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# DISTANCES ALONG THE ROMAN ROADS IN THE ANTONINE ITINERARY: FROM BRITANNIA TO ASIA. A SHORT COMPARISON

FLORIN-GHEORGHE FODOREAN\*

**Keywords:** the Antonine itinerary, Britannia, Gallia, Hispania, Asia, road construction

**Abstract:** In an article published in 2001, Ray Laurence analyzed several aspects related to the geography of Roman Britain, based on ancient sources, including the Antonine itinerary<sup>1</sup>. Trying to present the structure and the information from the Antonine itinerary with reference to Britain, Laurence noted: “A key question is whether the structure of the itineraries for Britain reveals a geography that is distinct from the itineraries of other parts of the Roman Empire. When compared to the data for Italy, there is no significant difference between these itineraries in the range of miles between each stage, or the average spacing of places along routes”<sup>2</sup>. Further on, the author compared the distances from the Antonine itinerary for two regions: Britain and Italy. A total number of 163 distances are recorded for Italy in the Antonine itinerary and 160 distances are recorded for Britain. Based on these comparisons, the author has observed that the average distance between the settlements from Italy varies between 16 and 20 miles. For Britain, the average distance between the settlements varies between 11 and 15 miles. Ray Laurence has explained these differences based on a road construction criterion. In his opinion, in Britain, because of a lower quality of the Roman roads, the stopping points were located much closer than in Italy, where the surface of the roads was of better quality. My analysis focuses on other Roman provinces (Gallia, Hispania, Asia, Pannonia, and Moesia). Comparing the distance values from these regions, I reached the conclusion that the origin of the distances with smaller or higher values is not related to the quality of the roads, but they reflect the sources used to compile the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Itinerarium Antonini*, Britannia, Gallia, Hispania, Asia, construcție de drumuri

**Rezumat:** Într-un articol publicat în anul 2001, Ray Laurence a discutat câteva aspecte legate de geografia Britanniei, pe baza unor surse antice, printre care și *Itinerarium Antonini*<sup>3</sup>. În încercarea de a prezenta structura și informațiile din *Itinerarium Antonini* cu referire la Britannia, Laurence precizează: „A key question is whether the structure of the itineraries for Britain reveals a geography that is distinct from the itineraries of other parts of the Roman Empire. When compared to the data for Italy, there is no significant difference between these itineraries in the range of miles between each stage, or the average spacing of places along routes”<sup>4</sup>. Mai departe, autorul a comparat distanțele menționate în *Itinerarium Antonini* pentru două provincii: Britannia și Italia. Documentul antic înregistrează un număr total de 163 de distanțe în Italia și 160 de distanțe în Britannia. Pe baza acestor observații, Ray Laurence a menționat că distanța medie consemnată în *Itinerarium Antonini* între așezările din Italia este cuprinsă între valorile de 16-20 de mile romane. Pentru Britannia, valorile de distanțe medii consemnate în *Itinerarium Antonini* sunt cuprinse între 11-15 mile romane. Laurence a explicat aceste diferențe ca având legătură directă cu calitatea drumurilor. În opinia lui, din cauza drumurilor mai slabe din punct de vedere calitativ în Britannia, punctele de oprire de-a lungul drumurilor au fost amplasate la distanțe mai reduse unul față de altul, spre deosebire de Italia, unde, crede Laurence, drumurile au fost mai bine construite. Analiza mea se oprește și asupra altor provincii romane (Gallia, Hispania, Asia, Pannonia, Moesia). Comparând distanțele înregistrate în *Itinerarium Antonini* în aceste provincii, am ajuns la concluzia că distanțele cu valori mai mici sau mai mari nu au legătură cu calitatea drumurilor, ci mai degrabă reflectă sursele primare pe care le-au avut la dispoziție cei care au compilat *Tabula Peutingeriana* și *Itinerarium Antonini*.

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<sup>1</sup> Laurence 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence 2001.

<sup>4</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 81.

## 1. PREMISES

Not long ago<sup>5</sup>, I had initiated a debate regarding the Danubian road from Viminacium to Durostorum in Roman itineraries. In the article published in 2014, I tried to compare the most important documents concerning travel in the Roman world: the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary. I also used data from other ancient sources, such as the Bordeaux itinerary, and *Notitia Dignitatum* or the Ravenna Geographer. To provide new insights with focus on the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary, I compared the distances indicated between settlements. The analysis led me to the conclusion 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 stated that in the case of the Peutinger map, the mapmaker used early, military itineraries to compile the document. The person who compiled the Antonine itinerary used, instead, official late documents from the state archives, related to *cursus publicus*. Using the facilities and the logistics offered by the state, it was normal for a traveller to cover bigger distances, of 20, 25, 30 miles. 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.

In the last five years, I focused on the research of the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary<sup>6</sup>. There are still some questions regarding: 1. their dating; 2. the sources used by those who have created these two documents; 3. the connection with other documents<sup>7</sup>. In my opinion, the fundamental problem related to these two itineraries is not connected to their general dating, but to the detail degree of analysis of the information related to each province, in order to obtain individual clues to date the situation for each region. That is why, in my attempt to find other methodological solutions, I have decided to compare the distances between the settlements. I have analysed all the information depicted on the Peutinger map and listed in the Antonine itinerary. I have further compared the distances between the same settlements with the values listed in both ancient itineraries under discussion. I have applied this method only in those cases when I was able to identify the current modern location of the ancient toponyms. Using this method, I was also able to compare the distances from the cartographic documents with the distances measured along the former Roman roads. Then I have extended my comparison, to reach results as close to reality as possible, using also data from epigraphic sources (milestones) or literary sources.

## 2. RAY LAURENCE'S OPINIONS ABOUT THE ANTONINE ITINERARY

In an article published in 2001, Ray Laurence analysed several aspects related to the geography of Roman Britain, based on ancient sources, including the Antonine itinerary<sup>8</sup>. Trying to present the structure and the information from the Antonine itinerary with reference to Britain, Laurence noted: "A key question is whether the structure of the itineraries for Britain reveals a geography that is distinct from the itineraries of other parts of the Roman Empire. When compared to the data for Italy, there is no significant difference between these itineraries in the range of miles between each stage, or the average spacing of places along routes"<sup>9</sup>. Further on, the author compared the distances from the Antonine itinerary for two regions: Britain and Italy. A total number of 163 distances are recorded for Italy in the Antonine itinerary and 160 distances are recorded for Britain. Based on these comparisons, the author has observed that the average distance between the settlements from Italy varies between 16 and 20 miles. For Britain, the average distance between the settlements varies between 11 and 15 miles. Ray Laurence has explained these differences based on a road

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<sup>5</sup> Fodorean 2014a, p. 215-229.

<sup>6</sup> The results of my research: Fodorean 2014b.

<sup>7</sup> Studies focused on the Peutinger map: Miller 1887; Miller 1888; Miller 1916; Levi, Levi 1967; Weber 1976; Bosio 1983; Arnaud 1988, p. 302-321; Weber 1989, p. 113-117; Albu 2005, p. 136-148; Albu 2008, p. 111-119; Talbert 2010. Studies focused on the Antonine itinerary: Arnaud 1993, p. 33, with the essential bibliography; Löhberg 2006; Bauer 2007; Fodorean 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 67-94.

<sup>9</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 81.

construction criterion. In his opinion, in Britain, because of a lower quality of the Roman roads, the stopping points were located much closer than in Italy, where the surface of the roads was of better quality<sup>10</sup>.

I shall detail these aspects. According to the graphic in Figure 4.16 from Laurence's book<sup>11</sup>, in Italy, out of 163 distances listed in the Antonine itinerary, 46 vary between 16 and 20 miles and 52 distance values are between 21 and 25 miles. Therefore, there are 98 out of 163 distances with values between 16 and 25 miles. According to the same graphic, 27 distances from the same region, i.e. Italy, range between 11 and 15 miles. In comparison, 65 distance values from Britain range between 11 and 15 miles. Also, still in Britain, the Antonine itinerary lists 31 distances with values from 16 to 20 miles and 25 distances with values from 21 to 25 miles. Therefore, in Britain, the Antonine itinerary lists 56 distances with values from 16 to 25 miles, out of a total number of 160 distances. In order to compare these values with those from Pannonia and Moesia, I shall also include in these calculations the distance values higher than 25 miles from Italy and Britain. In Italy, 12 distance values, and in Britain 9 distance values vary between 26 and 30 miles. Therefore, the statistics proves that: 1. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 110 distances, out of 163, with values between 16 and 30 miles; 2. In Britain, the Antonine itinerary mentions 65 out of 160 distances ranging in value between 16 and 30 miles. On the other hand: 1. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 27 distance values between 11 and 15 miles; 2. In Britain, the Antonine itinerary mentions 67 distance values between 11 and 15 miles.

Ray Laurence has concluded that in Britain, a province located, in his opinion, at the periphery of the Roman Empire, the distances listed in the Antonine itinerary are smaller by comparison with the distances from Italy, a province located in the centre of the Empire. This implicitly means that the network of stopping points along the roads of Roman Britain was denser by comparison with Italy. The author explained this by arguing that the roads of Britain were not paved, in contrast with the outstanding, well-paved roads of Roman Italy, which allowed one to cover higher distances in one travelling day<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, Ray Laurence has concluded that because of the unpaved roads, travelling in Britain was far more difficult. The result is illustrated by the higher number of stopping points in Britain, and, implicitly, by the smaller distance values in the Antonine itinerary. If the historical discourse of the British historian was entirely correct, then it could be extrapolated to other provinces. As a matter of fact, Ray Laurence made comparisons with other provinces: Britannia – Gallia, Britannia – Hispania, and Britannia – Asia.

In Gallia, according to the graphic in Figure 4.17 in Laurence's book<sup>13</sup>, 33 distance values vary between 11 and 15 miles. Also, 39 distance values range from 16 to 20 miles, 20 distance values from 21 to 25 miles and three distance values from 26 to 30 miles. In total, according to the same graphic, I have counted 134 distance values for Gallia.

Therefore, one reaches, again, the following data (the comparison from Laurence's graphic is with Britannia): 1. In Britain, the Antonine itinerary mentions 65 distances with values from 16 to 30 miles, out of a total of 160 distances; 2. In Gallia, the Antonine itinerary lists 62 distances with values from 16 to 30 miles, out of a total of 134 distances. On the other hand: 1. In Britain, the same document lists 67 distance values between 11 and 15 miles; 2. In Gallia, the Antonine itinerary lists 33 distances between 11 and 15 miles. After this analysis, Ray Laurence observed the differences regarding the values of the distances in Gallia and Britain, noting that in Britain the majority of these distances are between 11 and 15 miles, so the distances are smaller by comparison with those from Gallia. The author has also noted that the values of the distances in Gallia are rather close to those from Italy. Therefore, Ray Laurence reached the conclusion that the values of the distances from the provinces located in the centre of the Roman Empire are higher in comparison with the values of the distances from the peripheral provinces, such as Spain or Asia<sup>14</sup>.

In Spain, according to the graphic in Figure 4.18 in Laurence's book<sup>15</sup>, 35 distance values range between 11 and 15 miles. Also, 60 distance values vary from 16 to 20 miles, 62 distance values from 21 to 25 miles and 25 distances are between 26 to 30 miles. In total, according to the same graphic, I have counted 230 distance values listed in Spain in the Antonine itinerary.

<sup>10</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 83.

<sup>12</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 84.

<sup>14</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 85.

Therefore, one reaches again the following data (the comparison from the graphic is made also with Britannia): 1. In Britannia, the Antonine itinerary mentions 65 distances between the values of 16 and 30 miles, out of a total of 160 distances; 2. In Spain, the same document mentions 147 distances between the values of 16 and 30 miles, out of a total of 230 distances. This means, in percentages, that 63.91% of the distances from Spain range between 16 and 30 miles. One can also add to these calculations the distances bigger than 30 miles. There are 16 distances with values between of 31 and 35 miles, 10 distances between 36 and 40 miles, and 12 distances with values higher than 40 miles. There is a total of 38 distances with values higher than 30 miles. Recalculating, I have observed that 185 out of 230 distances range in value between 16 and +40 miles. This means, in percentages, 80.43%; 3. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 110 distances between 16 and 30 miles, out of a total of 163 distance values. I have added here Italy again, because Ray Laurence also made comparisons, in his book, with Italy.

On the other hand: 1. In Britannia, the Antonine itinerary mentions 67 distance values between 11 and 15 miles; 2. In Spain, the same document mentions 35 distance values between 11 and 15 miles; 3. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 27 distances with values from 11 to 15 miles.

In Asia, according to the graphic in Figure 4.19 in Laurence's book<sup>16</sup>, 23 distances have values from 11 to 15 miles. Also, 54 distances have values from 16 to 20 miles, 70 distances range in value between 21 and 25 miles and 39 distances between 26 and 30 miles. In total, according to the same graphic, I have counted 212 distances for Asia. Therefore, I have obtained, again, the following data (the comparison is made with Britannia): 1. For Britannia, the Antonine itinerary mentions 65 distances with values from 16 to 30 miles, out of a total of 160 distances; 2. For Asia, the same document mentions 163 distances with values between 16 and 30 miles, out of a total of 212 distances. This means, in percentages, that 76.88% of the distances from Asia are distances with values from 16 to 30 miles. I can also add to these calculations the distances higher than 30 miles, represented in the graphic. There are 10 distance values between 31 and 35 miles and nine distance values between 36 and 40 miles. The result is a total number of 19 distance values between 31 and 40 miles. This means, in percentages, 85.84%; 3. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 110 distances with values between 16 and 30 miles, out of a total of 163 distances. I have added here again Italy.

On the other hand: 1. In Britannia, the Antonine itinerary mentions 67 distances with values from 11 to 15 miles; 2. In Asia, the same document mentions 23 distances with values from 11 to 15 miles; 3. In Italy, the Antonine itinerary mentions 27 distances with values from 11 to 15 miles. At the end of his analysis, Ray Laurence had noted that for Spain and Asia the distances have values close to those from Italy<sup>17</sup>.

### 3. FINAL REMARKS

To systematize all data presented above, I have created the following table (Table 1):

Distance values <i>ItAnt</i>	Britannia	Italia	Gallia	Hispania	Asia	Pannonia	Moesia
0-10 miles	22	14	34	10	7	3	11
<b>11-15 miles</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>
16-20 miles	31	46	39	60	54	23	19
21-25 miles	25	52	20	62	70	39	8
26-30 miles	9	12	3	25	39	34	5
31-35 miles	4	9	5	16	10	17	-
36-40 miles	2	3	-	10	9	4	1
+ 40 miles	-	-	-	12	-	1	-
<b>Total no. of distances between 16 and 30 miles</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Total no. of distances between 16 and +40 miles</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>TOTAL NO. OF DISTANCES</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>58</b>

Table 1. Comparison between the values recorded in the Antonine itinerary in Britannia, Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Asia, Pannonia and Moesia.

<sup>16</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Laurence 2001, p. 82, 87.



I shall present in the table below (Table 2) the distances calculated in percentages:

Distances <i>ItAnt</i>	Britannia	Italia	Gallia	Hispania	Asia	Pannonia	Moesia
<b>0-10 miles</b>	<b>13.75%</b>	<b>8.58%</b>	<b>25.37%</b>	<b>4.34%</b>	<b>3.30%</b>	<b>2.38%</b>	<b>18.96%</b>
<b>11-15 miles</b>	<b>41.87%</b>	<b>16.56%</b>	<b>24.62%</b>	<b>15.21%</b>	<b>10.84%</b>	<b>3.96%</b>	<b>24.13%</b>
Total values 16-30 miles	40.62%	67.48%	46.26%	63.91%	76.88%	76.19%	55.17%
<b>Total values 16/+40 miles</b>	<b>44.37%</b>	<b>74.84%</b>	<b>50.00%</b>	<b>80.43%</b>	<b>85.84%</b>	<b>93.65%</b>	<b>56.89%</b>
<b>TOTAL DISTANCES</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>58</b>

Table 2. Comparison between the values recorded in the Antonine itinerary in Britannia, Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Asia, Pannonia and Moesia. Values presented in percentages.

I have compared several provinces just to observe, as accurately as possible, the frequency of the distance values in different geographical areas. Pannonia and Moesia are two provinces that are not located in the centre of the Roman Empire. According to Laurence's theory, based on his examples, in the provinces located in the centre of the Roman Empire (Italy, Gallia), the distances between the stopping points along the Roman roads were greater in comparison with the peripheral provinces (Britannia, Spain, Asia). Laurence's explanation for this fact was that the roads from Italy or from Gallia were much better constructed and actually paved, in contrast with the roads from other Roman provinces, such as Britannia. If the roads were better constructed, that means that travelling was faster, and *mansiones* were located at greater distances from each other in the provinces from the centre of the Empire. According to Laurence's argumentation, this means that also in Pannonia or in Moesia the situation regarding the distances should be similar with that from Britain: more frequent distances with smaller values (from 11 to 15 miles) and less frequent distances with higher values (from 16 to 30 miles). The situation is, though, totally opposed to this historical construction. Therefore, in my opinion, higher values of the distances cannot be explained by the better quality of the roads.

The origin of the distances with smaller values is not related to the quality of the roads, but they reflect the marching stages of the Roman army during the military campaigns. The above table, where I mentioned, in percentages, the frequency of the distance values, shows the exact opposite to Ray Laurence's theory. Generally, in the Antonine itinerary, almost all the distances from the provinces have higher values. This aspect can be observed by analysing the distances with values from 16 to 30 miles: 1. In Asia, 76.88% (163 distances out of 212); 2. In Pannonia, 76.19% (96 distances out of 126); 3. In Italy, 67.48%; 4. In Spain, 63.91% (147 distances out of 230); 5. In Moesia, 55.17% (32 distances out of 58); 6. In Gallia, 46.26% (62 distances out of 134); In Britannia, 40.62% (65 distances out of 160). At the same time, one should also analyse the distances with values from 16 to +40 miles: 1. In Pannonia, 93.65% (118 distances out of 126); 2. In Asia, 85.84% (182 distances out of 212); 3. In Spain, 80.43% (185 distances out of 230); 4. In Italy, 74.84% (122 distances out of 163); 5. In Moesia, 56.89% (33 distances out of 58); 6. In Gallia, 50.00% (67 distances out of 134); 7. In Britain, 44.37% (71 distances out of 160). These statistics prove that, within the same document, i.e. the Antonine itinerary, the distances with smaller values, from 11 to 15 miles, are far less frequent; 1. In Britannia, 41.87% (67 distances out of 160); 2. In Gallia, 24.62% (33 distances out of 134); 3. In Moesia, 24.13% (14 distances out of 58); 4. In Italy, 16.56% (27 distances out of 163); 5. In Spain, 15.21% (35 distances out of 230); 6. In Asia, 10.84% (23 distances out of 212); In Pannonia, 3.96% (five distances out of 126).

I have arranged all these distances according to their frequency. In total, one can observe that within the seven provinces mentioned above, 675 distances out of 1083 range between the values of 16 and 30 miles. Also, based on the same values mentioned in the table above, one can notice that, in the same provinces, 778 distances out of 1083 vary between the value of 16 and +40 miles.

The example of Pannonia is very suggestive. Here one encounters the extremes of the distance values. As I have already mentioned, five distances out of 126, meaning 3.96%, have small values, of 11-15 miles. In the same province of Pannonia, 118 distances out of 126, meaning 93.65%, have values higher than 16 miles (16/+ 40 miles). Beside these values, all the other data indicates that in the Antonine itinerary the values of the distances are much higher. I should also remind, again, the fact that the Peutinger map mentions in Pannonia 89 settlements, 82 distance values, 15 vignettes of "double-tower" type and a total distance of 1201 miles. Out of 82 distances, 57 have values between 8 and 16 miles. This means, in

percentages, 69.512%. These make reference to the same province and the same roads, but one can see that the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary are two different documents, which present different distances, which leads me to the conclusion that they had different sources.

Based on the examples discussed above, I am tempted to believe that the Peutinger map was compiled using as sources early *itineraria picta*, created by the army. Therefore, I suggest that the small distances from the Peutinger map reflect the marching stages of the Roman army. In other words, the Peutinger map had better, much more accurate sources: road descriptions, distances recorded in ancient literary sources, lists of settlements with the distances between them, *formae*, military *itineraria* (depicted or written), maybe even *formulae provinciarum* etc. I do not agree that the Peutinger map was a propaganda document. This outstanding work reflects, in my opinion, a crucial moment in the evolution of Roman cartography. It is the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, probably during the reign of Emperor Theodosius II, when this work was compiled in order to group together, into a "map", all the geographical knowledge on the Roman Empire known until that time. It is possible that this document accompanied, as an appended map, one of the two geographical works written in AD 435: *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum*<sup>18</sup>. Still, I do not think that Agrippa's map was the source for an itinerary created during Caracalla's reign, as Weber stated<sup>19</sup>.

The Antonine itinerary was compiled from several sources and did not necessarily fulfil an administrative purpose, but rather it was created and designated to have a cultural purpose. The person / persons who has / have compiled the document has / have melted together different categories of sources, probably lists with settlements and the distances recorded in the imperial archives of the public transportation system (*cursus publicus*), itineraries recorded by travel permits (*evectioes*), and, extremely rarely, data from military itineraries. Although, apparently, there is a certain order according to which the provinces were listed, the order of the itineraries within a province does not follow any criteria. In Pannonia, as in Moesia, and also in Britannia, the listing of the itineraries (of the roads) seems chaotic. Some itineraries are doubled, others are presented from south to north and then, along the same road, from north to south. Also, in numerous cases the distances recorded in the Antonine itinerary do not match those measured on digital maps along the former Roman roads. Even the comparison and the analysis of the same roads, as was the case for the frontier road in Pannonia, led to the final conclusion that the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary had different sources. I should also outline another aspect: the denomination used for decades in the historiography, 'the itinerary of Antoninus', is not quite correct. P. Arnaud has undoubtedly demonstrated that the Antonine itinerary was compiled during the Tetrarchy<sup>20</sup>, and it has nothing to do with Caracalla, as D. Van Berchem believed in 1973<sup>21</sup>. The Antonine itinerary was an official document, related to the reorganization of the *cursus publicus* during the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Therefore, the comparison between the distances and the settlements recorded in the most important documents of the ancient geography allows me to believe that those who compiled them have used different sources. I certainly hope that, in the future, I shall be able to apply this method for other provinces too, in order to identify new elements to better date the periods when the regional itineraries used as sources for these two documents were created. Eventually, this will contribute to a better understanding of the role, content and significance of the best-known cartographic documents from Roman times.

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<sup>18</sup> Weber 1976, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Weber 1976, p. 23.

<sup>20</sup> Arnaud 1993, p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> van Berchem 1973.

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## ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen–Berlin
- ABSA – The Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpatica, Kraków
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Acta Classica – Acta Classica. Journal of the Classical Association of South Africa, Pretoria
- ActaHistHung – Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
- AÉ – L'Année Épigraphique, Paris
- Aegean Studies – Aegean Studies. Aegeus - Society for Aegean Prehistory, Athens
- AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
- Aevum – Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche. Vita e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
- Agria – Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis. Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger
- AHA – Acta Historiae Artium. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- AHB – The Ancient History Bulletin (digital version only: <http://ancienthistorybulletin.org/>)
- AHR – The American Historical Review, Bloomington
- AIIA (Cluj-Napoca) – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca
- AInf – Archäologische Informationen, Mitteilungen zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Bonn
- AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJN – American Journal of Numismatics. American Numismatic Society, New York
- AJPh – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
- AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
- Am. J. Phys. Anthropol. – American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/\(ISSN\)1096-8644](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1096-8644))
- American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
- American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
- ANarch – Archäologisches Nachrichtenblatt, Berlin
- AnB (S.N.) – Analele Banatului (Serie Nouă), Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- AnSt – Anatolian Studies. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara
- Antaeus – Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Anthropology Today – Anthropology Today. Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham, UK
- AntOr – Antiguo Oriente: Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente. Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina Santa María de los Buenos Aires
- AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
- AO .... Moskow – Arheologičeski Otkritja, Moskva
- Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- ArchA<sup>5</sup> – Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle
- Archaeol. Rev. Camb. – Archaeological Review from Cambridge. University of Cambridge, Cambridge
- Archaeologia – Altum castrum online. Mátyás király Múzeum, Visegrád
- Archeometriai Műhely – Archeometriai Műhely a Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat interdiszciplináris kutatásokkal foglalkozó vitaülés-sorozata, Budapest
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest

- ArchHung – *Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest
- ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, Mainz
- ArchPolski – *Archeologia Polski*, Wrocław – Warszawa
- ArchRozhledy – *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Praha
- ArhMed – *Arheologia Medievală*. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhVestnik – *Arheološki vestnik*, Ljubljana
- AȘUI – *Analele Științifice ale Universității “Al. I. Cuza” din Iași*, Iași
- Athenaeum – *Studi di Letteratura e Storia dell’Antichità* pubblicati sotto gli auspici dell’Università di Pavia, Pavia
- AVANS – *Archeologické Vyskumy a Nálezy na Slovensku*, Nitra
- Banatica – *Banatica*. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
- BARBrSer – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, Oxford
- BARIntSer – *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, Oxford
- BayVgBl – *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
- BCH – *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athènes–Paris
- BÉ – *Bulletin Épigraphique*, Paris
- BerRGK – *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main
- BIAUL – *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology (University of London)*, London
- BIDR – *Bulletino dell’Istituto di Diritto Romano*, Roma
- BJb – *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn*, Bonn
- BMN – *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca
- Britannia – *Britannia. Journal of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*, Cambridge
- BSNAF – *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, Paris
- BSNR – *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, București
- BUFM – *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas*, Wilkau-Haßlau - Langenweißbach
- Byzantina (Thessalonic) – *BYZANTINA. Annual Review of the "Byzantine Research Centre"*, Thessalonic
- Byzantinoslavica – *Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des Études Byzantines*, Slovanský ústav Akademie věd ČR, Praha
- C&M – *Classica et Mediaevalia: Danish Journal of Philology and History*, Aarhus
- Caiete ARA – *Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie*. Asociația ARA, București
- CCA. Campania ..... – *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*, București
- Chiron – *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, München
- CICSA – *Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice*, Universitatea București, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CN – *Cercetări Numismatice*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ComArchHung – *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest
- CQ – *The Classical Quaterly*, The Classical Association, Cambridge
- CRAI – *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris
- Crisia – *Crisia*. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- CSCA – *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*. University of California, Los Angeles
- Current Anthropology – *Current Anthropology*. University of California, Merced
- CW – *Classical World*. Temple University, Philadelphia
- Dacia – *Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie*, București
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- EJA – European Journal of Archaeology. European Association of Archaeologists (<http://e-a-a.org/eja.htm>)
- Elbinger Jahrbuch – Elbinger Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift der Elbinger Altertumsgesellschaft und der städtischen Sammlungen zu Elbing, Elbing (1920-1941)
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- Études Celtiques – Études Celtiques, Paris
- Evol Anthropol – Evolutionary Anthropology. Duke University, Durham NC
- FBW – Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart
- FHDR I-II – H. Mihăescu, G. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V.C. Popescu (eds.), *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FontesArchPosn – Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses, Poznan
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- Glasnik SAD – Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrad
- H-Soz-u-Kult – Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften (<http://www.hsozkult.de/>)
- HambBeitrA – Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie. Universität Hamburg, Hamburg
- HCT – A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945-1981.
- Hermes – Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- HistoriaBuc – Historia, București (<http://www.historia.ro/revista#>)
- HOMÉ – A miskolci Hermann Ottó Múzeum évkönyve, Miskolc
- Homo – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology. Australasian Society for Human Biology, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/homo/>)
- HZ – Historische Zeitschrift, Akademie Verlag GmbH, Berlin
- IDR – *Inscriptiile Daciei romane*
- IDRE – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000
- IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero : annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptii Latine din Dacia*, București, 2005
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- Int J Osteoarchaeol – International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
- JAMÉ – A Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
- J.Archaeol.Sci – Journal of Archaeological Sciences, London – New York
- JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- JEA – Journal of European Archaeology, former name of EJA
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- J. Hum. Evol. – Journal of Human Evolution, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-human-evolution/>)
- JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island

- JRA SS – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, Portsmouth, Rhode Island  
 JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz  
 JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London  
 Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin  
 KölnJb – Kölner Jahrbuch. Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, Köln  
 Közlemények – Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár  
 Kuhn-Archiv – Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Halle  
 Lethes – Lethes. Cadernos Culturais do Limia, Centro Cultural Popular do Limia, Ourense  
 LSJ – H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (9th edition), 1940.  
 Lucentum – Lucentum. Universidad de Alicante, Alicante  
 Lumea veche – Lumea Veche, Revistă de umanioare, București  
 MAGW – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Wien  
 MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest  
 Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș  
 MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa  
 MatArch – Materiały Archeologiczne, Kraków  
 MatArchNovHuty – Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty, Nova Huta  
 Materiały Starożytne – Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnosredniowieczne, Warszawa  
 MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București  
 MCV – Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid  
 MFME – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged  
 ML – R. Meiggs, D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford, OUP, 1969  
 Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal in Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden  
 MSROA – Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego, Rzeszów  
 Mus.Afr. – Museum Africum. West African Classical Association, University of Ibadan – Department of Classics, Ibadan  
 Nor.Arch.Rev – Norwegian Archaeological Review, Taylor & Francis  
 NumZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien  
 OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique – OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique, L’association OMNI (Objets et Monnaies Non Identifiés) – <http://www.identification-numismatique.com/> (<http://www.wikimoned.com/omni/>)  
 Palaeontologia Electronica – Palaeontological Association, England  
 Pallas – Pallas. Revue d’Études Antiques. Université de Toulouse le Mirail, Toulouse  
 PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha  
 PAPhS – Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore  
 PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster  
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 Phoenix – Phoenix. Classical Association of Canada, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario  
 PIR<sup>2</sup> – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig  
 PLRE – *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 3 vol., 1971, 1980, 1992



- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993
- Pomorania Antiqua – Pomorania Antiqua, Gdańsk
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Prace i Materiały – Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Łódź
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society – Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
- PV – Přehled Výzkumů, Brno
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RadVM – Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
- Raport ... – Raport, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa. National Heritage Board, Warszawa
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Stuttgart, 1893 –
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RechsArch – Recherches Archeologiques, Kraków
- RégFüz – Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București.
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMédVét – Revue de Médecine Vétérinaire. Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire de Toulouse, Toulouse
- RFE/RL East European Perspectives – Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty
- RH – Revue Historique. Presses universitaires de France, Paris
- RhM – Rheinisches Museum. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Universität zu Köln, Köln
- RI S.N. – Revista Istorică. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIC – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, London
- RM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Rom
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006
- RocznMuzGórnyBytom – Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, Bytom
- RRH – Revue roumaine d'histoire. Academia Română, București
- RRHA – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Série Beaux-Arts. Academia Română, Institutul de Istoria Artei „G. Oprescu”, București
- RRSE – Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice. Centrul de Studii Eurasiatice, Constanța
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- Sargeția – Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva
- Sautuola – Sautuola. Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología “Sautuola”, Santander
- SCIM – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (și arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scripta Mediterranea – Scripta Mediterranea. Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto
- SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
- SIB – Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, Timișoara
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
- SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei – Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
- SpisyArch – Spisy Archeologického Ústavu v Brně, Brno
- SprawArch – Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Kraków
- ŚSA – Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Wrocław
- StComSatuMare – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- ŠtudZvesti AÚ SAV – Študijné Zvesti. Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra

- Syria – Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologi., Institut français du Proche-Orient, Paris
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Tibiscum – Tibiscum. Studii și comunicări de etnografie-istorie. Muzeul Caransebeș, Caransebeș
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
- Transilvania – Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania, Sibiu
- Transylvanian Review – Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca
- Ub. I – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner), Hermannstadt, 1892.
- Ub. II – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller), Hermannstadt, 1897.
- Váci Könyvek – Váci Könyvek. Tragor Ignác Múzeum, Vác
- VP – Východoslovenský Právek, Košice
- Wiadomości Arch. – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Bulletin Archéologique Polonais, Warszawa
- WJA – Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg
- ZA – Zeitschrift für Archäologie, Berlin
- Zborník SNM ... , Archeológia ... – Zborník Slovensého Národného Múzea. Archeológia, Bratislava
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Muzeul Județean Arad, Arad
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZRG – Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung, Köln