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MAPS OF ROMAN DACIA. IV. GRIGORE TOCILESCU AND “LA DACIE ROMAINE” IN 1900

Abstract: We are continuing our series of studies concerning the maps of Roman Dacia¹ with this short note regarding the representation of Dacia on a map published by Grigore Tocilescu in his book *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie: communications faites à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de Paris, 1892-1899*, Bucarest, 1900. The map illustrates the level of knowledge concerning the main elements of the topography of Dacia, including the roads and the forts.

Keywords: Dacia, Roman roads, forts, Tocilescu, topography.

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In 1900, Grigore Tocilescu published a book where he included a map of Roman Dacia: *La Dacie romaine*.² It is printed at a scale of 1:1,700,000. The legend includes the following features: 1. Camps et établissements romains; 2. Fortifications et stations préhistoriques; 3. Vallums explorées; 4. Vallums inexplorées; 5. Voies militaires explorées; 6. Voies militaires inexplorées; 7. Frontière de la Dacie; 8. Frontières des trois Dacies.

All the major roads of Dacia are mapped. In the Banat region, a road commence at LEDERATA (Ram), connecting the forts from ARCIDAVA (Vărădia), CENTVM PUTEA (N. Surduc), BERSOVIA (Jidovin), AHIHIS (sic!) (Furlog), reaching TIBISCUM (Zăguşeni). The second branch starts at DIERNA (Orşova), connecting further on the settlements from AD MEDIAM (B. Hercule), PRETORIO (Mehadia), AD PANONIOS (sic!) (Carnia), GAGANIS (Teregova), MASCLIANIS (Corpa), and CAPVT BVBALI (V. Boului). From TIBISCUM, the road continues towards the northern part of the province, connecting the settlements from AGNAVIE (Ohaba Bistra), PONS AVGVSTI (Voislova), SARMIZEGETVSA (Grădiştea), AD AQUAS (Kö Balogfalva), PETRIS (Arany), BVRTICUM (Borbere), APVLUM (Alba Iulia), BRVCLA, MARCODAVA (M. Uyvar), SALINAE (Felvincz), POTAISSA (Turda), NAPOCA (Cluşi), MACEDONICA (Szucsak), OPTATIANA (Zutor), St. Peterfalva, LARGIANA, CERTIA (Romlot), and POROLISSUM (Moigrad).

Some of the ancient toponyms are correctly located. On the map, TIBISCVM is located at Zăguşeni (Zăguşeni village, Constantin Daicoviciu commune, Caraş-Severin County), in fact the next village north of Jupa. Tocilescu knew quite well the route of this road and the data provided by the Peutinger map: “Tivisco XIII m. p. Fiindu-co de la Tibiscu la Dunare eră

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¹ FODOREAN 2014, 40-43; FODOREAN 2021, 47-51; FODOREAN 2022, 125-128.

² TOCILESCU 1900. Excellent reproduction of the map here: [00000133.tif.original.jpg \(6538x4617\) \(slub-dresden.de\)](https://www.scribd.com/document/00000133-tif-original-jpg-6538x4617) (Digitale Sammlungen: Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie (slub-dresden.de))

ua calle dupla, ne intempina pe tabla de doua ori aceiasi statiune: ua data ca statiune finale, cu turnuri desemnata, a callei ce plăca d'in Lederata; alta data aci, ca statiune pe callea de la Tierna cotre Sarmategte (77). Chartografulu, neavendu locu intre Dierna si Tivisco de a scrie tôte statiunile, a fostu silitu sa urmedie ua linia mai sudica si se scrie anco ua data *Tivisco*, fora de a mai repetă celle doua turnuri. Anonymulu Ravennatu nu lasa nici-ua indouie la asupr'a acestui faptu, coei atātu Tibisulu, de care ne spune IV 14: «Tibis, quae coniungitur cum civitate Agmonia patriae Mysiae», catu si Tiviscum, ce'lu citédia inainte de Gubali (Caput Bubali), cadu ambele in acellasi locu, la gur'a Bistritii. De aceia Ukert (79) si Forbiger (80) se incela candu facu doue statiuni diferite Tiviscus, cautandu un'a la Timisior'a si alt'a la Kaveran.»³

An accurate description is provided by Tocilescu in the case of Ad Aquas. He even draws the specific vignette designated for thermal waters in his book, mentioning: "Ad aquas.. XIII m. p., lini'a de legatura intre Sarmategte si Ad Aquas nu se vede pe tabla. Proba anse, co ea s'a stersu, este indicatiunea distantiei XIII m. p., care se citește forte lamuritu, si urme netagaduite, ce se vedu peno astadi, alle unui drumu romanu. Acest'a cifra séu trebue schimbata in XXIII, séu trebue sa admitemu, co intre Ad aquas si Sarmategte a fostu notata anco ua statiune; pentru co Ad aquas, cadiendu cu certitudine la Kalanu (ung. Kiskalán) de adi (85), distantia de la Gradistea (Sarmategte) peno la Kalanu este de XXI m. p., pe candu in tabla se arréta numai XIV m. p. (86)."⁴

A very interesting description is provided by Tocilescu for the road segment connecting Germisara with Apulum. He notes: "Germizera, gresitu in editiunile anteriore alle Tablei: *Germitera*, la Ravenn. *Germigera* [...] cu sigurantia la Cicmau (Csikmo) de adi, dupo cum probédia inscriptiunea urmatore aflata la Joaju de giosu (Al Gyógy), numitu mai inainte Al - Diod (88). [...]"

In tabla statiunea Germizera este fora indicatiune de mile, si intre dens'a si Blandiana se vede ua cotitura de drumu numai cu cifr'a VIII m. p., ero numele statiunei lipsesce. De la Germizera peno la Apulum se notédia pe tabla distantia de XVII m. p., pe candu in realitate de la Cicmau (Germizera) peno la Alb'a-Julia (Karlsburg) este de XXV m. p. Atunci trebue se admitemu, séu co s'a ommisu ua statiune, si acesta aru poté fi *Burticum* allu lui Ravennatu IV 7, pe care Goos ilu presupune la Vurperu (nemtiesce Burgberg, ung. Vurpód) (89), séu co trebue se adaogemu intre Apulum si Blandiana, séu intre Germizera si Blandiana, anco diece millie (90)."⁵

About *Salinae*, the same author indicates the location of the settlement at Vințu de Sus, which is wrong, but he specifically mentions that *Salinae* is not Turda, which is correct: "Salinis XII, [...] Ravenn. Salinis, la Vintii de susu, Felvincz (94), ero nu la Thurda, cumu s'a sustinutu peno acum (95). Cata se observămu co dupe Tabl. Peutling. Distantia de la Apulum la Salinis este numai XXIV mile, pe candu dupe charta distantia dirépta d'intre Alb'a-Julia (Apulum) si Felvincz (Salinae) e cellu pucinu 27 mile."⁶

The next settlement after Salina is Potaissa. Tocilescu offers accurate details about this locality too: "Patavissa XXIII, Ravenn. 4, 7, Patabissa, Ulpian lib. 1 de censibus (Dig. 50, 15, 1, 8. 9): *Patavissensium vicus*; Ptolemeu 3, 8, 7 Πατρούισσα, in inscriptiuni POT (aissa) (96), POTAISSA (97) este cu certitudine actuala Thurda, dupo cum probédia descoperirile facute acolo, si ua petra milliara aflata la Ajton cu numele: POT (aissa) (98), ero nu Ptovis séu Tovis (Teusiu) longa Muresiu (99), Bogaciu séu San-Craiu (St. Király) (100) séu Uiór'a (ung. Maros-Ujvár) (101), dupo cumu s'a identificatu de unii geografi moderni."⁷ The road from Potaissa to Napoca is mapped as a straight line, therefore not accurately in regard with its exact route.⁸

Finally, the northernmost city of Dacia is recorded by Tocilescu with the following description: "Porolisso. Rav. 4, 5 PorollistAm, Rav. 4, 7 Porolissos, Ptolemeu 3, 8, 6 Παρόλισσου (al. Πορόλισσου), in inscriptiuni: *patroni municipii Porol(issi)* (107), *pontifex civitatis Paralissensium*, cu sigurantia la Mogigradu (Mojgradu), unu orasiu la fruntari'a transilvano-ungara, pucinu mai la vestu de punctulu unde riulu Somesiu. Iassa Ardélulu. Inscriptiunile aflate in acestu locu, mentiunea unui procuratoru imperialu, chiaru si distantia d'in tabla de la Napoca peno la Mojgradu, care se acorda face identitatea neindoióssa (108). Inainte de Mommsen se inchipuia gresitu lini'a de la Salinae la Parolissum prin vallea superióra a Muresiului, séu de la Clusiu peste Gherla (Szamos-Ujvár) in lungulu Somesiului de susu (109)."⁹

A different artery is mapped from Apulum to AMPELVM (Zalatna) and ALBVRNVS MAIOR (Verespatac). Also, a road is depicted along the valley of the Someșul Mic River, connecting the forts from Gherla and A. Kosaly (Cășeu, Cluj County). Another road is represented along the valley of the Someșul Mare River, connecting A. Kosaly with Negrileasa, Alsó-Ilosva, Varhely and Vecs.

Another road is mapped along the valley of the Mureș River, from SALINAE (Felvincz) to Radnot (Iernut, Mureș County), and further north towards M. Kerestur (Maroskeresztúr, Murăș-Cristur, today Cristești, Mureș County), Vaida St. Istvan and Vecs (today Brâncovenesti, Mureș County). A road is also depicted from M. Kerestur to Kebele (Sânișor, Livezeni commune, Mureș County) and Mikehaza (Mikháza, Mikeháza, today Călugăreni, Mureș County). From Mikehaza a road connects the forts located along the eastern frontier of Dacia: Sovarad (Sóvárád, Sărățeni, Mureș County), Enlaca (Énlaka, Inlăceni, Harghita County), Szekely Udvarhely (Székelyudvarhely, today Odorheiu Secuiesc, Harghita County), and St. Pal (Homoródszentpál, Mărtiniș commune, Harghita County).

From T. Severin (DROBETAE) a road connects the settlements Butuești (sic!), AMVTRIVM, Răcari, PELENDAVA, CASTRA NOVA, and ROMVLA. Tocilescu writes about Amutria the following: "Amutria XXXV, de

⁷ TOCILESCU 1880, 86.

⁸ On this road and its route see: FODOREAN 2006, 120-133; FODOREAN 2013, 39-42; FODOREAN 2013a, 113-118; FODOREAN 2015; WINKLER et alii 1980, 63-73; BLĂJAN et alii 1994, 167-198; FODOREAN et alii 2013, 62-67; FODOREAN 2016, 383-387; FODOREAN 2017, 909-917.

⁹ TOCILESCU 1880, 87.

³ TOCILESCU 1880, 84.

⁴ TOCILESCU 1880, 84-85.

⁵ TOCILESCU 1880, 85.

⁶ TOCILESCU 1880, 86.

siguru pe longa riulu Motru, coei Amudria = Ad mutriam, anse loculu anume nu se scie. Kiepert o asedia la confluentia Motrului cu Jiulu; Goos, judecandu dno distanti'a d'in Tabla, ceva mai susu. (Domnulu Desjarse dins incela multu candu crede a fi descoperitu numele astei statiuni *Mutrium* pe unu monumentu, ce se afla in museulu nationalu d'in Bucuresci".¹⁰

The road along the Olt River is also mapped. It starts in the south from Celei (MALVA) and it continues towards north, connecting the settlements from Reșca (Romvla), Eneuști (sic!) (ACIDAVA), Drăgășani (RVSIDAVA), Ionești-Govori (sic!) (PONS ALVTI), Slăvitești (BVRIDAVA), Gura Văei (sic!) (CASTRA TRAIANI), Călimănești, ARVTELA, Racovița-Copăceni (PRETORIVM), Titești, Căneni (sic!) (PONS VETVS), Boița (CAPVT STENARVM), Sibiu (CEDONIA), Reusmarkt (ACIDAVA), and Alba Iulia.¹¹

The settlements along this road are described by the same Tocilescu in 1880: "5. *Romula* XIII, Ravenn. IV. 7: *Romulas*, pote la Recic'a. 6. *Acidava* XXIII, cam in faci'a Slatinei. 7. *Rusidava* XIII, la afluentia Luncavetului in Oltu, mai josu de satulu Slavitesci. 8. *Ponte Aluti* XIII, la Ravenn. IV. 7 numai: *Aluti*, longa Rômnicu-Vălcii. 9. *Buridava* XII, in faci'a Calimanesciloru; dupo Kiepert, la Romnicu. 10. *Castra*

¹⁰ TOCILESCU 1880, 90.

¹¹ TOCILESCU 1880, 90-92: "A treia linie, care incepe de la Egeta, in sudulu Dunarii, si se continua pe malulu stangu de la Drubetis inainte, este confusa pe Tabl'a Peutingeriana, si numai de la cercetarile viitoare potemu spera vre ua lumina despre dens'a. Materialulu epigraphicu este forte restrinsu; si inscriptiunile aflate nu continu mai nimicu siguru pentru fixarea vre unei statiuni; de aceia nu incapa mirare deco scriitorii moderni se departedia multu unii de altii in identificarea acestei linii cu nomenclatur'a geografica actuale. Pe candu un ii tragu lini'a de la Drubetis (Turnu Severinu) in direptiune drepta spre resaritu peno aproape de Rômnicu-Vălcii, Kiepert o face sa treca pe longa confluentia Motrului cu Jiulu; apoi o scobora pe la Craiova peno la Celeiu; de aci, intemeiatu pe urmele vizibile alle siosselei romane, ua urca in susu in direptiune paralela cu Oltulu; la Slatin'a o trece pe malulu osticu allu riului, pene la statiunea Pons Aluti, pucinu mai josu de Rômnicu-Vălcii, unde d'in nou o muta pe malulu opusu, pentru ca se continue astu-feliu pe la Turnulu rosu peno la Pons vetus in Transilvania, unde o bifurca: ua linie merge spre Sarmizegetusa; alt'a urmédia rip'a drepta a Oltului peno la Odorheiu (ung. Székely-Udvarhely. - Goos, numai in trei puncte nu este de acord cu Kiepert: unulu, co siosseau'a de la Celeiu nu trecea Oltulu la Slatin'a, ci pentru antea ora la Rômnicu-Vălcii; allu duoilea, co de la Rômnicu-Vălcii ea nu continua absolutu pe malulu dreptu allu riului, ci trece, candu pe ua parte, candu pe alt'a, peno la Turnulu-rosiu, pe teritoriulu Transilvaniei, unde incepe a si tine direptiunea numai pe malulu dreptu; - si allu treilea : co siosseau'a romana se divide la Recic'a in doue ramure: un'a ce merge in lungulu Oltului la Islazu, ero cea-alta spre sud-vestu la Celeiu. Direptiunea data de Aschbarh callei romane se combate nu numai prin piedicele naturale, ce aru fi oferitu construirii unui atare drumu unu terrenu riposu si scaldatu de atatia afluenti ai Jiului si ai Oltului, dero si prin lips'a in aceste parti de ori-ce urme de stabilimente romane. D'in contr'a, acestea sunt invederate, urmandu lini'a trasa de Kiepert, la Recari si Ja Bradesti, longa rip'a Jiului, unde se vedu peno adi ruine de cetati si de unu vechiu drumu ascernutu cu petra, care nu pote fi altulu de catu cellu care incepea la Drubetis prin Amutrium; apoi de la Celeiu acellasi drumu merge cotre media-nopte pene la Recic'a, trecandu prin Brestavetiu, Studina, Deveselulu, Comanc'a. La Recic'a se unesce cu siosseau'a romana numita *Callea Troianului*, care, plecandu de la Islazu (aprope de gur'a Oltului), apuca in susu spre Carpati mai in linie drepta pe malulu apusanu allu Oltului, prin satele Tii'a mare, Potlogeni, Cilieni, Rusanesci, Plavincen'a, Scarisior'a, Gostavetiu, Slaveni, Stoenesci, Farcasiu, Dobrosloveni, Falcoiu, Strajesci, Vladuleni, Sioperliti'a, Brancoveni, Petr'a, Jenusesci, Slatiore, Dranovetiu peno la Rômniculu-Vălcii. Aci se urca pe mallulu stangu allu riului pene la Port'a Româniloru, seu Turnulu rosu, unde d'in nou trece pe malulu opusu si passâ astu-feliu in Transilvania."

tragana VIII, adico *Castra trajana*, nu departe de Salatrucu. 11. *Arutela* XV, se asedia de unii in plaiulu Lovistea, intra Pitesci si Bratovoesci; dupo altii, la gur'a Lotrului in Oltu. De siguru anso Arutela trebue pusa in loculu tergului Resinari d'in Transilvania, care peno tardiu in evulu mediu si-a pastratu vechiulu nume de Ruetel. 12. *Praetorio* VIII, la pasulu Cainenii, loculu *port'a Româniloru*; dupo Tomaschek, la Cornetu. 13. *Ponte vetere* XIII, la. Ravenn. IV. 7 *Betere*, lornge versarea Lotriorei in Oltu, dupo Tomaschek la Caneni. 14. *Stenarum* XII, Ravenn. IV. 7 *Caput Stenarum*, longa Ocn'a (Salzburg, Vizakna). 15. *Cedoniae* XXIII, Ravenn. IV. 7 *Cedonia*, la Apoldulu mare (Grosspold), si Mercurea (Reusmarkt). 16. *Acidava* XV, la Ravenn. IV. 7, *Sucidava*, la confluentia micului Sekasiu cu Tirnav'a impreunata (Kockel, Küküllö). 17. La *Apulu* se finesce a trei'a linie d'in Tabl'a Peutingeriana."¹²

The second frontier line in the region of Oltenia, the so-called *limes Transalutanus*, is mapped as "*Limes Alutanus*". From south to north, it starts at Flămânda, and it continues through Putinei, Ruși de Vede (sic!), Gresia, Ghioca, Urlueni (sic!), Albota, Pitești, Purcăreni, Câmpulung, Rosenau, Feldiôra. According to the legend of the map, this line was drawn as a "vallum explore". Also, the road along this frontier is mapped as a known military road ("voie romaine explorée") in the sector from Flămânda on the Danube River up to Purcăreni. From this point, the road is represented with an interrupted line, corresponding the the symbol of "voies romaines inexplorées". From Feldiôra an explored road is mapped forward east, connecting the forts from Komoto (sic!), which is *Komolló* (today included in the locality Reci, Covasna County), *Kezdy Vasarhely* (sic!), which is Kézdi-Vásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc, Covasna County), with the fort from Bereczk (Brețcu, Covasna County). From *Komolló*, two unexplored roads are mapped. One goes towards south, connecting the localities *Drajna*, *Ploești* (sic!), *București*, and *Giurgiu*. Such Roman road never existed. The other road goes towards south-east, to *Buzeu* (sic!).

Another road mapped with an interrupted line is marked starting from Bumbești (ARCINA), to east, connecting the localities Săcel, Grădiștea, Ionești-Govori (sic!), Pitești, Ploești, Ceptura, Petrósa, Buzeu, R. Sarat (sic!), Focșani, and Adjud, reaching the Oituz Pass. Like in the previous cases, such Roman road was not documented.

A road connecting DROBETA with SARMIZEGETUSA is also mapped, connecting the localities Cătune, Rovinari, Tg. Jiu, ARCINA (Bumbești), ending at Ulpia Traiana.¹³

Another road marked with a continuous line ("voie romaine explore") is represented on the right side of the

¹² TOCILESCU 1880, 91-92.

¹³ STEFULESCU 1893, 340-342, describing in detail the route of this road: "...se mai găsesc bătrâni în Porceni și Bumbești cari își aduc aminte a fi auzit de la părinții lor, că pe când aceștia erau mici le-ar fi spus părinții lor, că oștirile împărătești (Austriece) au intrat în sat venind pe drumul vechiu; 'muntenii care l-au străbătut și l străbat neconținut dau asupra-i informațiunea următoare: *Drumul vechiu* (s.n.) pornește de la Cetate (castru) pe la gura plaiului Porcenii, prin comanda Scărișoara, în sus prin muntele Zânoga, prin dâlmă Horezu, muntele Moiasa, Porcenii, Cărtianu, Bordeiu lui Crăcan, Muntele Nemțesc, Șeaua lui Craiu, Stănele, Lespedea, Fântâna Ghedy, Alunișiu, Vâlcănu, Crivedia, Murațoarea, Delu de Babă, Merușoru, Baru, Livadia, Puiu, Băești, St. Maria, Hațeg, Totești, și ajunge la Grădiște".

Danube River, starting from TAVRVNVM, and continuing along the same bank of the river, connecting the settlements SINGIDVNVM (Belgrad), AVREVS PONS, VINCELIA, MARGVM, VIMINACIVM, LEDERATA (Ram), PINCVN (Grădiște), CVPAE (Colubac), NOVAE, AD SCROFULAS, TALIATA, TRANSDIERNA, PONTES, EGETA, DORTICVM, BONONIA (Vidin), RATIARIA (Archer), AVGVSTAE, OESCVC, ASAMVM, NOVAE (Șiștov), PRISTA, TRANSMARISCA, and DVROSTORVM (Silistra).

In Banat, a connection road marked with a continuous line is mapped from ARCIDAVA (Vărădia) to PRETORIO (Mehadia). A similar road is mapped from DROBETA along the left bank of the Danube River, in Dacia, connecting the settlements Hinova, Isvoru frumos (sic!), Ostrovu mare (sic!), Isvorele (sic!), Cetate, Calafat, Cârna, Nedea, Bechet, Vedastra, Celei (MALVA), Islaz, Flămânda, Zimnicea, and Giurgiu.

The conventional sign corresponding to the “vallums explorées” was used to map the line of the so-called “brazda lui Novac de nord”, named in the map “Brazda nordică”. The same symbol was also used to map the defence lines located in the western part of Dacia.

The frontier of Dacia is also mapped with accuracy, except some sectors. In Banat, the frontier is mapped starting from the Danube River. But its line is erroneously mapped on a direction which does not include the valley of the Timiș River south of Teregova. The frontier reaches then an area between Voislova and Sarmizegetusa. From this point, it is mapped towards the valley of the Mureș River (named in the map Maricia), then towards the western part of Dacia, reaching the area of the fort from RESCVLUM. In the north, the frontier continues and then it reaches, in the east, the area of the Oituz Pass. From here, it is mapped along the *limes Transalutanus*, which is named *Limes Alutanus* on the map.

The three provinces of Dacia are also mapped. Dacia Porolissensis it is not correctly delimited. Its southern line includes settlements as BRVCLA and Enlaca. Dacia Apulensis is also mistakenly delimited. The region of Banat west of the valley of the Timiș River and the Dierna-Tibiscum road are included in the province Moesia Superior in the map.

In the southern part of Moldavia the fort from Barboși is mapped.

No road is mapped alongside the valley of the Mureș River after Deva, to the west, although in his book from 1880 Tocilescu outlines the existence of such a road.¹⁴

In Dobroudja, a road is mapped from Ostrov to TROPAEVM TRAIANI (Adamklisi), and then, further north, to Slava and NOVIODVNVM (Isaccea). Another road connects the settlements Macin (sic!), TROESMIS (Iglița), BEROE, CIVS, CAPIDAVA, and AXIOPOLIS (Cernavodă). Another road connects the settlements TOMIS, STRATONIKIA and CALLATIS (Mangalia).

¹⁴ TOCILESCU 1880, 92: “Linia vestica de la Apulum catre Muresiu este certa et explorata pe malul stang al Muresiului pene la hotarele Transilvaniei; ero de aci prin Aradu pene la Cenade (Nemet Csomád), aproape de versarea Muresiului in Tisza, este incerta.”

All in all, this represents a documented map of Roman Dacia, produced at the beginning of the XXth century by a famous archaeologist and historian, with many data, some of them not accurately represented, but these errors are in small number compared with the other information provided in the map and in his book.

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