XII – Adnovas – X – Adscrofulas – XV – Faliatis (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – VIII – Gerulatis – VI – Unam – VI – Egeta – IX – Clevora – IX – Ad Aquas – XXIV – Dortico – XXV – Ad Malum – XVI – Ratiaris (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – XII – Remetodia – IV – Almo – IX – Pomodiana – IX – Camistro – VI – Aug(us)tis – XX – Pedonianis – XI – Esco (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – XIV – Vio – IX – Anasamo – XVII – Securispa – XIII – Dimo – XVI – Adnovas (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – IX – Latro – XVI – Trimamio – XII – Pristis (Ruse) – IX – Tegrus (Marten) – XIV – Appiaris (Ryakhovo) – XIII – Trasmarsca – (Tutrakan) – XII – Nigrinianis (Malak Preslavets) – XIII – Tegvlicio (Sreburna) – XI – Durostero (Silistra, vignette, type ‘double tower’). The total distance along this road is 423 miles. 35 figure distances are mentioned, 35 settlements, and 5 vignettes type ‘double tower’. The frequency of the distances is: 4 (Roman miles) – 1 (time); 6 – 3; 8 – 1; 9 – 7; 10 – 2; 11 – 3; 12 – 4; 13 – 4; 14 – 2; 15 – 1; 16 – 3; 17 – 1; 20 – 1; 24 – 1; 25 – 1. So, of 35 distance figures, 27, i.e. 77,14% are in between the values of 8 to 16 miles.

Above I analyzed the settlement of Viminatio. Lederata and Translederata, i.e. Ram (Serbia) and Stara Palanka (‘Old’ Palanka) / Banatska Palanka (‘Palanca Bănăţeană’) are two settlements with a special strategic status. They are part of the system of crossing points. Such points were essential when the Romans turned to the offensive.⁴⁶ A Roman fortress at Banatska Palanka was supposed, based on the discovery of a stamp tile belonging to *al(a) II P(annoniorum)*. We know that this troop participated at the Dacian wars. The tile was discovered on the Sapaja Island. Radu Ardevan argues that the transfer of the *ala II Pannoniorum* in Upper Moesia must have taken place sometime after 88 and before 93 A.D.⁴⁷ Immediately after the conquest, *ala II Pannoniorum* was garrisoned at Gherla, in Northern Dacia, where it built a timber-earth camp. Stamp tiles belonging to another troop, *coh(ors) I Cre(tum)*, were also found in Stara Palanka.⁴⁸ This troop is also attested in Dacia in the military diploma from June 2 110 A.D., with the name *cohors I Cretum sagittariorum*.⁴⁹ Another troop attested here is *cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica equitata* and *vexillationes* from the legions of Moesia Superior – *legio VII Claudia* and *legio IIII Flavia*. Unfortunately, the Roman fortress from the 2nd-3rd century is unknown. We know only the late Roman fortification from the Sapaja Island.

The distance mentioned in Tabula from Viminacium to Lederata is correct. Measured on modern maps, this distance is of circa 14 kilometres, almost 10 miles, as depicted in the Peutinger map.

The next point in the Peutinger map is Punicum. In the *Map-by-Map directory* which accompanies the Barrington Atlas⁵⁰, the settlement is located at Veliko Gradište (Serbia), at the confluence of the Pek River with the Danube. The toponym is mentioned one more time in the Peutinger map, near Aquas Appolinaris (4B3 at Talbert, V3 at Miller). Punicum is not mentioned in the Antonine itinerary or in the Bordeaux itinerary. From all the other sources, it seems obvious that the settlement was very important. The settlement is mentioned in *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XLI (*Dux Moesiae primae*): *Sub disposition viri spectabilis ducis Moesiae primae: Cuneus equitum Constantiacorum, Pinco; Cuneus equitum*

⁴⁶ Karavas 2003, p. 192.

⁴⁷ Ardevan 2007, p. 139-155.

⁴⁸ Jovanović 1996a, p. 69-71.

⁴⁹ Nemeth 2005, p. 35-36.

⁵⁰ See the list in the Barrington Atlas, Map 21, Moesia-Dacia, 320, D5, Pincus/Punicum.

Dalmatarum, Pinco.⁵¹ Plinius (III, 149) also mentions the river Pingus. The geographer of Ravenna⁵² also lists this settlement after the paragraph mentioning the settlements from Dacia:

‘Item ultra Danubium iuxta civitatem quam praediximus Nobas Italicam est civitas quae dicitur Dimon, item Securisca, Ansamon, Bion, Oaecon, Melta, Emon, Pedolanis, Vico Bapeni, Augusti, Regiano, Ciambiron, Cumodina, Remotodion, Ratiaris, Malum, Dorticum, Aquas, Clebora, Egeta, Luna, Gerbiatis, Taliatis, Scrofulas, Novas, Vicco Cupae, Punicum’.

Unfortunately, archaeological researches were not focused on this fort, but the location is known from notes of various travelers and old researches, as well as from accidental archaeological finds.⁵³

The next settlement is vico Cuppae, positioned 9 miles after Punicum and 12 miles before Adnovas. An auxiliary fort was built here (165 x 165 m). An earlier timber fort first functioned, followed by a stone phase. Stamps belonging to the *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum* and *cohors V Hispanorum* (for the early phase), and stamps belonging to the *legio III Flavia* and *legio VII Claudia* were found here.⁵⁴ Cuppae is the first settlement mentioned in the Antonine itinerary along the road from Viminacium to Nicomedia (217,5. *Item per ripam a Viminatio Nicomediam*). Notitia Dignitatum mentions (XLI, *Dux Moesiae primae*): (19) *Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum, Cuppis*, (25) *Auxilium Cuppense, Cuppis*, (32) *Praefectus legionis septimae Claudiaae, Cuppis*.

A table will be useful to compare data from the Peutinger map, and the Antonine itinerary.

The Antonine itinerary			The Peutinger map		Current settlement
			<i>Viminatio</i>	10	Kostolac, Serbia
			Lederata	13	Ram, Serbia
			Punicum	11	Veliko Gradište Serbia
217,7	Cuppe	24	Vico cuppae	12	Golubac Serbia
218,1	Novas	24	Adnovas	10	Brnjica-Gradac, ⁵⁵ close to Česavi, Serbia
			Adscrofulas	15	Bosman?, Serbia ⁵⁶
218,2	Talia	12	Faliatis (vign.)	8	Donji Milanovac, Serbia ⁵⁷
			Gerulatis	6	Miroč, Serbia
			Unam	6	Kraku Krčag?, Serbia
218,3	Egeta	21	Egeta	9	Brza Palanka, Serbia ⁵⁸
			Clevora	9	Mihajlovac, Serbia ⁵⁹
218,4	Aquis	16	Ad Aquas	24	Miloševo, Serbia
219,1	Dortico	10	Dortico	25	Vrâv, Bulgaria
219,2	Bononia	17	Ad Malum	16	Vidin, Bulgaria ⁶⁰
219,3	Ratiaria leg. XIII GG.	18	Ratiaris (vignette)	12	Archer, Bulgaria
			Remetodia	4	Orsoja?, Bulgaria

⁵¹ Seeck 1962, p. 92-93.

⁵² Pinder, Parthey 1860, p. 189-190.

⁵³ Petrović, Vasić 1996, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Gudea 2001, p. 61-62.

⁵⁵ Gudea 2001, 62, no. 12.

⁵⁶ According to Barrington Atlas, Map 21, Dacia-Moesia, compiled by Wilkes 1996, 312, D5.

⁵⁷ Gudea 2001, p. 70, no. 12.

⁵⁸ Popović 1984, p. 153-166.

⁵⁹ Petrović, Vasić 1996, p. 14 (the map, no. 55).

⁶⁰ Milošević 1988, p. 117-123.

219,4	Almo	18	Almo	9	Lom, Bulgaria
			Pomodiana	9	Stanevo, Bulgaria
220,1	Cebro / Cebrus	18	Camistro	6	Cebro in ItAnt, Ciambbron in Rav., Gorni Tsibar, Bulgaria.
220,2	Augustis	18	Aug(us)tis	20	Hârlets, Bulgaria
220,3	Variana	12			Leskovo, Bulgaria
220,4	Valeriana	12			Dolni Vadin, Bulgaria
			Pedonianis	11	Vadin, Bulgaria
220,5	Oesco leg. V Mac.	12	Esco (vignette)	14	Gigen, Bulgaria
221,1	Uto	14	Vio	9	Utum, Bulgaria
			Anasamo	17	
221,2	Securisca	12	Securispa	13	Cherkovitsa, Bulgaria
221,3	Dimo	12	Dimo	16	Belene, Bulgaria
221,4	Novas leg. I Ital.	16	Adnovas (vignette)	9	Svishtov, Bulgaria
222,1	Scaidava	18			Sacidava, Dunăreni?
			Latro	16	
222,2	Trimmamio	7	Trimmamio	12	Mechka, Bulgaria
222,3	Sexantapristis	12	Pristis (Ruse)	9	Ruse, Bulgaria
222,4	Tigra	9	Tegris	14	Martensko Kale, Bulgaria ⁶¹
222,5	Appiaria	13	Appiaris	13	Ryahovo, Bulgaria ⁶²
223,1	Transmariscam	16	Transmarisca	12	Tutrakan, Bulgaria
223,2	Candidiana	13	Nigrinianis	13	Malak Preslavets, Bulgaria ⁶³
223,3	Teclicio	12	Tegvlicio	11	Tegulitium - Vetren, Bulgaria
223,4	Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	12	Durostero	18	Silistra, Bulgaria ⁶⁴

The Antonine itinerary lists between Viminatio and Durostero 28 settlements and 27 distances. The frequency of the distances is: 7 – 1 (time); 9 – 1; 10 – 1; 12 – 9; 13 – 2; 14 – 1; 16 – 3; 17 – 1; 18 – 5; 21 – 1; 24 – 2. The total distance along this road is 398 miles, which is 588.443 kilometers. As one can observe, of 27 distance figures, nine of them are 12 miles, and 9 distance figures are higher than 16. The Peutinger map lists 35 settlements, so the information contained is more complete, more accurate. The total distance mentioned in the Peutinger map along this route is 423 Roman miles, which is 625.405 kilometers. The current distance is 707 kilometers, so again the Peutinger map provides more accurate information.

I will provide some case studies concerning several settlements and distances listed in both the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary.

After Dorticum, the next settlement in the Peutinger map is Ad Malum (25 miles between these two settlements) and then, after another 16 miles Ratiaria is listed. The Antonine itinerary lists Dortico – 10 – Bononia – 17 – Ratiaria. Dorticum is correctly located by Löhberg⁶⁵ and Wilkes⁶⁶ at Vrâv, in Bulgaria, on the right bank of the Danube River, across the Romanian settlement Gârla Mare, where a

⁶¹ Velkov 1977.

⁶² Velkov 1977, p. 99.

⁶³ Velkov 1977, p. 105.

⁶⁴ Hoddinott 1975, p. 138-42; Donevski 1991.

⁶⁵ Löhberg 2006, p. 189.

⁶⁶ Wilkes 1996, p. 316.

villa rustica was discovered.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, as Madhzarov states, no archaeological excavations have been done so far in Dorticum. Still, a Roman settlement (*vicus*) and *castellum* are attested here. Remains of a Thracian settlement were also found. Stamps belonging to *cohors I Cretum* were also discovered here. The area where is located today the Roman settlement is called “Cetate”/ “The Stronghold”.⁶⁸ Dorticum is mentioned in the Peutinger map 24 Roman miles away from Ad Aquas, and in the Antonine itinerary 16 Roman miles from Aquis. Ad Aquas/Aquis is either Miloševo, or Negotin, both in Serbia, close to each other. Madhzarov observes that the distance provided in the Peutinger map (24 miles) is too big comparing to the current distance between Negotin and Vrâv. Measured on digital maps, in straight line, this distance is 17 kilometers. Since one do not knows exactly the location of Ad Aquas and the route of the Roman road, Madhzarov’s hypothesis⁶⁹ seems, in my opinion, correct: it might be possible that the copyist of the Peutinger map wrote, by mistake, XXIII miles instead of XIII miles, which is 20 kilometers, and fits with the current distance measured on digital maps.

The problem with the location of the settlements Bononia (*ItAnt*) / Ad Malum (*TP*) is complicated. Some researches indicate that this is, in fact, a single settlement, initially named Ad Malum and then Bononia. Others think that these are two different settlements. The Peutinger map indicates 25 miles from Dorticum to Ad Malum, which is 36,96 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary indicates 10 miles, i.e. 14,785 kilometers. Measured on digital maps, the current distance, along the right bank of the Danube, between Dorticum and Ad Malum / Koshava is 27 kilometers, and, continuing the line of the Danube within its elbow, one reaches Vidin. The total distance from Dorticum (Vrâv) to Vidin is 44 kilometers, closer to the information provided by the Peutinger map. Therefore, once again, the Antonine itinerary provides inaccurate information. J. J. Wilkes locates Ad Malum at Koshava and Bononia at Vidin.⁷⁰

N. Gudea, using archaeological data and other sources, provides a list of the forts in Moesia Inferior. At Brnjica-Gradac, close to Česavi, an auxiliary fort of *cohors I Montanorum* was built. It had a quadrangular form (Gudea provides different versions regarding its dimensions, which are, basically, 120 x 140 m). Stamps belonging to *legio VII Claudia* were also discovered. Repairs of certain areas were observed in the forts, and were dated during Septimius Severus’ reign. 12 kilometers east of the fort described another small one was discovered, at Brnjica-Turski Potok. This is rather a *burgus* of 14 x 20 m.

At Donji Milanovac another auxiliary fort was built. The stone phase of this fort provides its dimensions: 121 x 140 m. The earth and timber phase was dated in the second half of the first century A.D. During the stone phase, stamps belonging to the *legio VII Claudia* and *cohors I Lusitanorum* were found. Repairs were made during the third century A.D.⁷¹ 115 m east of this fort a small *castellum* (42 x 40 m) is attested, at Donji Milanovac – Mali Gradac.⁷² Other forts presented by Gudea are: (Malo) Golubinja / Cetate – a small *castellum*;⁷³ Tekija (Transdierna?) – fort with two phases. In the stone phase the fortress had 84 x 100 m;⁷⁴ Davidovac – Karataš (Diana? Caput Bovis?) – auxiliary fort (*statio cataractarum*), 128 x 132 m.⁷⁵

Brza Palanka (Egeta) is also attested in Ptolemy (III, 9, 3). Two phases of this fortress were investigated. During the stone phase, the fortress had 140 x 150 m.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ Stângă 2005; Gudea 2007, p. 31-40.

⁶⁸ Madhzarov 2009, p. 135.

⁶⁹ Madhzarov 2009, p. 135.

⁷⁰ Wilkes 2005, p. 211. He specifies: “Vrâv BUL (Dorticum): probable fort on right bank of Timok, near mouth, stamps of coh. I Cretum; fourth century, cuneus equitum Divitensium (B-L, 231; IV, 481; GMS, 26); [...] Koshava BUL (Ad Malum): possible harbour opposite Kikinete island (IV, 481); [...] Vidin BUL (Bononia) [B21E5]: possible fort; fortress of IIII Flavia before a.d. 101?; fort, stone, coh. I Cisipadensium, stamps and records of coh. I Cretum, ala I Claudia miscellanea, numerus Dalmatarum; fourth century, cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium (B-L, 230; IV, 481-2; GMS, 29)”.

⁷¹ Gudea 2001, p. 70-72, no. 13.

⁷² Gudea 2001, p. 72, no. 13a.

⁷³ Gudea 2001, p. 72, no. 13b.

⁷⁴ Gudea 2001, p. 73, no. 14.

⁷⁵ Gudea 2001, p. 75, no. 17.

⁷⁶ Gudea 2001, p. 87, no. 23.

5. THE RAVENNA COSMOGRAPHY AND THE DANUBIAN ROAD

The Ravenna Cosmography provides a list of these settlements too, but following an east to west topographical order:

‘Item ultra Danubium iuxta civitatem quam praediximus Nobas Italicam est civitas quae dicitur Dimon, item Securisca, Ansamon, Bion, Oaecon, Melta, Emon, Pedolanis, vico Pabeni, Augusti, Regiano, Ciambiron, Cumodina, Remotodion, Ratiaris, Malum, Dorticum, Aquas, Clebora, Egeta, Luna, Gerbiatis, Taliatis, Scrofulas, Novas, vico Cuppae, Punicum.’

The same author provides a general description of Moesia:

‘Iterum ponuntur Mysiae duae, id est inferior et superior. quas patrias plurimi descripserunt philosophii; ex quibus ego legi praefatiim miserrimum Porphyrium nec non Livanium Graecorum philosophos, sed et Castorium et Lollianum atque Arbitonem Romanorum philosophos, sed non concordarunt aequaliter in designando patrias. ego vero secundum praefatum Livanium inferius dictas civitates de super scriptis Mysiis nominavi. in qua Mysia plurimas fuisse civitates legimus, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est Bireon, Carsion, Capidapa, Sancidapa, Durostolon, Tegulicia, Nigrinianis, Stamarisca, Apiaris, Tigris, Pistis, Trimamion, Latron, Nobas Italica.’

Therefore, the Ravenna Cosmography mentions: 1. DIMON (basic form Dimum), in the Peutinger map Dimo, in the Antonine itinerary Dimo; 2. SECURISCA (basic form Securisca), in TP Securisca, in *ItAnt* also Securisca; 3. ANSAMON (basic form Ansamum), mentioned only in TP as Ansamo; 4. BION (basic form Utum), mentioned in TP as Vio and listed in *ItAnt* as Uto. An important observation must be stressed here: the Cosmographer used to copy this settlement an itinerary, because he copied Bio, from Vio, not Uto, as in the Antonine itinerary; 5. OAECON (basic form Oescus), in TP Esco and in *ItAnt* Oesco; 6. MELTA (Lovech, Bulgaria), only in the Cosmography; 7. EMON, only in the Cosmography; 8. PEDOLANIS, only in the Peutinger map, as Pedonianis; 9. VICO PABENI (basic form Variana), only in the Antonine itinerary; 10. AUGUSTI (basic form Augustae), in TP Augustis, in *ItAnt* Augustis; 11. REGIANO, only in the Cosmography – Kozlodui?, Bulgaria; 12. CIAMBRON (basic form Cebus), Camistro in TP, Cebro in *ItAnt*; 13. CUMODINA, only in TP (Pomodiana); 14. REMETODION (basic form Remetodia), only in TP; 15. RATIARIS (basic form Ratiaria), in TP Ratiaris, in the Antonine itinerary Ratiaria XIII G.G.; 16. MALUM (basic form Bononia), in TP Ad Malum, in the Antonine itinerary Bononia; 17. DORTICUM (basic form Dorticum), in TP Dortico, in the Antonine itinerar Dortico; 18. AQUAS (basic form Aquae), in TP Ad Aquas, in *ItAnt* Aquis; 19. CLEBORA (basic form Clevora), only in TP, as Clevora; 20. EGETA (basic form Egetae), in TP Egeta, in *ItAnt* Egeta; 21. LUNA, only in TP, as Unam; 22. GERBIATIS, only in TP, as Gerulatis; 23. TALIATIS (basic form Taliata), in TP Faliatis, in *ItAnt* Talia; 24. SCROFULAS, only in TP as Adscrofulas; 25. NOVAS (basic form Novae), in TP Adnovas, in *ItAnt* Novas; 26. VICCO CUPPAE (basic form Cuppae), in TP Vico cuppae, in *ItAnt* Cuppe; 27. PUNICUM, only in TP as Punicum.

Between Dimo and Punicum, the Cosmography lists 27 place-names, while the Antonine itinerary lists only 18 place-names. Instead, the Peutinger map mentions 25 place-names. Strange fact, the Cosmography do not mentions Viminacium, or Lederata! Lederata is mentioned only in the Peutinger map, and not in the Antonine itinerary.

To sum up: Ansamon (Ansamum), Pedolanis (Pedonianis), Cumodina (Pomodiana), Remetodion (Remetodia), Clebora (Clevora), Luna (Unam), Gerbiatis (Gerulatis), Scrofulas (Adscrofulas), and Punicum (Punicum) are mentioned in the Cosmography and in the Peutinger map. In total there are 9 place-names.

Vico Pabeni (Variana) is the only settlement mentioned only in the Cosmography and the Antonine itinerary.

Fourteen place-names listed in the *Cosmography*: Dimon, Securisca, Bion, Oaecon, Augusti, Ciambiron, Ratiaris, Malum, Dorticum, Aquas, Egeta, Taliatis, Novas, and Cuppae, are mentioned in all three sources: the *Cosmography*, the *Peutinger map* and the *Antonine itinerary*.

Two place-names are mentioned only in the *Cosmography*: Melta and Emon. Valeriana and Scaidava are listed only in the *Antonine itinerary*.

The topographic order used by the *Cosmographer* is opposed comparing with the method used in the *Antonine itinerary* or the *Peutinger map*, where the place-names are listed/depicted from West to East.

These data lead to a conclusion. The main source of the *Cosmographer* was one or several itineraries, which depicted the Danubian road. But he also used another source, different of the *Antonine itinerary* or the *Peutinger map*. What was that source? In my opinion, he used local late sources, where he founded new place-names, combining all data in his text.

In the first volume of *The History of Cartography* some data are provided concerning the *Cosmography*.⁷⁷ I underline that only because of its form the work perpetuates a written form of such documents. In fact, the Ravenna cosmographer inspired his work from *itineraria* mostly. Circa 5000 place-names are listed. This is interesting. The *Peutinger map* mentions, roughly, circa 2700 place-names, and the *Antonine itinerary* lists circa 2740 place-names.⁷⁸ Ptolemy mentions circa 8000 place-names! Researchers already explained that the presence of 8000 place-names can be explained only in one way: during medieval time, this work was copied so many times, and settlements were added. Maybe the same thing happened with the Ravenna *Cosmography*. Both the *Antonine itinerary* and the *Peutinger map* are close regarding the number of the place-names. Then, Dilke affirms that the compiler proceeds roughly from west to east. Yes, this is true, regarding the order of the provinces. But individually, the routes within the provinces do not respect a certain topographical order and they have to be separately analyzed.

⁷⁷ Harley, Woodward 1987, chapter 15: O. A. W. *Cartography in the Byzantine Empire* (with additional material supplied by the editors), p. 260: "The principal geographical listing of places to have survived is known as the Ravenna cosmography. While this is clearly indebted to the earlier Roman models, the work perpetuates the written rather than the graphic form of such documents for travelers or other interested readers. It takes its name from what was the center of Byzantine power in Italy from A.D. 540 to 751. It is a list, in Latin, of some five thousand geographical names arranged in approximate topographical order, gathered from maps of most of the known world, the compiler proceeding roughly from west to east. It was not an official document of the Byzantine bureaucracy but was worked up by an unknown cleric (referred to now as the Ravenna cosmographer) for a fellow cleric called Odo, perhaps soon after the year 700. He gave his sources as Castorius (frequently quoted), Christian historians such as Orosius (fl. A.D. 414-17) and Jordanes (sixth century A.D.), and various Gothic writers, but he seems to have varied his method of compilation from region to region.

Rather unsystematically, the Ravenna cosmographer apparently set out to list all the main places (*civitates*) of each area, together with some rivers and islands. There is no sign of methodical selection, so if the text contains a reference to an unknown place near a known place, there is only a fair chance that the unknown locality was in fact close by, whereas mention of an unknown place between two known ones can fairly safely be taken as an indication of its true position. The cosmographer noted: 'We could, with the help of Christ, have written up the harbors and promontories of the whole world and the mileages between individual towns', a comment that suggests one of his sources might have been similar to the *Peutinger map*. This has thus led some modern writers to attempt to see Castorius (thought to have lived in the fourth century A.D.), as the maker of the *Peutinger map*. However, it seems unlikely that the Ravenna cosmographer would have been so erratic in his ordering of place-names had his principal source contained roads as the *Peutinger map* does. It has also been claimed that a very corrupt form of Ptolemy's *Geography* was used for some parts of Asia and for the islands. One may suggest, though, that what looks like a corruption of Ptolemy's text may have been a slightly less corrupt version of Marinus, on the assumption that Marinus's map was in fact available at Ravenna. Such questions are difficult to resolve, especially in view of the cosmographer's lack of method. This has often resulted either in omission of important places or in duplication of names, implying that the author was inexpert at reading map names in Greek. Sometimes he would give a contemporary regional name (e.g., Burgandia) in association with that of an ancient tribe (e.g., Allobroges).

However the sources of the Ravenna cosmography are interpreted, it is clear that a selection of Greek and Roman maps was available for consultation in Italy at this time in Byzantine history. This listing, then, provides important evidence for the continuing use of maps, albeit in a very nontechnical way, even though the earlier impetus to produce new maps - or to revise older maps as new sources of information became available - no longer appears to have been given priority among scholars in early eighth-century Ravenna."

⁷⁸ Fodorean 2011a, p. 58.

6. NOTITIA DIGNITATVM AND THE DANUBIAN ROAD

In *Notitia Dignitatum*,⁷⁹ the following settlements along this road are mentioned:

‘Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Daciae ripensis:

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium, Bononia.

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium, Dortico.

Cuneus equitum scutariorum, Cebro.

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium, Drobeta.

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum, Augustae.

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum, Varina.

Cuneus equitum stablesianorum, Almo.

Cuneus equitum scutariorum, **Aegetae**.

Cuneus equitum Constantinianorum, **Uto**.

[..]

Auxilium Mariensium, Oesco.

[...]

Praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae, Variniana.

Praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae, Cebro.

Praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae, Oesco.

Praefectus legionis tertiaedecimae geminae, Aegeta.

[...]

Praefectus legionis tertiaedecimae geminae, Ratiaria.

[...]

Praefectus classis Histricae, Aegetae.

Praefectus classis Ratianensis.’

Several observations must be stressed here. First, in *Notitia Dignitatum* the settlement Vio is written Uto, as in the Antonine itinerary. Above, we saw that the Ravenna cosmographer used Bio, from Vio, as in the Peutinger map, not Uto, as in the Antonine itinerary. Varina and Variniana are Variana and Valeriana, two settlements mentioned only in the Antonine itinerary. So, at least for this area, it seems that *Notitia Dignitatum* used, as one possible source, the Antonine itinerary.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In the Peutinger map, the settlements and the distances are: Viminatio – X – Lederata – XIII – Punicum – XI – Vico cuppae – XII – Adnovas – X – Adscrofulas – XV – Faliatis (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – VIII – Gerulatis – VI – Unam – VI – Egeta – IX – Clevora – IX – Ad Aquas – XXIV – Dortico – XXV – Ad Malum – XVI – Ratiaris (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – XII – Remetodia – IV – Almo – IX – Pomodiana – IX – Camistro – VI – Aug(us)tis – XX – Pedonianis – XI – Esco (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – XIV – Vio – IX – Anasamo – XVII – Securispa – XIII – Dimo – XVI – Adnovas (vignette, type ‘double tower’) – IX – Latro – XVI – Trimamio – XII – Pristis (Ruse) – IX – Tegrís (Marten) – XIV – Appiariis (Ryakhovo) – XIII – Trasmarsica – (Tutrakan) – XII – Nigrinianis (Malak Preslavets) – XIII – Tegvlicio (Sreburna) – XI – Durostero (Silistra, vignette, type ‘double tower’). The total distance along this road is 423 miles. 35 figure distances are mentioned, 35 settlements, and 5 vignettes type ‘double tower’. The frequency of the distances is: 4 (Roman miles) – 1 (time); 6 – 3; 8 – 1; 9 – 7; 10 – 2; 11 – 3; 12 – 4; 13 – 4; 14 – 2; 15 – 1; 16 – 3; 17 – 1; 20 – 1; 24 – 1; 25 – 1. So, of 35 distance figures, 27, i.e. 77,14% are in between the values of 8 to 16 miles.

⁷⁹ Seeck 1962, p. 95-97.

Along the road from Viminacium to Durostorum, the Antonine itinerary lists 26 settlements, 26 distance figures and 386 miles:

217,7	Cuppe	24	221,1	Uto	14
218,1	Novas	24	221,2	Securisca	12
218,2	Talia	12	221,3	Dimo	12
218,3	Egeta	21	221,4	Novas leg. I Ital.	16
218,4	Aquis	16	222,1	Scaidava	18
219,1	Dortico	10	222,2	Trimmamio	7
219,2	Bononia	17	222,3	Sexantapristis	12
219,3	Ratiaria leg. XIII GG.	18	222,4	Tigra	9
219,4	Almo	18	222,5	Appiaria	13
220,1	Cebro / Cebrus	18	223,1	Transmariscam	16
220,2	Augustis	18	223,2	Candidiana	13
220,3	Variana	12	223,3	Teclicio	12
220,4	Valeriana	12	223,4	Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	
220,5	Oesco leg. V Mac.	12			

TP distance figures (miles)	Distance figures	<i>ItAnt</i> distance figures (miles)	Distance figures
III (4)	1	III (4)	-
VI (6)	3	VI (6)	-
VIII (8)	1	VII (7)	1
VIII (9)	7	VIII (8)	-
X (10)	2	VIII (9)	1
XI (11)	3	X (10)	1
XII (12)	4	XII (12)	8
XIII (13)	4	XIII (13)	2
XIII (14)	2	XIII (14)	1
XV (15)	1	XVI (16)	3
XVI (16)	3	XVII (17)	1
XVII (17)	1	XVIII (18)	5
XVIII (18)	-	XX (20)	-
XVIII (19)	-	XXI (21)	1
XX (20)	1	XXIII (24)	2
XXII (22)	-	XXV (25)	-
XXIII (23)	-	XXVI (26)	-
XXIII (24)	1	XXX (30)	-
XXV (25)	1	XXXVI (36)	-
Total (distance figures)	35	Total (distance figures)	26
Total (miles)	423	Total (miles)	386
Total (settlements)	35	Total (settlements)	26

Higher distance figures are recorded in the Antonine itinerary, in comparison with the Peutinger map. Based on these examples, it seems possible that in the case of the Peutinger map, the map-maker used early, military itineraries to compile the document. Based on current data, it is also possible that the redactor of the Antonine itinerary might use official late documents from the state archives, related to *cursus publicus*. In the case of the Peutinger map, the values of the distances might reflect the distances covered by the marching armies, when they conquered new territories, so, obviously, these values are smaller, in many cases of 12 miles. Obviously, to go further with this research, one needs the exact current location of all the settlements mentioned here, but in many cases the archaeologists do not know the position of these ancient settlements.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia
 ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
 ArchRozhledy – Archeologické rozhledy, Praga
 ACMIT – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
 ActaMN (AMN) – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
 ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
 AD – Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Μελέτες, Athina : Tameio Archaiologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
 AÉ – Année Épigraphique, Paris
 AEM – Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
 AEMTh – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
 AIIA – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași
 AION Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Napoli
 AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
 AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
 AJPH – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
 AMNG I.1 – B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.1. Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898.
 AMNG I.2 – B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.2. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1910.
 Anali – Anali. Spisania za istorija, clasičeska kultura i iskustvoznania, Sofia
 AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
 AnnBolland – Annalecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles
 ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin – New York, 1972–1998
 Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
 ArchWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa
 ArchAnz – Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
 ArchBulgarica – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
 ArchÉrt – Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
 ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
 ArhMold – Archeologia Moldovei, Iași
 Arkheologiya (Kyiv) – Arkheologiya. Natsional'na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arkheologii, Kyiv.
 ArhPregled – Arheološki Pregled, Belgrad
 ArheologijaSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia
 ASGE – Arheologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, Leningrad.
 AÚSNitra – Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
 Balcanica – Balcanica. Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Balkaniques, Bucarest
 BAR Int. Ser. – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford.
 BBKL – *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 20 vols., Herzberg, 1975–2002
 BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes, Paris
 BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
 BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
 BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara

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- BMC – H. Mattingly, *Coins of Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 6 vol., 1923–1962
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BNSR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BNF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Broughton, *Magistrates* – T. Robert S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I-II, New York, 1952; *Supplement*, New York, 1960
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BS – *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vol., Roma, 1961–1970
- BSAcad. – Buletin Științific al Academiei Republicii Populare Române. Seria Științe istorice, filologice și economico-juridice, București
- BullÉp (BÉ) – Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris
- ByzZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- CArch – Cahiers Archéologiques, Paris
- CCG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- Cercetări Arheologice – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CIMRM – J. M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, 2. vol., 1956–1960.
- CIRB – V. V. Struve et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*, Leningrad, 1965
- CJ – The Classical Journal, Athens
- CN – Cercetări numismatice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ClAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley, California
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
- CRR (Grueber) – H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 3 vol., London, 1910
- Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, București
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
- DACL – *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 15 vols., Paris, 1899
- DECA – *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien*, Paris, 1990
- DHA – Dialogues d'Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
- DNP – Der neue Pauli, Stuttgart
- DID – *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, București, 1965–1971
- DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenienties, Budapest
- DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, București, 1976
- DHGE – *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 29 vols, Paris, 1912–2008
- Dolgozatok – Régészeti Dolgozatok Dissertationes Archaeologicae, Budapest
- EDR – *Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
- Epigr.-Travaux – *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977)*, recueillis et publiés par D. M. Pippidi et Em. Popescu, București, 1977
- EphemNap (EN) – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
- FHDR I – II – *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994
- ED – Ephemeris Daco-Romana, Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, București–Roma
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religion orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- FHG – C. Müller (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 6 vol., Paris, 1855–1878
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
- GGM – C. Müller (ed.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, Paris, 1882
- GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke.
- IDR – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane*, 1977–2001
- IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996–2000

- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IG VII – W. Dittenberger (éd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae VII : Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin 1892.
- IGR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris
- IGUR – *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rom
- IK – *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989
- ILD – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, 2010
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- INHA – Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris
- ISM – *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, București, I (1983), II (1987), III (1999), V (1980)
- ISTA – Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut, Sofia
- IzvestijaŠumen – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej, Šumen
- JAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeums von Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza
- JGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- JÖAI (ÖJh) – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- KSIIMK – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva – St. Petersburg
- KSIAU – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Arheologii Ukrainy, Kyiv
- LEC – *Les Études Classiques*, Bruxelles
- LGPN – *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford
- MAN – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institut, London
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetari Arheologice, București
- MitrArd – *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Sibiu
- MRR – E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885–1886.
- Mühlhäuser Beiträge – Mühlhäuser Beiträge, Mühlhausen
- NK – Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
- ODB – *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York–Oxford, 1991
- OPEL – *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Wien
- OrChrPer – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- QTNAC – Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche, Lugano
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- Pest Megyei múzeumi füzetek, Szentendre
- Peuce – Peuce, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993.
- PIR – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig.
- RB – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița Năsăud
- RA – Revue archéologique, Paris
- RE – Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893 sqq.
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques, Paris
- REL – Revue des Études Latines, Paris
- RevBistriței – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIR – Revista istorică română, București
- RIU – Römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006.
- RN – Revue Numismatique, Paris
- RPAN – Revista de preistorie și antichități naționale, București
- RRC (Crawford) – M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol., Cambridge, 1974
Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–

- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București
 Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
 SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (și arheologie), București
 SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
 SCȘ Cluj – Studii și cercetări științifice, Cluj
 SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979–1980, Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–.
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
 SP – Studii de Preistorie București
 Specimina Nova – Specimina Nova. Dissertationes ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Ianno Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
 SNGCop – *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen 1944–2000.
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
 Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
 StCl – Studii Clasice, București
 StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești
 StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu
 StTeol – Studii Teologice, București
 Studien und Forschungen – Studien und Forschungen, Offenbach am Main
 TAM – Tituli Asiae Minoris, Wien
 TD – Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București
 TGF – A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, editio secunda, Teubner, Leipzig, 1926
 TIB – *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Wien, 1976; 1991, 2008
 TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
 TLG – *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
 TRE – *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York, 1977-2002
 Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
 VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
 VigChr – Vigiliae Christianae, Leiden
 Xenia – Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Konstanz am Bodensee
 Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Museum schlesischer Altertümer, Breslau
 Zamosius (*Analecta*) – Stephanus Zamosius, *Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnularum in Dacia antiquitatum*, Patavii, 1593 (Istvan Szamosközy (Stephanus Zamosius), *Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnularum in Dacia antiquitatum*, Patavii, 1593. Inscriptiones Romanae in lapidibus antiquis Albae Iuliae et circa locorum 1598. Classé pour la publication par M. Balázs, I. Monok. Préface par M. Bărbulescu, A. Kovács, Szeged, 1992)
 ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
 WiadArch – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Warszawa
 WN – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, Warszawa