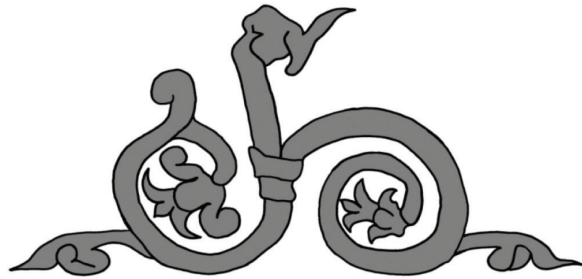


ZIRIDAVA
STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

30
2016

MUSEUM ARAD



ZIRIDAVA
STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

30
2016

Editura MEGA

Cluj-Napoca
2016

MUSEUM ARAD

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-chief: Peter Hgel.

Editorial Assistants: Florin Mrginean, Victor Sava.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

V. Brc (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), M. Crciumaru (Trgovite, Romania), S. Coci (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), F. Gogltan (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), S. A. Luca (Sibiu, Romania), V. Kulcsr (Szeged, Hungary), M. Takcs (Budapest, Hungary), J. O'Shea (Michigan, USA), K. Z. Pinter (Sibiu, Romania), I. Stanciu (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), I. Szatmri (Bekcsaba, Hungary).

In Romania, the periodical can be obtained through subscription or exchange, sent as post shipment, from Museum Arad, Arad, Piata G. Enescu 1, 310131, Romania.
Tel. 0040-257-281847.

ZIRIDAVA STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

Any correspondence will be sent to the editor:
Museum Arad
Piata George Enescu 1, 310131 Arad, RO
e-mail: ziridava2012@gmail.com

The content of the papers totally involve the responsibility of the authors.

Layout: Francisc Baja, Florin Mrginean, Victor Sava

ISSN 2392-8786



EDITURA MEGA | www.edituramega.ro
e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

Contents

Octavian Cristian Rogozea, Alexandru Berzovan, Eugen Pădurean Contribution to the Repertory of Late Neolithic Settlements on the Territory of Arad County.....	7
Mária Bondár A new Bronze Age wagon model from Szombathely-Motel.....	27
Florin Gogâltan, Victor Sava An Older Bronze Age Funerary Discovery from Zimandu Nou (Arad County).....	43
Luminița Andreica-Szilagy Anthropological Analysis of Two Cremation Graves Discovered in the Settlement of Zimandu Nou (Arad County).....	55
Eugen Pădurean, Alexandru Berzovan Prehistoric Vestiges on Highiş Peak in Zarandului Mountains (Municipality of Tîrnova, Arad County).....	61
Victor Sava The Archaeological Site of Felnac “Complexul Zootehnic” (Arad County). Discussions on the Late Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery.....	69
Octavian Cristian Rogozea, Răzvan Ioan Pinca Two Bronze Items Discovered by Chance: the Bracelet from Jupa (Caraş-Severin County) and the Long Dagger from Găvojdia (Timiș County).....	109
Sándor Berecki Two Late Iron Age Graves from Vladimirescu.....	115
Cristina Bodó, Valeriu Sîrbu The Fortifications in Câmpuri Surduc in the Context of the Dacian Discoveries made in the Mureş Gorge (the Şoimuş – Zam Area).....	125
Alexandru Berzovan On a Presumed Roman Military Expedition in the Valley of River Marisos at the Turn of the First Century A.D.....	141
Britta Burkhardt Reflecting on the Typological Analysis of Roman Provincial Baths and Bathhouses	149
Dan Băcuet-Crişan, Sanda Băcuet-Crişan Old and New Archeological Researches Regarding the Early Medieval Habitat in Sylvania Basin.....	159
Aurel Dragotă Typology of Crescent-Shaped Pendants.....	171
Silviu Oța, Andra Samson Several Observations on the Medieval Battle Knives Found on the Territory of Romania (The MNIR Collection).....	189
Florin Mărginean Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Arad County. Turkish Strongholds in the Second Half of the 16 th Century between Mureş and Crişul Alb (The Beginning of a thematic Approach).....	211
Călin Ghemiş From the History of Archaeological Researches in Crişana: Dr. Ernest Andrassy (I).....	229
Abbreviations.....	249

On a Presumed Roman Military Expedition in the Valley of River Marisos at the Turn of the First Century A.D.*

Alexandru Berzovan

Abstract: The turn between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. was marked by prolonged military confrontations on the middle and lower Danube between the Romans and the warrior tribes of the Dacians. Eventually, the Empire ventured to the north in a series of punitive military actions directed at securing the Danubian frontier. Much discussed in the Romanian literature is the expedition of Marcus Vinicius, which, according to some authors had led a Roman expedition deep into the Dacian heartlands advancing on River *Marisos* (nowadays Mureş). The present paper analyses the sources on the topic, showing that the above interpretation is based on a misreading of Strabo; M. Vinicius had indeed fought against various barbarian tribes – including the Dacians – but on a very different front, located to the north of Illyricum, in modern-day Slovakia.

Keywords: Marcus Vinicius, Danube, Marisos, Dacians, Illyricum, military campaigns.

Introduction

The second half of the 1st century B.C. was marked by deep unrest in the northern part of the Balkans. Burebista's "great dominion" fell apart and crumbled into several kingdoms ruled by some of his followers. At the same time the Roman legions advanced towards the Danube; Strabo even mentions a possible invasion of Dacia¹.

These events triggered a long series of armed confrontations between the Romans and the different tribal factions both north and south of the great river. The fighting continued at the turn of the two eras along a front extending over more than 1000 km from Illyricum to the mouth of the Danube². Facing this situation the Empire turned to a series of punitive military operations that eventually turned both the political and the demographic situation in its favor.

The chronology, size and location of these operations have been amply debated in specialized literature. Also, the end of certain fortifications or settlements that did not, according to all indications, last until the wars during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, has been often interpreted as caused by Roman military action and historians have sought connections to these punitive expeditions. As a consequence, the magnitude of these expeditions has sometimes been largely exaggerated.

One must note that representatives of the Romanian historiography, especially during the National-Communist period – when the anachronistic concept of "centralized Dacian state" enjoyed great popularity – have mostly avoided discussing the endemic internal conflicts in the Geto-Dacian territories³; the Romans were always "blamed" for the noted destructions or abandonments.

In the present study I aim to analyze the issue of the so-called expedition led by Marcus Vinicius⁴ interpreted as a turning point in the history of the relations between Dacians and Romans⁵. According to an important part of Romanian and Hungarian historians, starting from a phrase in Strabo's *Geōgraphiká* and a fragmentary inscription discovered in Tusculum, M. Vinicius reached Transylvania

* English translation: Ana M. Gruia.

¹ Strab.VII, 5, 2; Appian 23, 67.

² See for example Dio. LI, 23,2; LIV, 36,2; LV, 30,4.

³ Strab.VII, 3, 12; Luc.Icar. 16.

⁴ Capable military leader, part of Augustus' close circles, commander of Gallia Commata in 25 B.C., legatus of Illyricum and then commander on the Rhine between 1 and 4 A.D. where he received *ornamenta triumphalia*; he had a nephew bearing the same name, general under Claudius (general informations in Bunson 2004, 584; for other biographic details see Syme 1933, 142–148).

⁵ Chirilă 1964, 121–126; Daicoviciu 1972, 116.

advancing along the Mureș Valley or, according to others, the valley of one of the rivers in Southern Romania⁶.

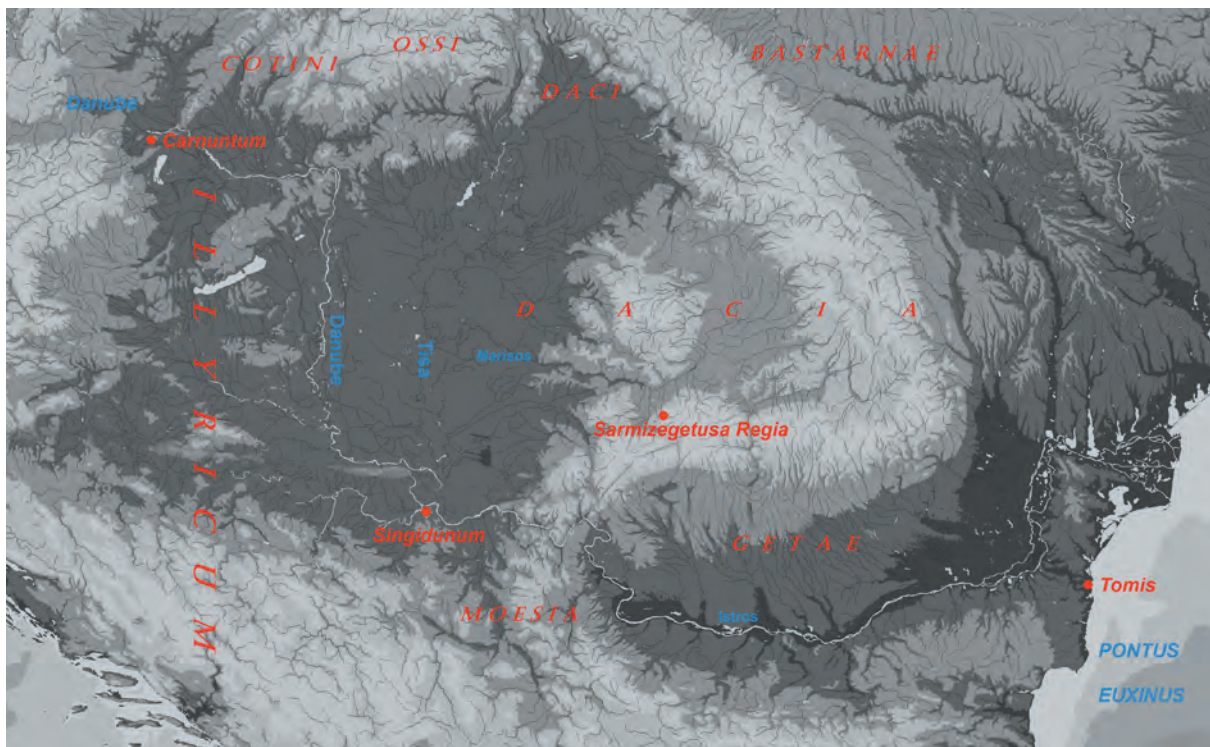


Fig. 1. The lower and middle Danube Basin during the second half of the 1st century BC – early 1st century AD.

Analysis of Strabo's text

I shall start the present study by analyzing Strabo's text⁷ in book VII, chapter III, section 13: *ῥεῖδῆδι' αὐτῶν Μάριος ποταμὸς εἰστὸν Δανούϊον, ᾧ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀνεκόμιζον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς πρῶστὸν πόλεμον*⁸.

As one can easily note, the text is rather ambiguous and it has been translated in the most varied manners. I shall briefly discuss these translations below.

Gr. Tocilescu translated the lines as: *"prin Geția se vărsa în Dunăre râului Marisus, cotra care Romanii au înaintatu tote celle necesare pentru resboiu"* [River Marisus flowed into the Danube through Getia, towards which the Romans set forward with everything needed for war], identifying *Marisus* with present-day Mureș⁹. A. D. Xenopol translated the text as *"Se mai varsă în Dunăre, trecând prin țara Geților, și râul Maris, pe care romanii transportară toate cele de trebuință pentru războiu"* [River Maris also flows into the Danube after passing through the country of the Getae and by it the Romans transported everything they needed for war]; according to this author, the text envisaged River Olt¹⁰. The translation provided in *Fontes I*¹¹, edited by Vladimir Iliescu, is the following: ... *"prin țara lor curge râul Marisos care se varsă în Dunăre. Pe acesta își făceau romanii aprovizionările de război"* [River Marisos flows through their country and into the Danube. Along it the Romans transported their war supplies]¹². Felicia Vanț-Ștef provides a different interpretation: *"Pe la ei curge râul Marisos ce se varsă în Dunăre. Lângă acesta din urmă au depozitat romanii muniție de război"* [River Marisos flows through

⁶ Ferenczi 1983; Ferenczi 1993.

⁷ I thank Conf. Univ. Dr. Dan Ungureanu (University in Prague), linguist and classicist, for his extremely useful suggestions and advice in the analysis of this text.

⁸ The most often employed edition of Strabo used by representatives of the Romanian historiography is the one of August(us) Meineke, published in three volumes in Leipzig in 1877.

⁹ Tocilescu 1880, 47.

¹⁰ Xenopol 1925, 29–30.

¹¹ *Fontes I*, 239.

¹² The mention was connected to Marcus Vinicius's expedition (*Fontes I*, 239, n. 73).

their parts and flows into the Danube. Near the latter river the Romans stored war ammunition]. G. Popa – Lisseanu translated the text thus: “*pe la Geți curge fluviul Marisos care se varsă în Dunăre; pe aceasta din urmă, romanii au ușurința de a aproviziona armatele lor*” [River Marisos flows through the lands of the Getae and flows into the Danube. By the latter river the Romans easily supply their armies]¹³. The same interpretation can be found in H. L. Jones’s edition¹⁴ and also in H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer¹⁵. In the C. Müller, F. Dübner edition, the text is translated into Latin preserving the order and ambiguity of the Greek text: *Per Getas Maris fluvius in Danubio labitur, quo Romani res ad bellum necessarias subvexerunt*; the proximity of *quo* and *Danubio* suggests that the envisaged water flow is the Danube.

To these, I could also add my own, literary translation of the Greek text performed with the aid of the Liddle-Scott dictionary: “*Mai curge la ei Marisos-ul, ce merge-n Dunăre; pe aceasta romanii au cărat (spre amonte?) cele necesare războiului*” [The Marisos also flows through their parts, into the Danube; on it (the Danube!) the Roman carried (upstream?) the things needed for war].

As one can see, some of the authors consider that the text refers to Roman transports on the *Marisos* and thus had built an entire series of scenarios. For example, Victoria Vaschide believed that Strabo’s text implied a Roman expedition along Mureșului Valley¹⁶ led by Tiberius against the Dacian tribe of the Appuli in Transylvania¹⁷ that had previously attacked Illyricum. C. Daicoviciu¹⁸, adopting A. Alföldi’s opinions, claims that there was an invasion of the Dacians and other populations into Illyricum in 10–9 B.C., that M. Vinicius repelled and pursued up the Mureș¹⁹; hence the hypothesis, adopted by other authors as well, became a real historiographical *topos*²⁰.

I shall mention other opinions as well: according to A. S. Ștefan, Lentulus was the Roman general who reached the Mureș²¹ and according to I. Ferencz Strabo’s *Marisos* cannot be identified as today’s Mureșul but as some other river from Muntenia²². The interpretation according to which the text envisages transports made on the Danube proved less productive in Romanian historiography.

I shall now try to regard the excerpt from Strabo in context. The subsequent phrase informs the reader that: **καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς μέρη μέχρι τῶν καταρακτῶν**

¹³ Popa-Lisseanu 2007, 240.

¹⁴ „*The Marisos River flows through their country into the Danuvius, on which the Romans used to convey their equipment for war*” (215).

¹⁵ “*The river Maros flows through their country into the Danube, on which the Romans transported their military stores*”.

¹⁶ Vaschide 1903, 4, 20.

¹⁷ Only briefly mentioned in the anonymous poem *Consolatio ad Liviam, Danuvius que rapaxet Dacius orbe remoto / Appulus (huic hosti per breve Pontus iter)*, [The violent Danube and the Dacian Appulus, an enemy not far from Pontus Euxinus], according to Russu 1961, 82. But the text suggests a possible attack towards the area of the Black Sea and not towards Pannonia as Vaschide claimed (1903, 4). The expression might also be a poetic license, since the Dacian tribe of the Apuli is far from the Pontus Euxinus; one also cannot exclude the possibility that this Appulus was simply the name of a tribal leader from another region, not connected to the tribe in the area of Transylvania.

¹⁸ *Ist. Rom.* I 1960, 293.

¹⁹ C. Daicoviciu initially located M. Vinicius’ expedition in the north-western area of Dacia (Daicoviciu 1938, 24).

²⁰ A few examples: Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 43–44 briefly mention the Romans that according to Strabo brought in supplies “on the Lower Mureș Valley”; Dumitrașcu 1970, 159 believes that though during the reign of Augustus Roman units reached the Mureș, they did not enter the area of the Apuseni Mountains; according to Daicoviciu 1972, 116, Vinicius followed the Dacians up the Mureș into “the heart of Dacia”; Mărghitan 1977, 203–204, believes that the resistance of the small fortifications in the Mureș Valley led to the failure of the Roman expedition; Moga 1981, 115 states that “all researchers agree in admitting (...) that the Romans brought in supplies along River Marisos”; Daicoviciu 1991, 91; Glodariu 2000, 7; Pop 2006, 71 consider that the end of certain Dacian fortifications in Western Romania in the end of the first century B.C. is connected to this expedition. Nevertheless, there are also more cautious voices (such as Bulzan 2006, 44). More recently, in a book that regretfully combines sometimes very well supported historical interpretations with wildest possible speculations, amateur historian Dan Oltean amply discusses the issue believing the current interpretation to rest on some confusion (Oltean 2012, 192–196).

²¹ Ștefan 2005, 409–410.

²² Ferenczi 1993, 46–47. Aware of the difficulties brought by the hypothesis of a Roman expedition up the Mureș into Transylvania, the author attempts to “move” the expedition in Muntenia, starting from the existence of the toponym *Transmarisca* on the southern bank of the Danube that could suggest the existence of a hydronym *Mariscos* on the northern bank – hypothetically identified with Argeș / Dâmbovița / Moștiștea and that Strabo presumably changed into *Marisos*. See also Ferenczi 1983 who attempts to demonstrate that Herodotus’ *Marisos* does not coincide with River Mureș. In my opinion, the existence of other sources mentioning a *Marisos* located in the Intra-Carpathian area (*Jord. Get.* XXII, 113; *An. Rav.* IV.14, etc.) render this hypothesis entirely unlikely, despite the elaborated argumentation brought up by the author.

Δανούιον προσηγόρευον, ἃ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν Δακῶν φέρεται, τὰ δὲ κάτω μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου τὰ παρὰ τοὺς Γέτας καλοῦσιν Ἴστρον. The translation is this time similar in all consulted editions: “*Ei numeau Danubius partea superioară a fluviului și cea dinspre izvoare până la cataracte. Ținuturile de aici se află, în cea mai mare parte, în stăpânirea dacilor. Partea inferioară a fluviului, până la Pont – de-a lungul căreia trăiesc geții – ei o numesc Istru*” [They called Danubius the upper part of the river and the part from the springs until the cataracts. The lands there are largely ruled by the Dacians. They call Istros the lower part of the river, down to the Pontus, along which the Getae live].

Thus, if the discussed *Marisos* flows into the *Danuvion*, the existence of such a river in Muntenia becomes very improbable as the name of the Danube downstream of the cataracts was – at least according to Strabo – *Istros*. Thus, only two possibilities remain: the Romans transported their supplies either on the Mureș or on the Middle Danube.

In my opinion, the variant of supplies transported on the Mureș is problematic²³; from a military perspective, war supplies are usually made in a territory already controlled and ruled. Any logistic transport starts from point A (the base) and reached point B (the destination) to where the supplies are taken, usually located on or behind the front line. As at the turn of the first century A.D. Roman rule in Transylvania and Crișana cannot be envisaged, military transports on the Mureș imply transports made through the middle of enemy territory.

Furthermore, though River Mureș had a higher debit in Antiquity than it does today²⁴, it did not allow for the navigation of large boats as its course was deeply meandered and marshy in the plain areas²⁵ and had numerous fast flow areas in the narrow sections of the riverbed in the mountains²⁶. Both during the Roman period²⁷ as well as in the medieval and Early Modern eras²⁸ people only navigated downstream the Mureș on rafts or dugout boats; one can hardly accept that the Romans navigated up the Tisa and then on the Mureș, as A. Mócsy for example claims²⁹.

The final argument – maybe decisive – on the issue originates from Strabo himself, who states, erroneously, that the Mureș flows directly into the Danube³⁰. Furthermore, Strabo believes Tisa to be a separate effluent of the Danube³¹, so he could not have mixed up the Tisa and the Mureș.

If a Roman military expedition actually took place on the Lower Mureș and the area was integrated into the logistic system of the Roman army, one can suspect the geographic information provided by Strabo would have been much more precise. But as one can later note in the case of Ptolemy as well³², the Romans’ knowledge on the low area covered with forests and marshes of the Lower Tisa remained rather vague, proof of their lack of interest for a region poor in natural resources and with little strategic value.

The inscription from Tusculum

As mentioned in the introduction, the second element in the discussion of the presumed expedition is the inscription from Tusculum. I shall discuss it below, analyzing only the aspects relevant to the question in focus. The inscription features thus in Dessau, ILS, 8965:

. cius . . .
[cos., XV] vir s. F., . . .
[legatus pro] pr. Augusti Caesaris in [Illyrico
primus? t]rans flumen Danivium ...
. . . . m et Basternarum exer[citum] . .

²³ And we have to keep in mind that Strabo speaks about „military supplies”, not about an expedition.

²⁴ Măndruțiu *et al.* 1978, 177–178.

²⁵ For an analysis of the course of River Mureș in the plain area during History and Prehistory, see Kiss *et al.* 2012, 33–65.

²⁶ See Rus 2006.

²⁷ Timoc 2003, 53–58.

²⁸ Dordea 1981, 125–135.

²⁹ Mócsy 2001, 51.

³⁰ Piece of information that he might have taken over as such from Herodotus (Hdt. IV, 48). For a discussion of the issue see Szádeczky – Kardoss 1953, 78–79, 109.

³¹ Strab. VII, 5, 2.

³² Forțiu 2014, 757–792.

... [fu]gavitque, Cotinos ...
 ... s et Anartio[s] ...
 ... [A]ugusti ...

It thus renders three certain names of populations: Bastarni, Cotini and Anarti, while according to the reconstitutions suggested by A von Premmerstein and A. Mócsy the text also mentions the Dacians, Ossi and Taurisci³³. Authors generally agree that these populations are enumerated in two groups, divided by the term *fugavitque* (chased away) or, according to Mócsy, *profligavitque* (scattered, annihilated); still, this not a sufficient argument for two different military campaigns. Thus, the illustrious commander mentioned in the inscription – almost certainly M. Vinicius³⁴ – crossed the Danube³⁵ and defeated a larger group of “Barbarians”. One must now decide where the fighting took place.

One knows that the Cotini, Anarti, Ossi and Taurisci are Celtic or rather Celticized populations inhabiting the present-day territory of Slovakia and Transcarpathian Ukraine. The presence of the Dacians besides them is natural³⁶; they are attested in the area both epigraphically³⁷ and archaeologically³⁸. The presence of the Bastarnae seems problematic³⁹, as they are usually associated to the Danube mouth area. Nevertheless, one must take into consideration the fact that the Bastarnae groups covered a wide geographic area, extending to the Volhynian Plateau and the Ukrainian Carpathians; in this context their participation together with the other populations ceases to be an improbable fact⁴⁰.

It is not clear if the campaign was aimed at weakening the allies of King Maroboduus, as some authors, such as R. Syme⁴¹ and more recently D. Dzino⁴² claim, or if it was just an answer to a “Barbarian” raid; in any case the indications provided by this inscription – few as they may be – point to a completely different war zone than the Mureş Valley and Transylvania.

Final considerations

In conclusion, one can state with almost complete certainty that under Augustus there was no Roman military expedition along the Mureş and that all these scenarios rely on the erroneous translation of a text fragment from Strabo. It is certain that Marcus Vinicius fought the Dacians, Bastarnae and other populations north of the Danube, but, in all likelihood, as previously indicated, the confrontations took place on another front, to the north of Illyricum, in the southern territory of present-day Slovakia.

In the light of these arguments I also believe that there is a necessity to rediscuss certain aspects regarding the political and military history of the Geto-Dacians starting from a critical analysis of the sources and I shall attempt to continue the initiative in a series of subsequent articles.

Alexandru Berzovan
 Institute of Archaeology Iaşi
 Iaşi, ROU
 berzovanalexandru@gmail.com

³³ For these completions and a list of the older bibliography dealing with the inscription, see Ferenczi 1993, 41.

³⁴ See the discussion in Dobiaś 1957, 8–10.

³⁵ According to Zs. Visy (1995, 102), in the area of the Middle Danube under Augustus the Romans ruled only the sectors between the Sava and the Drava, i.e. the area of Carnuntum. For this reason he believed that Vinicius’ expedition could have only started from Carnuntum.

³⁶ Visy 1995, 103–104.

³⁷ Deac 2013, 313–322 with the bibliography.

³⁸ Crişan 1969, 91–105; Visy 1995; Lamiova-Schmiedlova 1997, 755–766 (with the bibliography).

³⁹ According to some authors, these Bastarnae were mercenaries fighting for the Dacians (Mócsy 1974, 35); there are no actual arguments for this.

⁴⁰ See the discussion in Visy 1995.

⁴¹ Syme 1933, 143; see also Lica 2000, 128.

⁴² Dzino 2010, 141.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bulzan 2006 S. Bulzan, *Observații privind zona Crișurilor în preajm arăzboaielor pentru cucerirea Daciei. I. Câteva probleme ale cronologiei așezării oppidane de la Tășad „Cetățaua” în sec. I p. Chr.* Crisia XXXVI, 2006, 43–50.
- Bunson 2004 M. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire. Revised Edition*, Facts on File, 2004.
- Chirilă 1964 E. Chirilă, *Relațiile dintre daci și romani până la expediția lui Marcus Vinicius*. AMN I, 1964, 121–126.
- Crișan 1969 I. H. Crișan, *Problema locuirii daco-geților pe teritoriul Slovaciei în lumina recentelor descoperiri arheologice*. Arheologia Moldovei VI, 1969, 91–105
- Daicoviciu 1938 C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvaniedansl'antiquité*, București 1938.
- Daicoviciu 1972 H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*. Cluj-Napoca 1972.
- Daicoviciu 1991 H. Daicoviciu, *Dacii*. Chișinău 1991.
- Deac 2013 D. Deac, *Negotiating with Dacians. The case of M. Ulpius Celerinus, interpres Dacorum*. EN XXIII, 2013, 313–322.
- Dobiaś 1957 J. Dobiaś, *Noch Einmal Zum Elogium von Tusculum (Dessau, ILS 8965)*. Listy filologické / Folia philologica, 80, 1, 1957, 8–10.
- Dordea 1981 I. Dordea, *Aspecte ale transportului sării pe Mureș în secolul al XVIII-lea*. Sargetia XV, 1981, 125–135.
- Dumitrașcu 1970 S. Dumitrașcu, *Cetățuia dacică de la Clit*. Lucrări Științifice IV, B, Oradea 1970, 142–160.
- Dzino 2010 D. Dzino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics (229 BC – AD 68)*. New York 2010.
- Ferenczi 1983 I. Ferenczi, *Poate fi identificat hidronimul „Maris” al lui Herodot cu hidronimul Mureș din Transilvania?* Marisia XIII, 1983, 22–50.
- Ferenczi 1993 I. Ferenczi, *Valea Mureșului și expediția militară a lui M. Vinicius*. Ziridava XVIII, 1993, 39–54.
- Fontes I V. Iliescu, V. Popescu, G. Ștefan, (Eds), *Izvoare privind istoria României*, I București 1964.
- Fortiu 2014 S. Fortiu, *Tibiskos-ul ptolemeic = râul Tisza ori Timiș? Ori amândouă?* In: S. Fortiu, A. Cîntar, *Arheovest II. In honorem Gheorghe Lazarovici*. Szeged 2014, 757–792.
- Glodariu 2000 I. Glodariu, *Le Royaume Dace au Temps de Decebale (Etendue territoriale et institutions)*. Crișana. Antiqua et Mediaevalia, I. Oradea 2000, 4–17.
- Ist. Rom I 1960 C. Daicoviciu (Ed.), *Istoria României*, I. București 1960.
- Kiss et al. 2012 T. Kiss, P. Urdea, G. Sipos, B. Sümeghy, O. Katona, O. Tóth, A. Onaca, F. Ardelean, F. Timofte, C. Ardelean, A. Kovács, *Trecutul râului / A folyómúltja*. S. György (Ed.), *Trecutul, prezentul, viitorul râului Mureș / A Marosfolyómúltja, jelene, jövője*. Timișoara 2012, 33–65.
- Lamiova-Schmiedlova 1997 M. Lamiova-Schmiedlova, *Dacii pe teritoriul Slovaciei de astăzi*. AMP XXI, 1997, 755–766.
- Lica 2000 V. Lica, *The coming of Rome in the Dacian world*. Konstanz 2000.
- Mărghitan 1977 L. Mărghitan, *Valea Mureșului – parte integrantă a sistemului de fortificație dacic*. Sargetia XIII, 1977, 203–207.
- Mândruțiu et al. 1978 O. Mândruțiu, E. Grămescu, A. Ardelean, *Rolul condițiilor fizico-geografice în evoluția populației și așezărilor umane din județul Arad*. Ziridava X, 1978, 175–180.
- Mócsy 1974 A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Routledge, New York 1974.
- Mócsy 2001 A. Mócsy, *The Dacian Kingdom*. In: L. Makkai, A. Mócsy, (Eds.), *History of Transylvania. Volume I. From the beginnings to 1606*. New York 2001, 42–60.
- Moga 1981 V. Moga, *Așezarea și cetatea dacică de la Pietra Craivii (jud. Alba)*. H. Daicoviciu, (Ed.), *Studii Dacice*, Cluj-Napoca 1981, 103–116.
- Oltean 2012 D. Oltean, *Regii dacilor și războaiele cu romanii*. Deva 2012.
- Pop 2006 H. Pop, *Fortificații dacice din vestul și nord-vestul României*. Cluj-Napoca 2006.
- Popa-Lisseanu 2007 G. Popa-Lisseanu (Ed), *Dacia în autorii clasici. I. Autorii latini clasici și postclasici; II. Autorii greci și bizantini*. București 2007.
- Rus 2006 D. Rus, *Culoarul Mureșului. Sectorul Brănișca – Păuliș. Studiu geografico-uman*. Cluj-Napoca 2006.

- Russu 1961 I. I. Russu, *Dacius Appulus*. Apulum IV, 1961, 85–97.
- Szádeczky – Kardoss 1953 S. Szádeczky – Kardoss, *The name of the river Tisza*. Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae II, 1–2, 77–115.
- Strabo, *Geōgraphiká* Strabo, *Geōgraphiká*, vol III, (Ed. H. L. Jones), Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1917.
- Strabo, *Geōgraphiká* Strabo, *Geōgraphiká*, vol. II (books 5–10), (Ed. Vanț-Ștef F.), București, 1974.
- Strabo, *Geographica. Graece cum versionerefecta* (Ed. C. Müller, F. Dübner). Paris, 1853.
- Ștefan 2005 A. S. Ștefan, *Les guerres daciques de Domitien et de Trajan: architecture militaire, topographie, images et histoire*. École Française de Rome. Rome 2005.
- Syme 1933 R. Syme, *M. Vinicius (Cos. 19 B. C.)*. In CIQ 27, 3/4, 142–148.
- Timoc 2003 C. Timoc, *Despre navigația fluvială pe Mureș în epoca romană*. Studii de Istorie 1. Arad 2003, 57–58.
- Tocilescu 1880 G. Tocilescu, *Dacia înainte de Romani*. București 1880.
- Vaschide 1903 V. Vaschide, *Histoire de la Conquête Romaine de la Dacie et des corps d'armée qui y ontpris part*. Paris 1903.
- Visy 1995 Z. Visy, *The problems of the Dacian ethnic group in Hungary*. In: S. Dumitrașcu, V. Moga, A. Chiriac, S. Șipoș (Eds.), *Din istoria Europei Romane. Omagiu lui D. Protase*. Oradea 1995, 93–104.
- Vulpe, Barnea 1968 R. Vulpe, I. Barnea, *Din istoria Dobrogei. II. Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*. București 1968.
- Xenopol 1925 A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*. București 1925.

Abbreviations

Acta Ant et Arch Suppl	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum. Szeged.
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Krakow.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania. Cluj.
ActaArchHung	ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AEM	Archäologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Zaláu.
ATF	Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Făgăraș.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensens. Sibiu.
Agria	Agria. Annales Musei <i>Agriensis</i> . Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum évkönyve. Eger.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Timișoara.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
ArchJug	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
Arh. Pregled	Arheološki Pregled. Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije. Beograd.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei. Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ASMB	Arheologia Satului Medieval din Banat. Reșița 1996.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
BerRGK	Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, Frankfurt a. Main.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BMB. SH	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița. Seria Historica. Bistrița Năsăud.
BMÉ	Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Békéscsaba.
BMMN	Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național, București.
BThr	Bibliotheca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Carpica	Carpica. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Bacău. Bacău.
CAMNI	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul de Istorie al R. S. România/Muzeul Național de Istorie. București.
CCA	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice (din România)</i> , 1983–1992 <i>sqq.</i> (și în variantă electronică pe http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp).
CRSCRCR	Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins from Romania. Cluj-Napoca.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Danubius	Danubius – Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galati. Galați.
DDME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgCluj	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
DolgSzeg	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
FADDP/GMADP	Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis.

FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
Forsch. u. Ber. z. Vor- u. Frühgesch. BW	Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg.
GPSKV	Gradja za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine. Novi Sad.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva. Beograd.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
HTRTÉ	Hunyadvármegye Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
JahrbuchRGZM	Jahrbuch des RömischGermanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
Lohanul	Lohanul. Revistă culturală științifică. Huși.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MCA-S.N.	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice-Serie Nouă. București.
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis. Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț. Piatra Neamț.
MFME	A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évkönyve. Szeged.
MFME StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MN	Muzeul Național. București.
Opuscula Hungarica	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
OTÉ	Orvos- Természettudományi Értesítő, a Kolozsvári Orvos-Természettudományi Társulat és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Természettudományi Szakosztálya.
Palaeohistorica	Acta et Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Universitatis Groninganae.
PamArch	Památky Archeologické. Praha.
Past and Present	Past and Present. Oxford.
PIKS/PISC	Die Publikationen des Institutes für klassische Studien/ Publicațiile Institutului de studii clasice. Cluj-Napoca.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde. Berlin.
PMÉ	Acta Musei Papensis – Pápai Múzeumi Értesítő.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Rev. Muz.	Revista Muzeelor, București.
RIR	Revista Istorică Română.
RMM-MIA	Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. seria Monumente istorice și de artă. București.
RMMN	Revista Muzeului Militar Național. București.
Ruralia	Ruralia. Památky Archeologické – Supplementum. Praha.
RVM	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche. București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.
SIA	Studii de Istoria Artei. Cluj Napoca.
SIB	Studii de istorie a Banatului. Timișoara.
SKMÉ	A Szántó Kovács János Múzeum Évkönyve, Orosháza.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. București.
SMMA	Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár. Szolnok.
SMMIM	Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară. București.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut. Beograd.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComBrukenthal	Studii și comunicări. Sibiu.
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica. Budapest.
StudCom	Studia Comitatus. Szentendre.
StudUnivCib	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Sibiu.
StudCom – Vrancea	Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Etnografie Vrancea. Focșani.
StudŽvest	Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Nitra.
Symp. Thrac.	Symposia Thracologica. București.
Tempora Obscura	Tempora Obscura. Békéscsaba 2012.
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Timișoara.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.

VMÉ
Ziridava
ZM
ZSA

A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője
Ziridava. Arad.
A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője
Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.