

Original Study

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A Note on the Name of Nicopolis ad Istrum

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Abstract: This paper deals with the hypothesis of why Nicopolis ad Haemum, a town established to glorify the victory of Trajan over the Dacians and their Sarmatian allies south of the Danube, was renamed at the beginning of Hadrian's rule as Nicopolis ad Istrum. The author believes the change happened in 118/119 AD after a victory of the emperor near the Danube over either Roxolani or Iazyges, with a preference for the latter. This, along with the unfortunate fate of the main person responsible, Q. Marcius Turbo, predetermined the confusion in later historical narratives and the connection of this battle to the Trajanic Dacian Wars, although no such victory is ever attested.

Keywords: Nicopolis, Hadrian, Sarmatians, Iazyges, Lower Danube

1 Introduction

The successful Dacian Wars, which are the basis for Trajan's reputation as *Optimus Princeps*, found their adequate place in Roman propaganda. Not only did the emperor receive the epithet *Dacicus Maximus*, but also he ordered the construction of a column in Rome commemorating his victorious campaigns in Dacia. The victory was also commemorated in the provinces such as Moesia Inferior and Thrace, which in fact were the arenas of some military activities. One of them ended with a decisive Roman victory over the Dacians and their allies (Vulpe, 1964, pp. 211–223; Petolescu, 2015, pp. 72–77; Matei-Popescu, 2010, pp. 267–268; Ţentea & Matei-Popescu, 2015, pp. 115–116). On this occasion, the Roman emperor received the epithet *Germanicus* before that of *Dacicus* in 102 AD (Petolescu, 1995, pp. 223–226) and, consequently, two monuments were constructed commemorating this victory – the *Tropaeum Traiani*, initially as only a monument, and later a *municipium* established near the monument (on the monument see most recently Opreanu, 2006; on the date of the construction of the monument see most recently Alexandrescu-Vianu, 2015, pp. 166–181; Popescu, 2015, p. 182), and a City of Victory – Nicopolis – in Thrace (figure 1). Explicit evidence for *Victoriae civitas* is to be found in the sentence in Ammianus Marcellinus, which is as follows:

Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Trajanus condidit imperator.

[Nicopolis, which the emperor Trajan founded to commemorate his victory over the Dacians] (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 5. 16)

In another historical narrative, however, such as Jordanes's *Getica* we find a passage as follows:

Unde a Gallo duce remotus Nicopolim accedit, quae iuxta Iatrum fluvium est constituta notissima, quam devictis Sarmatis Traianus et fabricavit et appellavit Victoriae civitatem

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[When driven from this place by the Gallus, he approached Nicopolis, a very famous town situated near the Iatrus river. This city Trajan built when he conquered the Sarmatians and named it the City of Victory] (Iord. Get., XVIII, 101)

So, the questions which both sources set up are to which victory – over the Dacians or the Sarmatians – Nicopolis was dedicated and how, if at all, this reflected on the name of the town itself, as it seems that the name of Nicopolis changed during the reign of Trajan's successor Hadrian from Nicopolis (*ad Haemum*?) to *Nicopolis ad Istrum*? The answer of these questions is the goal of this study.

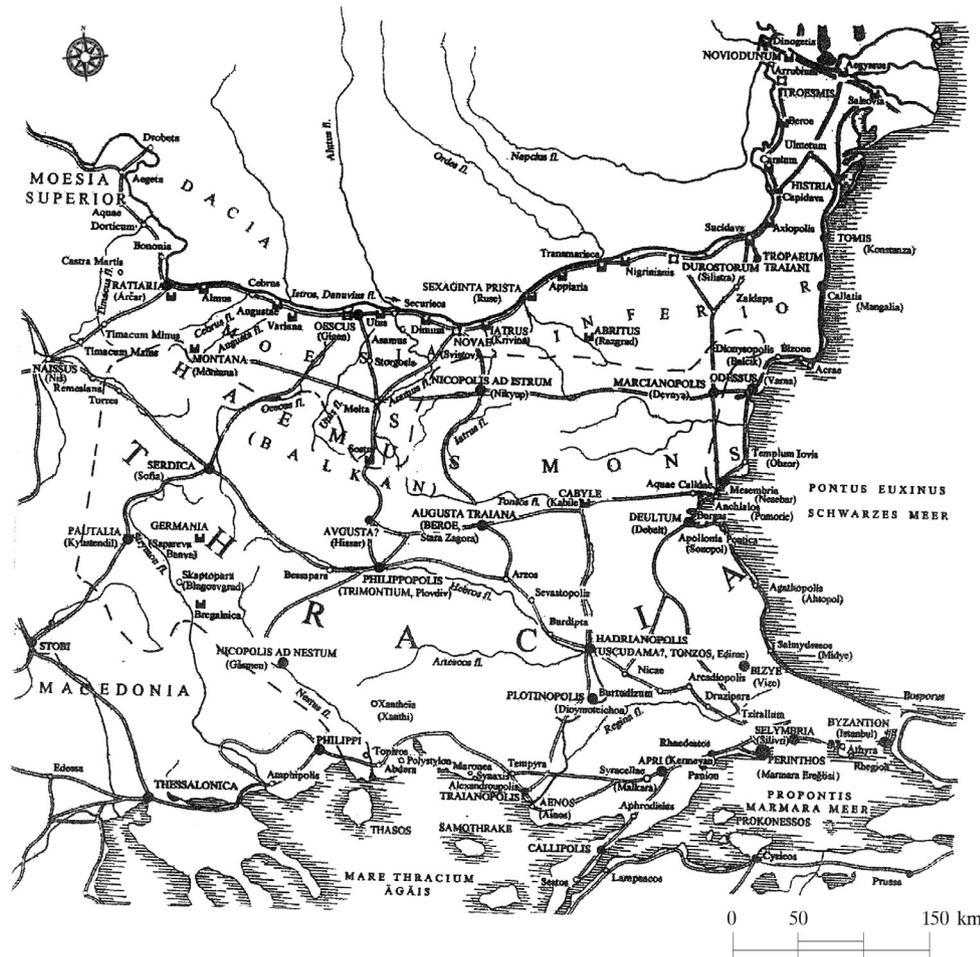


Figure 1. The Roman province of Thrace (after Ivanov, 2012, map.1).

2 Methods

In order to achieve the goal, a complex research methodology is more than necessary. The range and diversity of sources is wide: textual, epigraphic, iconographic, numismatic and archaeological evidence that is available will all be used. In order to ensure their credibility and degree of value for the study proposed, these sources will undergo a critical analysis. A broader view of various aspects of the political processes that the region underwent in the time of Trajan and Hadrian is needed, such as the local affairs of the province of Thrace in which the town initially belonged. The reevaluation of Roman-Sarmatian relations is especially necessary, as one of the sources reveals that, in fact, the establishment of Nicopolis is linked with a victory over the Sarmatians.

3 Discussions and Results

Despite the skepticism showed by some scholars (Poulter, 1995, pp. 4–7 and recently Ruscu, 2007, p. 215), the idea has gained wide acceptance that the Roman town Nicopolis, known from the inscriptions set up by its magistrates and official institutions as Οὐλπία Νικοπόλις ἡ πρὸς Ἴστρω (Ἴστρων)(IGBulg. II, 601) was established at the place or near the place where the actual battle happened (Vulpe, 2002, pp. 54–55; Stefan, 2006, p. 567, fig. 235; Boteva, 2014, p. 201). It is also accepted that, as a result of the battle, the hostilities of the Roxolani ceased not only over the course of the Dacian Wars but also over the course of Trajan's reign (Țentea & Matei-Popescu, 2015, p. 116).

According to R. Vulpe (1978, p. 463), scene XXXIX of Trajan's column presents the establishment of the town itself immediately after the end of the battle (scene XXXVIII), which means that it was established during the course of the First Dacian War. If so, reasonably, C. Patsch (1937, pp. 17–19) believes that the town was erected in 102 AD, A. von Domaschewski (1914, p. 176) believes in 103 AD, while G. Tocilescu is inclined to accept that Nicopolis ad Istrum already existed in 105 AD (Bendorf & Tocilescu, 1895, pp. 122–124). As the town is depicted fortified, this supposition cannot be accepted unquestionably, as it is well known that Nicopolis received its curtain walls in the 80s of the 2nd century (Rousseva-Slokoska, 1991, pp. 299–302; Ruseva-Slokoska, 1994, pp. 171–181; Slokoska, Vladkova, Tsarov, Boyadzhiev, & Ivanov, 2002, p. 91). The intensity of the military actions during this war also does not support R. Vulpe's suggestion. This is why another group of scholars such as G. Seure (1907, p. 261), B. Gerov (1951/1952, p. 19) and T. Ivanov and R. Ivanov (Ivanov & Ivanov, 1994, p. 6) suggest that the town's foundation happened after the end of the Trajanic campaign.

It seems that, although linked with the Trajanic Dacian Wars (Boteva, 2014, p. 195, pp. 199–201), the town commemorated the victory, but it was the *Tropaeum Traiani* that was located on the place where the battle took place (on the battle and monument – see Opreanu, 2006).

In order to study the problem, one should study the history of Nicopolis in a broader view as a part of the province of Thrace as well as its connection to the Lower Danube limes.

It is clear that the successful Dacian Wars played an important role in the future development of the Roman province of Thrace. This is visible in the administrative reform that was barely accomplished in the time of Trajan, although it had been started in the time of Domitian. According to this reform, which reflected also on the status of the province, the province was raised and the local government was entrusted to the hand of local provincial elite (see for this Tacheva, 2000, pp. 58–61; Gerov, 1980, pp. 34–35). In order to fulfill the new requirements, new cities would have to be established. Indeed, this process took its time, as the construction of the new civic centers was accomplished in the time of Trajan's successors – Hadrian and even Antoninus Pius.

The new urban centers were either cities built *ex novo*, for example Pautalia, Serdica (if existed at that time at all), the Nicopolis under question and described as Νικοπόλις ἡ περὶ Αἴμον, etc. (Cl. Ptol. III, 11, 7), or old communities that were granted civic status (see most recently Topalilov, 2015, pp. 382–392). With the exception of Serdica, Marcianopolis, and Augusta Traiana, the rest of the 'Trajanic' cities, including Nicopolis under question, found their place in the work of the Alexandrian geographer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*.

I would not hesitate to assign the foundation of Nicopolis to this administrative reform, and therefore the date of the accomplishment of the reform is the date of its foundation.

The exact date of the accomplishment of the reform is unclear, but it seems that this happened between 110 and 112 AD when the earliest known *legatus Augusti pro praetoriae*, P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus, governed (Thomasson, 2009, 22: 010). It is probably due to this reason that A. Poulter (1995, p. 8) advanced the idea that Nicopolis was established in 110 AD, i.e. after the completion of the administrative reform of Thrace.

The *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, however, raises the question of the initial name of Nicopolis which was cited among the other πόλεις as Νικοπόλις ἡ περὶ Αἴμον (Cl. Ptol. III, 11, 7). This statement also introduces another question: was the initial name of the town simply Nicopolis, and the suffix *ad Haemum* was put arbitrary by the Alexandrian geographer in order to distinguish it by another Nicopolis in Thrace –

that of Nestum (Cl. Ptol. III, 11, 13 – Νικοπόλις ἢ περὶ Νέσσον), or was the initial name of the town *Nicopolis ad Haemum*?

It has already been suggested in the bibliography that the name of the latter was simply Nicopolis and would have been changed with the foundation of the new Nicopolis at the northern part of Thrace (Boteva, 2007, pp. 193–194). It remains unclear, however, if *ad Haemum* was added to the title of Trajanic Nicopolis by Claudius Ptolemaeus only in his ‘Geographia’, which would mean that the initial name of the newly established Nicopolis was simply that, as we have no other evidence from that time. In fact, neither Nicopoleis was recognized with its suffix *ad Haemum*, *ad Istrum* or *ad Nestum*, on the epigraphic monuments and military diplomas (see for example RIB III, 3460 = AE 1989, 489; RMD IV, 264).

It is very likely that the Alexandrian geographer used the official (*formula provinciae*), but also local records for completing his work (Topalilov, 2002, pp. 276–278). This is clearly visible in the very indicative case dealing with the presentation of another city in Thrace that is the most important one in the inner part of the province, that of Philippopolis. In the source, one would find it as ‘Φιλιππόπολις ἢ καὶ Τριμόντιον (Cl. Ptol. III, 11, 12), i.e. combining both traditions – local and official.

If eventually the suffix *ad Haemum* in the name of Nicopolis was added by the Alexandrian geographer arbitrarily, it does not mean that the initial name of Nicopolis was Nicopolis ad Istrum as suggested (Boteva, 2014, pp. 200–201); otherwise the town would have been mentioned by that. On the contrary, in the historical narratives including the aforementioned *Getica* of Jordanes, the city is named simply as Nicopolis (*Victoriae civitas*) (Iord. Get., XVIII, 101). In this very source, in the time when the town had the name of Nicopolis ad Istrum, its geographical location is marked not by the river Istros, as one would expect by the name, but the river Iatrus. To my mind, this case clearly reveals that the suffix *ad Istrum* should not be regarded as a mark of the geographical location of the town, but reveals the geographical location of the battle which was commemorated in the name of the town. We cannot be sure if *Nicopolis ad Haemum* has ever existed officially because no other contemporary sources are preserved, but it is clear that in the initial name of Nicopolis the suffix *ad Istrum* is omitted and it seems that in this case we are dealing with a later suffix that was added to the name of the town or that replaced the initial *ad Haemum*.

The change of the name of earlier Nicopolis (ad Haemum?) has already gained acceptance among the scholars (Ivanov, 2012, p. 110; Tacheva, 1994, p. 116; Tacheva, 2000, p. 60; Tsarov, 2009, p. 9; Vladkova, 2001, p. 103; Vladkova, 2002, p. 32; Slokoska et al., 2002, p. 84). What still remain under discussion are the grounds for this change and the meaning of the suffix *ad Istrum*.

Two main hypotheses have been advanced recently. According to I. Tsarov, the use of *ad Istrum* in the name of Nicopolis may be regarded as an explicit landmark providing information about the exact geographical location of the city. He provides as a similar example that of Nicopolis ad Nestum (Tsarov, 2009, p. 9).

The idea has been accepted by other scholars (see Boteva, 2014, pp. 200–201 and bibliography cited there), but it should be remembered that in fact Nicopolis is situated *ca.* 40–45 miles from the river Istros, and much closer to the Haemus Range. Besides, it seems odd to mark the location of the town officially in its name with a river located a far distance away in another province. As it has already been mentioned, the geographical mark of the town in later sources was not the river Istros, but the river Iatrus. If we accept that the suffix *ad Istrum* means the geographical location, to my mind the suffix *ad Haemum* would be more appropriate.

Another explanation has been suggested by P. Vladkova. She believes that at the end of Hadrian’s rule a reform was accomplished and the territory of Nicopolis was extended northward. Thus, the city reached the river Istrum and caused the change of the name of the town, which was celebrated at a special ceremony. As a result of this, three identical inscriptions were set up to commemorate this act on statues of Hadrian and Aelius Caesar (Vladkova, 2002, p. 32).

The proposed idea is based on the inscriptions which were erected on the occasion of the establishment of the provincial border between the province of Thrace and Lower Moesia. They are numerous (ILNovae 51; ILBulg. 184, 358, 357, 386, 390, 429) and they clearly indicate the border between the provinces (*inter Moesos and Thracēs fines posuit*). The border seems to have passed at some distance from Novae, as some of the inscriptions are found there, undoubtedly removed (ILNovae 51; ILBulg. 357). The inscriptions, however, do

not reveal the actual border of the administrative territory of Nicopolis, which, we must remember, did not necessarily coincide with the provincial border. Hence, the use of inscriptions does not help to establish that the administrative territory of Nicopolis ever reached the Danube river. In fact, it could not be concluded as such even in the late 2nd century when, based on an inscription found in Sexaginta Prista, the latter was used as the main river port of Nicopolis ad Istrum according to the hypothesis that has been advanced by V. Velkov (Velkov, 1986, pp. 24–26).

The importance of the river Istros for the citizens of Nicopolis also is revealed by the coins issued for the town. It seems that a personification of the river Danube appeared on the coins issued as early as the time of Septimius Severus under the governorship of Aurelius Gallus (Pick, 1898, Nos. 1310–1312; on the discussion – see Topalilov, 1999). On them appeared ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΙΣΤΡΩ, which is interpreted as a result either of the desire for a more precise localization of the town (Pick, 1898, p. 329) or a link with the new importance of the river for the citizens of Nicopolis, whose administrative territory reached the Danube (Boteva, 1997, pp. 54–56). There is probably another reason for this new iconography, which seems to be very temporary, as only four issues are known (Pick, 1898, Nos. 1272, 1528, 1450, 1451); in the next coins issued for the town, Nicopolis preserved its old inscription, ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΣΤΡΩ. Otherwise, we should suggest that the town's access to the Danube was cut off very quickly after it has been established.

The earliest mention of Nicopolis ad Istrum is on an inscription set up by the boulè and demos of Οὐλπίας Νικοπόλιτων πρὸς Ἴστρων in 136 AD (IGBulg. II, 601). However, it is not necessary to suggest that it was in this year when the city changed its title, since it is in fact the earliest known inscription from Nicopolis.

In order to understand the reason for the change of the name of Nicopolis, we should turn to Hadrian's activities in the region, including military ones, and search for a possible connection between them and the river Istros. Indeed, the evidence for such activity is scant, but we are aware of at least one imperial presence on the Lower Danube, which happened at the very beginning of Hadrian's reign. Thus, it seems that in the spring of 118 AD the emperor was already present on the Danube because of the incursions of Sarmatians and Roxolani, as SHA implies:

Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petiit

[Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia] (*Vita Hadriani*, 6, 6)

If we follow the historical narratives, it seems that the main reason for the Roxolani's attacks was the reduction of the subsidy that they had received since the First Dacian War.

As I have suggested above, there could be another reason that concerns Trajan's policy to prevent some of the nomadic populations, namely the Sarmatians, from migrating to their economically vital areas in Muntenia (Țintea & Matei-Popescu, 2015, pp. 121–124). We do not know how the Romans dealt with these nomadic Sarmatian tribes who settled there by the first half of the 1st century AD (on them most recently Bârcă & Symonenko, 2009; Sîrbu & Bârcă, 1999, pp. 89–98), but it seems that they were either allowed to enter these lands, now part of the newly established Roman province, or they were provided some food along with the subsidy. Nonetheless, for some reason this ceased at the beginning of Hadrian's rule.

So, in order for peace to be restored, these two problems required solution. As a result of negotiation, the Roman response had two main aspects. On one hand, the subsidy was restored, as SHA implies:

cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de inminutis stipendiis querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composuit,

[When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him] (*Vita Hadriani* 6, 8)

The king of the Roxolani was granted Roman citizenship and became P. Aelius Rasparaganus (Birley, 2000, p. 86; Opreanu, 1998, p. 53). On the other hand, the Romans withdrew some military units, such as legions and auxiliary units, by which action apparently, they lost a large part of Oltenia and Muntenia, the southeastern flank of the Carpathians and southern Moldavia. According to A. Birley (2000, p. 84), these territories were 'restored to the Sarmatian Roxolani'.

These replacements, however, might have another interpretation, as has been suggested recently. O. Țentea and F. Matei-Popescu (2015, pp. 121–123) believe that in fact the Roman control over Muntenia did not cease and that the Romans allowed the nomadic Sarmatian tribes (Roxolani) to spend the winter in the nearby Roman Lower Danube frontier, which became some sort of an open frontier because of this action.

The abandonment of lands for strategic reason was not something new for Hadrian. By these actions, however, Hadrian not only restored the peace on Lower Danube, but also made a vital peace contract with the ‘Roxolani’, whose hostilities ceased for a long time, until the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The other case mentioned was that of the ‘Sarmatians’, who were most probably the Iazyges. We do not know the exact reason for their hostility, as no explicit evidence is presented, but it is suggested that, as with the Roxolani, the Romans had also cut them off from their economically vital areas (Țentea & Matei-Popescu, 2015, pp. 109). If so, apparently the method that was successful with the Roxolani did not work with the Iazyges.

Unlike the other uprisings attested in the beginning of Hadrian’s reign, that of the Sarmatians is called directly *bellum Sarmaticum*. Thus, the SHA says:

nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacescebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant. [For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks, and the Sarmatians to wage war, the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya and Palestine showed the spirit of rebellion] (*Vita Hadriani*, 5, 2)

The high degree of hostility and the threat to the Roman empire caused by the Sarmatian incursions is clearly visible from some acts of the Roman state and of the emperor himself.

At first the emperor immediately sent more troops to the area in turmoil and was present in person (SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 6, 6). When he arrived, he found things more serious than expected and, therefore, he called for the general Marcius Turbo.

Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus was not an average person. He had advanced rapidly in his career and entered the *ordo equester* based on his military skills. He was a centurion who was promoted in the First Dacian War to *primipilate* and then rewarded again by Trajan in the Parthian War. In the meantime, he received three tribuneships in Rome (*tribunus cohortis VII vigilum*, *tribunus equitum singularium Augusti* and *tribunus praetorianus*), and later received command of the Misene fleet (*praefectus classis praetoriae Misensis*). During that time he met Hadrian, who was also involved in the military and civic life of the empire, and he became one of Hadrian’s most trusted individuals and friends (SHA, *Vita Hadriani* IV, 1–2). He was a man whom the emperor, initially Trajan and then Hadrian, would rely on as a friend, but also one of the most (if not the most) skillful generals of the empire (on him see most recently Miletić & Bijadija, 2014, and bibliography cited there).

Therefore, it is not surprising that it was Q. Marcius Turbo who was sent by the new emperor Hadrian to cope with the most serious problem of the unrest in Mauretania, where in fact he dealt more or less with an alleged plot against the emperor himself (SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 7. 1, 2), and to Egypt, where he became *praefectus Aegypti*. These neuralgic places in the empire would be entrusted only to a general very loyal to the emperor. After he dealt successfully in these regions, he was sent to the Lower Danube.

Although it is suggested, we have no direct evidence that Q. Marcius Turbo dealt with the Roxolani’s incursions. We have evidence, however, of his full commitment to the Iazyges, for which he was entrusted temporary command first of Pannonia and Dacia and then only of Dacia (SHA *Vita Hadriani* 6, 7; 7, 3).

The appointment of a person who was not a senator but the commander of an army with several legions as a replacement for senators serving in the two provinces would have been done only in the case of an emergency and of enormous threat to the emperor and the empire. Otherwise, ‘a particular resentment would be felt by the senators serving in the two provinces – the two governors who lost their posts to a hard-bitten former centurion, and the legionary legates’ (Birley, 2000, p. 86).

It seems that the incursions of the Iazyges was such a big threat that the upper part of the superstructure of the Danube bridge near the Iron Gate was dismantled. It could have been a preliminary precaution, but it seems that the threat of barbarian invasion south of the Danube was very real.

These extraordinary actions seem to have worked, and the Iazyges were temporarily pacified, but without a decisive battle. Therefore, Hadrian did not gain the epithet *Sarmaticus* (Kienast, 2011, pp. 128–131). It seems that the Romans managed to prevent the Sarmatians from attacking across the Danube, but the situation remained unstable and, as mentioned, Q. Marcius Turbo not only temporarily combined the command of two provinces, but after that stayed as the commander of Dacia. And here one would remember the words of Eutropius (*Breviarium ab urbe condita*, 6), according to whom the emperor was thinking of abandoning Dacia. The military success in the Sarmatian War led Q. Marcius Turbo to the office of *praefectus praetorio* in 119 AD (Alföldy, 1979, p. 250) or not before that year (Piso, 1993, p. 32), when it seems that the situation was entirely pacified, and Q. Marcius Turbo left the region.

The military success which Q. Marcius Turbo achieved was not forgotten and an inscription found in Sarmizegetusa (CIL III, 1462), dated some ten years after the events, evoked his role as military commander in the region.

These are the only acts of Hadrian known to me that might be linked with a certain military victory over the Sarmatians. Coping with the problem of the *bellum contra Sarmatas*, which is in sharp contrast to the tumults caused by other barbarians throughout the empire and which possibly shows the importance and higher degree of threat to the Roman Empire, would give him a good reason to claim a victory over the Sarmatians on the Lower Danube – either over the Iazyges, who lived in the plain between the Theiss and the Danube, or over the Roxolani, who lived at the mouth of the Danube and on lands described in *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* as Sarmatians (Cl. Ptol. III, 5).

4 Conclusions

After the short analysis that I have presented, allow me to conclude that the change of the name of Nicopolis at the time of Hadrian might have happened due to the successful military actions of the emperor against the Iazyges on the Lower Danube. The historical narrative tradition linked the Roxolani more or less with the ‘Scythians’ (on ‘Sarmatians’=‘Scythians’ see Vulpe, 1963, pp. 245–247), while the SHA made a clear distinction between the Sarmatians and the Roxolani. Unlike the Roxolani, whose pacification is described as the restoration of subsidy, the war against the Sarmatians (=Iazyges) is connected in this source with the presence of Rome’s most eminent general, who spent a couple of years in the region and whose deeds were remembered long after his departure.

In the beginning of Hadrian’s rule, the region already had a town that was closely connected to the victorious Trajanic campaigns against the Dacians and their Sarmatian allies. Although the precise date is under discussion, it is clear that a *municipium Traianum Tropaeum* has been founded during the time of Hadrian at the latest (on the Hadrianic date – see Petolescu, 2007, p. 169; on the Trajanic date – see Matei-Popescu, 2014, pp. 205–223; on the discussion – see most recently Popescu, 2015, pp. 182–187). The foundation of a new *municipium* implies all the characteristics of a City of Victory of Trajan over the barbarians, and Nicopolis was not the only City of Victory commemorating a Trajanic victory in the region. This would have given the citizens of Nicopolis a chance to honour Hadrian for his victory over the Sarmatians (=Iazyges) by partly renaming their town with the replacement of the existing suffix. The town remained as a City of Victory, but a victory near Danube, as the new suffix *ad Istrum* reveals. This change may be regarded also in the context of the ‘urban’ policy of Hadrian in Thrace, which consisted of founding or just renaming some towns with the name of Trajan and his family such as Plotinopolis, Marcianopolis, Augusta Traiana, Traianopolis, etc.

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Abbreviations

- AE – L'année épigraphique
 CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Theodor Mommsen et al., Berlin
 IGBulg II – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I–V, Sofia, 1958–1997
 ILNovae – V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, L. Mrozewicz, *Inscriptiones Latinae de Novae*, Poznań, 1992
 ILBulg – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, Sofia, 1989
 RIB III – R. S. O. Tomlin, R. P. Wright & M. W. C. Hassall (2009). *Roman Inscriptions of Britain Volume III*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
 RMD IV – M. Roxan & P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas IV*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies London, Supplement 82, London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2003
 SHA – Scriptores historiae augustae

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