

***Praetorium* and the Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno road in the ancient geographical and epigraphic sources**

***Praetorium* in cesta Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno v antičnih geografskih in epigrafskih virih**

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Izvleček

V prispevku avtor navaja nekatere nove ugotovitve o rimski cesti in cestnih postajah ob cesti *Siscia–Sirmium* vzdolž reke Save, izpričani na Tabuli Peutingeriani in Antoninskem itinerariju. Rezultat primerjave razdalj med naselbinama, omenjenima v obeh itinerarijih, je poskus nove datacije obeh antičnih kartografskih virov. V diskusiji je izpostavljen problem toponima “*Incerto sed mansio augusti in pretorio est*” na Antoninskem itinerariju, primerljiv s cestno postajo *Ad Praetorium/Praetorium* na Tabuli Peutingeriani. Po mnenju avtorja obstajajo trdni argumenti, da se trasa vzdolž reke Save uvrsti med eno najzgodnejših cestnih povezav v Panoniji. Cesta je bila osnovana kot vojaška komunikacija, a je kmalu postala ena najpomembnejših povezav Italije z Balkanom. Brez dvoma je pomenila močno prometnico in cestne postaje vzdolž nje so v poznejšem obdobju ponujale potrebno oskrbo za javni transportni sistem. To se jasno izraža na Antoninovem itinerariju.

Ključne besede: rimska doba, Tabula Peutingeriana, Antoninski itinerarij, *Praetorium*, cesta *Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno*, antična geografija, rimski itinerariji

Abstract

Our contribution considers some data from the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary, regarding the mentioning of the Roman road and the stations along this road between the settlements Siscia and Sirmium, along the River Sava. To obtain new results regarding the dating of these two important ancient cartographic sources, I have compared the values of the distances between the settlements recorded in both these itineraries. I have also launched a discussion concerning the mentioning in the Antonine itinerary of the toponym *Incerto sed mansio augusti in pretorio est*, comparable with *Ad Praetorium/ Praetorium*, recorded in the Peutinger map. In conclusion, I suggested that there are solid arguments in favour of rating the road along the River Sava as one of the earliest routes in Pannonia. Initially, it was a military communication artery, and, as in the whole of the Roman Empire, it became one of the important routes connecting Italy to the Balkans. It was clearly used intensively, and in the late period stations along this road served to supply the infrastructure necessary for the official transportation system. This late state of affairs is reflected in the Antonine itinerary.

Keywords: Roman period, the Peutinger map, the Antonine itinerary, *Praetorium*, the road *Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno*, ancient geography, Roman itineraries

1. PREMISES

Almost 130 years have passed since the first publication of a study¹ focused on one of the most debated artefacts of the Roman world: the Peutinger map. Since then, scientific interest regarding ancient geography has fluctuated. Only after the 1970s did interest on the geography of the Romans moved from amateurs' map collections towards a scientific approach. The debates are ongoing, as recent books focused on these topics prove.²

In 2011, I started research focused on three Roman provinces: Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia, with direct reference to two important ancient geographical sources: the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary. The idea for this research originated from several fundamental questions: 1) Do the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary offer different information related to Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia? 2) How can this be established? 3) How did other late sources, such as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the Bordeaux itinerary, or the Cosmography of the Anonymous from Ravenna, present or describe these regions? 4) How were the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary compiled? 5) By analysing these provinces, can new information useful to dating the above-mentioned documents be obtained? 6) Thus far, in order to date these documents, historians have discussed them as a whole or separately, focusing on small, sometimes insignificant details from certain areas. What other methodological criteria or means can be employed, beside the conventional, established methods, to provide new data? 7) Can we differentiate between the purpose of the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary? 8) Supposing that new dating criteria can be identified, will they be useful for further research and could this method be applied to other regions, and finally to all former Roman provinces? 9) The Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary each list around 2700 settlements. Can these two documents be compared by analysing the presence or the absence of certain settlements, in order to date the documents?

¹ Miller 1887.

² Talbert 2010; Albu 2014.

2. PANNONIA. THE MODEL OF CONQUEST. SISCIA AND THE RIVER SAVA: THEIR HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The events and military actions preceding the conquest of Pannonia and its transformation into a Roman province, and the history of some major cities in Pannonia (Siscia,³ Sirmium⁴), are quite well recorded by ancient sources⁵ and by a large number of articles⁶ and books⁷ focused on these issues.

Pannonia first gained the attention of the Romans in 35–33 B. C. During this period, the inhabitants of these regions, the Pannonii, allies of the Dalmatians, were attacked by the Romans, who conquered and occupied Siscia⁸ (Sisak, in Croatia).⁹ Before that, the Roman interest in this area had focused exclusively on economic resources (silver and iron).¹⁰ The ancient sources provide information regarding this war against the Pannonii. Appian mentions all the populations east of the Alps: *Sallasoi*, *Iapodes*, *Segestanoi*, *Dalmatai*, *Daisitiatai* and *Paiones*.¹¹ Cassius Dio provides a short list of the populations involved in this event.¹²

³ Šašel 1974.

⁴ Mirković 1971.

⁵ According to Kovács 2014, 26–27, ancient sources do not mention anything about Illyricum and Pannonia for a decade, until 16 B.C. Then, when the Pannons started the conflict with the Romans, ancient sources recorded some of the events (including the Pannonian War, *Bellum Pannonicum* from 12–11 B.C.). In comparison, the other major military event, *Bellum Batonianum*, or the Pannon-Dalmatian revolt, is recorded by many ancient authors, including Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History* II.110–116; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.28.7–34, 56.11–17.2 and others. Details in Kovács 2014, 31.

⁶ Köstermann 1953; Mócsy 1962; Mócsy 1971; Eadie 1977; Barkóczy 1980; Nagy 1991; Šašel Kos 1995; Wilkes 1996; Šašel Kos 1997a; Šašel Kos 1997b; Šašel Kos 1999; Fitz 2000; Fitz 2003a; Šašel Kos 2003; Sordi 2004; Radman-Livaja 2007; Dzino 2008; Šašel Kos 2009; Radman-Livaja 2010; Šašel Kos 2010; Colombo 2010; Radman-Livaja 2012; Šašel Kos 2012a; Šašel Kos 2014b; Šašel Kos 2015.

⁷ Swoboda 1932; Pavan 1955; Šašel Kos 1986; Fitz 1993–1995; Šašel Kos 2005, 393–471; Kovács 2014.

⁸ Šašel Kos 2005, 393–471; Kovács 2014, especially 23–40 (*The conquest of Pannonia and the organization of the province*).

⁹ Kovács 2008, 243.

¹⁰ Mócsy 1974, 31.

¹¹ Appian, *Illiriké* 17; about the Pannonians in Appian's *Illiriké*: Šašel Kos 2004.

¹² Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 49,34,2; Nemeth 2007, 131. Dio is the main source concerning Octavian's actions in Illyricum. He is an excellent source also for the Dalmatian-Pannonian rebellion, as suggested by Kovács 2014, 31.

Appian observed that the conquest of Siscia and of the valley of the River Sava was motivated by Octavian's desire to use Siscia and the river itself as a military base in a future war against the Dacians and the Bastarni.¹³

Strabo describes Siscia as a place that, due to its location, was very suitable as a base for military action against the Dacians.¹⁴ Cassius Dio suggests that Octavian had no criticism against the Pannonii, because they did not harm the Romans.¹⁵ He continues with a description of this conflict.¹⁶ According to Cassius Dio, this expedition was organized in order to train the soldiers. Specialists agree with these two ancient sources; some of them accepted Appian's version.¹⁷ Mócsy understood the conquest of Siscia as an action related to Augustan propaganda.¹⁸ In fact, if one looks more closely, the true purpose was, as observed by Mócsy, the creation of a land connection between northern Italy and the Roman territories in the Balkans, but also the pacification of the neighbouring population in north-eastern Italy.¹⁹

The conquest of Siscia and parts of the Sava valley served to create not only a land connection between Italy and the Balkans, but also a strategic point for a future conflict with the Dacians, even if such a war was not yet included in Roman plans. Strabo mentions that the road connecting Aquileia with the Danube passed through Siscia and Sirmium.²⁰

After this conquest, sources remain silent until 16 B.C. Cassius Dio states that Macedonia was attacked by the Scordisci.²¹ Tiberius acted against the Pannonians in the subsequent year, 15 B.C.²² The rebellions of the Pannonians, who sometimes had the Dalmatians as allies, continued over the following years: 14, 13, 12, 11, 9, and 8 B.C.²³ Some of

these events were recorded by Velleius Paterculus.²⁴ In the beginning, Agrippa and Marcus Vinicius were in charge of the military operations. After Agrippa's death, operations were led by Tiberius. Even Augustus came to Aquileia. The measures taken by the Romans after this intensive conflict were very harsh; for example, most of the young men were captured and sold as slaves.²⁵ In 11 B.C., Illyricum was constituted as an imperial province,²⁶ after the *Bellum Pannonicum*.²⁷ It included the area of what was later to become Dalmatia and Pannonia. The Danube came to be the northern limit of this vast area.²⁸

Pannonia was founded as an imperial province of consular rank under the initial name of *Illyricum inferius* some time after the defeat of the Dalmatian-Pannonian rebellion of 6–9 A.D.²⁹ It stretched to the northern and the eastern part of the Danube.³⁰ The archaeological evidence indicates that under Augustus the Roman occupation army was positioned only in the southern part of the province, i.e. in the Sava-Drava area. The occupation of the northern part happened later, in the Tiberian-Claudian period. First, the *legio XV Apollinaris* was sent to Carnuntum.³¹ Many auxiliary troops were installed along the Amber Road. At this stage the Danube defence was also strengthened by auxiliary troops. They were settled in Arrabona (Győr) and Brigetio (Komárom-Szöny). Under the Flavian emperors, the entire Pannonian army was moved to the Danubian frontier.³² Both Vespasian and Trajan continued to consolidate the lines and the military defence in Pannonia as well as in neighbouring Noricum.

As a single province, until Trajan's reign, Pannonia included territories from the Drava-Sava interfluvium (the western half of present-day Hungary), the Vienna Basin, the Burgenland, to parts of Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Bosnia. Between 102 and 106 A.D., Trajan divided

Details about Dio's sources: Šašel Kos 1986, 142–144; Šašel Kos 2012a, 94.

¹³ Appian, *Illyriké* 22; Nemeth 2007, 32. For a detailed analysis of Appian's text: Dzino 2016, 69–83.

¹⁴ Strabo, *Geography* 7,5,2.

¹⁵ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 49,36,1,2.

¹⁶ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 49,37,1–6.

¹⁷ Tóth 2003, 19.

¹⁸ Mócsy 1974, 32–33.

¹⁹ Mócsy 1974, 32.

²⁰ Strabo, *Geography* 7,5,2.

²¹ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54,20,3.

²² The events concerning the conquest of Pannonia between 13 and 9 B.C. are mainly known from Cassius Dio. See details in Kovács 2014, 27.

²³ Nemeth 2007, 132. About the Pannonian War: Šašel Kos 2011.

²⁴ Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History* 2,96.

²⁵ Mócsy 1974, 32.

²⁶ Dzino 2010, 4; Šašel Kos 2013.

²⁷ Dzino 2012.

²⁸ Mócsy 1974, 34; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54,34,4.

²⁹ About this episode: Dzino 2006; Dzino 2009; Dzino 2010, 137–155; Radman-Livaja, Dizdar 2010; Kovács 2014, 30–31.

³⁰ Nemeth 2007, 141.

³¹ A commentary about the fact that *legio XV Apollinaris* was not garrisoned in Emona in 14 A.D. at Šašel Kos 2014a, 80–93.

³² Nemeth 2007, 142; Mócsy 1974, 80.

the province into Pannonia Superior and Inferior. In Pannonia Superior, located upstream on the Danube, three legions were stationed. In Pannonia Inferior, located to the south-east, only one legion was garrisoned, in Aquincum. In 214 A.D., Caracalla modified the demarcation lines between the two provinces.³³ Starting with Caracalla's reign, Brigetio, the garrison of the *legio I Adiutrix*, was administratively assigned to Pannonia Inferior. The civilian settlement, located circa 2 km west of the military fort, was granted the status of *municipium* under Caracalla. Soon it was promoted to the rank of *colonia*. The rank of the governors of the Pannonian provinces varied according to the number of legions under their command. The governor of Pannonia Superior was of consular rank. His headquarters were in Carnuntum.³⁴ Until Caracalla, the governor of Pannonia Inferior, based at Aquincum, was a praetorian, having only one legion under his command.

3. THE PEUTINGER MAP AND THE ANTONINE ITINERARY: WHEN AND HOW WERE THEY CREATED? METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The most important contributions on the Peutinger map are the books by Miller,³⁵ Levi and Levi,³⁶ Weber,³⁷ Bosio,³⁸ and Talbert's monograph.³⁹ The most recent books were published in 2014 by Emily Albu and in 2016 by Michael Rathmann.⁴⁰ In addition to these, there are many articles and book chapters⁴¹ discussing various aspects of the map's history, dating, design, and character. All these are useful in understanding the complexity of this document.⁴²

The document kept today in the National Library of Austria is a copy of another map, created during the late Roman period. The dating of the original map remains, in my opinion, an unresolved issue.⁴³ Dozens of attempts have been made to date it. Some historians dated the original document to the late 3rd, 4th, 5th centuries A.D. Others wrote that it was created in the third century, and then completed with other data in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Several historians tried to date the original, unsuccessfully, more accurately, in terms of years or short periods: around 250 A.D., after 260 A.D., during Diocletian's Tetrarchy (c. 300 A.D.)⁴⁴, in 365–366 A.D.⁴⁵, between 402 and 452 A.D., in 435 A.D.⁴⁶, or during 'the fourth to fifth centuries'.⁴⁷ Recently, Albu dated the original map in the early ninth century A.D.⁴⁸ Suppositions about the map's author, place and method of creation, dimensions, purpose, role, and sources used, were also produced. The map was thought to serve as a road map,⁴⁹ reflecting the official transportation system (*cursus publicus*), or as a propaganda map, depicting the former glory, power, and geographical extent of the Roman Empire,⁵⁰ during the Tetrarchy. The map was either ordered by a private citizen, or by an emperor (Septimius Severus,⁵¹ Theodosius II⁵²) and it either stood as a parchment roll in a library, or was displayed on a wall in Diocletian's palace in Split (Spalatum).⁵³

Therefore, a simple question arises: how can one date such a document with such different chronological information?⁵⁴ Can one explain the diverse data contained by the document? Both Pascaul Arnaud in 1988⁵⁵ and then Benet Salway in 2001⁵⁶ succeeded in explaining the diverse chronological frame of some details contained by the map.

Itinerarium Antonini has had the same fate and has generated almost the same amount of literature

³³ Fitz 2003b, 205.

³⁴ Jobst 1983.

³⁵ Miller 1887; Miller 1888 (extended edition 1916; then the editions from 1929 and 1962 – all published in Stuttgart).

³⁶ Levi, Levi 1967.

³⁷ Weber 1976.

³⁸ Bosio 1983.

³⁹ Talbert 2010.

⁴⁰ Albu 2014; Rathmann 2016 (*non vidi*).

⁴¹ See especially Whitaker 2004, ch. 4 (*Mental maps and frontiers. Seeing like a Roman*), 63–87.

⁴² Arnaud 1988; Weber 1989; Brodersen 2001; Salway 2001; Gautier Dalché 2003; Salway 2005; Albu 2008; Fodorean 2011; Fodorean 2016, 41–43.

⁴³ Fodorean 2004, 51–58.

⁴⁴ Talbert 2010, 136, 153.

⁴⁵ Miller 1916.

⁴⁶ Weber 1989.

⁴⁷ Salway 2005, 131.

⁴⁸ Albu 2008.

⁴⁹ The major part of the historians agreed upon this issue.

⁵⁰ Talbert 2010, 133–157.

⁵¹ Levi, Levi 1967.

⁵² Weber 1989.

⁵³ Talbert 2010, 149.

⁵⁴ I want to remind a similar state of research concerning Agrippa's map, well described by Brodersen 2003, 269–270.

⁵⁵ Arnaud 1988, 309.

⁵⁶ Salway 2001, 44.

as Peutinger's map has. Pascal Arnaud has noted the difficulty of dating the Itinerarium.⁵⁷

Some fundamental and unsolved aspects regarding the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary are:

- 1 – their dating;
- 2 – the sources used by their authors;
- 3 – their connection with other documents.

In my opinion, the fundamental problem of these two itineraries is not their general dating. Obviously, the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary both include *termini post quem* that do not allow too many speculations. The representation, in the Peutinger map, of Constantinople or St. Peter's church, makes impossible the dating of the document before the beginning of the fourth century A.D. How then does one explain the presence of Dacia (Roman province from 106 A.D. to 271 A.D.) or the representation of Pompeii in the same cartographic document? The logical explanation is that the creator/s of the original document used regional maps (*itineraria picta* or *adnotata*) as sources for their map of the Roman world, but they did not update the information contained in these documents. The same reasons are available for the Antonine itinerary: several place-names were correctly dated at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Therefore, I think that the main unsolved issues of these two documents are rather related to the detailed analysis of the information concerning each and every province, in order to obtain individual clues for dating the situation for each region. That is why, in my attempt to find other methodological solutions, I have decided to compare distances between the settlements. Further in this paper, I will analyse all the information depicted on the Peutinger map and listed in the Antonine itinerary concerning the Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno road, along the River Sava. I will compare the distances between the same settlements with the values listed in both ancient itineraries under discussion. I will apply this method only in those cases in which I will be able to identify the current modern location of the ancient toponyms. Using this method, I will be able to compare the distances from the cartographic documents with

the distances measured along the former Roman roads. Comparisons with other sources will also be made, using additional data from epigraphic sources (milestones) or literary sources.

4. THE ROAD EMONA–SISCIA–SIRMIUM–TAURUNO, ALONG THE RIVER SAVA, DEPICTED IN THE PEUTINGER MAP

This road starts from Aquileia. Its route until Emona is the following: Aquileia–XIII–Pontesonti – / – Fl. Frigido–XV–Inalpe Iulia–V–Long[– ? –]ico–VI–Nauporto–Fl. [– ? –]–XII–Emona. I will focus only on the segment starting from Emona, therefore my calculations will refer only to Pannonia.

From Emona, the settlements and distances are:

Emona (vignette, 'double tower' type, symbol Ab1, segment grid 4a1)–XVIII–Aceruone–XIII–Adprotoriu (Praetorium Latobiorum) (vignette, 'double tower' type, symbol Ab19)–XVI–Crucio–XVI–Novioduni–X–Romula–XIII–Quadrata–XIII–Adfines–XX–Siscia (vignette, 'double tower' type, symbol Ab1, segment grid 4a5)–no distance figure; river crossing⁵⁸ – Ad Pretorium (vignette, symbol C10, segment grid 4A5)⁵⁹–XXX–Servttio (vignette, symbol C11, segment grid 5A1⁶⁰)–XXIII–Urbate–XXXIII–Marsonie–no distance figure, river crossing⁶¹ – Adbasante–XX–Saldis–river crossing⁶² – XVIII–Drinum fl.–XVIII–river crossing⁶³ – Sirmium (vignette, 'double tower' type, symbol Aa1, segment grid 5a4)–XVIII–Bassianis–VIII–idiminio–VIII–Tauruno (vignette, 'double tower' type, symbol Aa7, segment grid 5A5⁶⁴).

The total distance covered on the Peutinger map from Emona to Taurunum is 309 miles, i.e. 456.85 km. Along this road, 19 settlements are mentioned (I counted 19, Taurunum was already counted for the first road) and 17 distance figures. The frequency of these is: 8 (miles)–1 (time), 9–1, 10–1, 14–3, 16–2, 18–4, 20–2, 30–1, 33–2. Out of these, 8 distance figures are recorded between the

⁵⁷ Arnaud 1993. The first edition is Cuntz 1929, reproduced with updated bibliography by Gerhard Wirth (Stuttgart, B. G. Teubner, 1990); Löhberg 2006; Bauer 2007; Laurence 2001, 67–94. Salway (2005, 132) thinks that the Antonine Itinerary was a private production.

⁵⁸ Colapis fl. <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace3559.html> [last access 20.01.2017].

⁵⁹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1610.html>.

⁶⁰ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1660.html>.

⁶¹ No. 27a, Savus River.

⁶² No. 27a, Savus River.

⁶³ No. 27a, Savus River.

⁶⁴ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1646.html>.

values of 8 to 16 miles. This means that out of 17 distance figures 8 represent 47.05%. Along this route, the distances are slightly longer compared to those along the first road. If I also include the distance figure of 18 (4), the percentage increases to 12/17, which is 70.58%.

Strategically and economically, this road was very important for Pannonia.⁶⁵ During Augustus' reign, Aquileia, Emona⁶⁶ and Siscia⁶⁷ were the most important settlements. They were used as military bases for the army. Nemeth observed, in the text of Appian, Octavian's desire to use Siscia and the river itself as a military base in a future war against the Dacians and the Bastarni.⁶⁸ Mócsy suggested that the conquest of Siscia may be perceived as related to Augustan propaganda.⁶⁹ Strabo was convinced that Siscia was well chosen as a military base for future actions against the Dacians.⁷⁰ When the rebellion of 6–9 A.D. started, the people north of the Sava did not participate. The efficiency of the Roman strategy was outstanding. By controlling the River Sava, along the road discussed above, the Romans succeeded to conquer the northern area quickly, up to the Sava, and then the whole region up to the Danube. Therefore, in my opinion, the Emona–Siscia–Taurunum road was probably represented in an early *itinerarium*, initially created by the army. The same mechanism was implemented in Dacia, where the road from Lederata to Tibiscum was built during Trajan's military campaigns in Dacia.

Along this route, five settlements are marked by 'double-tower' type vignettes: Emona, Adprotoriu, Siscia, Sirmium and Taurunum. The most interesting case is Adprotoriu (Praetorium Latobicorum), an important settlement on this road, which belonged to the territory of Neviodunum.⁷¹

5. 'ITEM AB HEMONA PER SISCIAM SIRMI'. THE ROAD ALONG THE RIVER SAVA IN THE ANTONINE ITINERARY

Across a total distance of 310 miles fourteen settlements are listed in the Antonine itinerary. The frequency of the distance figures in the Antonine itinerary for this road is: 15 (miles) – 1 (time); 22 – 2; 23 – 1; 25 – 1; 26 – 2; 28 – 2; 29 – 1; 31 – 1; 34 – 1.

Data related to the Emona–Adprotoriu sector reveal, yet again, that the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary rely on different sources. The Peutinger map mentions: Emona (vignette)–XVIII–Acervone–XIII–Adprotoriu (vignette), thus a total distance of 32 miles. The Antonine itinerary lists: Hemona–no distance figure–Praetorio Latovicorum. Further on, some distances match, but the Antonine itinerary mentions few settlements. From Adprotoriu to Siscia, the Peutinger map depicts seven settlements, while the Antonine itinerary lists only four. Divided into sub-segments, the situation is the following: 1) *TP*: Adprotoriu–XVI–Crucio–XVI–Noviodum (32 miles) vs. *ItAnt*: Praetorium Latovicorum–XXXIII–Novioduno (34 miles); 2) *TP*: Noviodum–X–Romula–14–Quadrata (24 miles) vs. *ItAnt*: Novioduno–XXXI–Quadrato; 3) *TP*: Quadrata–XIII–Ad fines–XX–Siscia (vignette) (34) vs. *ItAnt*: Quadrato–XXVIII–Siscia. The distance figures, however, are close in their values.

The next section is very interesting. It is presented totally differently on the Peutinger map and in the Antonine itinerary. The Bordeaux itinerary does not list this road, only the Emona–Poetovio–Mursa–Sirmium road. The Peutinger map states: Siscia (vignette) - no distance figure - Ad Pretorium (vignette, symbol C10 – *mansio* type building)–XXX–Servttio (vignette, symbol C11)–XXIII–Urbate–XXXIII–Marsonie–no distance figure, river crossing - Adbasante–XX–Saldis–river crossing - XVIII–Drinum fl.–XVIII–river crossing - Sirmium (vignette, 'double tower' type). Nine settlements are mentioned and a total distance of 152 miles. The Antonine itinerary lists: Siscia–XXVIII–Varianis–XXIII–Manneianis–XXVI–Incerto sed mansio Augusti in praetorio est–XXVIII–Picentino–XXV–Leucono–XXVI–Cirtina–XV–Cibalis–XXII–Ulmos–XXII–Sirmi. Ten settlements are mentioned and a total distance of 187 miles. The distance measured in digital maps between Sisak and Sremska Mitrovica is circa 273 km. The Antonine itinerary with its 187 miles (276.47 miles) is close to the calculated figure. Yet some details regarding the place-names must be clarified.

⁶⁵ A detailed topographical and archaeological description of this road, including the analysis of data from the Peutinger map at Bojanovski 1984.

⁶⁶ About Emona: Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014; Šašel Kos 2002; Šašel Kos 2012b.

⁶⁷ Lolić 2003, 131–152.

⁶⁸ Appianos, *Illyriké*, 22; Nemeth 2007, 32.

⁶⁹ Mócsy 1974, 32–33.

⁷⁰ Strabo, *Geography* VII, 5, 2.

⁷¹ Horvat 1999, 228.

The Antonine itinerary lists:

259,11 Iter ab Hemonā per Sisciam Sirmi

259,12		CCCXI, sic: 311		
259,11	Hemona	Emona	Ljubljana (Slovenia)	
259,13	Praetorio Latovicorum	Praetorio Latobicorum	Pristava/Trebnje (Slo)	XXXIII
259,14	Novioduno	Nevioudunum	Drnovo (Slo)	XXXI
260,1	Quadrato	Quadrato	Bratina (Croatia)	XXVIII
260,2	Siscia	Siscia	Sisak (Cr)	XXVIII
260,3	Varianis	Varianae	Kutina (Cr)	XXIII
260,4	Manneianis	Menneianae	Daruvar (Cr)	XXVI
260,5	Incerō	Incerō	Vetovo (Cr)	XXVIII
260,6	sed mansio Augusti in Pretorio est	Mansio Augusti	Close to Vetovo	
260,7	Picentino	Picentium	Buzet (Cr)	XXV
260,8	Leucono	Leucoreum	Donji Andrijević (Cr)	XXVI
260,9	Cirtisa	Cirtisia	Strbinci / Dakovo (Cr)	XV
261,1	Cibalis	Cibalae	Vinkovci (Cr)	XXII
261,2	Ulmos	Ulmo	Tovarnik (Cr)	XXII
261,3	Sirmi	Sirmium	Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia)	XXVI

6. AD PRAETORIUM IN THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

According to Talbert's database,⁷² there are four toponyms derived from the form Ad Praetorium/Praetorium: 1. Ad Pretorivm (segment grid 4C1), between Cerva and Presididiolele; 2. Ad Pretorium (4A5, symbol C10⁷³), between Siscia and Servttio, in Pannonia; 3. Adpretorium (5A1, symbol C1⁷⁴), between an unnamed/illegible settlement (no. 36) and Lorano; 4. Adprotoriū (4A2, symbol Ab19⁷⁵). The other category consists of toponyms derived from *Praetorium* (without the particle *Ad*). Based on information from the same database, there are

seven place-names derived from it, of which four are Pretorio, one is Pretoriū Agrippinae, one is Pretorium and one is longer, Pretorium Laverianum Nuceri(a)e Apul(a)e. Their characteristics are:

1 – Pretorio (name, no symbol, 8C2), between a settlement unnamed/illegible, no. 55 and P[- ? -] scv;⁷⁶

2 – Pretorio (name, no symbol, 1B2), between Ausrito and Argantomago/Acitodonum;⁷⁷

3 – Pretorio (name, no symbol, 6A4, in Dacia), between Admedia and Ad Pannonios;⁷⁸

4 – Pretorio (name, no symbol, 7A1, in Dacia), between Arutela and Ponte Vetere;⁷⁹

5 – Pretoriū Agrippinae (symbol C2, 1A2⁸⁰), between Lugduno and Matilone;

⁷² <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/all-alphabetical.html>.

⁷³ 'This example of symbol class C10 is associated with Ad Pretorivm (4A5)'. This is Talbert's observation at <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/symbolclass-C10.html>. It is a unique drawing on the Peutinger map.

⁷⁴ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/symbolclass-C1.html>: 'Symbols conforming to this classification: [- ? -]ndesina (1A5); Adpretorvm (5A1); Aqvas Passaras (4B1); Aqvis (4C3); Aqvis calidis (9B2); Aqvis Nisincii (1B4); Mindo Fl. (4B2); Qvaeri (4A1); Tres Tabernas (5B1).'

⁷⁵ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/symbolclass-Ab19.html>. This is, in fact, a version of the double-tower type symbol.

⁷⁶ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace361.html>.

⁷⁷ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace715.html>.

⁷⁸ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1733.html>.

⁷⁹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1760.html>.

⁸⁰ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace553.html>: 'This example of symbol class C2 is associated with Ad Aqvas casaris (3C4). Symbols conforming to this classification: [- ? -]estis (2B1); Ad Aqvas casaris (3C4); Ad aqvas Hercvli (3C1); Aqvas tavri (4B3); AQVIS BORMONIS (1B4); Aqvis Segete (1B5); Pretoriū Agrippinae (1A2); (symbol, no name, no. 46) (6A4).'

6 – Pretorium (name, no symbol, 6C5), between Ad ficum and Putea nigra,⁸¹

7 – Pretorium Laverianum Nuceri(a)e Apul(a)e (symbol C19⁸², 5B3), between Arpos and Aecas.⁸³ To sum up, the place-names starting with ‘Ad ...’ / ‘At...’ are associated with vignettes marking *mansiones* (see Tres Tabernas, 5b1).

Incerto sed mansio augusti in pretorio est, listed in the Antonine itinerary, is also of interest. It designates a stopping point, not for everybody who travels, but for the emperor. The significance is to be contextualized, in my opinion, in the official transport system, *cursus publicus*. Within this system, such stopping points were crucial in planning and making a journey using the official infrastructure (vehicles, horses, *mansiones*).

The toponym Ad Pretorium, the one after Siscia, is another interesting case. The ancient literary sources (Appian, Strabo) emphasize the strategic importance of Siscia as a base settlement used for controlling the River Sava and as a military base for a future war against the Dacians. In this context, the road connecting Italy to the Balkans, starting from Aquileia to Sirmium, became a strategic route from the very beginning of Octavian’s campaigns into the future Pannonia. Therefore, the presence of a placename such as Ad Pretorium close to Siscia represents a normal situation. It was there that a military base was installed. In time, it became an important stopover for travellers using the *cursus publicus*. What I am attempting to suggest, here and further on, is that the Peutinger map was based on military sources, i.e. *itineraria picta* initially created and used by the army. The Antonine itinerary was compiled using sources from the official archives of *cursus publicus*.

Pretorium designated two types of constructions in Roman times. In its classical meaning, the term refers to a building inside a Roman fortress.⁸⁴ During the military marches, *praetorium* was the name of the tent of a Roman general. In the context of the *cursus publicus*, the term designates a stopping point and the building used by the governor of a province or by high ranking officials.⁸⁵ Another late meaning of this term is related to palaces,

as opposed to agricultural structures (*praetorio voluptati tantum deservientia*).⁸⁶

Some inscriptions also record this type of building, related to the transportation system. Much more numerous are the monuments concerning *praetoria* in *castra*. Here are two examples. The first is an inscription from Dalmatia. It was found in Skradin (Croatia, ancient Scardona) and is dated to 177–180 A.D. The text reads:⁸⁷

Praetoriu[m vetustate] / conlapsum [Stulpini et?] / Burnistae [Lacinien]/ses(?) ex pec(unia) [publ(ica) refecer(unt)] / Scapul[a Tertullius] / leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) p[rov(inciae) Dalmatiae] / restit[uit]

Another inscription of this type, but much more interesting, was found in Dion (Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis), in Greece, in the region of Kentrikí Makedonía.⁸⁸ The text reads:

Ex mandatis / P(ubli) Mestri C(ai) f(ili) Pal(atina) Pomponiani Capitonis II[viri] / Mestriae C(ai) f(iliae) Aquilinae sacerdotis Minervae / C(aius) Mestrius C(ai) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Priscus Maianus N(umerius) Mestrius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pal(atina) Priscus praetorium cum tabernis duabus / et apparatus ea quae infra scripta est / lectis cubicularibus V culcitis V pulvinis V / subselis X cathedris II triclinio aerato culci/tis III emitulis III pulvinis longis III foco ferreo / mensis XX grabattis XX emitulis XX haec omnia / colonis de sua pecunia faciendum curraverunt / idemque dedic(averunt).

The inscriptions also record other facilities specific to the transportation system that served as stopping points within the *cursus publicus*. Some of these are *mansiones*, *stationes*, and *stabula*.

Regarding the meaning of the term ‘praetorium’, apart from Pannonia, two toponyms are mentioned in Dacia. One is along the Dierna-Tibiscum road, between Admedia (today Băile Herculane, Caraş-Severin County) and Ad Pannonios (Caraş-Severin County). This road, together with the Lederata-Tibiscum route, was designed and constructed during the two wars against the Dacians, between 101/102–105/106. The presence of the toponym Pretorio should be explained in close connection with the army, which was directly involved in

⁸¹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace315.html>.

⁸² <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/symbolclass-C19.html>.

⁸³ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1337.html>.

⁸⁴ Daremberg, Saglio 1877–1919, tome 4, vol. 1 (N-Q), 640.

⁸⁵ Daremberg, Saglio 1877–1919, tome 4, vol. 1 (N-Q), 642.

⁸⁶ Daremberg, Saglio 1877–1919, tome 4, vol. 1 (N-Q), 642.

⁸⁷ *CIL* III, 2809; Jagenteufel 1958, 48–49, no. 25.

⁸⁸ *AE* 2000, 1295; Manils, Pascual 2005, 14, note 33.

the construction of these roads. In this context, *pretorium* means a stop-over used by high ranking officials of the Roman army. The second example from Dacia is Pretorio between Arutela (north of Păușa, on the spot called Poiana Bivolari, Vâlcea County) and Ponte Vetere/Pons Vetus (Câineni, Vâlcea County), on the left bank of the River Olt. These settlements are all Roman auxiliary forts positioned from south to north along the valley of the River Olt, starting from the Danube up north, along the so-called *limes Alutanus*. The road which connected these forts was also designed and built during Trajan's two wars against the Dacians.

7. FINAL REMARKS

To summarise, the mentioning of these toponyms indicates, in my opinion, that the maker of the Peutinger map used early documents of the *itineraria picta* type as documentation for his *magnum opus* both for Dacia and Pannonia. These sources were military records of the roads covered by the army. In the case of Pannonia, one can easily see that the route along the River Sava was constructed in early periods, perhaps starting with Octavian's occupation of the area. The same mechanism may be identified in Dacia.

Concerning the place-name *Incerto sed mansio Augusti in pretorio est* from the Antonine itiner-

ary, it was located somewhere close to Vetovo, in Croatia. Ad Pretorium between Siscia and Servitio in the Peutinger map is to be found today, according to the *Barrington Atlas*,⁸⁹ at Suvaja, near Bosanka Dubica, in Bosnia. Servitio is Bosanska Gradišk, and Urbate is Srbac, both also in Bosnia. All these settlements stretch across an area east-south-east of Siscia, and indicate a series of very important stopping points established early in the 1st century B.C. and developed afterwards, until the late Roman era, as the toponyms Varianis and Manneianis demonstrate.

In conclusion, I would suggest that there are solid arguments in favour of rating the road along the River Sava as one of the earliest routes in Pannonia. Initially, it was a military communication artery, and, as in the whole Roman Empire, it became one of the important routes connecting Italy to the Balkans. It was clearly used intensively and in the late period stations along this road served to supply the infrastructure necessary for the official transportation system. This late state of affairs is reflected in the Antonine itinerary.

⁸⁹ Map 20, Pannonia-Dalmatia, 287.

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Praetorium in cesta Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno v antičnih geografskih in epigrafskih virih

Povzetek

Članek prinaša nove ugotovitve glede rimske ceste in cestnih postaj ob cesti Siscia–Sirmium vzdolž reke Save, izpričane na Tabuli Peutingeriani in Antoninskem itinerariju. Rezultat primerjave razdalj med naselbinama, omenjenima v obeh itinerarijih, je poskus nove datacije obeh antičnih kartografskih virov. V uvodnem delu članka so naštet vprašanja, ki so spodbudila omenjeno analizo. Najpomembnejši cilj raziskave je bil s primerjavo podatkov na Tabuli Peutingeriani in Antoninskem itinerariju ugotoviti, na podlagi katerih virov sta oba izredno pomembna antična dokumenta nastala in kako sta itinerarija vsebinsko grajena. V nadaljevanju so predstavljena splošna zgodovinska in arheološka dejstva o osvajanju Panonije, poudarjena je pomembna vloga reke Save za razumevanje topografije province, prikazan je tudi razvoj cestne mreže. V tretjem delu članka so strnjene glavne informacije o Tabuli Peutingeriani in Antoninskem itinerariju, ki jih je mogoče zaslediti v literaturi. Strokovnjaki so namreč že večkrat poskušali datirati oba kartografska vira, včasih celo na podlagi nepomembnih podrobnosti. V četrtem delu analize so zbrani podatki o cesti *Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno*, vzdolž reke Save, izpričani na Tabuli Peutingeriani. Pri tem je bila uporabljena preprosta, a učinkovita metoda: zbrane so bile naselbine in izpisane razdalje med njimi. Zanimivo je predvsem to, da se razdalje med 8 in 16 miljami večkrat ponovijo, zato avtor sklepa, da je bila Tabula Peutingeriana izdelana na podlagi vojaških itinerarijev. Približno 12 milj je namreč

bil dan hoda rimske vojske na vojaških pohodih (*iustum iter*). Ista metoda je bili v naslednjem koraku uporabljena tudi za Antoninski itinerarij. V diskusiji je izpostavljen problem toponima “*Incerosed mansio augusti in pretorio est*” na Antoninskem itinerariju, primerljiv s cestno postajo *Ad Praetorium/Praetorium* na Tabuli Peutingeriani. Po mnenju avtorja, kot je zapisal v sklepnem delu članka, imamo trdne dokaze, da je treba traso vzdolž Save šteti med eno najzgodnejših cestnih povezav v Panoniji. Ne nazadnje je bila cesta osnovana kot vojaška komunikacija, a je kmalu postala ena najpomembnejših povezav Italije z Balkanom. Brez dvoma je pomenila močno prometnico in cestne postaje vzdolž nje so v poznejšem obdobju ponujale potrebno oskrbo za javni transportni sistem. To se jasno kaže na Antoninskem itinerariju.

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