

NOVENSTIA

Ośrodek Badań Archeologicznych w Novae
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

15

Studia i materiały
pod redakcją naukową

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WARSZAWA 2004

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ISSN 0860-5777

Wydanie I. Ark. wyd. 16,83. Ark. druk. 15,5 + 1 wklejka. Papier kl. III 80 × 100

Druk i oprawa: NOKPOL, Kobyłka

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INTRODUCTION

The current volume of *Novensia* presents the remaining papers read at the international conference organized by the Center for Archaeological Research of Warsaw University to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of Polish-Bulgarian excavations at Novae. This selection of papers is topically focused on the broader issue of the Lower Danubian limes in various chronological periods.

Taken together, these two volumes of *Novensia* are a perfect illustration of how intensive the development in limes archaeology has been. Not the least, they emphasize the substantial Polish contribution to this effort, confirming the tradition-based and accomplished position of Polish archaeological research in the Mediterranean basin.

Archaeological excavations at Novae by Warsaw University's Archaeological Expedition and later the University's Center for Archaeological Research have proved to be of particular importance, enlarging our knowledge and often modifying hypotheses and conclusions advanced earlier. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Novae is among a limited few of the most important archaeological sites in the entire Mediterranean world.

The presented range of papers confirms the interests of a considerable group of not only Polish scholars in various aspects of the operation of the Roman limes. Hence, reports on archaeological work are accompanied by articles presenting epigraphical analyses, historical conclusions etc.

The conference at Novae was one in a series of conferences, begun already some time ago, organized by different research teams and institutions involved in the study of the Lower Danubian limes. It is our hope that our results in the future will provide the opportunity to invite scholars once again to Novae for a successive conference to discuss the newest developments in limes research.

Piotr Dyczek

Svištov/Novae 2001

SUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES VÉTÉRANS ET LEUR MISSION DANS LES PROVINCES DES DEUX MÉSIES JUSQU'AU MILIEU DU III^e S.

L'histoire de l'armée romaine impériale dans les provinces balkaniques est sans doute un sujet vaste et provocant puisqu'il n'a cessé d'attirer, des siècles durant, l'attention des historiens de l'Antiquité. Dans l'historiographie bulgare c'était le regretté savant B. Geroev, qui a écrit les premières monographies, consacrées à l'histoire militaire des provinces de *Moesia Inferior* et *Thracia* au temps du Principat [Geroev 1988, avec litt.]. A cause du grand nombre d'inscriptions et de diplômes militaires, découverts durant les années récentes, de nouvelles recherches ont paru et enrichi la littérature sur les problèmes par de nouvelles solutions et hypothèses. Dans cette littérature est discuté sur bien des plans le rôle multiple des vétérans dans les provinces romaines. Cependant on y constate aussi des sujets qui semblent n'avoir pas attiré l'attention des chercheurs mais qui sont à même d'expliquer certaines phénomènes observés dans les provinces à des formes et intensité différentes: par exemple l'établissement actif de vétérans, le nombre relativement grand de diplômes militaires y découverts etc. La réponse à ces questions s'avèrent difficile, et ceci non en dernier lieu, à cause de l'insuffisance des recherches archéologiques, du manque de données concernant le lieu exact des diplômes militaires trouvés et publiés, aussi que leur texte souvent incomplet.

Mon exposé à la présente conférence est une étude comparative liée au problème de l'établissement des vétérans dans les deux provinces balkaniques sur des données concernant les camps militaires et les sites civils autour des camps des légions à *Novae*, *Singidunum* et *Viminacium*.

L'airel est choisi avant tout parce que nous sommes là afin de célébrer le quarantième anniversaire des expéditions régulières bulgare-polonaises à *Novae*, le camp permanent de *legio I Italica*. D'un autre côté, les données des inscriptions des vétérans de l'airel font ressortir des résultats réels lors de leur analyse sur le plan socio-démographique puisqu'elles se prêtent à la comparaison et avec *Singidunum*, et avec *Viminacium* aussi bien à cause des camps permanents des légions *I Italica*, *IV Flavia* et *VII Claudia* au littoral du Bas-Danube au II^e s. et

jusqu'au milieu du III^e s., qu'à cause de ce qu'ils ont en commun dans leur sort historique et leur développement économique et social. Ici on doit marquer tout d'abord une différence importante: c'est qu'aucune agglomération autour du camp de *I Italica* n'a été découverte à ce jour, et la nécropole localisée n'est toujours pas étudiée.

La quantité des traces des vétérans des légions dans les camps à *Novae* (10) et à *Singidunum* (11) est approximativement la même, tandis qu'à *Viminacium* les inscriptions sont à peu près deux fois plus nombreuses (24); et ce fait est vraisemblablement lié avec son importance en tant que centre administratif et militaire de la *Moesia Superior*.

Ce qui frappe c'est le fait que, dans les camps des légions et les sites civils surgis autour d'eux à *Singidunum* et *Viminacium*, les vétérans y sont exclusivement des légionnaires, appartenant aux légions y installées après les guerres de Trajan, alors qu'au camp de *Novae* il y a aussi deux vétérans des légions *I Minervia* et *XI Claudia* du temps des guerres de Trajan contre les Daces, ainsi qu'un autre des *auxilia* (de la *ala I Asturum*); tous les trois sont licenciés à l'époque de Trajan. On peut supposer, que *I Italica* a perdu beaucoup de soldats au temps de guerres contre les Daces et plus tard — pour les camps la langue du *Limes Alutanus* [Piso 1993, 30 sqq.] et c'est pourquoi on devait assurer la défense militaire par des vétérans d'autres détachements.

Souvent parmi les légionnaires-vétérans dans les camps on trouve des *ex beneficiarii consularis* (ou *légionis*), *aquiliferi* et *imagiferi*, mais il n'existe aucun municipal, q'un *ex signifer et quinquennialis Sing(idunum)*, qui était aussi *décurio coloniae Sirmensium* d'après une inscription de *Singidunum* [MS I, 16]. Le rapport des données mentionnées fait voir que c'étaient surtout les légionnaires et encore ceux des premières cohortes, qui avaient accès comme vétérans aux camps et aux agglomérations civiles. Evidemment ce n'était pas par hasard.

Le cas des vétérans des *auxilia* est très différent: Il est curieux de noter que leurs diplômes, connus jusqu'au aujourd'hui, sont trouvés surtout dans les forteresses et les villes des provinces; en *Moesia Inferior* on en compte 15 sur 20, et en *Moesia Superior* — 20 sur 22. Seulement en *Moesia Inferior* on constate des vétérans dès le II^es. des *equites singulares Augusti*, ainsi que des *cohortes praetoriae* des Sévères. Ce qui distingue encore *Viminacium*, ce sont les 15 diplômes de vétérans des *auxilia* découverts dans le site civil et appartenant à des soldats des garnisons de la *Moesia Superior*, de la *Pannonia Inferior* et de la *Dacia*; 4 diplômes sont trouvés dans le camp même de *leg VII Claudia*, mais aucun diplôme n'est trouvé dans les camps à *Novae* ou à *Singidunum*.

Est-ce par hasard ou plutôt, d'après moi, un règlement, qui ne nous est pas connu par des sources écrites? Dans ce cas surgit la question: est-ce qu'on aurait décidé par l'intermédiaire des diplômes l'accès des vétérans d'*auxilia*, de même que celui des légionnaires, aux camps et aux sites civils? Sauf dans les camps, la présence des légionnaires a été signalée aussi dans les stations routières proches

(Smédérévo et *Ad Putea*) où les légionnaires envoyaient périodiquement de petits détachements à destination spéciale, mais où était déployée aussi une activité commerciale. Ce n'était que parmi les vétérans de *Singidunum* sont enregistrés trois vétérans des *auxilia* qui avaient eu leur business dans la région minière de Kosmaj.

L'implantation de légionnaires en tant que propriétaires fonciers dans l'hinterland des camps étudiés n'est constatée à ce jour que pour l'hinterland de *Novae*. Sur ses terres fertiles se sont installés deux fois plus de vétérans que dans le camp de *I Italica*. Ce fait se trouve en liaison étroite avec la politique encourageant l'animation économique dans la *Moesia* dépeuplée après 29 av. J.-Ch. et qui a atteint ses premiers résultats au temps du gouvernement de Tib. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (ca 62 AD). Les nombreux inscriptions posées dès le temps d'Hadrien par les *vicani* — des vétérans établis, des citoyens romains et une population pérégrinale autochtone — sont situés surtout en Scythie Mineure et ses terres adjacentes, soumises au rude climat continental et au manque d'eau qui les rendaient arides.

La succession de la profession militaire concerne des familles de vétérans de *I Italica* au II^e s. et chez les Sévères [ILN 54]. La littérature moderne rapporte l'apparition de ce phénomène à l'époque des Sévères pour devenir une pratique courante sous le Bas-Empire. Il semble cependant que, du moins dans les provinces balkaniques, il a commencé bien avant: de ce fait témoignent non seulement les deux inscriptions de *Novae* et de l'hinterland, mais aussi une autre inscription de Kresna [*terr. Neine?* I.G.Bulg. V 5981]*; qui contient les noms d'un père vétéran et son fils, *optio leg. I Italicae*. Toujours au II^e s. des soldats ont placé des inscriptions funéraires consacrées à leurs pères vétérans des *leg. IV Flavia et VII Claudia* dans les villages près du camp militaire Scupi et à Ravna [IMS VI 38, 50]. C.-à-d. que dans les trois provinces on cherchait à assurer les recrutements, surtout après la réforme militaire de Trajan-Hadrien, mais le rôle des vétérans ne restait pas tout à fait militaire. Les plans du gouvernement de l'Empire étaient de long terme et à mon avis cela ressort le mieux par rapport à l'hinterland thrace de *Novae* bâti sur le territoire de la stratégie thrace Séléतिकé. La présence des inscriptions latines sur le territoire de *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (en Thrace) y témoigne d'une population liée aux structures militaires du *limes* avant l'organisation de la ville sous Trajan-Hadrien [Tačeva 1995, 427 sqq.]. Evidemment c'étaient les vétérans qui faisaient la base de la population urbaine dans le temps J. Šašel nous l'avait bien suggéré et je l'avais cru que jusqu'à l'urbanisation des provinces balkaniques le gouvernement de l'Empire avait besoin de 3 générations [Šašel Festschrift].

Bien qu'à l'époque d'Hadrien les légions ne soient plus formées uniquement de citoyens romains d'autres provinces, le nombre des légionnaires recrutés parmi

*L'inscription m'a été signalée par ma cher collègue et amie prof. A. Dimitrova-Milčeva.

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Abb. 1. Das Grabstelenfragment aus *Sexaginta Prista*

besonders häufig anzutreffen; zahlreiche Belege finden sich jedoch auch in Hispania, Dalmatia und in der Gallia Narbonensis.³ Als *nomen gentile* ist er in Moesia superior zweimal und in Moesia inferior insgesamt viermal belegt.⁴ Über Stellung und Funktion des Verstorbenen ist leider keine Angabe erhalten. Nach der Formel *D(is) M(an)ib(us)*, die an der Wende vom 1. zum 2. Jh. aufkommt⁵, folgt die Widmung *memoriae* mit dem Namen des Verstorbenen im Genitiv. Diese Inschriftformel ist insgesamt nicht sehr häufig, jedoch ab der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. auch in der Provinz Moesia inferior durchaus geläufig.⁶ Eine zeitliche Einordnung kann jedoch aufgrund der bis in die Spätantike reichenden Verwendung nicht abgeleitet werden.

Obwohl nur ein relativ kleines Fragment erhalten ist, läßt sich eine recht zuverlässige Datierung über den Stelentypus, die Reliefgestaltung und die Buchstabenformen ermitteln. Die flache Leistenrahmung mit der Efeuranke verbindet das Stück aus *Sexaginta Prista* mit den beiden Novenser Grabsteinen des T. Flavius Acceptus⁷ (Abb. 2) aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. und des Q. Scantillus Marcus⁸ aus dem 3. Viertel des 2. Jh. Diese beiden Stelen gehören zum Typus der profilgerahmten Stelen mit viereckigem Kopffeld⁹, der im 1. Jh. in *Novae* entwickelt worden sein dürfte. An die bekannte Stele des Cassius Chresimus aus



Abb. 2. Grabstele des T. Flavius Acceptus
aus *Novae*



Abb. 3. Grabstele des L. Memmius aus
Transmarisca

dem 3. Viertel des 1. Jh.¹⁰, die das bislang früheste bekannte Denkmal dieses Typs darstellt, kann eine ganze Reihe von Denkmälern dieses Stelentyps aus *Novae* angeschlossen werden.¹¹ Nach diesem Muster sind auch an anderen Orten der Provinz mehrere Stelen dieses Typs entstanden, insbesondere im Limesabschnitt östlich von *Novae*, im municipium *Tropaei Traiani, Histria* und im Gebiet von *Nicopolis ad Istrum*.¹² Darunter befindet sich mit der Stele des L. Memmius aus *Transmarisca*¹³ (Abb. 3) aus dem 3. Viertel des 2. Jh. ein weiteres, sehr nahestehendes Vergleichsstück zum Grabstelenfragment aus *Sexaginta Prista*.

Die Durchsicht der Grabstelen aus Moesia inferior führt zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß das Fragment mit einiger Sicherheit dem Stelentypus mit viereckigem Kopffeld zugewiesen werden kann. Es kann als weiterer Beleg für den prägenden Einfluß der Novenser Werkstätten auf die kaiserzeitliche Grabstelenproduktion an der unteren Donau angesehen werden. Reliefschmuck und Buchstabenformen datieren es ungefähr in die 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh., womit es unter den wenigen bisher bekannten und inzwischen offensichtlich verschollenen römischen Grabstelen aus *Sexaginta Prista* das bisher früheste Denkmal sein dürfte.¹⁴

Anmerkungen

¹ Zu Topographie und Geschichte von *Sexaginta Prista* vgl. R. Ivanov, Das römische Verteidigungssystem an der unteren Donau zwischen Dorticum und Durostorum (Bulgarien) von Augustus bis Maurikios, [in:] *Ber. RGK* 78, 1997: 487; 509 f.; 515; 520-529; 582 f., Abb. 41; Д. Станчев, Сексагинта Приста, [in:] *Алманах II*, Русе 1997, 36-43.

² Vgl. RE II, Stuttgart 1896, 2728-2734 s.v. Baebius (v. Rohden); *Der Neue Pauly* 2, Stuttgart, Weimar 1997, 392-394 s.v. Baebius (Eck).

³ Vgl. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, *Abhandl. Kgl. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, N. F. Bd. V, Nr. 5, Berlin 1904, 133; H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*², Alpha-Omega, R. A, 80, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1994, 31; B. Lőrincz, F. Redö, *Onomastic Provinciarum Europae Latinarum I*, *Archaeolingua* 3, Budapest 1994, 259-261.

⁴ Ebd. — Für Moesia inferior in Bregare: CIL III, Nr. 12397 = ILB Nr. 147 (2x); *Troesmis*: CIL III, Nr. 6178; *Glava Panega*: IGB II, Nr. 519 (Befbioß).

⁵ Д.П. Димитров, Надгробните плочи от Северна България, София 1942, 17 f.; H. Pflug, *Römische Porträtstelen in Oberitalien. Untersuchungen zu Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonografie*, Mainz 1989, 12 m. Anm. 59.

⁶ *Novae*: IGLNovae Nr. 104 = ILB Nr. 316 (1.H.2.Jh.), IGLNovae Nr. 99 = ILB Nr. 318 (2.V.2.Jh.); *Nicopolis ad Istrum*: CIL III 14427¹ = ILB Nr. 361 (M.2.Jh.); *Capidava*: CIL III Nr. 13738 = ISM V Nr. 32 (1.H.3.Jh.); *Troesmis*: CIL III Nr. 6208 = ISM V Nr. 181 (2.Jh.), CIL III Nr. 6210 = ISM V Nr. 190 (2.Jh.); *Tomis*: CIL III Nr. 7551 = ISM II Nr. 262 (1.H.3.Jh.?). *Histria*: ISM I Nr. 288 (E.2./A.3.Jh.), *Nikopol*: CIL III Nr. 755 = ILB Nr. 146 (4. Jh.) (*bonae memoriae*).

⁷ J. Kolendo, Stèles funéraires réemployées dans la construction d'une rue à Novae, *Archeologia* 50, 1999, 28 ff., Nr. 5, Abb. 5, Taf. 8,2.

⁸ IGLNovae Nr. 84.

⁹ Zur Typologie der Grabstelen aus Moesia inferior vgl. S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia inferior. Untersuchungen zu Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie*, Diss. Halle/S. 1998; die Publikation befindet sich in Vorbereitung.

¹⁰ IGLNovae Nr. 97 = ILB Nr. 314.

¹¹ Vgl. S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen der Provinz Moesia inferior. Zeugnisse der Romanisierung an der unteren Donau*, [in:] S. Altekamp, A. Schäfer (Hrsg.), *The Impact of Rome on Settlement in the Northwestern and Danube Provinces*. BAR Int. Ser. 921, Oxford 2001, 95.

¹² Ebd.

¹³ V. Velkov, Epigraphischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Donaulimes im 2. Jh. (über die Stadt Transmarisca), [in:] *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia*. В чест на професор Веселин Бешевлиев, Велико Търново 1992, 137-140.

¹⁴ Weitere, bereits früher gefundene Grabstelen aus diesem Ort: CIL III Nr. 12447-12450; Б. Геров, Романизмът между Дунава и Балкана от Хадриан до Константин Велики II, 2. *God. Sofijskija Universitet Filol. Fak.* 48, 1952/1953, 361, Nr. 81 (= Année Épig. 1940, Nr. 34).

Peti Donevski
Svištov

SOME NOTES ABOUT THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS AT *DUROSTORUM* (LOWER MOESIA)

A new and at first sight insignificant discovery in Silistra (ancient *Durostorum*) as well as some obscure matters of my work in the past stimulated me to come back to some problems concerning the military camp there.

In several articles about the camp, canabae and topography of *Durostorum* on the basis of little information (e.g. a part of southern and western walls of the camp, two towers, parts of two barracks and so called house of the centurio) I made an attempt to define the size of the legion fortress. According to my measurements and calculations its length had to be about 470-490 m and the width about 415-420 m [Donevski 1990, 237]. The difference of 10 or 20 m depended on the criteria which I used — the distance between the towers or the finding inner buildings. This hypothesis was confirmed after my colleague from Silistra Ivan Bučvarov uncovered the north-eastern corner of the camp. It turned out that its length was about 510 m and the width about 430 m. I said about because the data which I used were from the cadastral plan of the modern town of Silistra.

During the investigation of the southern wall of the camp in 1972 some data remained unclear. A part of the wall was razed to the ground and I saw in the profile that the outer part of it was deeper than the inner one. At the same time the eastern wall of the inner tower at that place was connected with the deeper part of the fortress wall. Something like this I could observe on the south-western corner of the camp where there was another inner tower. Now, I may assume that in the very beginning the width of the wall of the legion camp was 1.50 m. This fact leads to the change of the size of the inner towers and the width of the intervalum. After many years I found the same situation when I investigated the southern wall of the fortress at *Novae* [Donevski 1996, 203]. There the walls of the inner towers went under the inner part of the fortress wall which was built in the late Roman time.

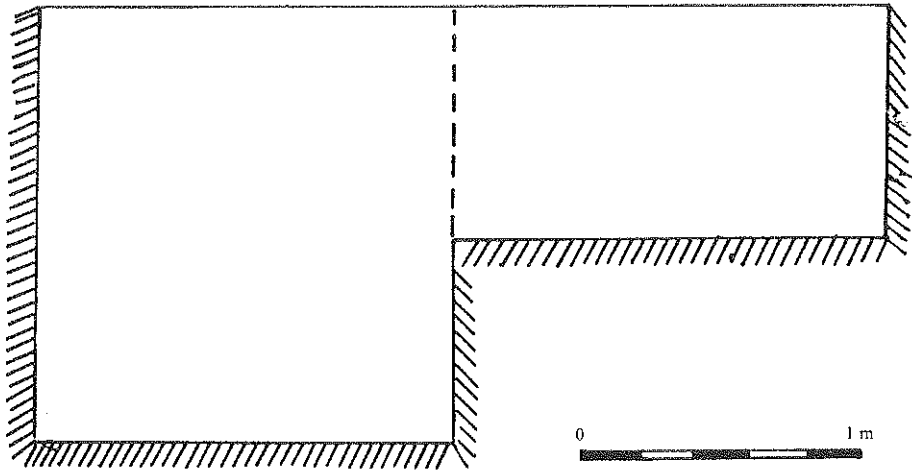


Fig. 1. Cross section of the fortress wall

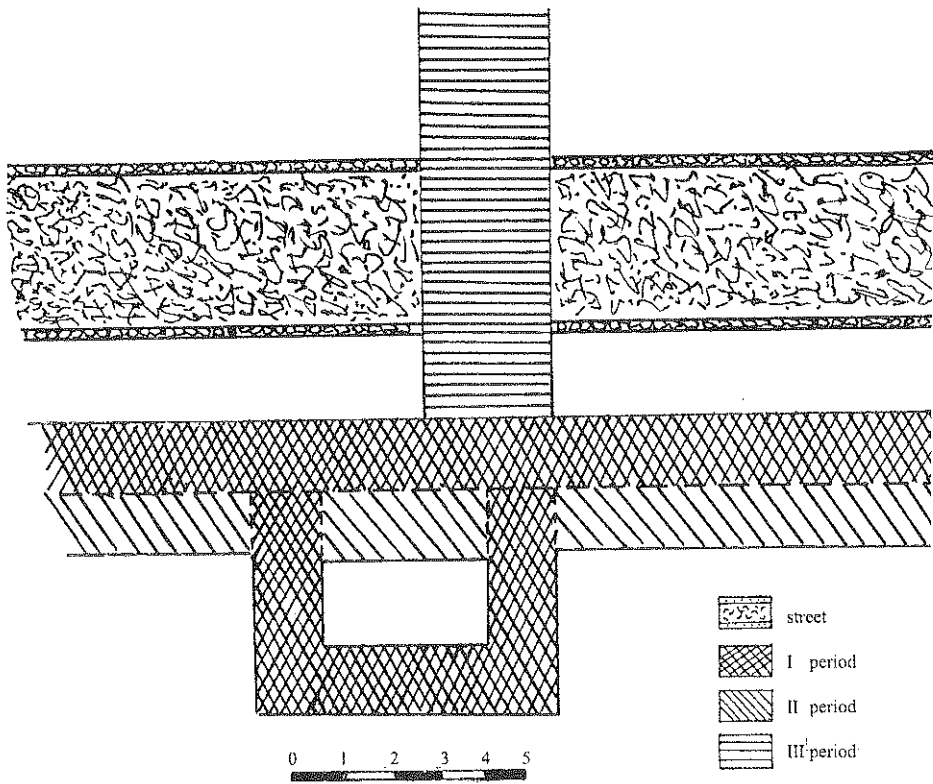


Fig. 2. Part of the southern stone wall, an inner tower, wall of an outer tower and an angularis

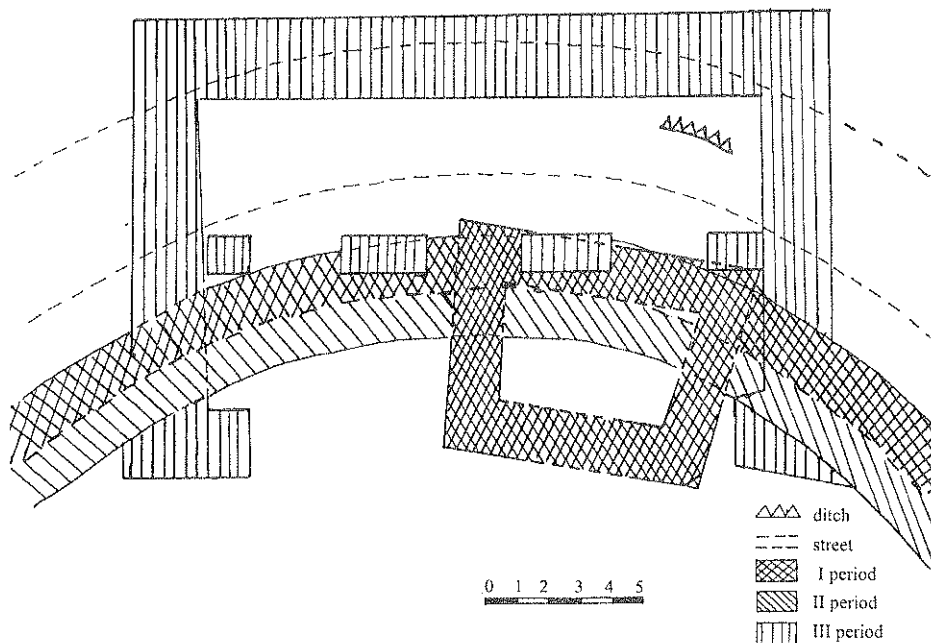


Fig. 3. Southern corner of the camp

What confused me in Silistra at that time was the existence of a street outside the southern wall of the fortress (distance 1.80 m). At first glance its place had to be inside not outside the wall, I thought. After many years I supposed (but did not write anywhere) that it was the so called *via angularis* as is the case at *Aquincum*, for example [Poczy 1986, 405]. Some soundings were made along the street in 1972 and 1987. In the first one under the street I found out small stones and white mortar and in the second one near the corner of the camp the beginning of a ditch which started at about 3.90 m from the fortress wall and was in the outer tower which was built in the second half of 3th century. Obviously that was the second ditch because the first one had to be nearer the wall of the camp.

On the basis of these findings I suggest a new chronology of the building of the defensive system of the fortress. The outer southern part of the wall, the inner towers and the ditches were built first. Then after the invasion of the Costoboc (there were burned layers in the camp and in the *canabae* and a coin's treasure in a house of the *canabae* from that time) they enlarged the wall widened and built the street [Donevski 1990, 240]. Later, in the second half of the 3th century, they erected the outer tower in the corner and then they rebuilt it in the time of Justinian and constructed a new outer tower opposite to the other inner tower.

Finally, I would be very happy if all these assumptions turn out to be correct in the future as it was the case with the size of the camp.

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Rumen Ivanov

Sofia

EINE LATEINISCHE INSCRIFT MIT DEM NAMEN
DES PROVINZSTATTHALTERS P. SEPTIMIUS GETA
AUS *COLONIA ULPIA OESCENSIVM* (*MOESIA INFERIOR*)

Im Stylobat des Südendes der westlichen Forums-Porticus der *colonia Ulpia Oescensium* wurde eine rechteckige Platte aus weißem Kalkstein [Höhe 1,48 m, Breite 0,87 m; nach Angaben von Prof. Teofil Ivanov aus dem Jahre 1976](Abb.1). Auf ihrer Ansichtsseite ist eine fünfzeilige, vollständig erhaltene lateinische Inschrift eingemeißelt. Die Buchstabenhöhe der ersten vier Zeilen beträgt 13,5-14 cm, in der letzten Zeile nur noch *ca* die Hälfte (7 cm). Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

*P(ublio) SEPTIMIO GETAE,
LEG(ato) AVGG. PR(o) PR(aetote)
PATRONO COL(oniae),
COLON(I) COL(oniae) EIVS-
DEM.*

Die Inschrift besagt, daß die Einwohner (*coloni*) der Stadt *Oescus* die Platte zu Ehren ihres Patrons und Statthalters von Untermösien P. Septimius Geta, Bruder des Kaisers Septimius Severus und Onkel von Caracalla und Publius Septimius Geta, aufgestellt haben.

Die Sekundärverwendung der Kalksteinplatte mit der Inschrift zeigt, daß auf dem Forum Rekonstruktionsarbeiten vorgenommen worden sind. Es ist anzunehmen, daß dies nach Barbareneinfällen, z.B. (ungefähr) in der Mitte des 3. Jh. erfolgte. Rekonstruktionen am Forum vom Ende des 3. oder Anfang des 4. Jh. sind bisher noch an einer weiteren Stelle festgestellt worden [Kabakčieva 1999, 49-55].

Das Interessante an der Inschrift ist, daß Geta als *leg. Augg. pr. pr.* bezeichnet ist, was bedeutet, daß er Statthalter unter zwei römischen Kaisern war. Es erhebt sich die Frage, wann er die Funktion in dieser Provinz ausübte, zumal hinsichtlich seines cursus honorum verschiedene Meinungen geäußert worden sind [Fitz 1966, 49; Doruțiu-Boilă 1985, 197-203; Thomasson 1983, 134 ff.; 1984, Nr. 138,104;



Ivanov 1987, 27 ff.; Wachtel 1987, 284 ff.; Leunissen 1989, 149, 198 ff.; Bărbulescu, Avram 1992; Boteva 1996, 239-240; *eadem* 1997, 28, 46 ff.].

In einer Inschrift aus *Lepcis Magna* wurde die Titulatur als *leg. Augg(g) pr. pr. provinciae Myziae (Moesiae) inferioris* ergänzt [AE 1946, Nr. 131; Thomasson 1983, 134 ff.; Boteva 1997, 28]. Publius Septimius Geta war Provinzstatthalter unter drei Imperatoren: am Ende der Herrschaft des Commodus, während des kurzen Amtszeit des Helvius Pertinax und für einige Monate zu Beginn der Regierung seines Bruders Septimius Severus. Anschließend wurde er in das nördlich der Donau gelegene Dakien versetzt. Während des Krieges mit Pescennius Niger wies Septimius ihn an, die die Statthalterschaft in der ihm anvertrauten Provinz fortzuführen. Pertinax hatte während seiner dreimonatigen Regierungszeit keine Veränderungen in der Provinzialadministration vorgenommen.

Das Denkmal kann demnach in die Amtszeit des P. Septimius Geta unter Pertrinax datiert werden [Boteva 1997, 46-48].

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(catalogue no. 1-3) [Tudor 1969, 46-48, no. 78-80] and the other literature quoted there), because of some inaccuracies and omissions. It is necessary for the forth record too (catalogue no. 4), already published as early Bulgarian [Totev 1989a, 5-6, 1989b, 411-416, fig. 1-2] and its incorrect entering it scientific requisition head to engrossing the mistake [Ovcharov 2000, 53-56, fig. 1]. The last (catalogue no. 5) is newly found.

From the land of Biala Cherkva town come two records. One of them is shaped like a votive tablet [Tudor 1969, no. 79] with an iconographic plot of one rider (catalogue no. 1). In the first publication the region in which it was found is not marked and this remained unknown for the science [Dobruski 1894, 92, no. 76]. The other record is a medallion (catalogue no. 2) on which a scene with two riders is represented [Tudor 1969, no. 80]. It is found in ruins from the Roman time near an ancient road, as it is marked in its first publication [Kazarow 1939, 161, pl. I-1]. Though unmentioned, obviously this is the region Urushki lozia [Iordanov 1991, 58, 65]. During 1975-1979 an ancient ceramic centre is found there. According to the researcher the ruins of *villa rustica* are there [Sultov 1977, 25; Dinchev 1997, 73]. The untimely stoppage of the excavations didn't allow the revealing of the complete character of the complex. By this time there is no primary publication of the results but for some short summaries [Sultov, Tsochev 1976, 48; 1977, 83; 1978, 87-88; 1979, 86; 1980, 93]. From this region came other records of a cult and of life, coins which were found by chance [Iordanov 1991, 65].

The other record, which is an object of our research, is a marble medallion (catalogue no. 3). It comes from the region Seltse in the land of Suchindol Town [Kazarow 1942, 251, no. 4, pl. XXXIX]. In this region were found architectural details, *piscina* with stairs, surrounded by colonade and railing [Mankov 1896, 30], subject of a cult and of life [Ilcheva and coll, 1989, 71], coins [Pisarev, Tsochev 1975]. The southern border of Seltse is the little Boazka river (or Vodeshnitsa). Southwards immediately near it 11 hills are situated. The things mentioned above lead us to the conclusion that in the region Seltse there was a rich landowner's estate — *villa rustica*, with adjoining agricultural complex and tumuli necropolis.

Near the town of Pavlikeni in the region Vârbovski Livadi is studied *villa rustica* which had developed as a centre for manufacturing daily pottery [Sultov 1985a, 22-25; Dinchev 1997, 45-47]. Round the imposing part of this *villa* more residential and manufacturing building appeared in consequence. In such a building the medallion, which we introduce in the catalogue under no. 4, is found. The researched places its existence in the fourth building period, dated after the invasion of the Costobocks in 170-176 [Sultov 1985a, 24, tab. IV-1]. It was differentiated as a separate complex, including residential premises, surrounded by wall yard with ovens and clay-quarry in it. The medallion is the only one of the five records coming from a certain and well dated in the first half of 3rd

century archeological context. In the same premises and in the same context are also found the following subjects: statuette of Lar, a base for a statuette of Apollo — rider, a key with a handle a lion protome [Tsarov 1990, no. 10, 23], a coin of Septimius Severus and near another one of Diadumenianus. Bust of the Emperor Commodus [Tsarov 1991, 138-140] is found in the complex. We presume that the above mentioned subjects could have been plaud in a domestic sanctuary and because of the reason they were found together. It seems that the complex ceased to exist in the middle of 3rd century, because of the lack of materials dated later.

As we mentioned above the medallions is already published [Totev 1989a, 1989b]. In order to support with circumstantial evidence the fabricated thesis of its proto-Bulgarian origin the author takes it out of the archaeological context in which it is found. The region Várbovski Livadi where the ancient ceramic centre is situated is carried as it by a magic wand to the land of the nearby village of Vurbovka in order the medallion to be connected with other proto-Bulgarian materials founded there [Totev 1989b, 411 and notes 2-4]. The supposition of the author of the publication about the technology of the making of the medallion by heating till softening before the engraving of the “silver” plate are too far away from reality. In the Laboratory for restoration and conservation in the Regional museum of History — Veliko Târnovo tests for identifying the metal were carried out. When treated with a solution for detecting silver (potassium bichromate in 10% sulphuric acid) there was no reaction of its presence. 20% solution of nitric acid was executed in order the reaction of the different alloys to be identified. It was found that the metal used for the making of medallion is an alloy containing antimony which is characterised with great hardness. That explains why by the cold engraving of the images two types of tools were used. The traces which are well seen after a ten-times increasing show the work with a chisel and a gimlet. Usually they are used in the engraving of gems on the hard precious stones [Zazoff 1970, 8-9; Zienkiewicz 1988, 22]. In the description of the iconographic plots the shown *aedicula* has turned into iurta building with *osetians* parallels, marked with the sign “Y”. And many more similar transformations which is not necessary to be mentioned. The author writes that it is difficult for him to find parallels. It’s naturally because he is looking for them not where they are but where he wants them to be. This, however, doesn’t hinder another author, who is concerned with the early-Bulgarian region, “to find” them in the land of Plevna, Preslav and Central Asia [Ovcharov 2000, 54-56].

The last medallion introduced here (catalogue no. 5) is found lately by the researching of the water supply of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* [Slokoska and coll. 2001, 86]. The arcade construction of the *aquaeduct* crossed the unfortified urban quarter, situated westward from *castellum aquae*. During the excavations it was found that the space round the piers of the construction was used for dung-hill. This, as a daily rubbish the broken medallion was thrown out there from one of

the neighbouring buildings. In consequence it found itself in the filling of the pit, left after the plundering of the well dated archaeological contexts.

In the review of the founding place of the records it can be seen that they all come from this part of the urban district in which is the valley of the river Rositsa. They were found near (to 1 km) the riverbed, except for the one (catalogue no. 4) from Pavlikeni (5 km). These are luxuriant lands colonized by veterans in the time of Flavians dynasty. From the given here parcels at first during 2nd and 3rd century appeared huge landed estates and some of their owners became part of the municipal aristocracy of *Nicopolis* [Gerov 1977, 38-39]. Some of the estates even during 2nd century began to develop ceramic manufacturing on the base of the available quality clay, local water supplies and master potters, deported from the East provinces of the Roman Empire. Centres manufacturing for the market differentiated. Such are found near *Nicopolis*, Pavlikeni, Biala Cherkva [Sultov 1985a, 22-215; Poulter 1998, 38]. And it is not a coincidence that exactly there (with records of the Danubian rider-gods were found). Probably veterans from the Danubian garrison had taken the cults worshiped by them to the places where they settled permanently after their demobilization [Gerov 1950/1951, 115; Poulter 1992, 79]. It seems that the lack of free lands in the end of 2nd century made them become leaseholders and take part in the ceramic manufacturing there, where it already existed. Activity which they most probably did during their regular service in the army. As a support for the above sentences can be used the military diploma found in the ancient ceramic centre below the near village of Butovo. It is from the time of Emperor Septimius Severus and its owner — veteran was connected with the manufacturing of pottery [Sultov 1985b, 41].

The first record from Biala Cherkva is type “A” by Tudor [Tudor 1976, 94] with a single rider. Characteristic of this type is only one iconographic zone (register). It is accepted that its iconography is taken from the Thracian rider and Mithras and that this is the early type of records which are dated in 2nd century.

The remaining four records are from the type “B” — with two riders and two registers. Three of them are marble medallions (catalogue no. 2, 3, 5) — elliptical (catalogue no. 3) and round (catalogue no. 2 and 5). The images are sculptured in shallow relief and their proportions are disproportionate. Their iconography is almost identical. It can be stated with a great dose of probability that they are a production of one and the same workshop. The round medallions have beveled edge which leads to the idea of a metal facing or building in. It can be observed that on both of them the parts in relief are rubbed out which is caused by continued touch of sum matter. This suggest that they were worn on the neck — not above, but hidden under the garment — maybe because of the mystic character of the cult. Very close parallel to them is the medallion from London [Shepherd 1998, 184, fig. 216]. It is dated in the first half of the 3rd century [Rostovtzeff 1923, 4 ff; Tudor 1976, 81-84]. There is something unusual in the medallion from Pavlikeni (catalogue no. 4) and this is the material from which it is made — an

alloy of antimony. This makes it unique because there is no other from the records known to us, made from such material. The ones known by the moment are made of marble, stone, limestone, lead, bronze and clay [Tudor 1969 and 1976; Krunitich 1994/1995, 163-172 and the other literature quoted there; Dosseva 2000, 57-59]. Images on both sides are rarely found. As a rule these are gems engraved on precious stones [Tudor 1969, no. 188, 191-194]. The archaeological context in which it is found allows its firm dating in the first half of the 3rd century.

I have no access to the records with catalogue no. 1 and no. 3.

CATALOGUE

1. Votive tablet. Marble. Rectangular shape, rounded on the top (fig. 1)

Sizes 14.5 x 13.5 x 3.0 cm.

Location: Biala Cherkva, before 1894.

Presentation place: The Archaeological Museum in Sofia.

Published: Dobruski 1894, 92, no. 76, table XIII-2; Dobruski 1907, 140, no. 197, f. 116; Hampel 1911, 421, no. 89 and 1912, 332; Kazarow 1912, 157, pl. I-6; Dolger 1922-1928, 425, pl. III; Rostovtzeff 1923, 30, pl. IV-4; Buday 1926, 22, fig. 16 and 1928, 5, 92, no. I, fig. 1; Dolger 1933, 66, pl. 2; Kazarow 1935, 315, no. 7; Tudor 1937, 315, no. 43, f. 38; Tudor 1969, 47, no. 79.

Description: A rider on the right is introduced. The face is full face, there is a Phrygian cap on his head. The trunk is profile. He is dressed in short tunic and behind him cloak is waving. The right hand which is holding double axe is raised above in stroke. The left one is not shown. The leg is bent backwards and the shoe is not presented. The horse has leads which end is hidden behind the body of the rider. The head together with the mane is disproportionately big in comparison to the body. The stretched forelegs step on a thrown down victim. The hind legs are tensions as for a jump and the tail is winding which brings some dynamism to the static as a whole pose of the horse.

In the right corner below a trivet table is shown, on which three breads a huge fish on them are presented. Behind the table the bust of a woman (or a sitting figure?) can be seen. Above the head a tray with three breads (or fruit) on it is represented. Above the tray there is a bust of a woman (Luna) towards which from the table near the tray on the right a snake is rising. On the left from the bust, above the horse head a disk and two engraved crosses (stars) are shown. Above the raised hand of the rider another bust is represented (Sol). There is a figure of a woman (Nemesis) behind the rider with a right hand raised to the lips. The space between the leg of the rider and the foreleg of the horse is filled with the unclear figure of a bird (a cock? a raven?).



Fig. 1. Votive tablet, Biala Cherkva

The images are surrounded by a relief frame and are not separated in registers.

2. Medallion. Marble. Round shaped, $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the disk is missing in which is the left upper part of the image (fig. 2)

Sizes: depth — 9.2 cm, width — 0.7 cm.

Location: A find by chance from the year 1936 in the region Urushkite lozia — ancient ceramic centre, Biala Cherkva.



Fig. 2. Medallion, Biala Cherkva

Preservation place: Museum of History Biala Cherkva, no. 487.

Published: Kazarow 1939, 161, pl. I-1; Tudor 1960, 351, no. 161; Tudor 1969, 47-48, no. 80.

Description: The field surrounded by frame is separated in two registers. In the missing part of the upper register was the left rider, of whom only the sole is presented and from the horse — the right foreleg and the lower parts of the hind legs. The right rider is headed leftwards. He has a typical Phrygian cap on his head. The face is bearded, full face. He is dressed in short tunic, on the back and croup of the horse cloak is falling down. In front of the horse a woman figure (The Great Goddess) is standing. She is dressed in a long garment with heavy folds. Her head and the chest are in the missing part. There is a trivet table with a fish on it in front of her. The forelegs of the horses are slightly bent. Under the

right rider, among the legs of the horse but behind it the figure of a thrown down victim with a head turned to the left can be seen. Above the head of the horse a bust (of Sol or Luna) is shown. Behind the legs of the left horse a thrown down victim with bent knee is also represented. It is attacked by a lion (?), from which only the head is presented.

In the lower register, taking 2/5 of the field of the medallion are shown a cock on the left, a ram on the right and a crater in front of its head. Above them two snakes opposing one another occupying the field from one and another are represented.

The images were partly coloured in red. Traces of it are presented on the inner side of the frame, on the cloak of the rider and on the line, marking the field on the upper register. The medallion from London was also coloured [Shepherd 1988, 184].

The back surface is well smoothed out. On the beveled edge shallow notches can be seen. The same can be observed on the frame surrounding the field with the images, too. These are more likely to be traces from the toil of the sculptor than a decorative element.

As a whole the composition is full of disproportions, but the carving is sure and skilful, made by an experienced hand.

3. Medallion. Marble. Elliptical shape (fig. 3)

Sizes: 10.2 x 8.5 x 0.5 cm.

Location: The region Seltse, Suhindol.

Preservation place: Community centre museum collection in Suhindol, now missing.

Published: Kazarow 1942, 251, no. 4, pl. XXXIX; Tudor 1960, 344, no. 154; Tudor 1969, 46-47, no. 78.

Description: The field which is surrounded into two registers. The upper one occupies 2/3 of the surface. A goddess with a long garment is represented in the centre. In front of her there is a one-legged table. On both her sides are shown two riders facing the goddess. They are with Phrygian caps and bearded faces. The left one has lifted up a right hand, the right one — a left hand. It's not quite clear whether the hands are lifted to strike as Tudor claims [Tudor 1969, 46] because there is no weapon in them. It is more possible that they are greeting. Furthermore, the victim thrown on the ground can be seen only under the left rider. The disproportionally big legs of the riders are bent backwards which together with the bent forelegs, though stepping on the ground, gives the composition rider — horse a tension. The lower register is separated by the main one by a relief line. In it from left to right can be distinguished the rather sketchily represented bird, small column (chandelier?), sofa towards which a human figure with opened arms is bending, a lion or a dog while jumping to right.

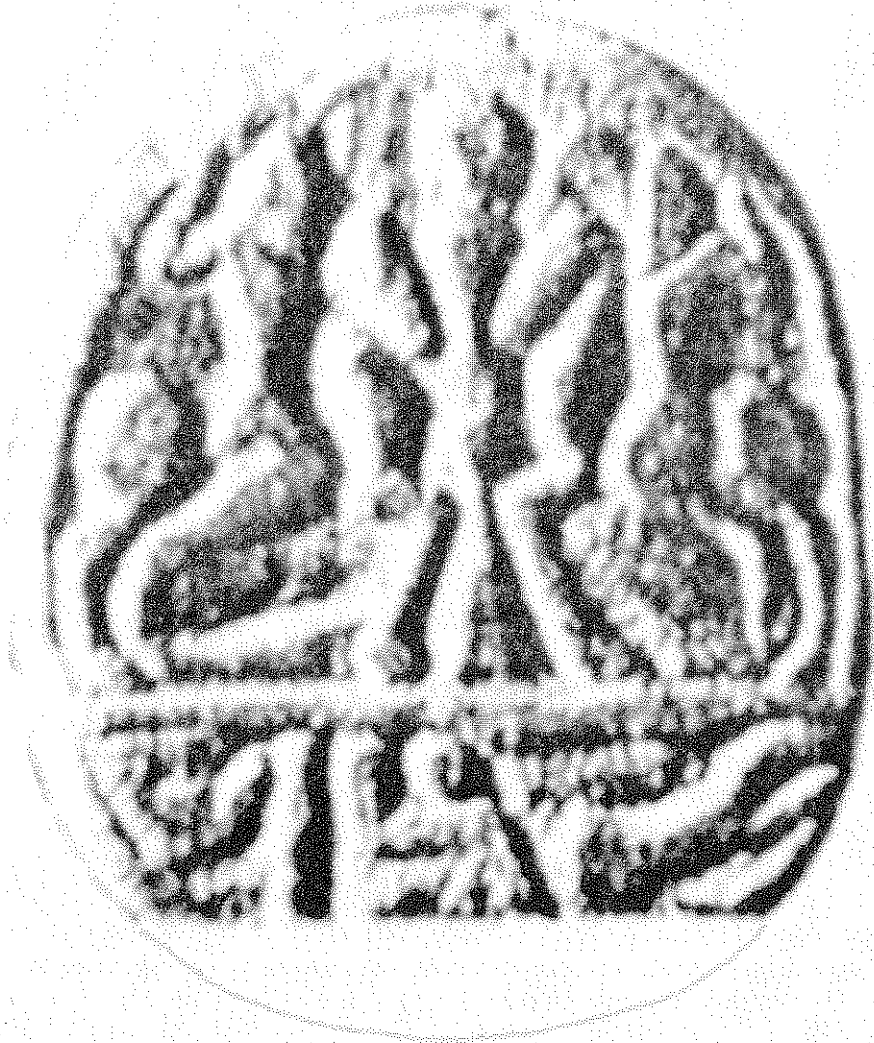


Fig. 3. Medallion, Suhindol

In spite of some imperfections, the stone — cutter succeeded to give some dynamism to the calm composition, characteristic for the greater part of the records of the Danubian rider-gods.

4. Medallion. Antimonic alloy. Irregular elliptical shape, bipartite (fig. 4)

Sizes: 2.7 x 2.1 x 0.1 cm.

Location: Ancient ceramic centre — Pavlikeni 1978, XXXIV/36

Preservation place: Regional Museum of History — Veliko Târnovo, no. 2567/A.

Incorrectly published: Totev 1989a, 5-6; Totev 1989 b, 411-416, fig.1,2; Ovcharov 2000, 53-56, fig. 1.

Description: Side A. No clearly separated registers can be seen. In the centre the known iconographic scene is situated — two riders facing a goddess, dressed in a long garment, with hands down holding the harnesses of the horses. The left rider holding a spear in the right hand, is aiming a blow downwards the thrown under the horse victim. He is holding the leads of the horse with the left hand. The foreleg of the horse is moved ahead. Behind him is standing a figure in a ceremonial pose — the right hand twisted in semicircle downwards, the left one raised in the same manner upwards. The right rider is with a raised for a blow left hand, holding a spear towards the thrown down victim. He is holding the leads of the horse in the right hand, the horse's foreleg is slightly bent and moved ahead.

On the upper parts two figures with ceremonially raised hands are represented. On the left of the left one and on the right of the right one three stars (?) shown by points are situated. The space above the two figures is occupied by a bird (?) with outspread wings. On both its sides two snakes with heads towards the bird are represented.

In the lower part is shown an animal (a dog?) to the left with raised tail, there is a tripod in front of it and a bird (a cock?) behind it.

Side B. Here separation in registers cannot be observed, too. The composition is put in *aedicula*. A figure with ceremonially raised right hand and left one falling down is situated in the middle. On both sides it has twigs (trees?) and under them three dots, probably marking the field. There is an animal with lifted tail (a dog?) on the left, walking leftwards, above it — a figure with raised hands, clasped above the head and on the left of it — a star (?). There is a spiral round the left column, which can be either an unskillful attempt for decoration of the column or a snake. On the right there is an animal with a dropped down tail (a lion?) walking rightwards, and above it and the twig, immediately under the pediment — another animal to the left. The pediment is separated into two parts by a vertical line, which on the upper part ends with a three — cornered branching (*acroterion*?). On the left and right sides there are birds (?) with outspread wings. There are dotted like elements (stars?) near them, which because of the whole primitivism and the corrosion of the metal cannot be attached to the composition with certainty. Above the pediment there are two spiral bodies of two snakes with heads toward the top.

All the images on both sides of the medallion are following the iconography of the records of the cult of Danubian rider-gods. The lack of skill of the engraver

Side A



Side B



Fig. 4. Medallion, Pavlikeni



Fig. 5. Medallion, *Nicopolis*

and the small sizes of the record make the identification of some elements of the composition difficult and of others uncertain.

5. Medallion. Marble. Round shape, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the disc is missing, in which is the upper left part of the image (fig. 5)

Sizes: depth — 8.5 cm, width — 0.8 cm.

Preservation place: Regional Museum of History — Veliko Târnovo, no. 3347A.

Unpublished.

Description: The field which is surrounded by a frame is separated into two registers. In the centre of the upper register there is an erect woman figure of a

goddess with a long garment and on both her sides — the common riders. The heads and the chests of the horses are hiding the outlines of the figure. In front of her a fish is put on a trivet table. The right rider is with a Phrygian cap and a short tunic. His leg, which is in a low shoe, is bent backwards. His left hand is moved back and upwards – probably for a greeting, because there is no weapon represented. Under the horse is a thrown down victim with a head towards the table. The figure of the left rider is preserved beneath the chests. The short tunic and low shoe can be observed on him, too. Under his horse is a thrown down victim and behind him an unclear figure is standing. The field is marked by a relief line, which on the same time separates the two registers. Above the head of the right horse, between the heads of the goddess and the rider a small bust is shown (Sol or Luna). It is logical that identical bust should be situated on the left as well, in the lost now part.

The lower register occupies about $\frac{1}{4}$ from the field of the medallion. The mystic attributes here are rather sketchily and unclearly represented. Though from left to right a bird (a cock?) on the left, a crater and a trapezoidal altar (?) as well as two unclear figures can be distinguished.

The back surface of the medallion is well smoothed out and polished. Here the edge is beveled like the catalogue no. 2, too.

The images were partly coloured in red.

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Abbreviations

<i>AOP</i>	—	<i>Arheologiĉeski otkritia i razkopki</i>
<i>ARW</i>	—	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
CMRED	—	Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum danuviorum
<i>ГМСБ</i>	—	<i>Godišnik na muzeite ot Severna Bulgaria</i>
<i>ГСУ ФФ</i>	—	<i>Godišnik na Sofiiskia universitet, filosofski fakultet</i>
<i>ГСУ ФКНФ</i>	—	<i>Godišnik na Sofiiskia universitet, fakultet klasicheski i novi filologii</i>
<i>ИИМВТ</i>	—	<i>Izvestia na Istoriĉeski muzei Veliko Târnovo</i>
СНУ	—	Sbornik narodni umotvorenia (Ministerski sbornik)

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NEW EPIGRAPHICAL DATA ON *AUXILIA*
IN *MOESIA INFERIOR* DURING 1ST CENTURY AD

The reason for writing this article is a fragment of a brick with preserved measures 17 x 17.5 cm. Only the thickness is certain — 3 cm (fig. 1). The color is light red, the baking is even and limestone admixtures show in the clay dough. In the middle of the fragment an engraved stamp is preserved and it is shaped like a *tabula ansata* (fig. 2). It measures 11.2 x 3.2 x 0.4 cm (depth). The left handle of the stamp is missing, so its original length was 12.5-12.8 cm. Under the stamp an arch-shaped line is engraved carelessly (with fingers?). There are no traces of mortar on the surface.

The fragment under consideration is kept in the Historical Museum in the Danube town of Tutrakan, SE Bulgaria (Roman settlement *Transmarisca*), (inv. no. 33CK). It was found at the beginning of the 1970's near two Roman ovens for ceramics, located about 3 km to the north-east from the village of Dolno Rjahovo, in the place "Lyaskovets", which is an even Danube terrace (fig. 3). The ovens were round (2 m in diameter), of two chambers and built from large square sun-dried bricks. Nearby, the stone foundations of some (potter's?) premise were seen, as well as many fragments from bricks and tiles, among which another brick stamp was found: *Leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) F(idelis) Cand(idianae)* [Змеев 1974, 30-31, fig. 4]. The inscription of fig. 1, 2 we are interested in is defined as a seal of an "unknown cohort".

During field surveys in 1998/1999 a Roman military camp was found in the same place¹, it has a regular rectangular plan with a defended surface of 4.7 decares. Its fortification consists of an earthen rampart and two ditches in front of it. To the west and north of the camp two synchronous villages are registered. No archeological excavations have been conducted yet. In this early Roman camp five fragments of bricks with a stamp identical with the one published here have been found (fig. 2).² Taking these into consideration it becomes clear that the bricks with such stamps were long or wide 42 cm. Probably they were of the type *lydion*, which was very popular among the Romans. They used it in the construction of large walls, floors, as well as of leveling rows connecting the

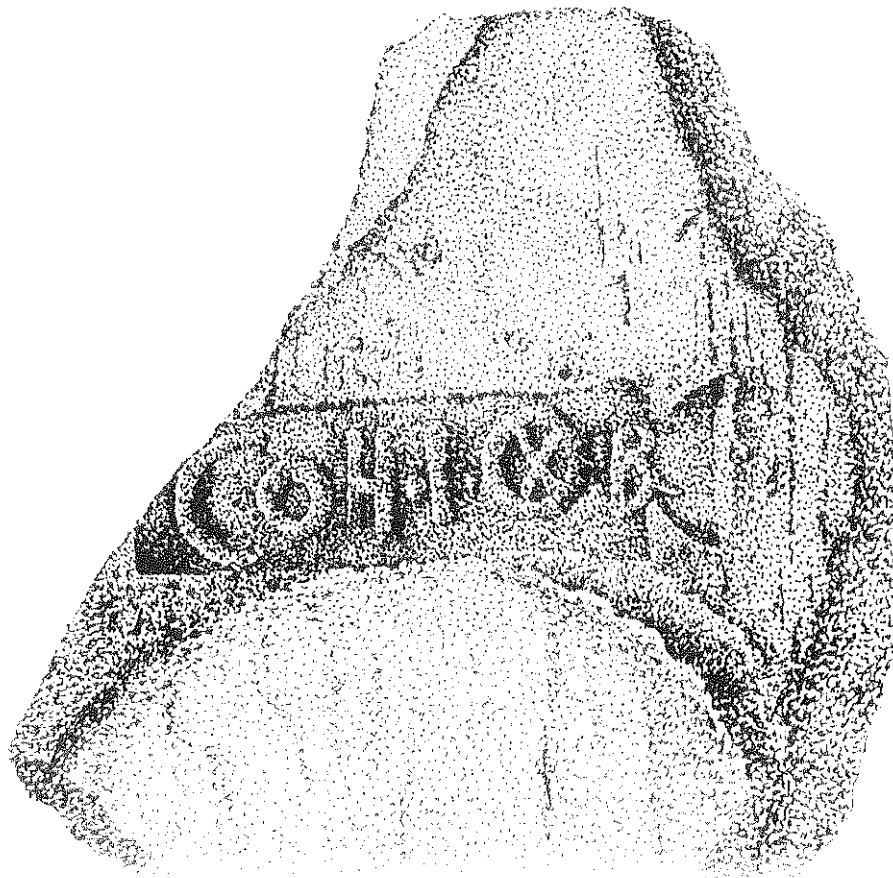


Fig. 1. A fragment of Roman brick with a stamp found near village of Dolno Rjahovo, NE Bulgaria. Drawing Ivo Dinchev Cholakov

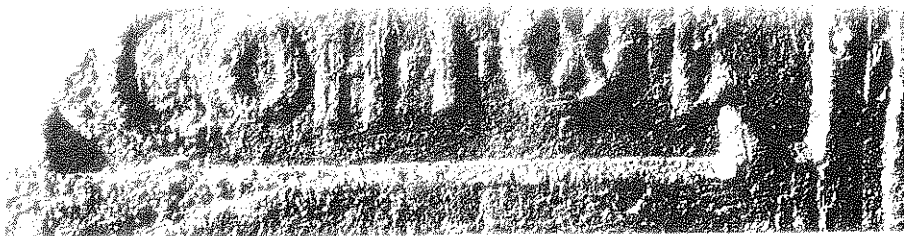


Fig. 2. A stamp on Roman brick found near village of Dolno Rjahovo, NE Bulgaria. Photo Krasimir Georgiev

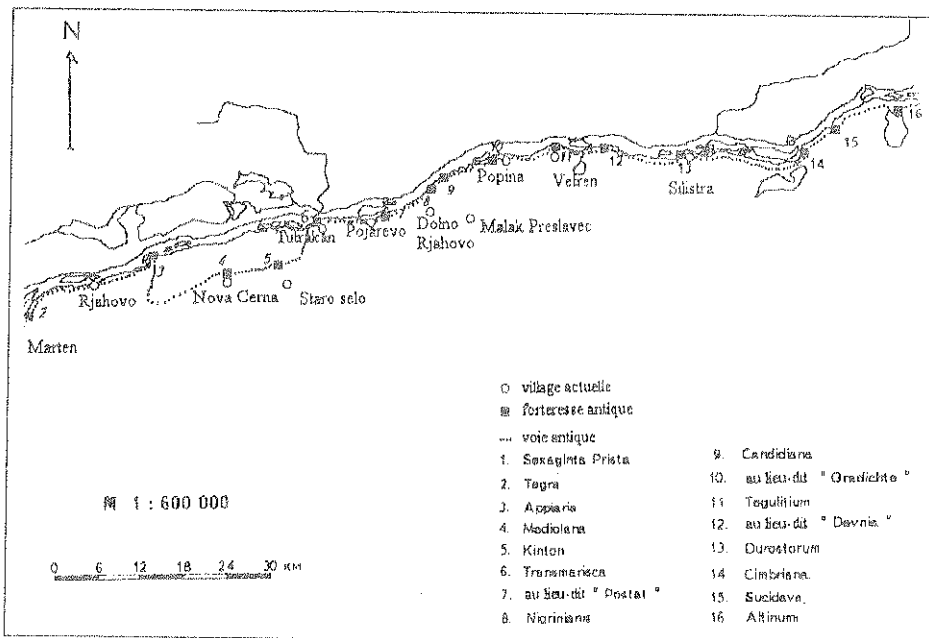


Fig. 3. Ancient fortresses (1st-6th century) on Lower Danube between Ruse (ancient *Sexaginta Prista*) and Silistra (ancient *Durostorum*), NE Bulgaria [after Petkov 1999, fig. 2]

nucleus of a wall with its front sides. The average size of this type of bricks is 40.3 x 28 x 4.1 cm, the width varies from 2.5 to 7 cm. About the bricks of the type of *lydion* see Brodribb [1987, 37-40].

Near the newly found wooden and earthen Roman camp and in the same place "Lyaskovets" a strong Roman stone fortress, long known in the scientific literature, is located [Илкович 1905, 29, CXIV/ 2, a, c] and has lately been determined as being late Roman [Бъчваров 1990, 136/ 7]. Recently, an opinion has been expressed that this stone fortress should be identified with the known from the written sources *Nigrinianis* [Petkov 1999, 237-238]. Traditionally, *Nigrinianis* is associated with another fortress, located 3 km to the east, on the territory of the neighboring village of Malak Preslavets (fig. 3). It is considered that the last one carried this name from 86 to 284, and was later renamed as *Candidiana*.³

However, let me go back to the brick seal that is the reason for the present announcement (fig. 2). It clearly says *coh(ors) I*. A sign follows, which looks like an X, inscribed in a circle [Tomlin 1979, 233]. It designates that the cohort under discussion was *milliaria*. During the reign of Emperor Augustus *auxilia* were organized in three types: *cohors peditata*, *cohors equitata* and *ala*. Later on, *milliaria* were organized from each of these types. About one third from the

latter were formed in the period Flavians-Trajan. Frequently, they simply increased the strength of the existing *quingenaria*. The ancient people rarely used this term, but they regularly mentioned *milliaria* [Holder 1980, 5-6]. The name of the cohort is rendered at the end in an abbreviated form — only with the letter *B*. From its lower right end a short curved line starts, which can be interpreted as the letters *B* and *R*, given in ligature. However, it should be noted that only one among the other five stamps supports (even not that clearly) the supposition about such ligature. A doubt that the discussed curved line is an occasional imprint due to the wearing out of the wooden seal or a bad modeling of the boundary between the letter *B* and the right handle of the brick stamp imposes itself. Which cohort can we relate the seals in question to? The possibilities are three: *cohors I Batavorum milliaria pia fidelis*, *cohors I Bracarum (Bracarorum)*, *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*. I will consider them separately.⁴ According to the available data *cohors I Batavorum* was initially stationed in *Britannia*. In 85/ 86 it moved to *Pannonia*, where it shifted to Lower Danube for the wars of Emperor Domitian with Dacians. It is supposed that its camp was somewhere in Dobrudja. The newly found fortification near the village of Dolno Rjahovo appears in the north-western end of this geographic area. The cohort was registered again in *Pannonia* as early as 20.02.98, but already with attribute *pia fidelis*. Between 118 and 123 it moved to *Dacia Porolissensis*, where *Certiae* (now Romita, Romania) was its main camp. Traces from its activities are known from two other camps in *Dacia*, which belonged to other Roman military divisions: castle *Largiana* (now Romînași, Romania), which was the headquarters of *coh. I Hisp. quing.*, and the camp *Potaissa* (now Turda, Romania) [Beneš 1978, 16, no. 44/ 7, 17, 91, tabelle 1].

Cohors I Bracarum (Bracarorum) was in *Moesia Inferior* much longer. According to the famous military diploms in 2nd century (at least between 134 and 157/158) its camp was located in the region controlled by XI Claudius' legion (*Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*). In this military region the newly found fortification with the brick seals in question is also situated. This control was even preserved during the period of the end of 3rd-4th century, which is confirmed by the brick seal of the same legion, mentioned at the beginning. One of the military diploms was found in the neighborhood of the nearby village of Malak Preslavets. The cohort is defined in it as *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* [Торбаров 1991]. It is considered that this prize was introduced by Flavians. It is debatable whether all soldiers from the corresponding division received Roman citizenship, or only those who distinguished themselves in the battle [Holder 1980, 30-32, 35, footnote 19]. It is interesting that many *auxilia* are mentioned for the first time with this title during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius and especially round 145, the year the diplom from Malak Preslavets dates from. In 2nd century *cohors I Bracarum (Bracarorum)* had its *vexillationes* in *Chersonesus Taurica*. According to an epitaph [Mihailov 1997, no. 5180] the camp of the cohort was situated near

Montana in the 3rd century (the present town of Montana in north-western Bulgaria) [Beneš 1978, 19, no. 17, 101, tabelle III].

Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum camped in *Moesia Inferior* from about 86 to 120 (?) [Beneš 1978, 18, no. 15, 100, tabelle III] or in the period 99-134, or probably 88-140 [Holder 1980, 234]. In 140 it was already registered in *Dacia Inferior*. Its camp there *Angustia* (the present Brețcu in Romania) has a surface of 25 decares. Brick stamps were found in it where the cohort is presented with the abbreviations *COHIBRAC*, *COHIBR* [Beneš 1978, 19; Vlădescu 1983, 201, fig. 6; Protase 1977, 305-306]. It is presumed that the brick stamp *CIB* found in the camp of *ala I Hispanorum* (in the present settlement of Slăveni in Romania) indicates construction activities of the cohort [Beneš 1978, 19]. The opinion that the helmet found in Theilenhofen (Germany) belonged to an *eques* from *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* [Bishop, Coulston 1993, 118, 250] is a result of some misunderstanding, which would define the cohort as an *equitata*. In fact, in the initial publication it is pointed out that the rider in question served in *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* [Klumbach, Wamser 1976/1977, 58].

Cohors I Batavorum is a favorite among the three cohorts under consideration in relation to the discussed brick stamps. Its major advantage is the fact that it was *milliaria*. All data that the other two cohorts were also of this type is missing, and they would have never failed to mention this characteristic. The state of the newly found camp near the village of Dolno Rjahovo supports indirectly the supposition that these brick seals can be related to the short stay (between 86 and 98) of *cohors I Batavorum* in Lower Danube in connection with the wars of Domitian against Dacians, i.e.: the camp is wooden and earthen, which is typical of that region from the Lower Danube limes during the second half of 1st century; the cultural layer, which is about 1 m thick, consists mainly of burned down ruins; the fortification remains deserted after the withdrawal of the military unit stationed in it.

The surface of the camps of the regular *auxilia* varies between 14 and 60 decares. It depends mainly on the type of the military unit. At the same time, considerable differences between the different Roman provinces have been established. For example, the camps on the German border are up to two times larger than those in Britannia [Johnson 1987, 320-321]. Despite this relativity, it is obvious that the camp by Dolno Rjahovo would hardly accommodate even one *numerus*. Two are the possible explanations — either a sub-division of *cohors I Batavorum milliaria* (for instance, one *centuria*) was stationed in the camp, or the cohort took part in the construction of the castle for another Roman military division. In all cases, the construction of the camp preceded the adoption of the epithet *pia fidelis*. The name of the cohort shows that initially it had been created by recruit from the German tribe *Batavi*, which inhabited the mouth of Rhine. Under Julians it was normal to maintain the ethnic structure of the separate *auxilia*, as far as it was possible. From Claudias on it became ever more difficult to

maintain this system. The share of the local recruit increased. It became predominant after the civil war in 69/ 70 [Holder 1980, 118-123]. Probably the ethnic composition of *cohors I Batavorum milliaria* was variegated at the time of its stay in *Moesia Inferior*.

An eventual archaeological investigation of the newly found Roman camp by Dolno Rjahovo would enrich considerably the present superficial idea about the first, wooden and earthen stage of the Roman fortification of the Lower Danube limes. At the same time the excavations will check the hypothesis offered here.

Notes

¹ The head of these field surveys is Emil Petkov — an archeologist at the Historical Museum in Tutrakan, whom I am grateful about the presented unpublished information.

² These brick stamps were found by the colleague Emil Petkov in the soil from numerous treasure-hunters' pits, cutting through the culture layer of the camp. The bricks are kept in the fund of the Historical Museum in the town of Tutrakan.

³ About the arguments over the name of the fortress located to the north-west of the village of Malak Preslavets [see Иванов 1999, 37-38]. There are also [Иванов 1999, 199-200, fig. 56] the generalized results from the archeological investigation of this fortification, whose construction dates from the period of the end of 3 - the beginning of the 4 century.

⁴ I keep to the thesis that *cohors I Bracarum (Bracarorum)* and *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* were two separate military sub-divisions [Beneš 1978, 19]. There exists the opinion that one and the same cohort is discussed [Roxan 1994, no. 165, footnote 4].

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PRINCIPIA AND PRAETORIA ALONG THE ROMAN LIMES ON THE LOWER DANUBE

Important part in the organization of the Roman camps played the buildings distinguished as principia and praetoria. They have been discovered within many fortifications in the Lower Danube region (*Iatrus*, *Novae*, *Dinogecia* etc.) and originate from different time periods. On this occasion we would pay more attention to the buildings along the Danube from *Singidunum* (Belgrade) down to the mouth of the river Timok, especially in the Đerdapa region (Iron Gate area). These buildings have been ascertained at the sites *Viminacium* (Kostolac), *Novae* (Čezava), *Camps* (Ravna), *Diana* (Karataš), *Pontes* (Kostol), *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin) (fig. 1).

Large scale investigation works at the Đerdap *limes* during the construction of the hydro-systems Đerdap I and II raised many questions related to the organization of the Roman army, organization of Roman fortifications and these problems occupied many historians and archaeologists. On many occasions there were discussions concerning main phases of construction of the Đerdap *limes* from Golubac (*Cuppae*) to Prahovo (*Aquae*) [Petrović, Vasić 1996, 20-22; Vasić, Kondić 1986, 542-560; Mirković 1968]. Not going into details we should mention only the most important places connected to the construction of this section of the *limes* from the 1st to the 6th century.

I phase of construction of this section of *limes* is represented by marking out the land route through the Đerdap gorge from Gospodjin Vir to Taliata and regualtion of the navigable route. These works had been going on during the entire first century by stages, which are marked with the building inscriptions carved in the Đerdap rocks (two tables of Tiberius from the years 33-34).

II phase is characterised by construction of fortifications in the time of the Flavian dynasty.

III phase of *limes* construction could be dated in the time of reign of Trajan, Hadrian and Antonine dynasty and includes two phases; in the time around the first Dacian war, when road, channel and bridge at *Pontes* had been constructed.

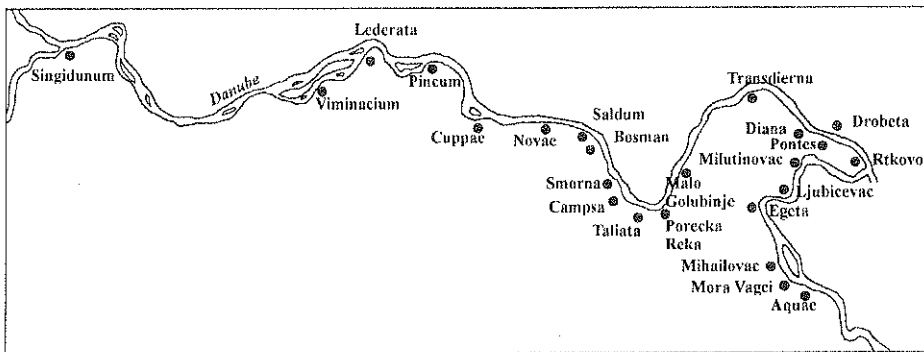


Fig. 1. Archaeological sites of the Roman period from *Singidunum* to *Aquae*

Second phase corresponds with construction of *limes* before and after the second Dacian war.

IV phase at the *limes* dates from the time of the Severan dynasty with reflections that could be observe up to the time of Aurelianus.

V phase of construction on the Đerdap *limes* is connected with the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I.

VI phase of construction and restoration of the *limes* is marked by significant building activity of Valentinianus I and Valens between years 367 and 370.

VII phase of *limes* restoration after great Gothic destructions (after the battle at Hadrianopolis in 378) dates from the time of Theodosius I.

After Hunic intrusions in the years 441 and 443 the Danube *limes* had lost in importance until Iustinian's restoration when some new fortifications had ben constructed and some old ones had been reconstructed. Roman fortification structures constructed in this territory during a few centuries of Roman domination are different according to their plan and purpose.

Archaeological remains of *principia* and *praetoria* have been discovered at limited number of sites and belong to the III and IV building phase as well as to the restoration in the VI phase.

The Headquarters buildings — *Principia*

NOVAE (Čezava) — Fortification *Novae* (Čezava) is situated 18 km downstream from Golubac (*Cuppae*), that is 6 km upstream from now flooded village Dobra. *Castrum* had been built near the spot where small river Čezava flows into the Danube on the significantly expanded Danube bank (fig. 2). The terrain on which fortification was constructed is slightly sloping towards the

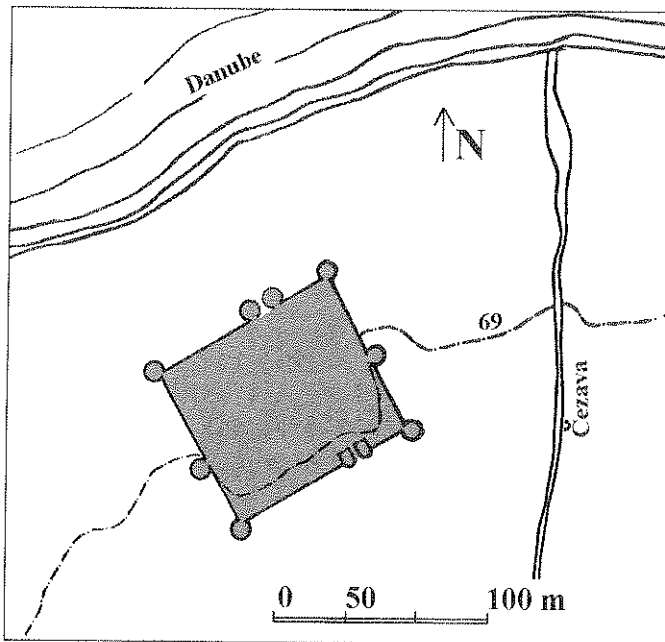


Fig. 2. *Novae* (Čezava), general plane of the fortification

Danube. The remains of civil settlement have been discovered about 30 m far from the western rampart. On the basis of the data from itineraries, *Notitia Dignitatum* i Byzantine writers fortification has been identified as *castrum Novae* [Vasić 1984, 91-92. Cf. It. Ant, 218, 1/Novas; Tab. Peut. VII, 3/ad Novas; Not. Dign. or. XLI 23-24/ad Novas, Novis; Proc. de aedif. IV, 4,6]. Six building phases have been distinguished [Vasić 1984, 95].

Fortification *Novae* at Cezava, dimensions 140 by 120 m (1.6 ha) had been built of stone. It is attributed to the fourth building phase. According to the finds of archaeological material this phase could be dated with great certainty in the time of Trajan and even more precisely probably in the period between preparations for the I Dacian war and immediately after the II Dacian war in 106 AD [Vasić 1984, 99]. On building activity of Trajan testifies part of the inscription ascribed to this emperor found near *porta praetoria* [cf. Mirković 1975, 220 sq.]. Military diploma found in the fourth building horizon indicates its continuance until the end of the 2nd century. Diploma was awarded to the veteran of the navy in the time of Antoninus Pius and most probably dates from the year 140 [Vasić 1984, 99; cf. Mirković, Vasić, 1982, 217 sq.].

Fortification on the whole it reproduces the plan of classical Roman *castella* (fig. 3). *Porta praetoria* is facing the Danube. *Porta principalis sinistra* and *porta principalis dextra* are at the communication that divides fortification in relation

2 : 1 (93 : 47). *Porta praetoria* and *porta decumana* are in the axis of the fortification. In the center of the camp had been discovered the *principia*.

Principia building (fig. 4), about 25 by 30 m in size, comprises by its scope (750 m²) the twentieth part of the entire fortification area. It is of classic shape with central yard being 15.40 by 13.40 m and the apse across from the entrance section. The entrance to the *principia* was from the southeast. Just at the entrance was a narrow corridor 1.40 m wide. This corridor was opening to the courtyard which interior dimensions were 15.60 by 13.60 m. Along the courtyard had been established long *armamentarium* 3.60 m wide. To the west was a row of seven rooms of different size. Central room had been closed by the apse and represents aedes — the shrine. In front of the apse had been discovered the dressed ashlar placed in the axis of the apse. It was used as base for the statue of deity. Next to the shrine are three rooms at both sides. Between the courtyard and the administrative section the corridor along the entire width of the building had been constructed and it was situated in front the administrative section. *Principia* is dated by the end of the 2nd century and together with stone fortification is attributed to the III building phase of the Đerdap *limes* [Petrović, Vasić 1996, 21].

In the end of 2nd and the beginning of 3rd century in the time of Septimius Severus or Caracalla some rebuilding took place on the fortification but also on some other structures (V building phase). Certain new structures had been built (*horreum*). Fortification preserved its previous layout and size and with certain reconstructions had been in use until the second half of the 3rd century [Vasić 1984, 100]. According to archaeological material this phase had started in the end of 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century in the time of Septimius Severus or Caracalla and lasted until the second half of the 3rd century (fig. 5).

Principia kept its initial shape but extensive rebuilding could be noticed inside the structure (fig. 6). New walls of the newly built *principia* partially correspond to the older ones used as foundations. Some new walls extend over the older ones. The yard is negated and new *armamentaria* and some other rooms that can hardly be functionally separated had been constructed. The rooms in the administrative section had also been negated. Western rooms suffered great alterations and there were a lot of rebuilding and new rooms the function of which can not be distinguished. Only the apse of the shrine had been retained but now substantially extended. In the axis of the apse, in the room in front of it, another ashlar but on a higher level had been found and it had also been a base for the statue of deity. It is possible that it was the statue of Jupiter Dolichenus as next to the base had been found the bronze votive plaque with dedication to this deity [Vasić 1984, 99].

By the end of this building phase, in the second half of the 3rd century still another intervention in the building was recorded. In the northwestern corner of

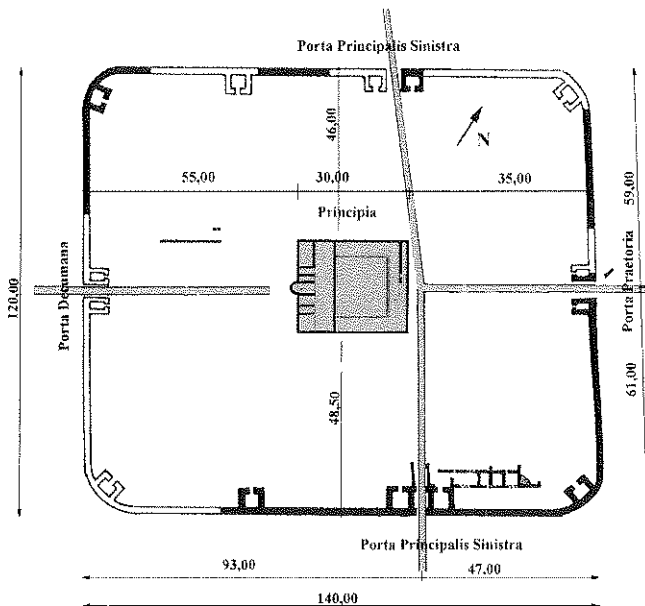


Fig. 3. *Novae* (Čezava), plan of the fortification — Trajan's phase

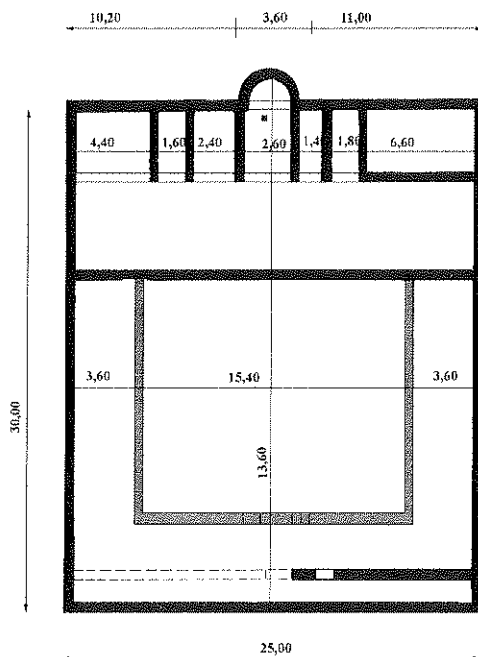


Fig. 4. *Novae* (Čezava), *principia* — Trajan's phase

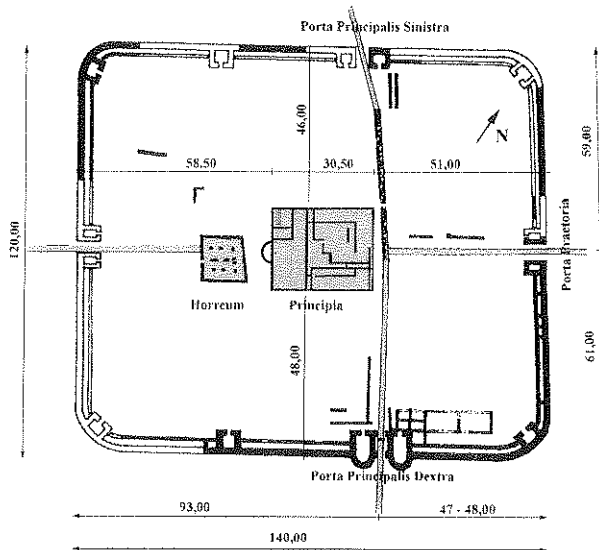


Fig. 5. *Novae* (Čezava), plan of the fortification – Severians's phase

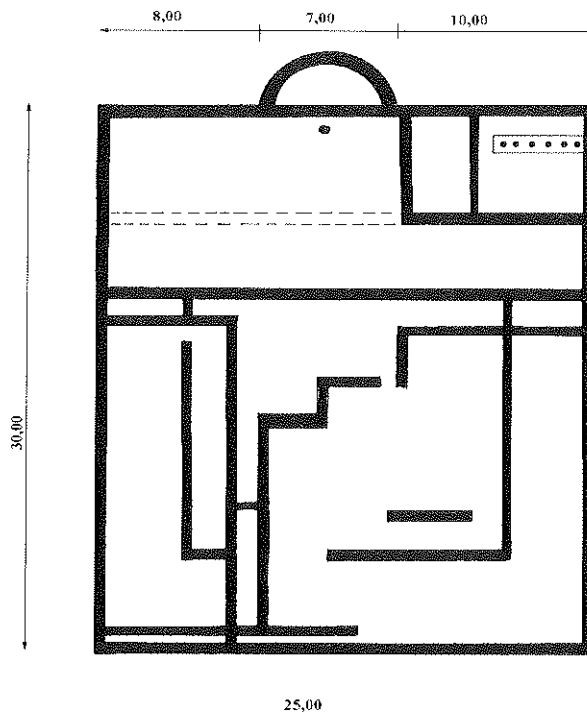


Fig. 6. *Novae* (Čezava), *principia* — Severians's phase

the *principia* has been constructed new room with hypocaust system. In the hypocaust floor the coin of Aurelianus had been found and in the *praefurnium* opening the coin of Galienus. It is probable that in this period also happened the closing of *porta praetoria* with the wall consisting of the fragments of architectural sculpture [Vasić 1984, 100].

During the reign of Constantine in the Late Roman period the building had still been in use and walls built on top of the apse and south wall confirm it [Vasić 1984, 102].

According to the preserved remains and the simple plan it could be assumed that the plan is most similar to the variant I of Feldman classification [Ivanov 2000, 214]. The entrance section and the storage rooms (*armamentarium*) had the same roof sloping towards the courtyard. The courtyard was unroofed and probably paved with stone slabs or bricks. Traces of the stone bases of the porch are not preserved. It could be assumed that the roof towards the courtyard had terminated with deep eaves or wooden porch. Long rectangular hall in front of the shrine had ridged roof. It was also the highest room, which dominated by its height and construction. The shrine and other rooms (military offices) were under the same roof sloping towards the outer part of the building.

PONTES (Kostol) — Auxiliary camp *Pontes* discovered at the site Kostol downstream of Kladovo and in the immediate vicinity of the bridge. Five building phases dated from the end of 1st to the 6th century have been distinguished [Garašanin, Vasić, Marjanović-Vujović 1984, 25-28].

Stone fortification had been built in the period between first and second Dacian war (103-105), at the same time when the bridge across the Danube had also been constructed. This building activity was attributed to the phase Ib of the construction of *castrum Pontes* [Garašanin, Vasić, Marjanović-Vujović 1984, 27, 28]. Complex *castrum Pontes* and bridge with fortification *Drobeta* across the Danube make one entirety. Foundations of the bridge and castrum had been built of the same material [Vasić 1986, 178]. Both fortifications have been constructed according the identical or similar plan so we can assume what *castrum Pontes* looked like in the time of Trajan [Vasić 1986, 178].

Dimensions of fortification are 125 x 130 m, covering the area of 1.60 ha. Basic plan of the camp is the same as on the sites *Taliata* (Donji Milanovac), *Diana* (Karataš), *Novae* (Čezava) and *Smyrna* (Boljetin) [Vasić 1986, 178]. It is a stone fortification built at the same time as the bridge across the Danube and with fortification *Drobeta* across the Danube represents an entirety. *Porta praetoria* is facing towards the Danube. In this camp also *porta principalis sinistra* and *porta principalis dextra* are placed at the communication dividing the fortification in relation 2:1 (93 : 47). *Porta praetoria* and *porta decumana* are situated in the axis of the fortification (fig. 7).

Principia is of square shape with sides about 33 m long and area of 1089 m². It is situated in the center of the fortification and occupies the fifteenth part of

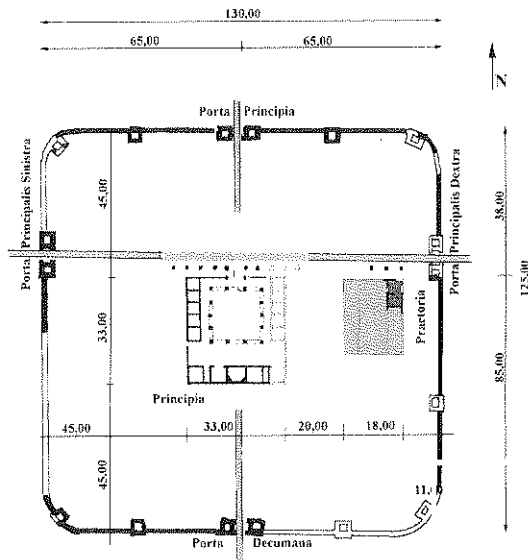


Fig. 7. *Pontes* (Kostol), plan of the fortification — Trajan's phase

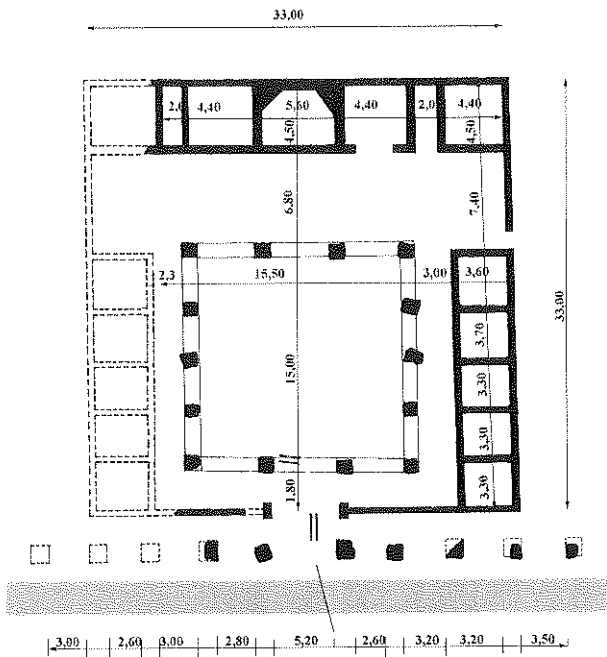


Fig. 8. *Pontes* (Kostol), *principia* — Trajan's phase

the total camp area. It is of classic shape with courtyard in the middle (fig. 8). Entrance, 5.20 m wide is next to *via praetoria*, which in its initial phase had a *colonnade*. In the central section is a courtyard with *colonnade* and porch, 3.00 m wide, along three sides. *Colonnade* foundations have been discovered in situ. In the east and west section were arranged four square rooms of the *armamentarium*, each of them covering from 10 to 12 m². From the courtyard was the entrance into the area in front of the administrative segment. In the central position was situated the apsidal shrine. The apse that is from the outside of pentagonal shape is in line with the south wall. Along each side of the shrine are three rooms of various sizes. Along external wall of *principia via principalis* was also encircled with *colonnade*. According to the archaeological finds *principia* had been built at the same time as the bridge across the Danube, at the beginning of the 2nd century and belongs to the Ib building phase of the camp and to the III building phase at the Đjerdap *limes* [Petrović, Vasić, 1996, 21].

Ground plan of the *principia* at *Pontes* is also closest to the type I after Felman [Ivanov 1999, 216]. However, in relation to the principium at *Novae* this structure is in an architectonic sense more diversified. There was also the roof sloping towards the yard above the storage rooms in the west and east sections. Porch, 2.3-3.0 m wide was resting on strong stone pillars placed at the distance of 3.0-4.0 m. The hall in the direction of shrine was partially opened to the courtyard and covered with ridged roof. The shrine and rooms in the south section had lower roof construction and the roof sloping toward the external side. It is possible that the shrine was higher and that it had ridged roof.

In the time of Severan dynasty *principia* had been altered (fig. 9, 10). According to size the initial plan had been preserved but certain parts of the building were negated. Largest alterations were in the section of courtyard and storage area. *Colonnade* had been negated and the new one had not been constructed. The area in front of the shrine had been opened toward the courtyard and number of storage rooms had increased. The last alterations are recorded in the time of Valentinianus. The appearance and construction of the structure from that period are very simple. Slanting roof with deep eaves and slope towards the courtyard had been covering on three sides the rooms of *principia*. The shrine might have been slightly higher than the other rooms and had the ridged roof. The question of the wooden porch in the courtyard is still open. Construction works had been undertaken in order to strengthen the defense of *castrum Pontes* and date from the 2nd-3rd century (III building phase of fortification and IV building phase at the *limes* [Petrović, Vasić 1996, 21; Garašanin, Vasić, Marjanović-Vujović 1984, 26-27, 28]).

DROBETA (Turnu Severin) — The camp is investigated to the great extent and phases of its existence are generally distinguished [Florescu 1967, 144-151]. Dimensions of stone fortification are 123 x 137.5 m (1.69 ha) and its *porta praetoria* is facing towards the Danube. *Porta principalis sinistra* and *porta*

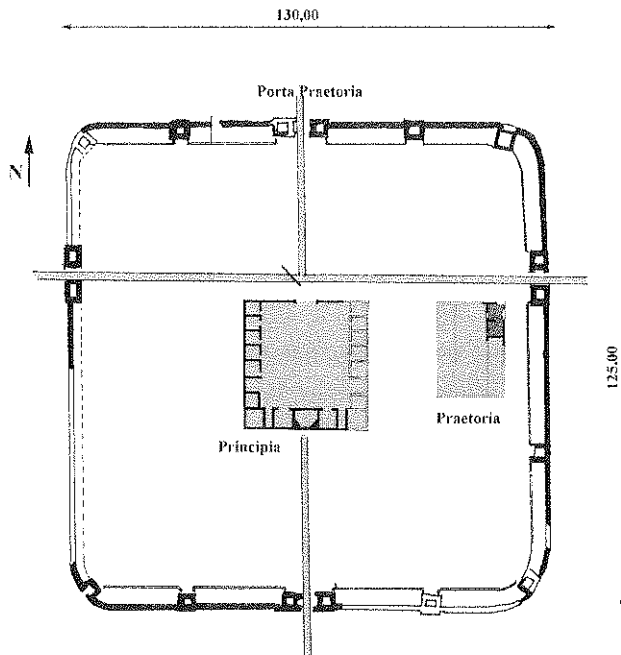


Fig. 9. *Pontes* (Kostol), plan of the fortification — Severians's phase

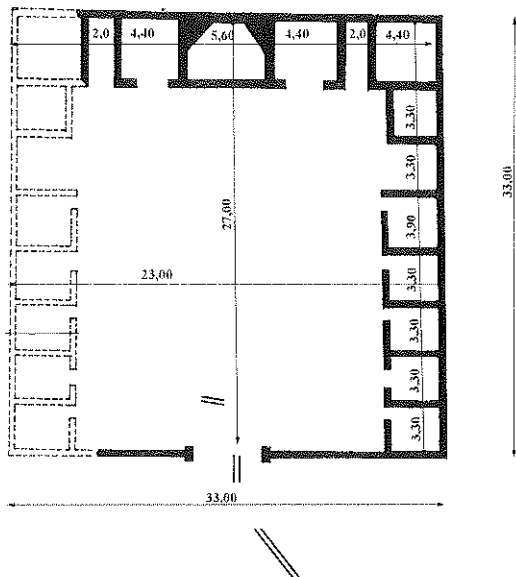


Fig. 10. *Pontes* (Kostol), *principia* — Severians's phase

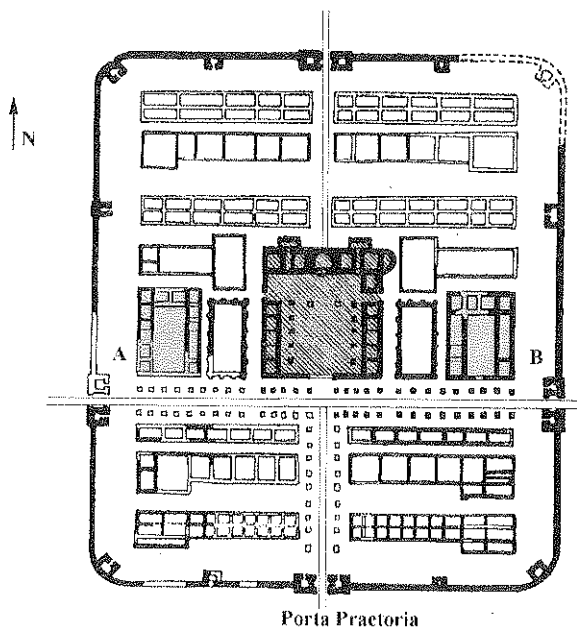


Fig. 11. *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin), plan of the fortification
— Trajan's phase

principalis dextra are at the communication that divides fortification in approximate proportion of 1 : 1.8 (50 : 90). *Porta praetoria* and *porta decumana* are situated in the north-south axis of the fortification (fig. 11). Symmetry in disposition of buildings in the east and west side could be noticed. *Principia* had been constructed in the center of the camp. Close to the *principia* in the east and west had been built two *horrea* of approximate dimensions 10.00 x 20.00 m and closer to the walls at each side one *praetoria* of same plan, disposition and similar dimensions [Isac v., Hügél, Andreica 1994, 41; Florescu 1967, 146, 147, fig. 3]. If we bring the plans of *Pontes* and *Drobeta* to the same proportion and superpose them we will notice insignificant difference in the length of camps in the north-south direction. Position and size of *principia* and *praetoria* coincide.

Principia of approximate dimensions 32.00 x 34.00 m and area of 1088 m² comprises 15.5 part of the entire camp area. It has classic layout with courtyard in the center and colonnade at the outside of the southern side of the building. In the central section is courtyard with colonnade and porch on three sides. Four square rooms of the *armamentaria* have been discovered in the eastern and western side of the porch. Entrance to the administrative area was from the north porch. In the center was situated an apsidal shrine within the mass of the north

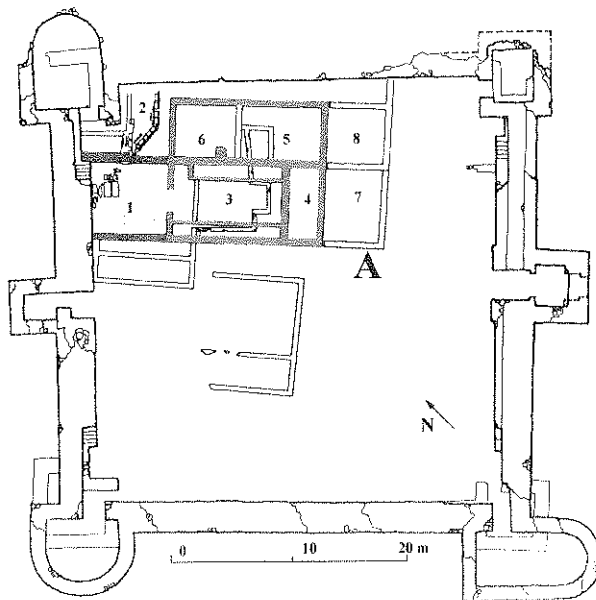


Fig. 12. *Campsā* (Ravna), plan of the fortification: A — *principia*

wall. On both sides of the shrine were arranged two rooms with narrow corridor between them. Eastern and western passage of the administrative section had been closed with narrow rectangular rooms protruding from (the line of) the north wall of the building. Northeastern corner room of administrative section has semicircular apse, protruding from (the line) the east wall of the structure. From the outside *principia* is leaning to the street *colonnade*. *Principia* has been constructed at the same time as the bridge across the Danube that is in the beginning of the 2nd century and belongs to the II building phase of the *castrum* in *Drobeta* [Florescu 1967, 146, 147, fig 3].

CAMPESA (Ravna) — Fortification was situated at half distance between *castellum Smyrna* (Boļjetin) and auxiliary camp *Taliata* (Donji Milanovac). It has been constructed on the bank of the Danube branch, which at this place makes small island of Poreč. Fortification is of quadriburgium type and external dimensions are 40.00 x 38.00 m (0.15 ha). Few building phases have been distinguished [Kondić 1984, 247-248]. First, the earliest fortification had been built at the transition of the 2nd into the 3rd century or at the latest in the first decades of the 3rd century and is connected with building activity of Septimius Severus at the Danube [Kondić 1984, 247], although there are different opinions

about this problem [Petrović 1977, 259-275; Petrović 1980, 757-773; Petrović 1981, 53-63]. During the 4th and 5th centuries fortification retained same ground plan with minor changes (on the gates and the inner building). More substantial changes of the plan happened in the 6th century [Kondić 1984, 247].

In the interior of fortification, next to the northeastern wall has been discovered large building. It is situated in the close vicinity of the northeastern wall and it is parallel to the communication leading toward the northwest gate (fig. 12).

Original building, 20.00 x 11.5 m in size had been divided into many rooms of various dimensions. It had been constructed in building phase I. In the II building phase it retained same plan with small alterations resulting in two rooms being added in the southeastern section. According to the opinion of V. Kondić entrance area (12.00 x 6.20 m) was situated next to the northwestern wall. In the room 1 (7.00 x 6.00 m) preserved floor covers the area of 6.00 x 2.5 m. Part of the floor was made of bricks and the other of stone slabs of irregular shape. In the central zone, in the floor are placed two stone blocks (1.25 x 0.70 m) and lower part of the altar (ara). Three sides of the altar are multilaterally profiled. According to the find of one applique with lion's fur and a rod it was probably sacred area dedicated to Hercules. Sacred area was destroyed in the II phase of restoration [Kondić 1984, 243, 247]. Room 2, damaged by later alterations is situated to the northeast of room 1. In the central zone is situated drainage channel running towards northeastern wall and going under it. It was made of the same bricks as the floor in room 1. Rooms 3-6 are of various sizes. Room 3 is the largest, of elongated layout and dimensions 9.30 x 6.00 m. Entrance is on the northwestern wall towards the room 1. Floor of this room was paved with stone slabs like in the room 1. Under the floor had been discovered two thinner plastered walls placed along longitudinal walls at the distance of about 1 m. They have been built in the same technique as other walls and they are contemporary with the building. It is possible that they are remains of the heating system that was destroyed by later rebuilding [Kondić 1984, 244].

In the phase II two new rooms had been added (7 and 8) leaning onto the earlier structure and adapted to it.

Building in the fortification *Campsia* is of exceptionally large dimensions in relation to the fortification area and in the phase I covers one-sixth and in the phase II one-fifth of the entire area. It is certain that one part of this building was used as *principia* [Petrović, Vasić 1996, 25]. According to our analysis the building initially had five rooms (1, 3, 4, 5, 6) with ridged roof. Space 2 was only partially covered with roof. Between northeastern wall and the building was a passage of unequal width (1.5-2.5 m) for the approach to the north tower.

Room 1 leaning to the fortification wall had the entrance in the northwestern wall. Most probably it consisted of two sections and it is confirmed by the foundation wall in the area where preserved portion of the floor ends. Room consisted of vestibule 1a and shrine 1b (eades). Other rooms might have had

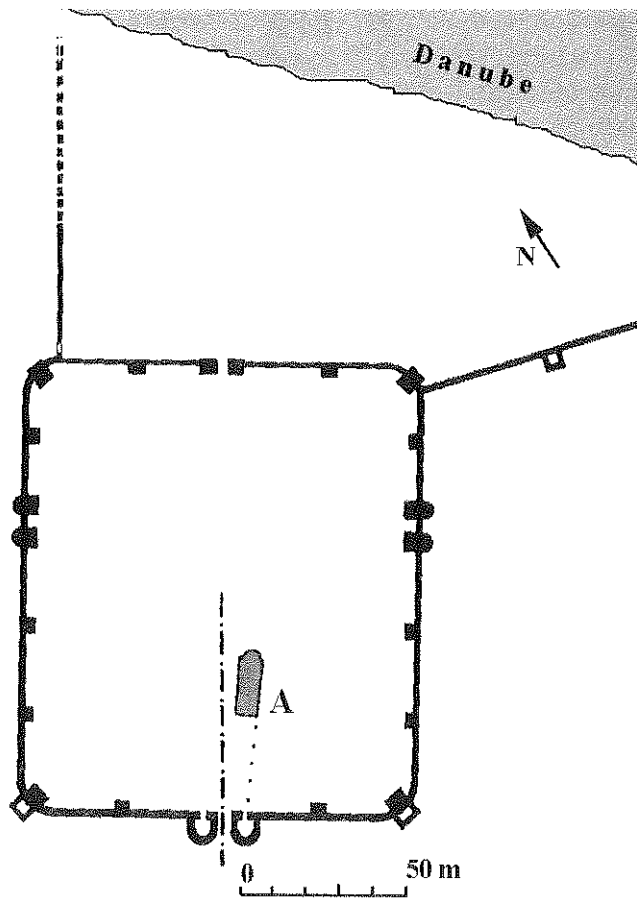


Fig. 13. *Diana* (Karataš), plan of the fortification:
A — *principia* (?)

different use, like *armamentaria* but also as apartment of the officer of *praetoria*. Particularly interesting is room 3 and its relation with the shrine. In the first phase room 3 had heating system and could have been used as *praetoria*. In the phase II of fortification reconstruction according to V. Kondić the shrine was destroyed by the construction of rampart extension [Kondić 1984, 243]. It is possible that on this occasion was destroyed northeastern wall of room 1 and the building reduced to rooms 3-6. There is a possibility that for the eades had been altered room 3. At the same time the rooms 7 and 8 have been added and closed the passage between the rampart and the building. Access to the north tower and northwestern rampart was from the area of former shrine.

DIANA (Karataš) — Fortification *Diana* is situated downstream from Kladovo in the close vicinity of hydroelectric power station Đerdap I, and the site Karataš.

Judging by the inscription found in the necropolis of *Diana* the stone fortification had been built on the occasion of digging the channel in 101 as defense of channel [Petrovic 1972, 31-49]. Many building phases have been distinguished [Vasić, Kondić 1986, 542-560].

In the central zone of the fortification closer to the south gate has been discovered long building (room) that had an apse on the northern side. Building had been in use during rather long period, from the 3rd to the 5th century. Even though the complex of the building has not been investigated completely it is likely that apsidal building was used as *principia* (fig. 13).

The Commander's House — *Praetorium*

When the layout, size and organization of the buildings for commander in chief — *praetoria* at the Đerdap limes are concerned we have even few data. For the time being parts of one such building have been recorded at *Pontes*, dating from the Trajan's time. There were discovered two rooms close to the *porta principalis dextra* and situated along the *colonnade* of *via principalis*. On the basis of the plan of the camp in *Drobeta* we can assume how the building looked like. Edifice, 23.8 by 14.8 or 23.8 by 18.5 m in size is of central plan with courtyard in the middle. The rooms of the same size are arranged along three sides of the courtyard (fig. 14).

And finally to make some conclusions:

Legion forts and auxiliary camps from the 1st and 2nd century display in their plans similarities with plans recommended by antique writers Polybius and Hyginus. However, even though this plan is in a way standardized there are significant differences between one fortification and the other. Besides general resemblance, archaeological investigations reveal significant differences concerning the plans of buildings and certain details that should be analyzed for each fortification respectively.

Interior area of the auxiliary camps at the sites *Novae* — Čezava, *Taliata* — Donji Milanovac, *Diana* — Karataš, *Pontes* — Kostol, *Egeta* — Brza and *Aquae* — Prahovo is between 1.5 and 1.7 ha and was intended for accommodation of about 500-1000 foot soldiers [Petrović 1986, 93]. *Principia* constructed in the fortifications *Novae* (Čezava), *Pontes* (Kostol) and *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin) have simple plan recognizable in many fortifications of the Dacian *limes* [Isac v., Hügel, Andreica 1994, 40-64; Gudea 1997, 1-113], but also in other regions of the Roman Empire [Johnson 1983]. These are *principia* built in the 2nd century that have been altered and used in the 3rd century as well. Some of them had been partially in use even in the 4th century.

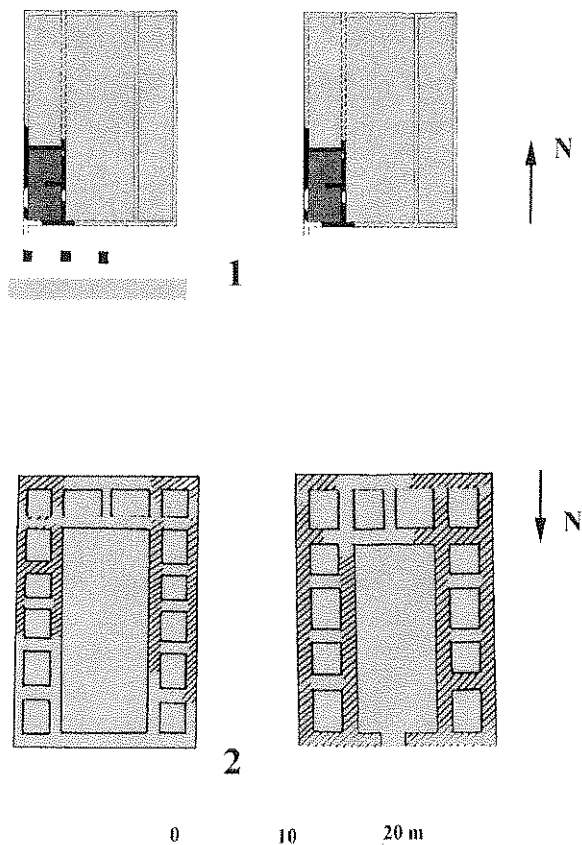


Fig. 14. *Praetoria*: 1. *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin);
2. *Pontes* (Kostol)

Internal organization and structures within smaller Late Roman fortifications are even less known. It is certain that large *principia* buildings with courtyard had not been suitable for fortifications covering areas from 0.5 to 1.00 ha and with garrison of about 100 soldiers [Petrović 1986, 94]. In order to be of better use the interior area had been reorganized and some of the buildings acquired multilateral purpose. Same situation is encountered in the described structure in the fortification *Campsia* (Ravna). Rationalization of space in the Late Roman period is noticeable in the fortifications of quadriburgium type with internal tower (Mihajlovac — Blato, Mihajlovac — Mora Vagei, Bordej, Glamija, Hajdučka Vodenica), where storeys of the internal building acquired different functions

(shrine, apartments, storage places for arms and food). In the auxiliary camps for these purposes were intended one or more independent buildings. In fortification Saldum [Petrović 1984, 129-134], such multiple purpose might have had the corner apsidal tower. Reorganization of the fortification interior happened also in the larger camps and such changes have been noticed in the case of the building with apse at *Diana* — Karataš.

In spite large-scale investigation works being conducted in the Đerdap region we are not always able to reconstruct certain parts and interior organization of the camps. As we have seen we have quite a few data about the architecture of principium while our knowledge about the appearance and construction of praetorium remained almost entirely insufficient. For the fortifications at the Đerdap limes there is still expected detailed systematization of data, analysis of architecture and artifacts as well as comparative investigations of contemporary fortifications in the other parts of the Roman Empire and particularly on the lower Danube and the Dacian *limes*.

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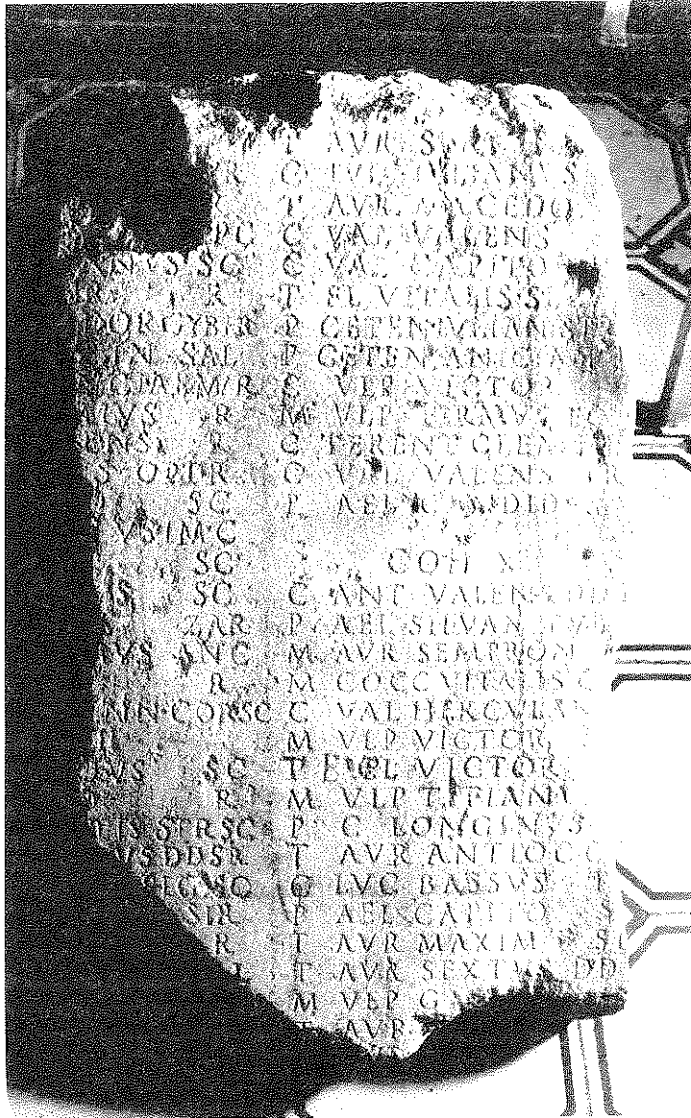
Beograd

THE ROSTER OF THE VII CLAUDIA LEGION:
SOME REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE NUMBER
OF THE YEARLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS

A marble block measuring 51 x 30 x 48 cm, inscribed on the front side, is newly discovered and exposed in the Museum of Požarevac. Letters 1.1.1 and 1.5 cm. The inscription represents a so far unknown fragment of the long military roster CIL III 14507 = IMS II 53 containing names of the soldiers recruited 169 for the legion VII Claudia and discharged 195.

The new fragment brings changes to the number of the discharged soldiers from the legion VII Claudia 195. The total number of preserved names would be 244 which is close to the calculation made by A.v. Premerstein and N. Vulić, the editors of the text in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 4, 1901, Beibl. 82-96. Their calculation of the numbers on the front and the right sides could be exact, but as new fragment shows, the number of discharged soldiers on the left side has been underestimated. If we add the new 63 names to the known 20 we get the same number as on the two other sides. That means that the supposed total must have been over 270.

There are very few preserved lists of discharged legionary soldiers known to date. Only seven from the entire Roman Empire have been discovered: three are from the Moesian provinces: CIL III 6178 = *Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor* V, no. 137, containing the roster of the soldiers enrolled in two subsequent years, 108 and 109 and discharged from the V Macedonica legion 134, have been found in *Troesmis* in *Moesia Inferior*; two are from *Viminacium* in *Moesia Superior*: CIL III 8110 = IMS II 52, with soldiers enlisted 134 and 135 for the VII Claudia and dismissed 160; CIL 14507 = IMS 53 with the names of those recruited in 169 for the same legion and discharged 196. Further four *laterculi* have been found in North Africa, two in Egypt, AE 1969-70, from Alexandria, containing a list of the soldiers discharged from the II Trajana legion 157 (recruits from 132 and 133), and CIL III 6580 from *Nicopolis* near Alexandria, dated from 194, with the list of those enlisted in 168 for the same legion, and two from *Lambaesis* in the province of *Numidia*, CIL VIII 18067, with the names of those recruited



140 and 141 and discharged 166, and CIL VIII 18068, listing the soldiers from 173 who were *missi honesta missione* 198.

The exact number of recruits in the majority of the quoted years is not known and this fact makes further calculations difficult, especially those concerning the reconstruction of the life expectancy of the soldiers. Th. Mommsen was the first to discuss the possibility of considering the relationship between the

number of enrolled soldiers and those who survived after 25 or 26 years of military service in order to reconstruct the number of enrolled *tirones*.¹ His starting point was the number of 239 discharged soldiers in the roster from *Viminacium* in AD 160, CIL III 8110 = IMS II 52. Basing his conclusion primarily on the only known exact number of discharged soldiers from the VII Claudia legion in 160, Mommsen concluded on the grounds of Böckhs calculation, that the average enlistment for the legion must have been at least 250 new soldiers yearly.²

J.F. Gilliam tabulated texts listing legionary veterans in order to discuss the effect of the supposed plague under Marcus Aurelius on the number of newly enrolled soldiers.³

Text	Legion	Province	Enlisted	Discharged	Number
CIL III 6178	V Macedonica	Moesia Inf.	108/109	133?	ca 200
AE 1955, 238	II Traiana	Egypt	132/133(?)	157	136
CIL III 8110	VII Claudia	Moesia Sup.	134/135	159(?)	239
CIL VIII 18067	III Augusta	Numidia	140/141	166	ca 250
CIL III 6580	II Traiana	Egypt	168	194	ca 100
CIL III 14507	VII Claudia	Moesia Sup.	169	195	240 +
CIL VIII 18068	III Augusta	Numidia	173	198	ca 330

He assumed that three cases out of seven must be regarded as exceptional: the number of 133 soldiers, who were recruited in two subsequent years, 133 and 134, and discharged 157 in the list from Alexandria, AE 1969/70, 633, is low: that of those discharged in 195 from the VII Claudia legion, as shown by the *laterculus* from *Viminacium*, CIL III 14507 (= IMS 53), and from III Augusta in 198 in *Lambaesis*, CIL XVIII 18068 is too high in each case. Of particular interest for his subject are the last three figures, those of soldiers enlisted between 168 and 173. Just these three prove his main conclusion: the only certain fact that in the latter cases a larger number of veterans than usual remained to be discharged, confirming that the legion was unaffected by the plague in the years from 169 to 198. He suggested that the first is approximately average and could represent the survivors of a normal number of recruits. His first presumption is that the number of recruits taken into a legion remained relatively stable from year to year and that around 100 men who had enlisted in any year could ordinarily be expected to survive to be discharged some twenty-five years later.⁴

W. Scheidel came back to the idea of calculating the life expectancy, basing his conclusion on a comparison of the data given in the seven *laterculi militum* with the Model West Male Mortality Level 4.⁵ He assumed, as Gilliam had already done, that the three of the seven examples prove an exceptional low or high quota of discharged soldiers, also AE 1955, 238 from Egypt, CIL III 14505 from

Moesia Superior and CIL VIII 18068 from *Numidia*, but that others four show high degree of inner consistence and reflect the normal relations. The normal number of yearly-dismissed soldiers would be 120, in the time without great wars. He tabulated the data as follows:

Quelle	Einheit (Ort)	Jahr der		Anzahl	
		Recrutierung	Entlassung	gesamt	Jahrgang
CIL III 6178	V Macedonica (Moesia Inf.)	108/109	134??	ca 200+	ca 100
AE 1955, 238	II Traiana	132/133	157		68
AE 1969/70, 633	(Ägypten)			136	
CIL III 8110	VIII (!) Claudia (Moesia Sup.)	134/135	160?	239	120
CIL VIII 18067	III Augusta (Numidia)	140/141	166	ca 250	ca 125
CIL III 6580	II Traiana (Ägypten)	168	194	ca 120	ca 120
CIL III 14507	VII Claudia (Moesia Sup.)	169	195	230+	ca 230+
CIL VIII 18068	III Augusta (Numidia)	173	198	ca 300	ca 300+

His further calculations based on comparison with the Model West Male Mortality Level 4 could be right for the year 157 in which were discharged the soldiers of the VII Claudia legion who were recruited in 134 and 135. It could not be applied to one from *Troesmis* in *Moesia Inferior*, Insc.Scith.Min.V, 37 because it was based on an incorrect number of discharged soldiers. The number of veterans in the former in AD 134 was not *ca* 200 but *ca* 300⁶; furthermore, the number of 250 veterans in CIL VIII 18067 and 120 in CIL III 6580 are modern reconstruction based on the number of soldiers discharged from preserved two or three cohorts.⁷ Besides, 120 survivors of the normal number of recruits of the year 132/133 for the II Traiana legion, represent again less than a half of number of those enlisted in one year in other provinces and dismissed after 25 years of service. The new fragment of the laterculus from *Viminacium* with new names in the cohorts VII, VIII, VIII and X warns against a reconstruction based on average numbers.

The new data about soldiers *missi honesta missione* from the V Macedonica in 134 and from the VII Claudia in 195 suggest that the number of discharged veterans does vary in different provinces and in different times and this could mean that the same was with the enrollment. The number of discharged soldiers from different legions at different times is rather confusing. Precisely known figures reveal more differences than concordance. As a rule, the number of discharged soldiers is lower in the “double” years of recruits than in the years

I. Front side

A.		[pro salute imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)] L. Septimi Severi Partin[ensis]			
		Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) et M.] Aurelii Antonini Caes(aris) veterani leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(ine) f(idelis) probati Prisco et Apollinar(e) co(n)u(ribus), missi h(omesia) m(issione) per . . .]n(um) Pompeianum leg(atum) Augusti pro] p(actore) et]L(aelium) Maximum leg(atum) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(ine) f(idelis) Cle]ment(e) et Prisco co(n)u(ribus).			
		(a)		(b)	
		Coh(ors) I: — . . .]tid(ius) Murenian(us) Traianopol(i)?			
		— ius	Paul(atia) M. Aur(elius) [S]exlus	Sc(ypis)	
10		— s	Sar(mizegetusa)		
		— n(en)us	T. Ael(ius) Dizo	Coh(ors) II: Trim(ontio)	
		— us b(ene)f(iciarius)			
		— c(onsularis)	Am(pelo)? M. Aur(elius) Mestrius	Sc(ypis)	
		— us[lu]s	Sir(nio) M. Vallerius Valens	Sc(ypis)	
		— cas(tris) us	T. Ael(ius) Altilus	Sal(onia)	
15		— Ral(iaria)	M. Aur(elius) Valens	Sc(ypis)	
		— x, us	P. Ael(ius) Dassius	Ral(iaria)	
		— Tit[ianus?]	cas(tris) P. Ael(ius) Iulius	Sir(nio)	
		— Xof[ithippus?]	Sc(ypis) T. Alu[selius] Cupitus	Rom(ula)	
		— B]ith[us]	Sc(ypis) M. Lic(ius) Creceus	Ral(iaria)	
20		— S]atur[en]i[us]	Sc(ypis) M. Messall[us] Pudens str(ator) co(n)u(ribus)	Ral(iaria)	
		— M[el]s[erius]	Sar(mizegetusa)? P. Ael(ius) Primus str(ator) co(n)u(ribus)	Ral(iaria)	
			— Ael(ius) Victor c(ustos) ar(morum)?	Trim(ontio)	
			—]u[stus] N[atalis]	— ocus	
		3—4 Zellen ausgebrochen			
B. 25		— . . .]i[us] Dolens	Ral(iaria) T. Aur(elius) Iulius b(ene)f(iciarius) p[ro]a[ff]ecti	Sc(ypis)	
		—] Aur(elius) Mestula	Sc(ypis) T. Fl(avius) Dexter	Eur(opo)?	
		— Vallerius Marcian(us)	Ral(iaria) T. Aur(elius) Castus tub(icen)	Ral(iaria)	
		M. Cass(ius) Sulpician(us)	M. Ulp(ius) Messor	Sir(nio)	
		— Vallerius Longinus	C. Vallerius Maximus [nachgetragen: c(ustos)		
30		M. Curt(ius) Stambon b(ene)f(iciarius)	s(ensularis)	Ral(iaria)	
		T. Cl(audius) Instinus	Ral(iaria) T. Aur(elius) Bithus	Ral(iaria)	
		T. Aur(elius) Drigissa	Sc(ypis) L. Aur(elius) Valens c(ustos) ar(morum)	Ral(iaria)	
		M. Aur(elius) T]hamarcus	Ral(iaria)		
		T. Aur(elius) Thilhi	Ral(iaria)		
35		Q. Vallerius Quintilianus [nachgebr.: b(ene)- ficiarius] c(onsularis)	Ral(iaria) T. Aur(elius) Siuna d(onis) d(onatus)	Ral(iaria)	
		M. Aur(elius) Dassius	Sc(ypis) M. Aur(elius) Melrodr(orus) sig(nifer)	Nic(opolis)	
		M. Ulp(ius) Ianuarius b(ene)f(iciarius)	c(onsularis)		
		T. Ant(onium) Glancus b(ene)f(iciarius)	Ral(iaria) M. Aur(elius) Dines	Trim(ontio)	
		C. Inl(ius) Sabinius	Murs(a) C. Vallerius Valens	Ral(iaria)	
		P. Ael(ius) Maximus	Ral(iaria) C. Vallerius Valens d(onis) d(onatus)	R(omiana)?	
40		C. Vallerius Maximus	Sc(ypis) M. Lic(ius) Longinus	Sc(ypis)	
		C. Vallerius Rufus	Ral(iaria) M. Aur(elius) German(us)	R(omiana)?	
		C. Inl(ius) Sausa	Sc(ypis) M. Aur(elius) Valens	R(omiana)?	
		M. Aur(elius) Priscus	Sc(ypis) P. Ael(ius) Vitalis	R(omiana)?	
45		M. Aur(elius) Allius	Sc(ypis) L. Aur(elius) Dolens d(onis) d(onatus)	R(omiana)?	
		M. Aur(elius) Bonus	Sc(ypis) L. Minic(ius) Verissim(us) d(onis) d(onatus)	R(omiana)?	
		C. Inl(ius) Nepos cor(nicularis) p[ro]a[ff]ecti	Sal(onia) M. Aur(elius) Daiza	Sc(ypis)	
		G. Inl(ius) Marcian(us)	Nic(opolis) M. Aur(elius) Timotheus	Nic(opolis)	
		C. Ant(onium) Valens	Ral(iaria) C. Vallerius Filiscus	Nic(opolis)	
50		M. Ulp(ius) Paetus	Ral(iaria) M. Inl(ius) Valens	Traianopol(i)?	
		M. Ulp(ius) Valens	Ral(iaria) P. Ael(ius) Vitalis eq(ues) pol(lit)	c(astris)	
		M. Ant(onium) Marcian(us) b(ene)f(iciarius)	Sc(ypis)		
		C. Vallerius Maximus	Sc(ypis) i(ribun)		
				Coh(ors) III: Pau(talia)	
			M. Aur(elius) Bithus	R(omiana)?	
			T. Vallerius Valentin(us)		

when veterans represent one generation of recruits. The high number of soldiers discharged in 134 is close only to those recruited in the single years and discharged in 195 and 198, again in the years of Severus' wars either against his rivals for the throne or on the East. The number of 136 veterans in 157 and 239 in 160, former recruited for the II Traiana legion in Egypt 132 and 133, the latter for the VII Claudia in *Moesia Superior* 134 and 135, differ sharply one from another.

II. Right side

(a)		(b)	
		[Cohors VII:]	
A.			
— An[r](elius)	Sosigenes	Thes(salonica)	T. Ael[us] Gr
— A[e]l[us]	Ingenius	R(emesiana?)	T. Aur[elius] Ma
M. Ulp[us]	Valens	R(emesiana?)	M. Aur[elius] Ju
5 — Aur[elius]	Mucro d(omis) d(onalus)	R(emesiana?)	P. Ael[us] Ianuarinus
— Val[erius]	Valens opt[io]	R(emesiana?)	M. Aur[elius] Sol[us]
M. Aur[elius]	Firmus el(auicularius)	cas[tris]	C. Iul[us] Cle[m]
L. Apic[us]	Sexlus tes[erarius]	Sc[upis]	T. Flav[us] Max[im]
M. Aur[elius]	Curia	Rat[aria]	M. Aure[us] Cen[sorinus]?
10 M. Ulp[us]	Valens	Rat[aria]	T. Aur[elius] Ven
C. Val[erius]	Valens inl[erpres]	R(emesiana?)	T. Aur[elius] Lolug
C. Iustit[us]	Sequens	R(emesiana?)	M. Aur[elius] Sco
C.?) Aur[elius]	Saturus(ous) d(omis) d(onalus)	Sc[upis]	T. Ael[us]
M. Aur[elius]	Dassius	Sc[upis]	— [?]r[el]
15 M. Val[erius]	Maximus	Pau[latia]	
C.?) Inl[us]	Valentin[us]	S	
C. Iul[us]	Crescens		
T. Aur[elius]	Curia		
C. Pyrr[us]	Herculan[us]		
20 M. Aur[elius]	Primus		
— Nasou[us]	Max[im]		[Cohors VIII:]
M. Coac[us]	M		
— Inl[us]?)			
B.	Coh[ors] [I:]		
25 T. Ael[us]	Herc[us]		— eq[ues] Remesiana?) 25
L. Val[erius]	Crispus		— s R(emesiana?)
M. Aur[elius]	Monta[us]		— Vate[ntinus] Sc[upis]
C. Iul[us]	Anton		— Mitio Nicom[edia]
M. Aur[elius]	Timicus		— [D]assius Iul[us] R(emesiana?)
30 P. Ael[us]	Long[us]		— An[r](elius) Taurus R(emesiana?) 30
M. Aur[elius]	Tara		— Aur[elius] Andio R(emesiana?)
M. Aur[elius]	Maxim[us] e		M. Aur[elius] Antio sig[is]ifer Cap
M. Al[us]	Molest[us]	S	M. Val[erius] Marcell[us] Sc[upis]
			d(omis) d(onalus)
M. Aur[elius]	Barbuis	Sal[us]	M. Aur[elius] Sirus R(emesiana?)
35 M. Ulp[us]	Magno	R(emesiana?)	T. Fl[avius] Valerius An[iceto]?
C. Iul[us]	Valens	R(emesiana?)	M. Aur[elius] Severin[us] Sc[upis]
M. Ulp[us]	Jannav[us]	R(emesiana?)	M. Aur[elius] Antonin[us] R(emesiana?)
M. Ulp[us]	Gencell[us] sig[is]ifer	Z[erna]?	T. Cl[audius] Successus Perg[amo]?
C. Iul[us]	Albanus	R(emesiana?)	C. Al[us] Crescens el[us] a(rmo- rum) R(emesiana?)
40 M. An[onius]	Valens	R(emesiana?)	C. Val[erius] Quintian[us] d(omis) d(onalus) Str[atio] 40
— Aur[elius]	Rescipor[us]	Te[actica]	C. Val[erius] Maxim[us] str[ator] Sc[upis]
— D[ul]l[us]	Valens	R(emesiana?)	C. Aur[elius] Mesti[us] Sc[upis]

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7

However, ca 300 could represent an average number of discharged soldiers from one legion in one year. The number of 300 or 330 veterans is confirmed in two or three of the above mentioned documents (1.6 and 7).⁸ The number of discharged soldiers from the legion II Traiana in Egypt is in both years, 157 and 194 is smaller than in any other provinces.

The quoted texts prove no regularity in discharging soldiers before the last decade of the second century AD.

[.....]i.....	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s S[ur]us?</i>
[.....] M[ur] (sa)	<i>C. Iul(iu)s Iulianu)s</i>
[.....]r	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s Macedo</i>
100 [.....] P[ol]lia) c[astri]s) ?	<i>C. Val(eriu)s Valens</i>
[.....] Janu)s Sc[upis]	<i>C. Val(erio)s Capito</i>
[.....] R()	<i>T. Fl[aviu)s] Vitalis st[ator] l[egati] l[egionis]?</i>
[.....] Isi]dor[us]?) Cybe[r(a]	<i>P. Cete[n]i[us] Iulian[us] str[ator]</i>
[.....] Paulin[us] Sal[on]is)	<i>P. Cete[n]i[us] Anician[us] i[m]m[aginer]f[er]?)</i>
105 [.....] nician[us] Mar[gi]	<i>C. Ulp(iu)s Victor</i>
[.....] Postu]miu)s ? R()	<i>M. Ulp(iu)s Firmu)s eq[ues]</i>
[.....] Val]ens R()	<i>C. Terent(iu)s Clemens</i>
[.....] s opt[ito] R()	<i>C. Val(eriu)s Valens TR</i>
[.....] s Sc[upis]	<i>P. Ael(iu)s Candidu)s</i>
110 [.....] ius im[aginer]f[er] C()	<i>Cof[or]s) X</i>
[.....] Sc[upis]	<i>C. Am[on]i[us] Valens d[on]is) d[onatus] T()</i>
[.....] Zar[misegetu]sa ?)	<i>P. Ael(iu)s Silvianu)s tub[icen]</i>
[.....] ius Anc[yr]a)	<i>M. Aur(eliu)s Sempron(iu)s</i>
[.....] R()	<i>M. Cocce[us] Vitalis c[orm]iculariu)s?)</i>
115 [.....] m cor[niculariu)s] Sc[upis]	<i>C. Val(eriu)s Herculan[us]</i>
[coh[ors] VIII]	<i>M. Ulp(iu)s Victor</i>
[.....] ius Sc[upis]	<i>Tib. Cl[audiu)s] Victor</i>
[.....] m[us] ?) R()	<i>M. Ulp(iu)s Titianu)s</i>
[.....]]tis str[ator] Sc[upis]	<i>P. C() Longinu)s</i>
120 [.....] ius d[on]is) d[onatus] Sir[mii]	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s Antioch[us] o[ptio]</i>
[.....] sig[nier] Sc[upis]	<i>C. Iul(iu)s Bassu)s t[ub]icen?)</i>
[.....] Sir[mii]	<i>P. Ael(iu)s Capito st[ator]?)</i>
[.....] R()	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s Maxim[us] st[ator]</i>
[.....] Sa]l[on]is)	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s Sextu)s d[on]is) d[onatus]</i>
125 [.....]	<i>M. Ulp(iu)s Gn[us] ?)</i>
[.....]	<i>T. Aur(eliu)s [.....]</i>
[.....]	
[.....] s	
[.....] P]rupinc[us] (?) d[on]is) d[onatus] kas[tris]	
130 M. Ael(iu)s Vitalis kas[tris]	
M. [A]ur(eliu)s Provincial[is] R()	
C. Ius(iu)s Severu)s d[on]is) d[onatus] R()	
M. Ulp(iu)s Martial[is] int[er]pres) Sc[upis]	
M. Ulp(iu)s Martin[us] st[ator]?) Mur[sa]	
135 Coh[ors] VIII	
T. Aur(eliu)s Nneptolem[us] Her[aclea]	
L. Apul[us] Iustu)s sig[nifer] R()	
M. Aur(eliu)s Valens Sc[upis]	
T. Flav[us] Aper Sir[mio]	
140 C. Iul(iu)s Marcus R()	
T. Fl[aviu)s] Longinu)s R()	
M. Ulp(iu)s]L]iciniu)s Sir[moi]	
C. Val(eriu)s Valens b[e]b[e]l[ic]ian[us] t[ribuni] R()	
C. Val(eriu)s Trophimian[us] Phil[ippis]	
145 M. Aur(eliu)s Mucatra librariu)s R()	
C. Iul(iu)s Victorin[us] R()	
C.]L]iciniu)s Paulin[us] Sc[upis]	

[.]Ael(iu)s]l]u]st[us] Sa]l[on]is or Sa]r[misegetu]sa]

There is, unfortunately, no contemporary list of discharged soldiers in different provinces. However it could be supposed that discharge took place in the same time in many or all provinces. In some cases the year of discharge in one legion and one province is the same as the recruitment for another legion in some other province: 134 is the year of discharge in *Moesia Inferior* (1) and enlistment in *Moesia Superior* (3), 166 saw the dismissal of the soldiers in *Numidia* (4) and recruitment for the legion in Dacia (CIL III 1172); in 176 discharge took place

in *Numidia* (CIL VIII 18272) and in the same year the new recruits for the VII Claudia in *Moesia Superior* were enlisted (IMS 54, discharged in 202). However, the present state of evidence does not permit us to establish any link between the number of those discharged and that of newly enlisted soldiers.

If we assume, that this number was the average in one *missio*, lower figures in other documents must have been the consequence of special circumstances, losses in wars or of illness.

Notes

¹ Th. Mommsen, Inschrift aus Kostolac (*Viminacium*), AEM 7, 1883, 188-194.

² R. Böckh (in: Mommsen, p. 191-192) has suggested the following calculation: supposing the effective strength of the Roman legion of 5000 men, he came to the number of 275 new nineteen-years old recruits each year. If so, in each of the first 7 years of service 5 soldiers might die, in each of the subsequent 9 years 6 and in each of the ten last years 7.

³ J.F. Gilliam, The Plague under Marcus Aurelius, AJP. 73, 1961, 237 ff. (= Roman Army Papers, 1986, 239 ff.).

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ W. Scheidel, Recruten und Überlebende: die demographische Strukturen der römischen Legionen in der Prinzipatszeit, *Klio* 77, 1995, 232 ff.

⁶ Four fragments of this list, first published by E. Desjardins as belonging to four separate lists and thereafter in CIL III under numbers 6178, 6178, 6179 and 6180 have been recognized by Emilia Doruțiu-Boila as parts of one list (Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor V, 1980, 137. Cf. E. Doruțiu-Boila, Das Veteranenverzeichnis der legio V Macedonica aus *Troesmis*, Epigraphica, Bucuresti, 1977, 185-191).

⁷ See Gilliam, 237, no. 45.

⁸ In a paper from 1977 Mireille Corbier (M. Corbier, L'aerarium militare, Armée et fiscalité dans le monde antique, 1977, 215) established a theoretical evaluation of the maximal expenses in discharging legionaries on table 3. She suggests that the number of possible veterans per legion in a year was 300, by the strength of the whole army 30 to 33 legions for the period for which the lists of the veterans are preserved, i.e. that under the Antonines and under Septimius Severus, which makes 7200 soldiers who had to be paid by the state under the Antonines or 7920 under the Severan dynasty.

Ioana Bogdan

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À PROPOS DE *RIPA HISTRI*

Cette réunion savante au bord du Danube me semble être la meilleure occasion pour débattre l'hypothèse¹ que je soutiens depuis un quart de siècle, à savoir que déjà après la campagne de Licinius Crassus le territoire entre *Haemus* et *Histrum* est devenu possession romaine organisé militairement comme *praefectura ripae*² (*Histri*) *Danuvii*³ (fig. 1). Cette forme d'organisation militaire et administrative perdurera jusqu'à l'époque de Domitien (Annexe).

L'opinion générale reste pourtant fidèle aux hypothèses élaborés lors que les dates objectives ont été moins nombreuses et explicites.

On accepte pour l'époque d'Auguste l'existence postulée sans aucune preuve d'une *praefectura orae maritimae*⁴ s'étendant sur les villes grecques et leurs territoires; on considère que l'intérieur de Dobrudja et les terres au nord des Balkans ont été attribuées au royaume des Odryses.⁵ Les hypothèses traditionnelles admettent l'existence d'une *ripa Thraciae* organisée à peine après la transformation du royaume thrace en province.

Dans les derniers décennie la manque de toute découvert concernant la préfecture du littoral rend l'hypothèse caduque. En se multipliant les inscriptions⁶ qui prouvent les actions d'une *praefectus ripae (Histri) Danuvii*⁷ est ressentie comme inadéquat par rapport à l'unanime acceptée cession des territoires occupées par Licinius Crassus, aux rois thraces.⁸

L'erreur surgit de la confusion crée par le manque d'une définition des notions exactes de ce que signifie le territoire dans lequel vivaient les souches thrace et de ce qu' étaient les bornes du royaume thrace.⁹

Les sources antiques ne permettent point d'affirmer l'extension des royaumes thraces au-delà des monts *Haemus*. Le déroulement de la révolte des Thraces relaté par Tacite¹⁰ vient de confirmer cette assertion. En qualité des rois *amici et socii intra fines imperii* les rois thraces ont eu des obligations militaires¹¹ et leurs contributions au cours des guerres de Pannonie ou avec les Géo-daces¹² ont fait le sujet de l'intérêt des auteurs antiques.



La présence des troupes des rois alliés ne représentent pas l'autorité de ceux-ci au delà des Balkans, on prend comme déterminant les textes des inscriptions honoraires pour les rois thraces trouvées à Callatis¹³, à Histria¹⁴ et à Abrittus.¹⁵ Suffit de dire qu'il y a des hommages pour les mêmes rois dans les villes qui sans doute n'ont jamais joui de leur autorité.¹⁶

Les sources antiques concordent dans l'affirmation de la présence romaine à l'est de Ciabrus depuis l'époque d'Auguste. L'autorité du légat de la Moesia, sa provincia, s'étend jusqu'au bord du Pont [Strabon, XVII, 3, 24; Pline, provincia

*quae Moesia appellatur, ad Pontum usque cum Danivio decurrens. Incipit a confluente supra dicto. In ea Dardani, Celegeri, Triballi, Timachi, Moesi, Thraces Pontoque contermini Scythae*¹⁷].

En ce qui concerne les sphères de l'autorité de celui-ci et des rois thraces Tacite [Ann., IV, 5, 3] est bien précis. Les rois thraces ont des attributions sur leurs propres territoires et la *ripa Danuvii* était sous contrôle de deux légions de la Pannonie et de deux légions de la Mésie. *Praefectura ripae Histri* semble être le nom préféré par ceux qui vivaient au bord du Danube inférieur, mais le nom officiel paraît être *ripa Danuvii* comme celle de sa gemelle pannonienne.

L'existence parallèle des deux commandements militaires le long du Danube est la cause des brouillamini liées aux textes qui parlaient de *praefectura* des bords du Danube. Or, les inscriptions indiquent une corrélation directe entre le *praefectus ripae Histri* et l'activité de celui-ci dans les troupes se trouvant en Mésie. Pour les contemporaines une telle confusion était impossible, car chaque préfecture était sous l'autorité d'un autre légat, dans la *provincia* d'un autre gouverneur.

La nature de la fonction du *praefectus ripae Histri* et le rapport face aux populations soumises est suggérement définie par le poète exilé à *Tomis*.¹⁸

L'éloge de Tib. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus suggère par le verbe utilisé, la possession du territoire — *ripa quam tuebatur*. Jordanes utilisant une source plus ancienne nous donne l'information que Dorpaneus attaquait à *ripa Danuvii* depuis longtemps dans la possession des Romains. Les expressions utilisées dans tous ces textes sont définitives pour la structure préprovinciale de la Moesia. A peine Domitien initiera et Trajan transformera ces régions dans une *provincia* dans laquelle les structures autochtones ont été utilisées comme noyaux de l'administration civile romaine. C'est à cette époque qu'on organise les premières villes avec statut romaine (*municipia* et *coloniae*) et probablement aussi des *civitates* pérégrines — la seule connue *civitas Ausdecenses*.

Le phénomène a une évolution pareille à celle qui a eu lieu aux bords du Rhin où ont coexisté deux commandements militaires transformés par Domitien en deux provinces; Trajan a continué le processus par l'organisation des cellules administratives sur les structures autochtones. Les deux unités préprovinciales de la Germanie ont été subordonnées chacune à un *legatus augusti exercitus*; les deux structures administratives-militaires des *Moeses* (d'après Cassius Dio, Poppaeus Sabinus a eu commandé des deux Mésie) une dans l'ouest, l'autre *ripa Danuvii* ou *ripa Histri* ont été transformées par Domitien en province; Domitien n'a pas divisé la Germanie et d'autant moins la Mésie.

Ripa Danuvii a été regardée comme un territoire restreint au bord du fleuve¹⁹ et toutes références ont été rapportées à *ripa Danuvii et civitatum duarum Boiorum et Azaliorum* [ILS 2737]; la région étendue entre les monts *Haemus* et le fleuve devrait constituer le territoire thrace allié. La présence des troupes romaines à *Aegissus* et *Troesmis* ne constitue pas l'argument pour la possession effective

par les Romains mais au contraire on prétend que les rois thraces étaient souverains et non chefs des troupes alliées. On nie même le fait que Tibère a introduit les impôts jusqu'au Pont, parce qu'on ne peut pas prelever des impôts dans des territoires non occupés²⁰; on va jusqu'à nier le texte de la Horotésie d'Histria où on parle de la douane de la *ripa Histri*, parce qu'il n'y a pas d'autres confirmations.²¹

Déjà Mommsen considérait que Moesia Inférieur était l'ancienne *ripa Thraciae* [CIL III 142]. Si on prend en considération que le nom *ripa Thraciae* pour le *portorium* est apparu pour la première fois au temps de Trajan et il se substitue à *ripa Histri* attesté avant le gouvernement de Flavius Sabinus en Mésie nous détenons l'argument pour soutenir que *praefectura ripae Histri* avait les mêmes limites que la province *Moesia Inferior*; pour nous c'est une conclusion qui est à tirer aussi par l'analyse des campagnes de Licinius Crassus.²² Le royaume de Dapyx devait se trouver en face du pays des Bastarnes (localisés archéologiquement en Moldavie) et s'étendait jusqu'à Ciabrus.

Les recherches entreprises les dernier temps ont aussi abordé les sites datés au commencement de la domination romaine en Dobrudja. Quoi que la plupart des sites ont une évolution continue jusqu'à l'époque romano-byzantine, et les sondages stratigraphiques sont insuffisants on peut déjà préciser que la vie romaine est moins récente qu'on croyait il y a quelques décénies.

Les actions de Licinius Crassus sont évidemment encadrables dans la politique initié par Augustus pour établir les frontières *ad ripam fluminis Danuvii* [Res Gestae, V, 44]. Occupé sous Auguste le territoire habité par les Moeses a été soumis au cens simultanément avec toute la *Moesia* comme le savait Appian [Illyr. 6, 15] et comme on peut en déduire de l'existence de la douane du bord d'Histrium avant l'époque de Claudius. C'est déjà H. Nesselhauf a proposé aussi le concepte de la douane de *ripa Histri* reorganisée ultérieurement en *portorium ripae Thraciae*.²³

Le *portorium ripae Histri* n'aurait pas pu exister simultanément avec le royaume thrace à indépendant. La compétence du légat de la Mésie dans les questions financières de ces régions confirme une fois de plus l'appartenance de la *ripa Histri — Danuvii* à *Moesia*.

En somme, la présence de la flotte romaine de guerre sur le Danube inférieur et les actions des légions romaines sont clairement relatés par les sources antiques; à indépendant les troupes thraces alliées sous le commandement du roi s'impliquent dans la sécurité des possessions romaines aux frontières de l'Empire. C'est l'étape quand on ne peut pas envisager une politique de défense des frontières, même si Lentulus²⁴ a établie des *praesidia* dans des points clé (on peut voir *Aegyssus* et *Troesmis* ayant ce qualificatif). C'est une erreur de s'imaginer des fortifications permanentes sur les frontières à cette époque là. L'armée mobile intervenait là où était le cas, l'idée de la diviser pour couvrir les frontières étant exclue.

La diplomatie avait un rôle décisif dans la politique d'assurer la paix — Les actions de Tib. Plautius Aelianus le démontrent sans être une exception. Il a utilisé tous les moyens diplomatiques face aux Daces, Bastarnes et Sarmates-Roxolanes — toutes ses actions regardent les voisins de *ripa Danuvii*.

Legatus augusti Moesiae avait la commande supérieure de la *praefectura ripae Histri* [CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986].

De même, au temps de Domitien l'attaque des Daces a d'abord affecté le territoire constituante *ripa Danuvii*; nous nous imaginons que le *praefectus* anonyme sur l'inscription du mausolée d'Adanclisi²⁵, tombé ou non dans les luttes, est le dernier qui a eu cette fonction et a contribué à la victoire de l'armée de l'année 86.²⁶ L'inscription constitue le final glorieux, d'une commande qui a assuré la paix aux bords du Danube, la paix des Moeses.

ANNEXE

RIPA HISTRI (DANUVII)

(sources antiques)

Ovidius, Ex P, IV, 9, 75-80:

*Praefuit his, Graecinae, locis modo Flaccus; et illo
Ripa ferox Histri sub duce tuta fuit
Hic tenuit Mysas gentes in pace fideli ...*

Tacit, Ann. IV, 5, 3:

[...] *et Thraciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotys ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant.*²⁷

Iordanes, Get. 76:

Gothi solventes, ripam Danuvii iam longe possessam ab impero Romano deletis militibus cum eorum ducibus vastaverunt Cui provinciae tunc post Agrippam Oppius praeerat Savinus, Gothi autem Dorpaneus principatum agebant...

D.M. Pippidi, ISM, no. 68, 16-17, Histria²⁸:

[...] τε τῆς κατ' Ἰστρου οὐχθῆς πύλοσ

CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986, Roma:

T. Plautio M.f.Ani. Silvano Aeliano Pontif. sodali Aug. III vir. Aa a. f.f., q.Ti. Caesaris, legat. leg. V in Germania, pr. urb. legat. et comiti Claud. Caesaris in Britannia, consuli, procos Asiae, legat. pro praet. Moesiae, un qua plura quam centum mill. ex numero Transdanuvianor. ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib. ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis tranduxit; motum orientem Sarmatar. compressit, quamvis parte magna exercitus ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset; ignotos ante aut infensos p.R. reges signa Romana adoratos in ripam quam tuebatur perduxit; regibus Bastarnarum et Rhoxolanorum filios, Dacorum fratrum captos aut hostibus ereptos remisit; ab aliquis eorum opsides accepit; per quem pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit. ...

V. Pârvan, *Getica*, 103-105; D.M. Pippidi, *Contributii*, 287-328; R. Vulpe, *Dîn Istoria Dobrogei*, II, 1968, 56-59.

W. Ramsay, Social basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor, Amsterdam 1967, 148; *JRS* 1913, 301, Antiochia:²⁹

*Praef]FECT.COH ITYR
sagitt] TRIB. MIL. LEG IV
in Moes] SCHYTIC. PRAEF.
al.aug.]EQUIT.PRAEF.RIP
ae]DANUVII
D.D.*

D. Knibbe, *JOAI*, 49, 1968-1971, Beibl. 6-15, Ephesos:

- M. Arruntium M. [fili]um Ter(etina)
Claudian[u]m, pra[ef(ectum) coh]ort(is),
tribunum [bis], praef(ectum) ala[e et]
vex[il]li Prae[et]orianorum, doni[s]
5 [militaribu]s don]atum hasta pur[a] -
[ve]xillis ar[genteis] corona aurea
[et] coron[a , proc(uratore)] Romae fru-
[menti comparandi] It(aliae), praef(ectum) class(is) -
[Moesiacae et ripae Dan]uvi(i),
10 [adlectum in senatori]um ordine[m]
[inter aed]ilicios, pra[etor]em p[opuli] R(omani), leg(atum)
[pr(o) pr(aetore) p]rovinciarum A[cha]iae et
Asiae bis.
C. Vibius Salutaris a[mico suo].
15 Μ. Ἀρρουντίου Κλαυ[διανόν],
ἐπαρχὸν σπειρίης, δις χειλ[ί]α[ρχον],
δις ἐπαρχὸν εἰληγ[ί]ας, ἐπίτροπον ἐ[ν]
Ῥώμῃ, ἐπὶ τοῦ σείτου, ἐπαρχὸν τοῦ
ἐν Μοισίαι στόλου καὶ τῆς ἕχθης,
20 καταλελεγμένον εἰς σύνκλητον
ἐν τοῖς ἀγορανομικοῖς, στρατηγὸν
δήμου Ῥωμαίων, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀ[v]-
τιστράτηγον ἐπαρχειῶν Ἀχαιῶν
Ἀσίας δις.
15 Γ. Οὐεῖβιος Σαλουτάρης φίλοι
καὶ εὐεργέτη ἰδίωι.

Strabon:

VII, 3, 10 (C. 303). Περί τε τῶν Μυσῶν δίκαιός ἐστιν ὑπο-
 σχεῖν λόγον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι λεγομένων Ἀπολλώδιωρος, πότερ' ἤ-
 20 γεῖται καὶ τούτους εἶναι πλάσματα, ὅταν φῆ ὁ ποιητὴς «Μυσῶν
 τ' ἀγγεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἱππημολγῶν», ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δέχεται.
 ὡς προείρηται, πλάσμα [δὲ] λέγων, ὡς μὴ ὄντων ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ
 Μυσῶν, παρὰ τὰ ὄντα [ἔρεῖ]. ἔτι γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Αἴλιος Κάτος μετώ-
 25 κισεν ἐκ τῆς περσικῆς τοῦ Ἰστρου πέντε μυριάδας σωματίων παρὰ
 τῶν Γετῶν, ὁμογλόπτου τοῖς Θραξίν ἔθουσ, εἰς τὴν Θράκην καὶ
 νῦν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτόθι Μοισοὶ καλούμενοι, ἦτοι καὶ τῶν πρότερον
 οὕτω καλουμένων, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Μυσῶν μετονομασθέντων, ἢ ἕπερ
 οἰκειότερόν ἐστι τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀποφάσει τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τῶν ἐν
 30 τῇ Θράκῃ Μυσῶν καλουμένων πρότερον, περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλλοι
 ἐπᾶνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῆς περιήγησιν.

Appian, Illyr.:

29, 84. λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυριδος
 15 εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παϊόνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοὶ, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ
 Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. Ῥαιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρι-
 κούς ἡγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα, πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς, ἐπιλαβεῖν ἢ τὸν
 Σεβαστόν, χειροῦμενον Παίονας· ἐν μέσφ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ
 οὐδὲν εὖρον ἴδιον εἰς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νωρικούς γενόμενον· ὅθεν μοι
 20 δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι. 30, 85. Μυσοὺς δὲ
 Μάρκος μὲν Λεύκολλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λικινίου Λευκόλλου, τοῦ Μιθρι-
 δάτῃ πολεμήσαντος, κατέδραμε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλῶν, ἔνθα
 εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες ἐξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροιχοι, Ἰστρος τε καὶ Καλ-
 25 λωνία· ἐξ ἧς ἐν Ῥώμῃ [ἐκ Καλατίδος] μετήνεγκε τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλ-
 λωνα, τὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ. 86. καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν εὖρον
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας ἐς Μυσοὺς γενόμενον, οὐδ' ἐς φόρον
 ὑπαρχθέντα οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· ὑπήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου,
 τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Σεβαστόν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου.

Cassius Dio:

LI, 22, 6. Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσῆχθη, καὶ ἀθρόοι πρόδεξιλλήλους
 Δακοὶ τε καὶ Σουῆβοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν Κελτοὶ, ἐκεῖνοι
 20 δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινά· καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου ὡς γε
 τάκριβες εἰπεῖν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν Σουῆβων ὀνόματος
 ἀντιποιοῦνται), 7. οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τοῦ Ἰστρου νέμονται, ἀλλ' οἱ
 μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτε αὐτοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἐς τε τὸν
 τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ ἐπι-
 25 χωρίοις, ὀνομαζόνται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληνται, εἴτε δὴ Γέται
 τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θραῖκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ
 ἐνοικήσαντος ὄντες. 8. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ

Cassius Dio:

LI, 23, 2. Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθεὶς τοῖς τε Δακοῖς καὶ <τοῖς> Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οἷτινές τ' εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἐπολεμώθησαν, εἴρηγται. 3. Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νενομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες τὴν τε Μυσίαν τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τούτου καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτῇ ὄντας τοὺς τε Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων οἰκοῦντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν σφισι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦν. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν

Cassius Dio:

LI, 27, 1. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινὰς οὐθ' ἀλόντας ποτὲ οὐτ' αὖ προσχωρῆσαι οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργὴν τε ἅμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτὸς τ' ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βία, δρᾶσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀλισκομένων προσηγάγετο. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς που παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αἰμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ οὖσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϋόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τινὲς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, 3. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πανθ' ἕσα ὁ Σάουος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ ποτε προσαγορευθέντες, οἱ τε Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλούμενοι.

Cassius Dio:

LVIII, 25, 4. . . Ποππαῖος δὲ Σαβῖνος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἑκατέρας καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκείνο τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν

Festus, Breviarum, 8:

... et limes inter Romanos ac Barbaros ab Augusa Vindelicum per Noricum, Pannonias ac Moesiam est constitutus.³⁰

ACTIONS MILITAIRES ROMAINES

Florus, Bell dac
II, 28 (IV,12), 19:

Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem perpelit ripam; citra praesidia constituta.

II, 29, 20:

Sarmatae patentibus campis inequant et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere.

Ovidius

Ex P, IV, 7, 1-2:

*Missus es Euxinas quoniam, Vestalis, ad undas,
Ut positis reddas iura sub axe locis*

Ex P, IV, 7, 19-18:

*Non negat hoc Hister, cuius tua dextra quondam
Puniceam Getico sanguine fecit aquam.
Non negat Aegisos, quae te subeunte recepta
Sensit in ingenio nil opis esse loci.
Nam, dubium, positu melius defensa manune,
urbs erat in summo nubibus aequa iugo.
Sithonio regi ferus interceperat illam
Hostis et ereptas victor habebat opes;*

Ex P, IV, 7, 27-28:

*Donec flumine devecta Vitellius, unda
Intulit, exposito milite, signa Getis.*

Ex P, IV, 7, 47:

*Ense tuo factos calcabas victor acervos
impositoque Getes sub pede multus erat.
Pugnat ad exemplum primi minor ordine pili,
multaque fert miles vulnera, multa facit.
Sed tantum virtus alios tua praeterit omnes,
ante citos quantum Pegasus ibat equos.
incitur Aegisos, testataque tempus in omne
Sunt tua, Vestalis, carmine facta meo.*

Ovidius

Ex P IV, 9, 79-80:

*Hic raptam Trosmi celeri virtute recepit
Infecitque fero sanguine Danuvium*

Ex P IV, 9, 119-120:

*Is quoque, quo laevus fuerat sub praeside Pontus,
Audierit frater [Flaccus] forsitan ista tuus.*

Ovidius, Triste
II, 195:

*Longius hac nihil est, nisi tantum frigus et hostes
et maris adstricto quae coit unde gelu.
Haectenus Euxini pars est Romana sinistri:
Proxima Bastarnae Sauromataeque tenent
Haec est Ausonio sub iure novissima vixvue
Haeret in imperii margine terra tui.*

III, 2, 1-2:

Ergo erat in fatiis Scythiam quoque visere nostris

Strabon, VII, 3, 10 — Aelius Catus.

ILS 986 — Plautius Aelianus.

Flavius Iosephus

I.Π. VII, 4, 3:

· · · · · <90> οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι Σκυθῶν Σαρμάται, πολὺ πλῆθος
· · · · · ὄντες, ἀδελφοὶ μὲν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπεραιώθησαν εἰς τὴν Μυσίαν, ἔπειτα
· · · · · δὲ πολλῇ βίᾳ καὶ χαλεποὶ διὰ τὸ παντάπασιν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἐφό-
· · · · · δου προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ῥωμαίων
· · · · · 5 ἀναιροῦσι, <91> καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ὑπατικὸν Φοντήμον Ἀγρίπ-
· · · · · παν ὑπαντιάσαντα καρτερῶς μαχόμενον κτείνουσι, τὴν δ' ὑποκει-
· · · · · μένην χώραν ἅπασαν κατέτρεχον, ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ὄτω περι-
· · · · · πέσειεν. <92> Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν
· · · · · τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος Ῥούβριον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθή-
· · · · · 10 σοντα τοῖς Σαρμάταις...

Tacit, Ann., I, 80, 1:

[...] *prorogator Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia additis Achaia et Macedonia*

Cassius Dio, LIV, 20, 3.

Cassius Dio, LVIII, 25, 4 — Poppaeus Sabinus.

Appian, Illyr.:

6, 15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τοῦσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ραί-
 τοὺς καὶ Νωμικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 ἕμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καταπλέοντι ῥιγεται, διαιροῦσι
 10 μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις
 ἑκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται, ὅθεν μὲν
 ἀρξάμενοι τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὐρεῖν, χρώμενοι δ' αὐτῇ
 καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστροῦ
 15 τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν.

THRACIA

(textes utilisés pour soutenir l'autorité Thrace sur les territoires nord de Balkans)

Ovidius

Ex P I, 8, 5-20:

*Vivimus assiduis expertes pacis in armis
 dura pharetrato bella movente Geta.
 Deque tot expulsus sum miles in exule solus:
 tuta, enque invideo, cetera turba latet.
 Quoque magis nostros venia dignere libellos,
 haec in procinctu carmina facta leges.
 Stat vetus urbs, ripae vicina binominis Histri,
 moenibus et positu vix adeunda loci.
 Caspius Aegisos, de se si credimus ipsis,
 condidit, et proprio nomine dixit opus.
 Hanc ferus, Odrysius inopino Marte peremptis,
 cepit, et in regem sustulit arma Getes.
 Ille memor magni generis, virtute quod auget,
 Protinus innumero milite cinctus adest.
 Nec prius abscessit, merita quam caede nocentum
 Se nimis ulciscens, exstitit ipse nocens.*

Ovidius

Ex P, II, 9,1-6:

*Regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo
 Nomen in Eumolpi pervenit usque, Coty!
 Fama loquax vestras si iam pervenit ad aures,
 me tibi finitimi perte iacere soli*

Ex P, II, 9, 37-38:

*Tu quoque fac profugo prosint tua castra iacenti,
 O Coty, progenies digna parente tuo.*

Ex P, II, 9, 79-80:

*Hac quoniam careo, tua nunc vicina praestet,
Inviso possim tutus ut esse loco*

Tacit, Ann., II, 64:

[...] *omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto, Augustus pertem Thraecium Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea divisione arve et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum ferox adnextum hostibus Rhescuporidi cessit*

Tacit, Ann., IV, 46, 1:

[...] *Causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut, si milliterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. 2. Ac tum rimor incesserat fore ut disiecti allisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur...*

G. Mihailov, IGB, 743, Hisariâk:

Βασιλεύοντος Θρακῶ[ν Ροιμηταίου]
 βασιλέως Κόντος νίωνος [καὶ βασιλέως]
 Ροιμηταίου θυγατρὶδος, [Ρησκουπορε-]
 ως δὲ Θρακῶν δυνάστο[ν υἱοῦ]
 5 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐπταμενθο[ν γενόμενος]
 στρατηγὸς Ἀρχιάλου κα[ὶ - - - - -]
 κῆς καὶ Ρυσκῆς τὸν βω[μὸν ἀνέδηκεν].

Notes

¹ Thèse de doctorat, soutenue à l'Université de Bucarest en 1981, publiée en 1997 — Muntenia în sistemul defensiv al imperiului roman, Wallachia in the defensive system of the Roman Empire, Alexandria 1997, 18-28, 152-154; une forme abrégée a été publiée en *Acta Musei Napocensis* XX, 1983, 67-80.

² On peut constater qu'aux temps plus anciens était en use le nom *Histrum* pour le secteur inférieure du fleuve, puis on généralise le nom *Danubius*.

³ E. Doruțiu-Boilă, Der Niedermoesische limes unter Domitian, zu einer Inschrift aus Ephesos, [in:] *Militärgrenzen Roms*, II, 1977, 294 sqq. a suggéré comme possible l'existence d'une *praefectura ripae Danuvii* déjà au temps d'Augustus, mais elle n'a pas définie le rapport de celle-ci avec *ripa Thraciae*, annexée à la province Moesie à peine en 46 p. Chr. *praefectura ripae Danuvii* n'est pas une formule d'organisation pour le limes danubien (*ibidem*, 296), pour le bon motif que dans l'époque n'existe pas une organisation linéaire des frontières.

⁴ A.v. Premerstein, Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien, dans *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Beiblatt, I, 1898, 146-195; R. Vulpe, Histoire ancienne de la

Dobrudja, 1937 107; D.M. Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, I, 299; I. Stoian, Tomitana, 1962, 38, n 2.

⁵ A.v. Premerstein, *loc. cit.*; C. Patsch, *Beiträge*, V/1, 94, 128; Em. Condurachi, *RFS* 1967, 159; B. Gerov, *Klio* 52, 1970, 128.

⁶ D. Knibbe, *JOAI* 49, 1968-1971, Beibl. 6-15; AE, 1969-1970, 165, nr. 595; G. Pflaum, AE, 1972, 572; de même Al. Suceveanu, en datand *praefectura ripae* antérieurement à l'an 86 [SCIVA 30,1,1979,52-61], comprend que c'est la préfecture du Danube pannonien. K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians*, 1989, 17, 189, n 88; *idem*, *ZPE* 71, 1988, 271-273 d'autre part considère que les territoires à l'est de *Novae* à l'époque de Vespasien ont été dans les attributions du *praefectus classis Moesicae et ripae Danuvii*.

⁷ *Ripa Thraciae* est seulement le nom du *portorium* au temps de Trajan; sur l'inscription d'Histria au commencement (la lettre de Flavius Sabinus) la douane était de *ripa Histri* et renommé de *ripa Thraciae* (la lettre de Laberius Maximus). L'inscription de *Novae* [Nesselhauf, *Epigraphica*, I, 1939, 334] confirme cette date tardive du nom *ripa Thraciae* généralisé par suite CIL III 751 = 7434 = ILS 1855 et CIL III 753 = 7429 = ILS 1465. Th. Mommsen [CIL III, 142] soulignât que la denomination n'était pas en liaison avec la province Thracia.

⁸ L'opinion curenute est que le royaume thrace est transformé en province en 46 p. Chr., Al. Suceveanu a construit une hypothèse sur le passage de Suctone [Vespasien, VIII, 4] laquelle doit expliquer la présence amplifiée des traces romaines au temps de Vespasien, par la paternité de celui-ci sur la province Thracia — dans *Pontica* IV, 1971, 118 sqq.

⁹ Plinius NH, IV, 11, 4 et 44 en opposition avec Ptolémée III, 11, 1.

¹⁰ Tacit, Ann., 38 — *alii montem Haemum transgreditur, ut remotos populos concirent*.

¹¹ Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V, 191.

¹² E. Paltiel, *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire*, Collections Latomus, 212, Bruxelles 1991, 116.

¹³ Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, *Dacia* I, 1924, 140; déjà C. Patsch, *Beiträge* V/1, 96 a démontré que l'inscription n'a aucune signification dans la dispute concernant l'étendue des terres des rois thraces, parce-que la ville était foederée et dans le même temps honnoraient le P. Vinicius.

¹⁴ Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor, I, 1984, 66.

¹⁵ G. Mihailov, IGB, 743; T. Ivanov, *Thrakisch-römischen politischen Beziehungen am Vorabend der römischen Herrschaft in Thrakien*, *Studii Clasice* III, 1961, 94 sqq.

¹⁶ R. Sullivan, *ANRW* II, 7,1 — inscriptions de Chios et Athènes.

¹⁷ A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation der römische Provinz Moesia Superior*, 1970, 29 attribue une signification arbitraire au text quand soutient l'autorité thrace au nord des monts Haemus en se basant sur *Thracae pontoque contermini Scythae*. Le text nous indique les populations habitant en *Moesie* en ordre de l'ouest vers l'est; les Thraces et les Scythes sont les populations de la Dobrudja couramment nommée *Schythia* [D.M. Pippidi, *ISM* I, 1983, n 15, 68 et Strabon, VII, 4,5].

¹⁸ *Moesi* sont la population dans l'est de la future province *Moesia Inferior*, et leur nom a été adopté par l'administration romaine pour les territoires de l'ouest, aussi — M. Mirković, *Urbanisierung und Romanisierung Obermoesiens*, *Jiva Antika* XIX, 2, 1969, 239-260; nos arguments en Muntenia..., *op. cit.*, 22.

¹⁹ Pflaum, AE, 1972, 572 — en commentant l'inscription d'Arruntius Claudianus n'accepte point que *ripa Danuvii* soit à l'est: à notre avis, il s'agit d'une bande assez étroite le long du fleuve en Mésie.

²⁰ D.M. Pippidi, *Contribuții la Istoria veche a României*, 1967, 376, n 71.

²¹ O. Bounegrue, *Inceputurile organizării vamale în Dobrogea*, *Pontica* XX, 1987, 140-141 — accepte un douane pour les villes grecques et les bouches du Danube, occupées par L. Crassus.

²² I. Muntenia..., *op. cit.*, 18-19, 150-151.

²³ *Publicum portorium Illyrici utriusque Ripae Thraciae* dans *Epigraphica* I, 1939, 335, n 1;

M. Tatscheva, *Neues über publicum Portorii Illyrici et Ripae Thraciae*, [in:] *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, ed. P. Petrovic, Beograd 1996, 177 sqq.

²⁴ M. Mirković, *The Iron Gates and the Roman Policy on the Moesian Limes AD 33-117*, [in:] *Roman Limes...*, *op.cit.*, 29; à notre avis *Lentulus* a activé sur le cours inférieure du Danube où a rencontré les Sarmates.

²⁵ Hypothèse énumérée par R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, București 1970, 81 et 83; E. Doruțiu Boilă, *Dacia NS V*, 1961, 345-360 et N. Gostar, *Marele monument funerar de la Adamclisi*, thèse non publié après la mort prématuré de l'auteur donnent les arguments les plus sérieux pour identifier le mausolée de Adamclisi au temps de Domitien. La seule troupe connue sur l'autel — coh II *Batavorum* a actionnée sur le front danubien au temps des conflits de Domitien.

²⁶ N. Gostar, *Marele monument funerar...*, *op.cit.*, 17 et Conclusions, 21-22.

²⁷ A cette époque les légions n'ont pas été stationnées au bordes du fleuve, ainsi qu'on peut interpréter le texte seulement comme indiquant les préfectures de *ripa Danuvii*.

²⁸ *Ripae Thraciae* surgit la première fois dans l'inscription d'Histria, lettre de Laberius Maximus confirmant les privilèges de la cité au temps de Trajan; l'inscription de *Novae* [Nesselhauf, *Epigraphica I*, 1939, 334] se réfère aux mêmes dates. *Ripa Thraciae*, toujours le nom du *portorium* est sur les inscriptions de 161/168 [CIL III 751=7434 =ILS 1855 si CIL III 753=7429= ILS 1465]. M. Tatscheva, a publié de nouvelles découvertes qui s'inscrivent dans le même cadre post Trajan. Th. Mommsen [CIL III 142] a déjà démontré que le nom n'a rien à faire avec la provincia Thracia. Le nom *ripa Thraciae* n'est pas utilisé pour définir la praefecture. La dénomination *ripa Thraciae* des régions de l'est de la Moesie n'étant pas en use avant l'époque de Trajan ne peut pas être un argument pour la lecture proposée par Al. Suceveanu [*Pontica IV*, 1971, 118 sqq.] pour Suetone [Vesp. VIII, 4].

²⁹ J. Wilkes, [in:] *Rome and her Northern Provinces*, eds. B. Hartley, J. Wachter, 264, n 38, si 39 considéré que *Vestalis* est le *praefectus ripae Danuvii* et accepte que l'inconnu de l'inscription d' Antiochia, est le *praefectus ripae Danuvii* dans le secteur du Danube inférieur, comme *Arruntius Claudianus*; pourtant à peine au temps de Claudius et Nero "had become more directly concerned with the affairs of peoples beyond the lower Danube, following the annexation of Thrace in 46 and the incorporation of the Thracian bank (*ripa Thraciae*) into Moesia". Toutes les fonctions de l'Innotus sont dans les régions au nord des Balkans dans les territoires de l'est — Coh. I *Tyrorum* est à localiser dans ces régions figurant parmi les troupes de la *Moesia Inferior* en 99 [CIL XVI 45], et *Ala Augusta* était stationné en *Moesia* à l'époque de Claudius [CIL III 12347] — W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen*, Berlin 1938, 14-15; *legio IV Scythica* part en Orient en 56/57 [Ritterling, RE XII, 1556, 1559].

³⁰ Brandis, RE IV, 2, 2131.

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THE SENATORIAL ELITE IN LOWER MOESIA IN TIME OF PRINCIPATE

The Roman province of Lower Moesia (*Moesia Inferior*) was the result of division of Moesia in 86 AD. Nevertheless, both Moesian provinces (together with *Dacia* and both Pannonian provinces), continued to form one of the most important frontier regions of the Roman Empire — namely the Lower Danube provinces. These provinces had the strong military garrisons, contrary to the both Upper Danube provinces (*Noricum*, *Raetia*). Besides, all the Lower Danube provinces were submitted directly to the Emperor's power. Moreover, for the most of Principate's time these provinces had the highest status in the Roman imperial administration (consular, instead of praetorian status).

Undoubtedly, the members of the *ordo senatorius* can be regarded as the elite of the Roman Empire. The most of definitions of elite describe this notion as the social aggregate (or even as the social group) sharply distinguished from the rest of the given society by many criteria — amongst them the great social distance is perhaps the most important criterium. So, in the case of Roman social system "senators were separated from equestrians (and to the greater degree from members of the municipal aristocracy) by the many divergent criteria. The senatorial material requirement was the highest in Roman society (1 million HS). Other criteria were, for instance, the highest power and social status and even the different clothes, the separate row in amphitheatre or lesser penalties. The social isolation of the *ordo senatorius* was so great, that we can use the notion of elite" [Żyromski 1995, 11]. Besides, the notion of elite, which derives from Latin *eligere* (which means: "to make a choice"), implies that the elite will always form the minority of the given society. "Moreover, senators formed the very tiny minority inside the Roman society. Modern scholars estimate the whole number of population of the Roman Empire in the first century on at about 50-60 millions i.e. at about 20% of all world population at that time [Duncan 1974, 2; Hopkins 1978, 1]. The senatorial order was practically limited to the number of seats in the Senate (at about 600) and the whole stratum — together with women and children — numbered few thousands people, only. R. MacMullen estimates the

ordo senatorius on about 0.002% of the population of the whole Roman Empire [1974, 88]. Senators received the greatest salaries in the whole Roman administration. The senatorial governors of Africa and Asia (*proconsul provinciae Africae*, *proconsul provinciae Asiae*) received 1 million HS; so, their yearly salary was the same as the material qualification required for entrance into the senatorial order! [Żyromski 1995, 11-12].

The members of the elite of the Lower Danube provinces held the office of provincial governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) and/or of legionary legate (*legatus Augusti legionis*) [Żyromski 1995]. "The Lower Danube provinces formed the important strategic — military part of the Roman Empire. So, the senators who performed the executive functions in this region of the Roman Empire (*legati Augusti pro praetore*, *legati legionis*) had to have the military predispositions and/or military experiences (for instance proved by the *dona militaria*)" [Żyromski 1995, 73]. It is characteristic that almost thirty senators employed in the Lower Danube "high command" received the *dona militaria* on different stages of their *cursus honorum*. Undoubtedly the military decorations received on the beginning of senatorial career could faster promotion of the given person in the Roman imperial army and administration. In fact, many persons received the *dona militaria* on position of a military tribune. Not less than eight military distinguished persons served later on in Lower Moesian high command (in alphabetical order):

— C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*);

— M. Claudius Fronto (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*);

— M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*);

— Q. Fuficius Cornutus (*legatus legionis incertae in Moesia Inferior*);

— M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*);

— Q. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer Allius Sabinus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*);

— Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*);

— M. Valerius Maximianus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*, *legatus legionis I Italicae*).

Two of them obtained twice the military decorations (C. Bruttius Praesens, M. Cornelius Nigrinus) and the great military hero M. Valerius Maximianus received as many as three times the *dona militaria*. On the other hand, some great military commanders, who took part in the Lower Danube elite, never get the military decorations (for instance L. Fabius Cilo, P. Helvius Pertinax, A. Iulius Pompilius Piso, Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus, M. Nonius Macrinus).

It is characteristic that “the military commanders and the senators who obtained the *dona militaria* were mostly *homines novi*, who were rather of provincial than of Italian origin. Moreover, many of them began their *cursus honorum* in the equestrian order (*ca* 1/4). Nevertheless, after the exclusively military career, half of them achieved the highest positions in the Roman administration” [Żyromski 1995, 41-42].

The most of prosopographical researches concerning the Roman Empire concentrate on persons who left their traces in the historical sources, only. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that persons existing in the historical sources (mainly the senators) formed the best and most active part of the *ordo senatorius*. They usually performed the long and distinguished service in the Roman imperial army and administration (*cursus honorum*), so they were frequently elected as patrons (*patronus*) by the different municipalities and social or professional organizations. It is characteristic, that many inscriptions which presented the *cursus honorum* of Roman senators, were payed and erected by the Roman colonies. So, it would be very important to establish how many Roman senators can be analysed and what is their percentage in relation to the whole *ordo senatorius*. “The elite of the Roman Empire is the only part of the Roman society, which can form the base for comparative research. Only this part of the ancient society is known to us to the sufficient degree. Nevertheless, this is the situation of all the preindustrial societies. The historical sources, which form the base for our understanding of the Roman society, were mainly produced by the elite or for the elite. The best sources for the ancient social history are inscriptions (sepulchral, building, honorific); mainly these inscriptions, which contain the course of career of the given person (*cursus honorum*)” [Żyromski 1995, 10].

Unfortunately, the question of representativeness of the historical material i.e. the relation between the known material and all persons probably existing in the given period of the Roman Empire, appears very rarely in the modern historiography [Alföldy 1997; Devijver 1986, 109-225; Eck 1970, 375-394; Eck 1974, 158-228; Żyromski 1991, 59-102; Żyromski 1993, 133-140]. We know a little more than 50% senators, who lived during the Principate [Eck 1973, 383-385]. Nevertheless, the lower the given social group was situated in the hierarchy of the social status the less we know its members. For example during the years 69-138 AD we know only 101 *vigintiviri* from 1400 probably existing, i.e. at about 7% only [Eck 1974, 175]. So, we know the greater part of the higher senatorial officials (*consules*, *legati Augusti pro praetore* — at about 2/3), but only a few members of the lower posts: *vigintiviri*, *quaestores*, praetorian proconsuls (*ca*10%) or even *praefecti aerarii militaris* and commanders of the Roman legions — *ca* 20% [Alföldy 1997; Leunissen 1989, 23]. For example, we know the *cursus honorum* of at about 2/3 commanders of the Rhine and Danube legions [Żyromski 1990, 185]. The geographical origin is even better attested — we know 2/3 of all probably existing *legati legionum* on the Danube

and even 85% on the Rhine. Besides, the information on the careers and origin of consular governors of undivided Moesia (before 86 AD) is almost complete. Similar situation can be observed in the case of the both Moesian provinces up to the reign of Septimius Severus. However, after that time we know only at about 1/3 of the Moesian governors; *cursus honorum* and origin is attested only incidentally [Żyromski 1991, 63-64]. Nevertheless, the majority of governors from the third century left only the name. “We know *ca* 40 *legati Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae Inferioris* from the third century (mainly up to the 260 AD). But this large group of the Roman officials mostly left only the name; we know the *cursus honorum* of only each fourth of them” [Żyromski 1995, 15].

The usual time of service of senatorial and equestrian officials could be approximately 3 years in rather peaceful periods of Principate only [Żyromski 1990, 184]. However, the example of second century’s governors of *Moesia Inferior* can be presented, when average tenure of governorship was 2,5 years only [Żyromski 1991, 63].

Mason Hammond analysed the composition of the whole *ordo senatorius* beginning with the year 69 AD, only. During the Flavians (68-98 AD) as many as 80% of all the senators descended from Italy [Hammond 1957, 74-81]. The similar situation can be observed in case of governors of Moesia — 100% praetorian and 83% consular legates descended from Italy [Żyromski 1991, 95]. Similar, little more than half the senators (58%) from the 2nd century AD descended from Italy. However, the process of growing provincialization of high administrative personnel was even sharper in some parts of the Roman Empire. Only each third governor of *Moesia Inferior* in the years 86-193 AD descended from Italy [Żyromski 1991, 95]. Undoubtedly, the service on Lower Danube (and in Lower Moesia itself) can be treated as the factor of upward social mobility. Amongst the governors and legionary legates many *homines novi* of provincial origin and even former equestrians can be found. “So, the service in such important military region of the Roman Empire as Lower Danube provinces, was sought by the persons who wanted the further social advance in the Roman administrative hierarchy. The successful service in these provinces can be treated then as factor of the upward social mobility” [Żyromski 1995, 23]. However, this situation was characteristic rather for the frontier military regions of the Roman Empire and not for the whole Roman army and administration. “Nevertheless, as shows the example of *legati Augusti pro praetore provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, there were some posts in the Roman administration, which were filled mainly with the criterion of social origin. Spain was governed rather by the powerful senators, who descended from the highest circles of the Roman society, because of its healthy climate and the high degree of romanization” [Żyromski 1995, 22].

Undoubtedly, the elite of Lower Moesia (and the elite of the whole Lower Danube’s area) reflected both the situation in the whole *ordo senatorius* and also

fulfilled the requirements of this important military region of the Roman Empire. So, the senators employed on the key positions on Lower Danube (*legati Augusti pro praetore provinciae, legati legionis*) were selected to a lesser degree according to the criterium of social status than senators, who formed the elite in more peaceful and more romanized provinces of the Roman Empire (Spain and Gaul for instance). Especially, the members of Lower Danube's elite rather exceptionally took the high hieratic offices (the so-called *amplissima collegia*), which certainly were sign of ascribed status and high position in circles of the Roman aristocracy. On the other hand they took more military positions and they quite frequently could distinguished themselves during the military operations (the *dona militaria*) and they also commanded the Task Forces of the Roman imperial army (the *vexillationes*). So, the position within the Lower Danube's (and also Lower Moesian) elite can be treated as the kind of a social ladder leading to the highest position in the Roman imperial administrative system (*consul iterum ordinarius, praefectus urbi, proconsul provinciae Africae/Asiae*). On the other hand, their sons and grandsons successfully tried to avoid service in such difficult and dangerous area as the Lower Moesia (and Lower Danube) and chose the path of living characteristic for the typical members of the Roman "leisure class" (mainly positions in Italy or even in the capital of Rome). So, the membership in Lower Danube's elite was important also in the intergenerational aspect of the vertical social mobility. Undoubtedly, the analysis of Lower Moesian and Lower Danube's elites confirms the need for comparative researches over the highest circles of the Roman imperial society.

ADDENDUM*

I. *Laterculus legati Augusti provinciae pro praetore*

1. M. Aemilius Aemilianus (probably *dux Illyrici*) — 253 AD
2. Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinus — 230 AD
3. L. Annius Italicus Honoratus — 224 AD
4. M. Antonius Hiberus — ca 136-139 AD
5. L. Aurelius Gallus — 202-205 AD
6. M. Aurelius Sebastianus — the end of 3rd century AD
7. C. Bruttius L.f.Pomp. Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus — ca 125-128 AD

* The senators served in Lower Moesia were analysed as the part of the international research project Prosopographia Moesiaca (under the supervision of Professor L. Mrozewicz).

8. P.C (...) Regalianus (the military commander in Illyricum) — 260 AD
9. A. Caecilius Faustinus — 105 AD
10. Caesennius Vinius — *ca* 241/244 AD
11. P. Calpurnius Macer Cautilius Rufus — 112 AD
12. Ti. Claudius Marinus Pacatianus (the military commander in Illyricum) — *ca* 248 AD
13. Claudius Natalianus — the end of 3rd century AD
14. Ti. Claudius Saturninus — *ca* 145 AD
15. M. Cornelius M.f. Gal. Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus — 86-90 AD
16. Cosconius Gentianus — *ca* 196-198 AD
17. Domitius Antigonus — *ca* 236 AD
18. L. Fabius Iustus — 105-108 AD
19. Q. Fabius Postuminus — 103-105 AD
20. Fir[...] Philopappus — the reign of Severus Alexander
21. L. Flavius Honoratus Lucilianus — *ca* 236-238 AD
22. T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo — 155 AD
23. T. Flavius Novius Rufus — the reign of Heliogabalus
24. Flavius Ulpianus — *ca* 209-212 AD
25. Q. Fuficius Cornutus — the middle of 2nd century
26. P. Helvius Pertinax — *ca* 176 AD
27. M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus — the middle of 2nd century
28. Ingenus — the commander in Illyricum (*ca* 258 AD)
29. Iulius Antonius Seleucus — *ca* 220 AD
30. Iulius Crassus — *ca* 140 AD
31. L. Iulius Faustianus — 208 AD
32. Ti. Iulius Festus — the reign of Severus Alexander
33. Iulius Gaetulicus — *ca* 222-224 AD
34. Sex. Iulius Maior — *ca* 131-134 AD
35. L. Iulius Marinus — 97 AD
36. L. Iulius Statilius Severus — 159-160 AD
37. C. Iunius Faustinus Placidus Postumianus — *ca* 205-208 AD
38. M. Laberius Maximus Marcius (?) Crispinus — *ca* 100-102 AD
39. M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex — *ca* 175 AD
40. L. Mantennius Sabinus — *ca* 227-229 AD
41. Marcius Claudius Agrippa — *ca* 218 AD
42. C. Messius Q. Decius Valerinus — 234 AD and then the governor of provincial complex Moesia-Pannonia (249 AD)
43. Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus — *ca* 128-130 AD
44. L. Minicius L.f. Gal. Natalis Quadronius Verus — *ca* 141-144 AD
45. Sex. Octavius Fronto — 92 AD
46. C. Ovinus Tertullus — *ca* 198-202 AD
47. P. Post. — 249-250 AD
48. C. Pe[...] — in 3rd century AD
49. Pollenius Auspex (minor) — *ca* 194-196 AD
50. Pomponius Bassus (senior) — *ca* 214-217 AD
51. T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio — *ca* 156-159 AD
52. Q. Pomponius Rufus — *ca* 98-100 AD
53. M. Pontius Laelianus — *ca* 166-169 AD
54. Prastina Messallinus — *ca* 244 AD
55. C. Ulpianus Pacatus Prastina Messallinus — *ca* 150 AD
56. Prosius Tertullianus — *ca* 242-244 AD
57. Quintilianus — the reign of Caracalla

58. Q. Roscius Sex.f. Quir. Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles
Herculanus Pompeius Falco — ca 115-118 AD
59. Sabinus Modestus — ca 241 AD
60. P. Septimius Geta — ca 192-194 AD
61. Sergius Titianus — the reign of Heliogabalus
62. M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus — ca 165 AD
63. Severianus — the governor of both Moesian provinces (244 AD)
64. M. Stadius Longinus — 217-218 AD
65. Cn.Suellius Rufus Cosconius Gentianus — 192 AD
66. Tullius Menophilus — ca 240 AD
67. Ulpus Crinitus — the commander on Lower Danube (*dux Illyriciani*) in 258 AD
68. Um[...] Tereventinus — probably the governor of Lower Moesia (ca 222/226 AD)
69. C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus — ca 121-124 AD
70. M. Valerius Bradua Claudianus — ca 172 AD
71. C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus — 250-251 AD
72. Vitennius Iuvenis — the middle of 3rd century
- Ignotus [CIL III 7586] — 272 AD
- Ignotus [CIL III 14460] — during the reign of Aurelian
- Ignotus [Le terme 1929] — probably during the reign of Domitian
- Ignotus [AE 1955,123]
- Ignotus [AE 1969-70, 579]

II. *Laterculus Legatum Legionum*

1. Aellius Optatus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 156-159 AD
2. L. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the third 3rd AD
3. Q. Caecilius Redditus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — the middle of 2nd century AD
4. T. Calestrius Tiro Orbius Speratus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 110 AD
5. P. Calpurnius Iulianus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — the middle of 2nd century AD
6. M. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Fronto (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 160 AD
7. Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Gordianus (*legatus Augusti legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 185 AD
8. Ti. Claudius Iulianus (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 145 AD
9. Appius Claudius Martialis [A?]nnius [S]ilvinus (*legatus Augustorum legionis I Italicae*) — just before 161 AD
10. Ti. Claudius Saethida Caellianus (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 170 AD
11. M. Clodius Laetus — probably *legatus legionis I Italicae* (perhaps 2nd century)
12. Cominius Secundus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 141-144 AD
13. Cornelius Plotianus (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 161-164 AD
14. M. Fabius M.f. Quir. Magnus Valerianus (*legatus Augustorum legionis I Italicae*) — the 2nd half of 2nd century
15. Font(e)us Maximus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — 233 AD
16. [L.An. lub Cosso]ninus L. Stel. Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanus Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — ca 110 AD
17. L. Iulius Lucilianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*)
18. L. Marius I.f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — 193 AD
19. P. Martius Verus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 162-166 AD
20. P. Metilius Secundus Pon[tianus?] (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 115 AD
21. Mucius Maior (probably *legatus legionis I Italicae*) — the 2nd half of 2nd century
22. L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — ca 140 AD

23. C. Oppius C.f. Vel. Sabinus Iulius Nepos M. Vibius Solemnus Severus (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — ca 125 AD
24. L. Ovinus L.f. Quir. Rusticus Cornelianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — probably the end of 2nd century
25. Paternus O[...] (*legatus legionis I Italicae*)
26. Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius Ambibulus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — ca 128 AD
27. Plotius Iulianus (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — 134 AD
28. [?] Pompeius..f. Pom. Vopiscus C.Arr]unt[ius Cate]llius Celer Allius Sabinus (*legatus legionis XIII Geminae et legionis I Italicae*) — ca 132-135 AD
29. Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 101-102 AD
30. M. Sedatius C.f. Quir. Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus Censor (*legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 145 AD
31. P. Septimius Geta (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — ca 185 AD
32. Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — 227 AD
33. Val(erius) O[...]tianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — 208 AD
34. M. Valerius Maximianus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — ca 180 AD
35. L. Venuleius L.f. Gal. Apronianus Octavius Priscus (*legatus legionis I Italicae*) — the middle of 2nd century
36. P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus Caucidius Tertullus (probably *legatus legionis V Macedonicae*) — ca 160 AD
— Ignotus [AE 1950/91] (*legatus legionis XI Claudiae*) — perhaps in the 3rd century
— Ignotus [MEFRA 1990, 603] (probably *legatus legionis I Italicae, Novae*) — ca 240-242 AD

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NOTE ON THE CENTURION P. TENACIUS VINDEIX
[CIL III 1481, 6265]

Introduction

Two inscriptions from *Apulum*¹ mention a centurion who is also *buleuta* from a town named *Nicopolis*, and a freedman of his wearing the title of *augustalis coloniae Apulensis* as well. The texts are as follows:

— CIL III 1481 = IDR III/2, 120

[*P(ublio)*] *Tenac(io) P(ublii) f(ilio) / [P]ap(iria tribu) Vindici / (centurioni) leg(ionis) (vicesimae alterae) Pri/mig(eniae) buleutae / civitatis Ni/copolitanor(um) / P(ublius) Tenac(ius) Gemel/linus aug(ustalis) col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) libertus / t(itulum) p(onendum) c(uravit) l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

— CIL III 6265

Cocceiae / Valeriae / P. Tenacius / Gemellinus / aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) / ex testamen/to P(ublii) Tenaci(i) / Vindicis (centurionis) / leg(ionis) [(vicesimae alterae)] P[rimi]g(eniae) / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

It is obvious that the both texts attest the existence of a *centurio* P. Tenacius Vindex from the *legio XXII Primigenia*. This legion camped at Mogontiacum in Upper Germany [Ritterling 1924, 1803-1804; Parker 1958, 132, 141, 146, 151, 153, 155, 158; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 177-179]. One has said that he would be member of the town council at *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, a *civitas* located between the Danube and the Balkans. The astonishing emergence of an official from a Rhenan legion as local aristocrate in a Moesian town was explained through his participation in any Oriental expedition, which could have put him in connection with that *civitas*. Most probably, such a participation could have occurred during

the Carpic war of Philippus Arabs. Consequently, the inscriptions have to be dated at the middle of the 3rd century AD [Russu 1966, 453-456].²

Some time ago we realized that this datation seemed to be wrong. Both inscriptions were written by a freedman of the centurion, who became *augustalis* in *Apulum*, too. If we accepted the proposed datation, these would be the very last epigraphic evidence of an *augustalis* in Roman Dacia [Ardevan 1998, 256-260]. But at that moment a general crisis struck badly the Roman society in the Danubian provinces, and the inscriptions with *augustales* vanished almost completely [Duthoy 1978, 1305-1306; Alföldy 1984, 135-136, 142-143, 147-148, 152-153; Piso 1993, 329].

Because of that, a new approach seems necessary. We shall try to study once again all the available data, in order to get a better explanation.

Persons

The above mentioned inscriptions tell about three persons:

— P. Tenacius Vindex is the honoured person in CIL III 1481. He is *centurio* in the *legio XXII Primigenia* and *buleuta* at *Nicopolis*. Obviously he is a Roman citizen. His *cognomen* is rather frequent in the Empire's Celtic provinces [Kajanto 1965, 96, 363; Solin-Salomies 1988, 423], meanwhile the *nomen gentile* is drawn out from an usual Latin *cognomen* — Tenax [Kajanto 1965, 259; Solin-Salomies 1988, 183]. This last fact shows another Celtic feature and suggests a native origin, from a family who reached the Roman citizenship through the Latin right [Chastagnol 1995, 155-164]. So, he must originate from a Western area, very possible not too far from the legion's standing garrison [Parker 1958, 175; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, XXII-XXIII].

— Cocceia Valeria must have been the wife of Vindex. We don't know anything about her, except the name. Her *nomen gentile* proves the family's receipt of the *civitas Romana* at the end of the 1st century AD. The inscription doesn't tell clearly her condition or her relation with the centurion, but the similar status and the different family names suggest the idea of a couple. Of course, one could think at a concubine, because of the man's status as acting officer; dying before the end of his military service, he could have left his fortune to Cocceia Valeria. But it is hard to believe that a mere concubine would have been honoured by a town with a monument in a public place. A marriage relationship seems more likely, and it became possible for the militars since Septimius Severus [Le Bohec 1989, 237, 244].

— P. Tenacius Gemellinus, the vover of the two inscriptions, explains clearly his status: he is a freedman of the centurion. His onomastics confirms it. His

situation as *augustalis* in the colony of *Apulum* supposes not only a big fortune, but also a permanent residence in this important town of Roman Dacia and a deep implication in the community's life [Duthoy 1978, 1278-1286; Alföldy 1984, 112-113].

The two written stones are honorific inscriptions, erected in a public space with the agreement of the local council, as the formula *LDDD* attests. They seem to be basis of statues. The words *ex testamento* in CIL III 6265, l. 6-7 indicate the right reading of the other one's 10th line: *TPC* is to be completed not as *t(itulum) p(onendum) c(uravit)* [Russu 1966, 453-454], but as *t(estamento) p(onere) c(uravit)* [Ardevan 1998, 259, 403 and R 294]. In conclusion, when the texts were carved on stone P. Tenacius Vindex was no longer alive, but his wife could have still been (the text CIL III 6265 includes no allusion to her death). She could have moved to *Apulum*, where their freedman lived. As Gemellinus cares of the monuments *ex testamento*, it seems possible that he received this obligation as heritor of his *patronus* [Ardevan 1998, 260, fn. 141].

Social status

When the two inscriptions were carved, P. Tenacius Gemellinus has charge of *augustalis*. It means that his richness and influence in the colony became important [Duthoy 1978, 1278-1286; Alföldy 1984, 112-113].

Despite the fact that P. Tenacius Vindex was dead, the inscriptions don't call him a veteran. It could be a simple omission, but we have to take into account the possibility of becoming *buleuta* as officer in charge, too [Nélis-Clément 1989]. The phenomenon is not unusual at all, an army official was anyway assimilated in the local social elite [Langhammer 1973, 37, 39-40].

The family of Vindex enjoyed a special consideration at *Apulum*, as far as in their honour monuments were erected in public places. But he is not a local magistrate and is not even *decurio*. The only possible explanation could be a particular munificence for the colony, probably even *ex testamento*. It is to stress that the local government agrees with the erection of the monuments in a public square, but it doesn't cover their expenses, these are the task of the freedman Gemellinus.

Because of this one is *augustalis coloniae (Aureliae) Apulensis*, the inscriptions couldn't be earlier as the last decennials of the 2nd century AD [Ardevan 1998, 48-50]. At that moment, whatever origin their families could have had, both the honoured patrons counted as old Roman citizens, perfectly fit for belonging to the local upper-class.

Historical context

The problem that arises now is how the centurion from the Rhine army could have reached the status of a local aristocrate in a Greek town from the East and what town was this.

Seven towns named *Nicopolis* are known in the Roman Empire: in *Aepirus*, near *Actium* [Schober 1936, 516-517]; in Thrace, *Nicopolis ad Nestum* [Oberhummer 1936, 518]; in Lower Moesia, *Nicopolis ad Istrum* [Kazarow 1936, 518-533]; in Palestine, the former Emmaus [Hölscher 1936, 533-535]; in northern Syria [Honigmann 1936, 535-536]; in Armenia Minor [Sturm 1936, 536-538]; in Egypt, near Alexandria [Kees 1936, 538-539]. The existence of another omonymous city in Bithynia is not probable [Ruge 1936, 533]. Except the Egyptian settlement, all of them have struck their own coinage [Head 1911, 275, 287, 321, 498, 782, 806]. The size, the importance in this region and epigraphical evidence of similar cases indicates *Nicopolis ad Istrum* as the most serious possibility [Kazarow 1936, 518-533; Russu 1966, 455; Ivanov-Ivanov 1994]. But we ignore every link between this important settlement in the Balkans and the *legio XXII Primigenia*. One can assert the same for every other homonymous town; there is no evidence for a historical moment when such a connection could have occurred.

An older opinion states that a campaign of the legion in the East could have put Vindex in contact with the town where he will become an aristocrate. Except the Carpic war of Philippus Arabs (246-247 AD), no other participation of *legio XXII Primigenia* in the East during the 2nd-3rd centuries is documented [Ritterling 1924, 1812-1815]. But there are some indirect evidences about vexillations of this legion in Oriental wars: against the Parthians in 162-165 AD [Ritterling 1924, 1813], against Pescennius Niger in 193-195 AD³, in the second Parthic war of Septimius Severus [Schumacher 1982, 72-73; Rubin 1975] and in the Oriental war of Severus Alexander as well [Ritterling 1924, 1814-1815; Schumacher 1982, 86]. Taking into account the battlefields, some elements of the above mentioned legion could have reached *Nicopolis ad Istrum* most probably during the war against Pescennius Niger, i. e. in the last decade of the 2nd century AD.

A problem still occurs. An officer from a far located garrison could have received an aristocratic local rank as reward for a special service on behalf of the town at a dangerous moment [an exemple: CIL III 14416 = ILS 7178, see Latomus 19, 1960, 351 ff.]. We ignore every such possibility for *Nicopolis ad Istrum* while Septimius Severus ascended the throne. Neither the inscription alludes to anything in this sense. In return, it is obvious that the aristocratic status supposes everytime a certain amount of the wealth, including land properties in the territory of the town [Alföldy 1984, 88, 95; Jacques 1984, 352-358, 501-503, 648-649]. Also, more than an accidental contact could have done it, the

existence of some properties could have pushed P. Tenacius Vindex to the position of a local aristocrate.

Onomastics helps us in this respect. The *nomen gentile* Cocceius is not very widespread [Solin-Salomies 1988, 58]. Nevertheless it occurs three times on inscriptions located in the middle of Lower Moesia: if the pieces from Gigen [ILBR I, 70] and Glava Panega [ILBR I, 208] deal with *Colonia Ulpia Oescus*, the inscription found somewhere between Butovo and Nedan [CIL III 6150 = 7437 = 12346 = ILS 4060 = ILBR I, 438] belongs to the territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. Consequently, a family link remains possible, the wife of Vindex could have been a Nicopolitan one. The family land properties at *Nicopolis ad Istrum* should have given him the right to become member in the town council, and the obligation, too. Indeed, if this is true, the existence of a legionary vexillation in the valley of the Lower Danube would have made possible the meeting of the two characters, sometime at the beginning of Severus' reign. The death of Vindex should have occurred much later, possibly under Caracalla or Elagabalus. His widow, Cocceia Valeria, seems to have moved to *Apulum* later, because there lived her only relative, the freedman Gemellinus. Receiving a part of the legacy through the testament, he was compelled to build public monuments for his patrons, a gesture approved by the *ordo decurionum*.

Chronology

The above statements indicate that the inscriptions we are dealing with belong to an earlier moment, i. e. the Severan dynasty (first third of the 3rd century AD). This is just the highest time for the Roman municipal life in Dacia [Ardevan 1998, 115-117, 348], and in the Danubian provinces, as well [Alföldy 1984, 133]. During that period, the *augustales* were an important element in several Roman-Dacian towns, including *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis* [Ardevan 1998, 259-263, 266-267], which proves a dynamic and prosperous society [Alföldy 1984, 113, 133-142]. All the features of the epigraphic texts and of the facts mirrored by them match with the same moment.

Conclusions

The inscriptions that mention the centurion P. Tenacius Vindex don't bring any spectacular information. But they contribute to spot the light on some social

trends in the Danubian valley during the Severan age: the promotion of some military officials into the municipal aristocracies, the ascension of the rich freedmen in the *ordo augustalium*, a certain geographic mobility and social or cultural connections on larger areals. These phenomena belong to the contemporary Roman way of life and testify a good Roman provincial civilization.

Notes

¹ The first one [CIL III 1481] was wrongly attributed to Sarmizegetusa [IDR III/2, 120].

² This character was not taken into account by Mrozewicz [1989], because it deals not at all with the upper-class of the Greek towns from Lower Moesia.

³ E. Ritterling didn't accept the idea [1924, 1814]; but the support of the legion for Septimius Severus is well documented [Ritterling 1924, 1814; Cohen², IV, 32], i. e. Such a participation was possible.

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THE TERRITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY
OF *DUCES* IN *MOESIA SECUNDA* AND *SCYTHIA MINOR*
IN THE TIMES OF DIOCLETIAN

The question of military command in *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* was discussed only by few scholars.¹ Among them, the most detailed studies were works of Emilian Popescu, Andriej Aricescu, Mihail Zahariade and Tadeusz Sarnowski [Popescu 1977a; Popescu 1977b; Aricescu 1980, 66; Zahariade 1988, 41-51; Sarnowski 1988, 127-128, 152-153; Sarnowski 1990].

I would like to examine once again the theory presented by T. Sarnowski. He suggested that just after creation of *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor*, that is just after 286 AD [Zahariade 1988, 32 sq.] or even later, there was one *dux* of the whole Lower Danube area. T. Sarnowski took under consideration the inscriptions from *Moesia Secunda* (*Sexaginta Prista*, *Transmarisca* and *Durostorum*)², *Scythia Minor* (*Seimeni*³, *Halmyris*)⁴ and also from *Dacia Ripensis* (Donje Butorka⁵).

He deduced that in spite of the fact that the term *dux* is not mentioned in the texts, their resemblance suggests they were prepared in one office, most probably that of the *dux*. He followed in part the opinion of Jerzy Kolendo, who supposed that discussed inscriptions from *Moesia Secunda* were the copy of the text prepared in the office of *dux Moesiae Secundae* [Kolendo 1966a, 567-568 = Kolendo 1966b, 146].

T. Sarnowski compares it to the information given by inscriptions founded in Chersones (*Crimea*).⁶ According to them in 293 AD there were garrisoned the detachments of Scythian legions: *I Iovia* and *II Herculia*. He deduced that the interpretation of all those sources, leads to the conclusion, that responsibility of the *dux* of Lower Danube area was extended over more than one province in the first decade of Diocletian's reign, just like in few other provinces in the period [see evidences presented by Hoffmann 1974, 383; Mann 1977, 12; Fitz 1983, 20 sq.].

First of all, I would like to admit that in Later Roman Empire the *dux's* activity was limited in most cases to one province only [Seeck 1905, col. 1869-1875; Grosse 1920, 152-180; Van Berchem 1952, 17 sq.; Hoffmann 1974, 386-387; Mann 1977, 12; Isaac 1988, 146-147; Kazhdan 1991; Southern, Dixon 1996,

58-60; Campbell 1996; Klein 1999]. The rule was broken only towards few provinces or during the wars or periods of internal riots. In *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* one *dux* commanded the army forces of both provinces probably only around 412 AD (I will discuss this problem very briefly later).

We can notice that the similarity of the texts of inscriptions from *Sexaginta Prista*, *Transmarisca*, *Durostorum*, *Seimeni*, *Halmyris* and *Donje Butorka* is not decisive to conclude that there was one *dux* responsible for the whole Lower Danube area. Also T. Sarnowski admitted it. They are examples of official inscriptions placed on the fortresses, which were constructed in the whole Danube region during tetrarchy.⁷ As T. Sarnowski noticed, those works were probably conducted by *duces*, because the building of fortresses was their duty [Sarnowski 1988, 127].⁸ According to my opinion, if the texts of discussed inscriptions had been prepared by *officium ducis*, they should have mentioned the *dux*, who were probably responsible for the works. The example of this practise is a similar inscription from 285/286-292 AD founded in *Tomis*.⁹ On the contrary the inscriptions from *Sexaginta Prista*, *Transmarisca*, *Durostorum*, *Seimeni*, *Halmyris* and *Donje Butorka* say only about the tetrarchs. Therefore we can also suspect that their texts were prepared in Diocletian's chancelary, because Diocletian visited personally the Danube region in the years 293, 294, 303 and 306 AD [see e.g.: Patsch 1928, 8-9; Seston 1946, 130; Enßlin 1948, col. 2438-2440, 2447-2448; Velkov 1962, 151-153; Jones 1964, 41 sq.; Velkov 1977, 24 sq., 208; Barnes 1981, 49-56]. It is only a theory not reflected directly in sources. On the other hand for sure we can not deduce the existence of the post of *dux* from the texts which do not mention it.

The division of the old province *Moesia Inferioris* into *Dacia Ripensis*, *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minoris* led to the foundation of their own military organisation. Most probably it happened after the creation of provinces when the Scythian legions *I Iovia* and *II Herculia* were formed [see e.g. Ritterling 1925, col. 1352-1353 and Kubitschek 1925]. T. Sarnowski approves this opinion [Sarnowski 1988, 123].¹⁰ The first commander of Scythian army forces was probably *vir perfectissimus dux limitis Scythiae Caius Aurelius Firminianus*, who founded the pagan altar in *Tomis* between 293-305 AD.¹¹ According to some scholars it is not excluded that he is mentioned in two other inscriptions from *Tomis* [Popescu: 1975, 177; 1976, 37-39; 1977b, 258; Zahariade 1988, 42; Barnea 1991, 195-196]. The first inscription was mentioned already (see note 9). It was prepared between 285/286-292 AD and was devoted to the building of city tower gate. It happened under Diocletian and Maximian and the text says about the person who organized the works: *C(aius) Aurel(ius) F[irminianus] v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*. T. Sarnowski rejects the identity of the officer mentioned in this inscription with *C. Aur. Firminianus*, but his opinion is not fully convincing [Sarnowski 1988, 127, no. 63; Sarnowski 1990, 857]. The second inscription is anonymous and is dated for 4th century.¹² Probably another *dux Scythiae* is

mentioned in anonymus inscription from *Axiopolis* from the end of 3rd or from the 4th century.¹³ Some scholars, and among them also T. Sarnowski suggested however that the text was made in the first decade of Diocletian's reign, most probably in 294 AD during Diocletian's visit on Lower Danube [Zahariade 1983, 252-253; Sarnowski 1988, 127; Zahariade 1988, 65; Zahariade 1997, 639].¹⁴

When we approve the identity of *C(aius) Aurel(ius) F[irminianus]* with *C(aius) Aur(elius) Firminianus*, we can notice that it is very doubtful that the other one was at first the *dux* of the whole Danube area (it means just after 286 AD) and then he was in fact degraded and called for the post of *dux limitis Scythiae*.

If we follow the opinion of T. Sarnowski and other scholars that the inscription from *Axiopolis* was made in 294 AD and mentions the *dux Scythiae*, it means that at least in 294 AD there was particular *dux* in *Scythia*.

When we approve the doubts of T. Sarnowski concerning the mentioned inscriptions from *Tomis*, it is still almost impossible that there was ever one *dux* of the whole Lower Danube area in the beginning of Diocletian's reign.

According to the opinion of some scientists [Helgeland 1979, 783, 788-789; Zahariade 1988, 53], the judges in the cases of Christian martyrs — soldier *Dasius*¹⁵ and the veteran *Iulius*¹⁶ — in 303 - 304 AD, in *Moesia Secunda* were *praesides*: *Bassus* (called in the source the *legatus*) and *Maximus*.¹⁷ So at least in the case of *Bassus*, the *praeses* was a judge for soldiers and it means that civil governor of *Moesia Secunda* had then superiority over the army forces. Such a situation was very common in many provinces created by Diocletian [Anderson 1932, 27-29; Jones 1954; Jones 1964, 43-44; Chastagnol 1985, 242; Mann 1977, 12]. It has been changed during Constantine I, who diffused in more provinces a particular army command under the *dux* or *comes*. When we approve this opinion and compare it to the sources concerning *C. Aur. Firminianus*, we can conclude that there were two local army commanders on Lower Danube ca 300 AD: the *dux* in *Scythia Minor* and *praeses* in *Moesia Secunda*. So there was then no place for another office: one *dux* of the whole Danube frontier.

And the last problem, concerning the detachments from legions *I Iovia* and *II Herculia* which were dispatched to Crimea in 293 AD. As T. Sarnowski admitted, they could fight with the Bosphorans, Sarmatians or Goths and their mission could be only temporary. During the period of tetrarchy it was common to take some units from legions and to dispatch them to the places where military campaigns were conducted [see e.g.: Ritterling 1925, col. 1457-1462; Parker 1933, 183-184, 186; Seston 1946, 299-300, 302-306]. The same rule was applied to Scythian legions as noticed T. Sarnowski [Sarnowski 1988, 124, 152-153; see also Zahariade: 1983; Zahariade 1988, 68-73]. The same could happen to the units from Scythian legions in Crimea around 293 AD. We have to remember also that inscription from Chersones does not mention the term *dux*. Therefore this text does not prove the existence of the post of *dux* but only the garrisoning of Scythian detachments on Crimea.

Conclusions: The presented sources are not sufficient to support the theory of T. Sarnowski. Most probably the post of *dux* who had under his command the whole Lower Danube area and Crimea during Diocletian's reign never existed.¹⁸ According to common opinion the only evidence of one command in *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* is the constitution of Theodosius II from 412 AD [CTh. 7. 17, 1].¹⁹ I am almost sure that the constitution described the situation only around this year, it means not long ago after the creation of the post of *magister utriusquae militiae per Thracias*.²⁰ He commanded army forces consisted of *comitatenses*, *pseudocomitatenses* and units of *foederati*. Therefore *magister militum per Thracias* was able to protect all Balkan provinces of Eastern Empire better than the units subordinated to the *dux* — who had then under his direct command only the *limitanei* — even then if one *dux* commanded in *Moesia Secunda* and in *Scythia Minor*. Direct evidences, of the existence of particular *duces* in *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* in the end of 4th and 5th centuries, are also texts of *Notitia Dignitatum* [Seeck 1876, Chapters 39 and 40] and one constitution of Leo I from ca 470-474 AD [C. 12. 59, 11]. When we take under consideration plenty other sources from 4th, 5th and 6th centuries it can be deduced that the division of territorial military command of *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* has been in that region a stable feature of late roman military organization since Diocletian.²¹

Notes

¹ The speech is based on my studies [Wiewiorowski 1999, 356-357, 361-363, 375-376, 393-398, 408, 411-413, 418-419, 425-428, 434-439, 445-447, 451-452; Wiewiorowski 2001, *passim*].

² *Sexaginta Prista: Imperatores Caes[s](ares) Gaius Aur(elius) Val(erius) Diocletianus et M(arcus) A[u]r(elius) Val(erius) / Maximianus pii fel(ices) Invicti Aug[g](usti) et Fl(avius) / Val(erius) Constantius et Gal(erius) Val(erius) Maximianus [nobb(ilissimi) Caes[s](ares) / Germanici Maximi [V] Sarmat(ici) Maxim[i] IIII] Persici M[ax](imi) II] Britannici [Max(imi) post debellat(as) hostium gent(es) / confirmata [or]bi s[u]o tranquillitate pro futurum in aeternum reipublicae/ praesidium constituerunt.*

Transmarisca: Imperatores Caes[s](ares) Gaius Aur(elius) Val(erius) Diocletianus / et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Val(erius) / Maximianus pii felices Invicti Augg(usti) et Fl(avius) Val(erius) / Constantius et Gal(erius) Val(erius) Maximianus nobb(ilissimi) Caesa(res) Germanici / CI Maximi V Sarmat(ici) Maximi IIII Persici M[ax](imi) II Britannici Max(imi) / post debellatis host[ium] gentis confirmata orbi suo / [tranquillitate pro futurum in aeternum reipubli]cae praesidium / m constituerunt.

Durostorum: [Imp]peratores Caes[s](ares) C(aius) Aur(elius) Val(erius) Diocletianus / [et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Val(erius) Maximianu]s pp(ii) ffelices Invicti / [Augg(usti) et Fl(avius) Val(erius) Constanti]us et Gal(erius) Val(erius) / [Maximianus nobilissimi] Caes[s](ares) German(ici) / [Max(imi) V Sarmat(ici) Max(imi) IIII] / Gothici Max(imi) / [Brittan(ici) Max(imi) post debella]tas hostim/ [gentes confirmata orbi su]o tr[an]quil / [litate pro futurum in aeternum] reipub[li]cae praesi / [dium constituerunt] (292-299 AD).

All inscriptions were reedited by: Kolendo 1966a; Kolendo 1966b; Zahariade 1997, 636.

³ Popescu 1976, no. 205, 212-213: [*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Val(erius) Dio*]clet[ianus] et *imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) / Aur(elius) Val(erius) Maximianu] p(ii) f(elices) [invicti Augusti et Fl(avius) / Val(erius) Constantius et Gal(erius) Val(erius) Maximianus nobilissimi Caes(ares) (292-304 AD).*

⁴ Zahariade 1997, 637: [*Imp(eratoribus) Cass(aribus) C(aio) Aurelio Valerio Diocletiano] / et M(arco) Aur(elio) Maximiano ppiis fel(icibus) Invictis Aug(ustis) / et Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantio / et Gel(erio) Val(erio) Maximia[no] / [nob(illissimis) Caess(aribus) Germanicis Max(imis) Got]licis Max(imis) / [Sarmaticis Max(imis) Britannicis] Maxx(imis) Pesicis / [Max(imis) qui post debellatas hosti]um gentes / [profuturum in aeternu]m reipublicae / [praesidium constitue]runt.*

⁵ Zahariade 1997, 636: *Imp(eratores) Caess(ares) C(aius) Val(erius) Aur(elius) Diocletianus / et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Maximianus pp(ii) ff(elices) / Invicti Aug(usti) et Fl(avius) Val(erius) Constantius / et Gelerius Val(erius) Maximianus / nobilissimi Caesares Germanici / maximi Sarmatici Maximi prof(uturum in aeternum reipublicae / praesidium constituerunt (299-300 AD).*

⁶ Salomonik 1983, nos. 12, 41 and nos. 53, 74. Texts according to Alföldi 1985: 1. [—] / vex (illatio) (?) [l(eg)ionum] / I Ital(icae) et / II Herc(uliae) / posuit. 2. Salvi[s dd(ominis) nn(ostris) invictis] / Augg(ustis) D[iocletiano et] / Max[imiano —]s P[ublii] (filius) / vixi[—] leg[i]onis le[gatus] / —] Ital(icae) et / [—civis] R(omanus) cui le[giones—] I Ital(ica) et [— II He]rculia.

⁷ See about those works e.g.: Seston 1946, 298 sq.; Velkov 1958, 124 sq.; Velkov 1961; Barnea 1968, 375 sq.; Ivanov 1974; Barnea, Stefan 1977; Mócsy 1974, 266 sq.; Scorpan 1980, 99-136; Aricescu 1980, 71 sq., 85 sq., 89-103; Biernacka-Lubańska 1982, 215 sq.; Sarnowski 1988, 125 sq.; Sarnowski, 1990; Stancv 1988;; Zahariade 1988, 142-149; Zahariade 1997; Barnea 1991, 204 sq. and 267-279; Le Bohec 1991; Ivanov 1996, 161 sq.; Souther, Dixon 1996, 23 sq., 33-35, 37-38.

⁸ CTh. 15. 1, 13 (365 AD); Nov. Theod. 24, 1 (443 AD); C. 1. 27, 2 (534 AD). See also the inscriptions confirmed this duty of *duces* collected by Hoffmann 1969-1971, chapter VIII, n. 331 and Hoffmann 1974, 384-385, nn. 24-26. However, according to opinion of A.H.M. Jones *duces* were obliged to build fortresses since the middle of 4th century [Jones 1964, 462].

⁹ *D[eo] Soli, prof[er]sal[ute] / [Im]p[er]atorum C[ae]sarum C[aii] Val[er]ii Dioclet[iani] / [et] M[arci] Val[er]ii Maximiani / [inv]icti Aug[ust]i trib[un]icia pot[estate] p[ro]p[ri]a f[el]ices / [iu]ss[us] hac despo[si]tione / D[omi]norum) n[ost]rum) Aug[ust]orum port[am] s[ed] civi-] / [ta]l[is] praesida[li] or -ariae] / [cur]ante] C[ai]o Aurel[io] F[ir]miniano] v[ic]e p[ro]fectissimo] / devo[tissimo] n[ost]ro Aug[ust]orum] / [ci]vitas [Tomitanorum fecit]. Text according to Popescu 1976, no. 3, 37-38. See also there notes about earlier editions. See also: Aricescu 1980, Supplementum Epigraphicum 129; Stoian 1987, no. 1, 184-185; Wiewiorowski 1999, 361-363. See *idem* the studies concerning the inscription.*

¹⁰ Against the opinion of M. Zahariade, who suggested that legions *I Iovia* and *II Herculia* were created later, around 295 AD [Zahariade 1983; Zahariade 1988, 61 sq.].

¹¹ *Matri Deum / Magnae / pro salute adq(ue) / incolumitate / d(ominorum) n(ostorum) Aug(ustorum) et Caes(arum) / Aur(elius) Firminianus / v(ice) p(ro)fectissimus) dux / limit(is) / prov(inciae) Scyth(hiae) / bonis auspiciis / consecravit. Ed.: Popescu 1976, 2, 36-37 with notes to the earlier editions. See also: Stoian 1987, no. 144; Tacheva-Mitova 1983, II no. 49, 95; Campbell 1994, no. 389, 239 (english translation); Wiewiorowski 1999, 361-363. See *idem* the studies concerning the inscription.*

¹² *Ordinibus Scythicus curas / qui sustulit aegras / [orna]tamque dedit secur[ae] / [degere] vitam... Ed.: Popescu 1976, no. 4, 38-39 with notes about earlier editions. See also Wiewiorowski 1999, 451 with the bibliography concerning the inscription.*

¹³ *...ius v(ice) p(ro)fectissimus) du[x] limitis provinciae Scyth(hae)]. Ed.: Popescu 1976, 192, 204 with notes about earlier editions. See also Wiewiorowski 1999, 452 with the bibliography concerning the inscription.*

¹⁴ The similar opinion was presented by Aricescu 1980, 66. According to Popescu the inscription was made during the visit of the army unit in *Axiopolis* [Popescu 1976, 204].

¹⁵ See recent edition of the source with the bibliography of the subject: Pilinger 1988. See also: Lanata 1973, 92-93; Velkov 1977b; Helgeland 1979, 783 and 788-789; Barnes 1981, 184; Zahariade 1988, 53; Malinowski 1990, 337-338; Baziór 1994, 98 sq.; Ilski 1994, 71.

¹⁶ Ed.: *Acta Sanctii* 1891; Masurillo 1972, 260-266.; See e.g.: Delahaye: 1911, 287; 1912, 169, 1966, 267; Zeiller 1918, 58; Helgeland 1979, 787 sq., 817-818; PLRE 1971, 580, s.v. *Maximus* 4; Barnes 1981, 188; Pilinger 1988, 43, no. 89; Zahariade 1988, 53; Malinowski 1990, 338; Baziór 1994, 93-97; Ilski 1994, 71.

¹⁷ There was *praeses provinciae* in *Scythia Minor* around 300 AD. See inscriptions from *Tomis*: *D(is) M(anibus) Val(erius) Felix princeps offi / ci pr(a)esidis... (etc)* (Ed: Wiewiorowski 1999, 442-443) and *D(is) M(anibus) Fl(avius) Ursinia[nus] mil[es] officii prae[sid(is)]... (etc)* [ed.: CIL III 14 215(28); Stoian 1987, no 382 (218), 335-336]. See also the paragraph from the inscription from *Tomis* probably mentioned *C. Aur. Firminianus: porta[m] or s civi- / [ta]ti praesida[li] or -ariae]*. See no. 10 and Barnea 1991, 195-196. That is why also is hardly to believe that in *Moesia Secunda* still existed *legatus* as wanted [e.g. Stein 1941, 110; Jones 1954, 27-28; PLRE 1971, 151, s.v. *Bassus*; Lanata 1973, 92-93, Velkov 1977b; Pilinger 1988, 41-43; Malinowski 1990, 337-338]. See also Tâpkova-Zaimova 1960, 20, no. 1. According to her *Bassus* was *praefectus Thraciae*.

¹⁸ T. Sarnowski suggested that the one army command of the whole Lower Danube frontier existed probably temporary later in 4th century and its chief were *duces* [Sarnowski 1988, 127-128, 152-153]. The problem step over the subject of the conference, however I am sure that in this case he was mistaken also. See Wiewiorowski 2001, 174 sq.

¹⁹ M. Zahariade noticed however that the text of constitution could not be read literally and the particular *duces* of *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor* existed even in 412 AD [Zahariade 1988, 40].

²⁰ A. Demandt probably correctly proved that first *magister militum per Thracias* was called between 408-412 AD [Demandt 1970, col. 567 sq., 714 sq., 720 sq., 743-744]. About the date of creation of this post opinions were divided and some scholars believed that it was founded by Theodosius I. See *ibidem*.

²¹ See the sources collected by: Popescu 1977a; Popescu 1977b; Aricescu 1980, 66; Zahariade 1988, 41-51; Wiewiorowski 1999, 356-357, 361-363, 375-376, 393-398, 408, 411-413, 418-419, 425-428, 434-439, 445-447, 451-452; Wiewiorowski 2001, 372-392.

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TRAJANIC *LIMES* IN UPPER MOESIA, A CERAMIC VIEWPOINT*

Trajanic period represents a particular and an extremely significant phase in the development of the Upper Moesian frontier. It was in that time that last gaps in *limes*, already developed during Flavians into a linear chain of fortifications, were completely built and the first objective of Roman middle and lower Danubian border policy were fulfilled, full connection of the Danubian fortresses, i.e. continuous fortified frontier from Carnuntum till the Black Sea [Mirković 1996, 27].

Earthen camps along the river line between *Singidunum* (Belgrade) and *Ratiaria* (Archar), the ending points of Upper Moesian northern border, were replaced by newly built stone *castra* and *castellum*, like *Viminacium*, *Cuppae*, *Novae*, *Smyrna*, *Taliata*, *Transdierna*, *Diana*, *Pontes*, *Drobeta*, *Egeta* [Vasić, Kondić 1986, 543; Petrović, Vasić 1996, 21]. Trajan's large building activities included also building and reparation of a road through the Iron Gates gorge, construction of a channel near Sip and *Diana* in a bid to avoid dangerous cataracts, raising up a bridge between *Pontes* and *Drobeta* and erecting large port at Kusjak as well [Petrović 1995, 129-139]. Those activities were also the important part of Trajan's large preparations for Dacian wars, making middle and lower Danubian region the focal point of Roman military activities in the beginning of the 2nd century. Consequently, huge manpower has been concentrated in this zone¹, in Upper Moesia 2 legions, 3 alae, 21 cohorts in AD 100, and in AD 103/105 2 legions, 2 alae and 11 cohorts were stationed [Mirković 1968, 33-34; Strobel 1984, 80-154; Petulescu 1997, 66-141].

Different archaeological material from excavated sites², utterly military sites, forms relevant evidence about that period, ceramic material being the most

* The paper is a result of a study conducted in the Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt, during the Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellowship. I want to express my gratitude for remarkable working conditions and support of Prof. Dr. S. von Schnurbein and academitian M. Garašanin.

abundant one. It deserves special attention, having an important role in the general picture of Upper Moesian pottery and in a history of production and distribution of ceramics in the middle and lower Danubian region, as well as having presumable significance in a larger scope — in economic and/or military history of the province.

Detailed information, with discussion about particular forms and techniques is not our objective. We want to present here only essential features of the pottery from Upper Moesian limes in Trajanic times, represented through several selected ceramic classes³, that will allow understanding of its abundance and diversity.

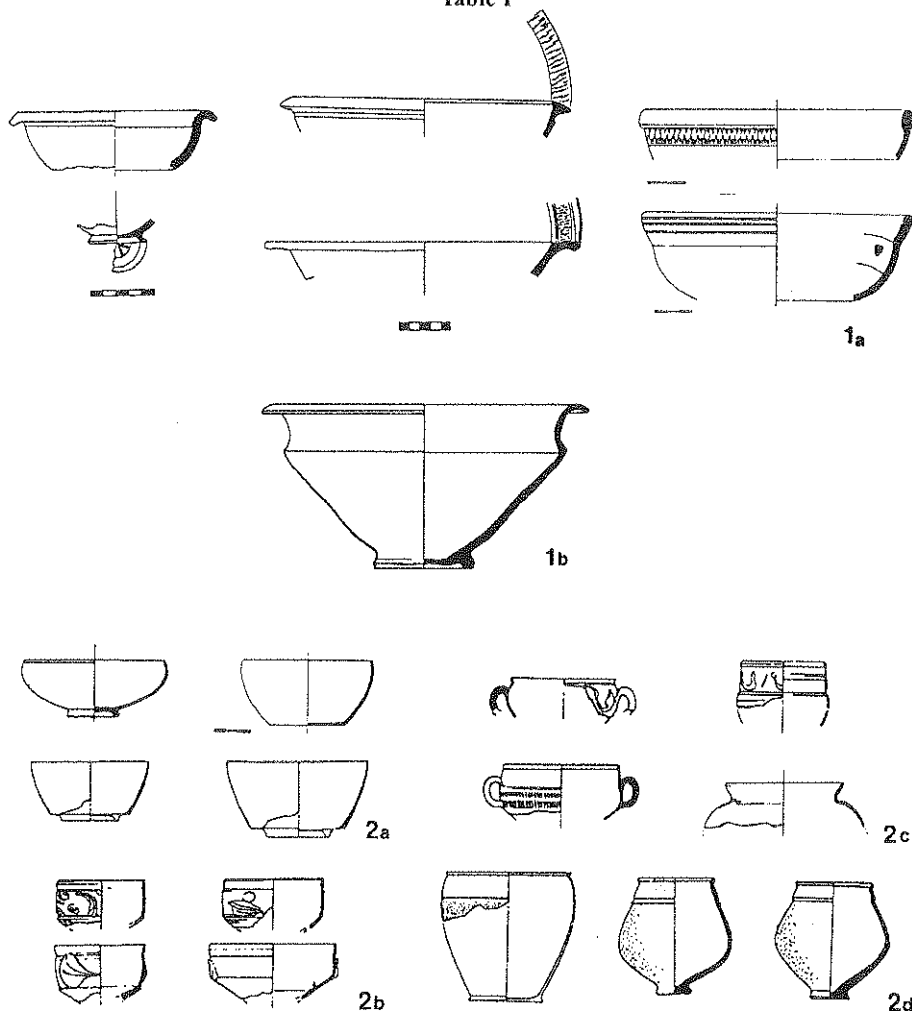
Terra sigillata wares recorded in Trajanic layers at *Singidunum*, *Margum*, *Viminacium*, *Novae*, *Camps*, *Transdierna* and *Diana* comprise single relief decorated Drag. 37 vessel of the North Italic origin [Bjelajac 1990, catalogue 2] attributed to the production of the very end of the 1st and the first decades of the 2nd century. Other relief TS vessels, solely Drag. 37 and Drag. 30 forms, are of the South Gaulish provenance, mostly from the late la Grofesanque production [Bjelajac 1990, 15; Kondić, Cvjetičanin 1991, 49-61], and in rare cases from Banassac workshop [Bjelajac 1990, catalogue 51]. Generally, as a study of TS wares by Bjelajac has shown, the South Gaulish products appear in Upper Moesia in small amount, being most numerous (60% of total vessels) in Domitian's times [Bjelajac 1990, 16]. Yet, there are some exceptional sites, like *Diana*, where the South Gaulish wares are recorded in similar amount both in Flavian and Trajanic phases (*ca* 40% each) and are equal in appearance with later products (46.9% of aggregate TS evidence). It should be emphasized though that relief decorated South Gaulish TS from Trajanic layers at *Diana* (20% of SG products) belongs almost without exception to Domitian's period of production [Kondić, Cvjetičanin 1991, 61].

Plain TS examples comprise also the late North Italic products — only vessels in Drag. 35/36 form, as well as vessels of the South Gaulish origin, but in a wider range of forms — Drag. 18/31, 24/25, 27, 33, 35/36, which is the most favourable, and Curle 11 [Bjelajac 1990, 121, 124-131].

Several examples of *terra nigra* vessels — fine plain grey wares with black or grey-black burnished surface, i.e. “black sigillata” — are recorded at *Singidunum*, *Čezava*, *Diana*, *Pontes* and *Kusjak*. Forms are almost entirely the same as its counterpart or derived from it (table I, 1a), recorded are Drag. 35 black examples and variants of this form as well as variants of Drag. 37 decorated with rouletting, and of Curle 15 vessels. Form Drag. 27 could be recognized as a prototype for vessel with stamped decoration on the inner surface. Certainly, these wares are imported, but its precise workshop, probably North Italic, is yet to be established.

Exceptional are specimens from *Singidunum* of sharply carinated bowl (table I, 1b) in *terra nigra* technique [Nikolić-Djordjević 2000, I/19]. Parallels, and probably provenance of these vessels originating from La Tène tradition could be found in

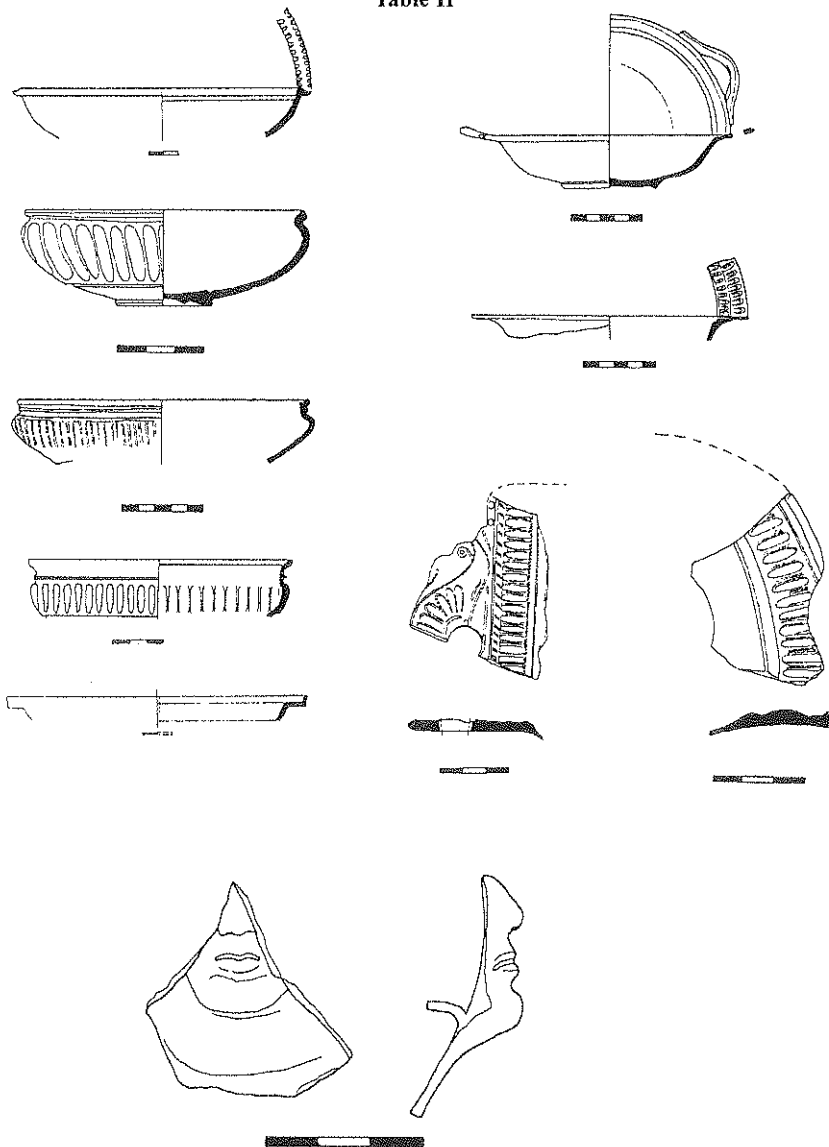
Table I

1 a, b — *terra nigra* vessels; 2 a, b, c, d — thin walled vessel

Pannonia, where they are considered to be locally produced, dated in the early 1st century till the beginning or the first half of the 2nd century [Brukner 1981, 29].

Glazed wares are recorded at *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, *Novae*, *Campsä*, *Transdierna*, and *Diana* in small amounts⁴, but in a pretty wide range of types, comprising mostly callote-shaped or conical bowls and plates derived from Drag. 39 form (table II). Three fabrics could be distinguished, fine white vessels with yellow or lemon-yellow glazed surface, slightly coarse white or greyish-white vessels with yellow or greenish-yellow glaze (plates exclusively), and fine grey vessels with dark green glaze [Cvjetičanin 2001, group A, A1 and C, 89-95,

Table II



Glazed vessels

100]. All vessels are coming from the Central Gaulish workshops, the first group belonging to the late Flavian period of production, appearing in Upper Moesia already in the time of Domitian, but also later in Trajanic period. Similar is the case of the vessel of the third group, while plates appear first in Trajanic times, being common also in Hadrianic times and later, till the middle of the 2nd century [Cvjetičanin 2001, 119-123].

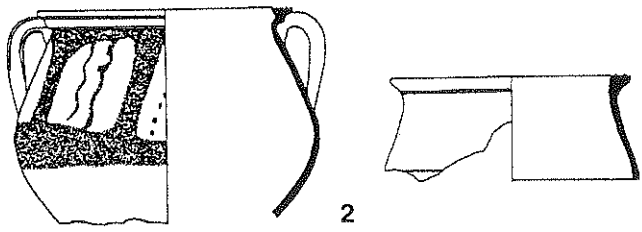
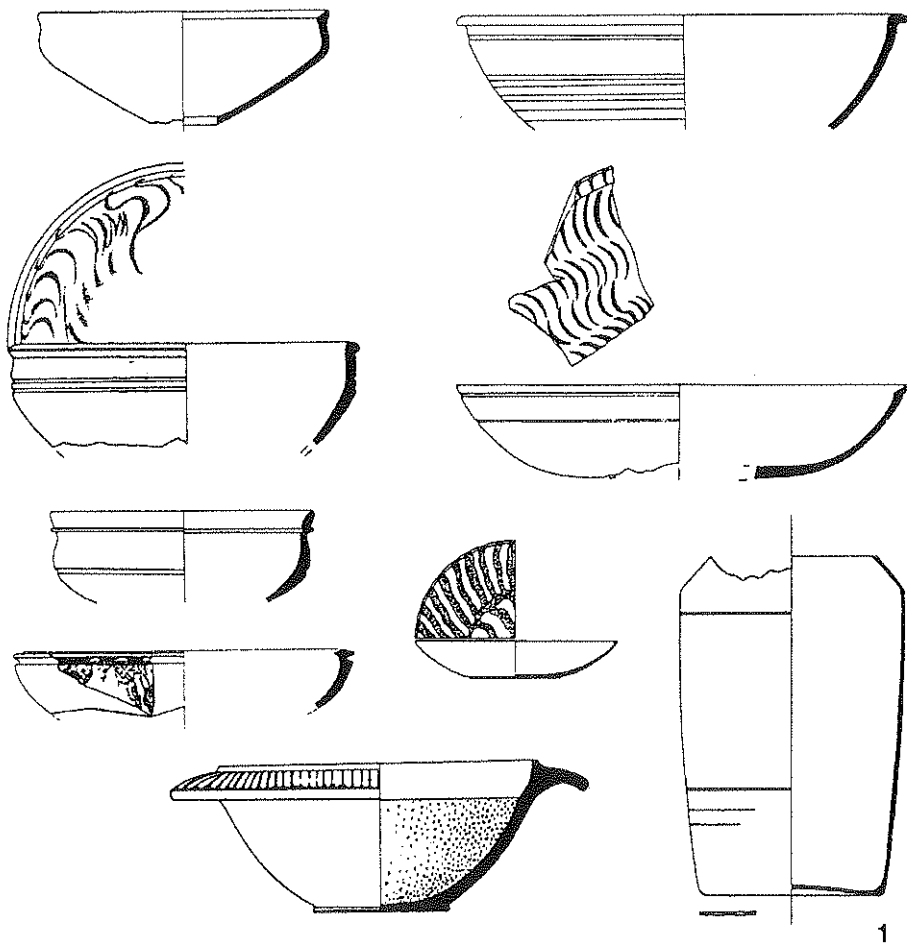
Thin walled vessels are appearing in small amounts in the ceramic evidence from Trajanic phases at *Singidunum*, *Novae*, *Campsä* and *Diana*. This group comprises plain red dishes (in either more rose or orange tone) of simple conical, semi-spherical or callota-shaped recipient with red, occasionally metallised coating (table I, 2a). Recorded are also red dishes with floral barbotine decoration (table I, 2b), as well as roughcast beakers more buff in fabric colour (table I, 2d). Simple fine grey beakers or dishes, as well as more elaborated beakers derived from skyphoi forms decorated with rouletting or floral barbotine ornament, in fine grey fabric, with grey or grey-black metallized coating also appear (table I, 2c).

Non-local origin is certain for most of these specimens, but we are not able at this moment to determine a precise workshop. Manufactures in the Eastern part of Po valley and Northern Adriatic region (Cremona, Ravenna, Aquileia?) could be the provenance [Ricci 1985, 349]. Yet, as evidence and parallels from Pannonia suggests, where Magdalensberg fabric E and F [Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 33-34] appear in abundance in Flavian and Trajanic times, thin walled vessels recorded in Trajanic layers at Upper Moesian limes could be of Pannonian origin [Plesničar-Gec 1977, 13-27; Plesničar-Gec 1987, 458-459; Gassner 1992, 448-449, 451-452]. Vessels with floral barbotine decoration slightly rougher in appearance recorded at *Singidunum* [Nikolić-Djordjević 2001, I/62, 188] are almost certainly from Pannonia, precisely from *Sirmium* workshop where manufacture started early in the 1st century [Premk 1987, 437-450]. Additionally, there is a high probability that roughcast beakers are of Cologne origin [Anderson 1981, 327].

Several examples of **marbled wares** appear also in Trajanic times at *Singidunum*, *Campsä*, *Diana* and *Pontes*, comprising small but varied range of forms well known among colour coated vessels (table III, 1). Represented are fine red carinated, semi-spherical and callote-shaped bowls, callote-shaped plates and one exceptional fragment of flagon at *Diana*, all with high quality red or orange-red on a yellowish-orange foundation mottled decoration executed with sponge or cloth. Recorded are also mortaria with brush-painted linear marble-like decoration on the rim.

Although marbled wares represent relatively common feature at Flavian and Trajanic sites in Western and Danubian Roman provinces [Gose 1950, no. 253-260; Haalebos, Kostner 1981, 69-92; Brukner 1981, 33; Rupp 1988, 60-79; Kabakčieva 1996, 119-125; Krekovič 1997, 41-44], parallels are hard to find for this quite non-typical Upper Moesian repertoire. Similar selection of forms, including not just types derived from TS, could be recognized at *Vindonissa* [Ettlinger, Simonett 1952, Nr. 146-149, 371-378, 530], where those vessels are produced by army, or in Pannonia where they are considered to be, in the early phase of their appearance, of Italic origin [Brukner 1981, 33]. In Lower Moesia, a similar group appearing at military sites on limes is assumed to be a product of a travelling (civilian?) artisan [Kabakčieva 1996, 120].

Table III



1 — marbled wares; 2 — painted wares

Fine **colour coated** vessels and/or vessels with **metallic colour coating** are the most represented in Trajanic layers at all excavated sites, comprising wide range of tableware — bowl, dish, plate and beaker forms, occasionally jugs and flagons (table IV). Selection was made aiming to present most referent and/or most frequent group of types, all of fine red vessels with high quality coating in all shades of red or orange to dark brown or redish-brown, highly burnished or with intensive metallic glitter. A small sharply S-profiled dish and callota-shaped one with triangular rim as well as a small semi-spherical dish and one with grooved rim-zone are, together with carinated (composite) bowl and ovoidal urn with cylindrical neck, one of the most frequent. Occasionally beakers with barbotine decoration, either floral or scale, or Faltenbecher as well as vessels with rouletting also appear.

Types are well known in the repertoire of colour coated vessels and general parallels could be easily found at different sites, foremost in other areas with strong military influence and impact and particularly in Pannonia [Bónis 1942, T. XXI; Póczy 1956, Abb. 3, 4, 6; Ettliger, Simonett 1952, 57- 61, T.14-17, 32; Grünwald 1979, T.11-14,16; Grünwald 1983, Taf. 25, 26, 32, 33; Brukner 1981], but in contrast to other regions, especially Pannonia, there is no local production in Trajanic times. All wares are usually considered to be imported, and they could be of Italic, Pannonian and even Lower Moesian⁵ provenance.

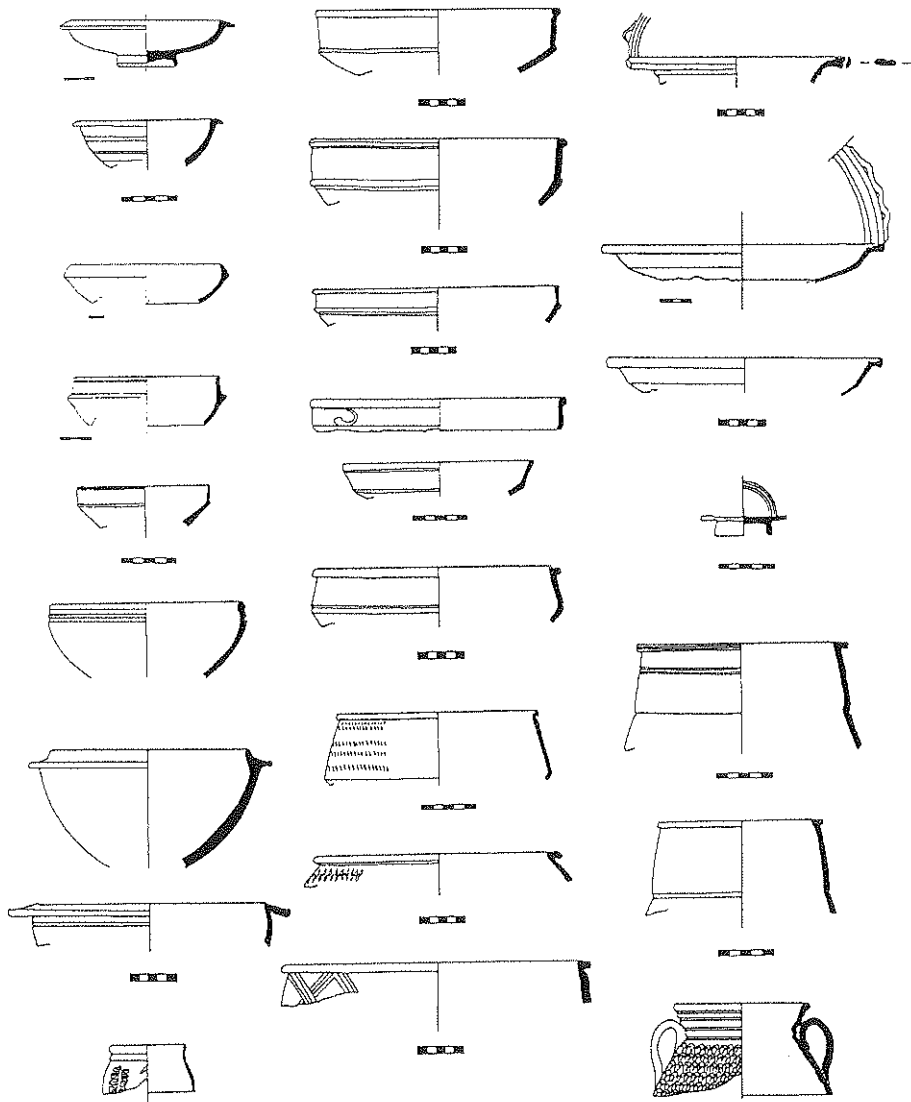
Painted wares are represented at *Singidunum* and *Diana* sporadically and only in two types, spherical urn and biconical (?) pot sometimes with two handles (table III, 2). Forms are well known from Pannonian sites, especially those with strong La Tène, i.e. Celtic tradition, where this class is produced in the 1st century [Brukner 1981, 32, T. 107/28, 30, 31]. It could be assumed that they are of Pannonian origin.

Typical features of Trajanic, and especially Flavian layers, are carinated bowls with grooves and/or ovoidal bowls with short neck. The base is considered to be usually round, indicating *caccabus* form [Nikolić-Djordjević 2000, I/14], but flat base fragments of the same fabric found at *Diana* are allowing another possibility. Together with rarely recorded ovoidal bowl with two handles they represent characteristic **kitchenware** of Roman soldiers (table V, 1). Fabric differs, it is fine with soft redish-brown core and grey or black-grey surface or vessels are coarse grey or black-grey. Coarse redish-brown fabric with mica and calc tempering (similar to hand thrown local wares) is restricted to several examples of carinated bowl.

Parallels could be found at other sites, again those with strong military character [Ettliger, Simonett 1952, no. 39; Brukner 1981, bowl 57, 58], dated in the Flavian and Trajanic times.

The army in most Trajanic forts and fortresses on Upper Moesian limes also used **indigenous pottery** as cooking pots that is kitchenware. Simple elliptical pot with cord-like decoration or incisions as well as simple conical cup mainly

Table IV

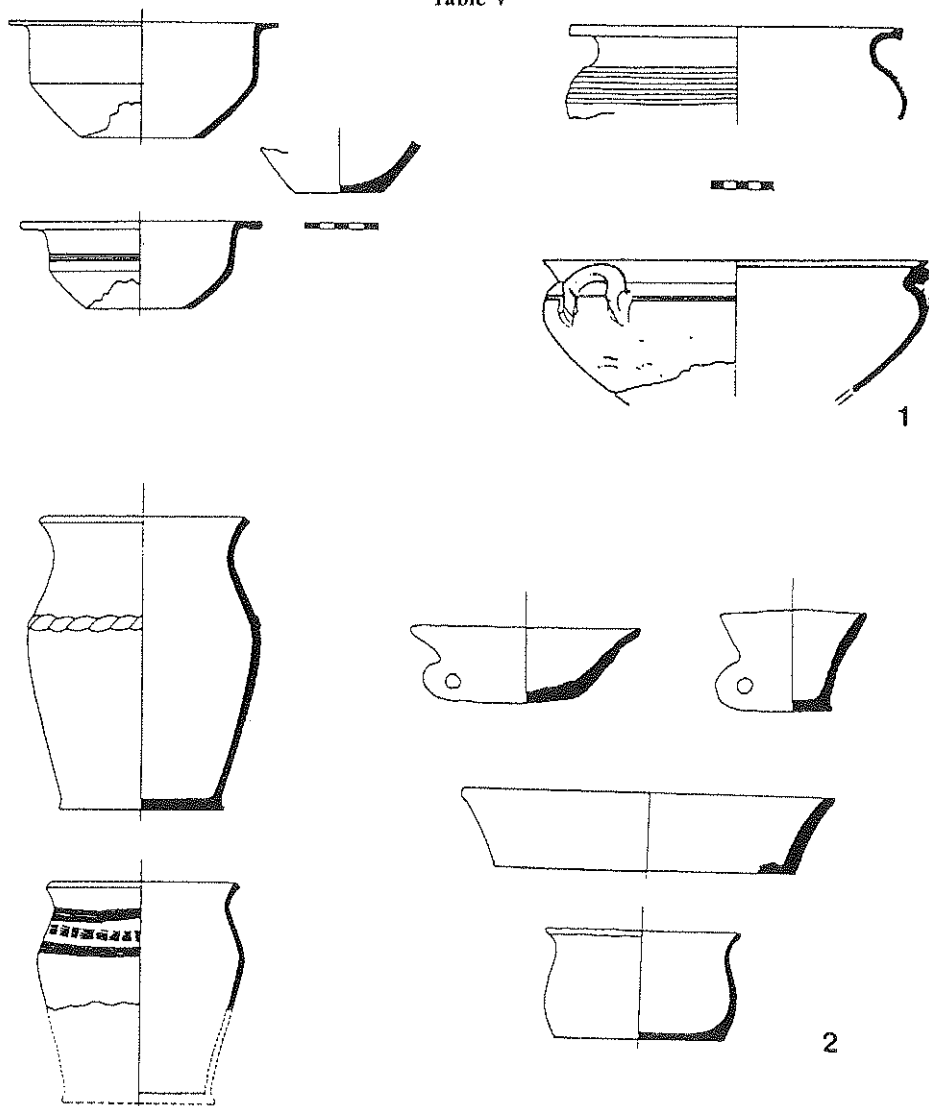


Colour coated wares

appears, but occasionally is conical bowl/lid recorded also (table V, 2). This class is well known from late La Tène times in wider lower Danubian area as Dacian wares, appearing on Roman sites from their foundation till as late as the beginning of the 3rd century [Negru 1997, 97-105].

Atypical fragments of **amphorae** are, together with pieces of colour coated wares, a common feature and the most numerous ceramic material in Trajanic layers. Appearing are mostly hard fine red (rose in tone) fragments whit snow-

Table V



1 — coarse gray kitchenware; 2 — indigenous pottery

white slip (engoba) or coarse orange fragments, as well as coarse yellowish-white ones hard to classify in a particular type. At *Diana* especially common are also fragments of fine orange burnished amphora with darker orange clay particles in fabric of Forlimpopoli type. Recent, but not complete investigations of amphorae in Upper Moesia [Bjelajac 1996] showed that army in the beginning of the 2nd century had been supplied mostly from Western Mediterranean area, firstly place from North Italy and *Histria*, secondary from Iberia [Dressel 2-4,

6b, 7-11, 20, 38; Keleman 11, Forlimpopoli type, Carrot amphora]. Rhodian amphorae also appear, but it seems there are very few.

Pottery from Upper Moesian *limes* in Trajanic times, as it is shown, is generally similar to ceramic evidence in other regions, and yet it has its own specific attributes that are contributing new data to a complex picture of the ceramic production and distribution of the Early Roman Empire.

1. Primarily, there is a large increasing in a quantity of a material, indicating larger number of consumers, which is to be expected having in mind concentration of troops in this area in the beginning of the 2nd century.

2. Different forms are occurring, there is a variety and a wide range of pottery, from luxurious table to kitchenware. Basically, those are forms necessary for consuming, cooking, storing and provisioning of food, but range of tableware is indicating also particular habits and tastes, making evident that consumers are either Roman citizens or that their process of acculturation is complete.

3. Vessels are almost all of non-local origin. Northern Italy production is represented with *terra sigillata* and *terra nigra* vessels. Probably some of thin walled and marbled specimens are coming from the North Italic workshops also, through very early established route *via Aquileia* and along Pannonia (the river Sava valley). Other *terra sigillata* vessels are of the South Gaulish origin, while glazed wares are from the Central Gaulish production centres. Roughcast beakers are assumed to be of Cologne origin. Pannonian workshops, specifically *Sirmium*, could be the source of particular thin walled vessels, and there is a slight possibility that some specimens could even be of Lower Moesian origin. Question of the provenance of colour coated vessels and that with metallic glitter (*Rotfirnis-keramik*) is open, their quality indicating either Italic or Pannonian origin, with a still open possibility of their local manufacturing. Local production of kitchenware is at least to be expected, but as up-to-day evidence is indicating local production of all mentioned classes did not start until the second quarter of the 2nd century [Bjelajac 1990, 147; Nikolić-Djordjević 2000, 192-193; Cvjetičanin 2000, 245-254; Cvjetičanin 2001, 123-125]. Dacian pottery is the only class with certain local origin.

4. Tableware appears in different production techniques. New classes of pottery introduced in Flavian times are still in fashion, but in smaller amount (such as *terra nigra*, glazed wares, marbled pottery), and occurrence of others is greater (colour coated wares). Overall similarity with evidence from other regions, especially Pannonia and partly Lower Moesia [Kabakčieva 1991, 207-222], could be seen, but differences in details are speaking about individuality and distinctiveness of Upper Moesian pottery and partly different history of ceramic production and distribution in this region. Similarity with Pannonian pottery could be to a degree explained with early established economic units/zones, and existing clear distinction between Gaulish-Germanic and Danubian provinces regarding workshops supplying these regions. But also so-called legionary pottery could

be introduced and question of both military production and impact of troops on ceramic production.

5. Collection of *terra nigra* vessels, marbled, glazed and, especially colour coated and metallized colour coated wares of Upper Moesian Trajanic times has overall similarity with ceramic assemblages from several military sites recognized as legionary pottery. First and foremost this term has been used to denote legionary production of ceramics [Ettlinger 1952, 105-111] and important role of army in transfer and spread of ceramic traditions. In Upper Moesia there are forms and types that correspond with pottery produced by legions, parallels being for example *Vindonissa* [Ettlinger, Simonett 1952; Ettlinger 1999, 37-46], Nijmegen [Haalebos, Thijssen 1977, 101-113], Wetterau [Rupp 1988], *Carnuntum* [Grünwald 1979, T. 13, 14, 18, etc.; Gassner, Jilek 1997, 301-305], *Aquincum* [Póczy 1956, Abb. 3, 4, 6] but there is no evidence of military production of ceramics at excavated sites, with exception of stamped tiles. However, there is no question about this pottery being a military one, concerning its consumers. Unfortunately, settlements from that time have not been excavated, so there could be no comparison between pottery in military and civilian context and possible identification of specific types as strictly used by soldiers.

Yet, different situation is to be expected having in mind various demands of army and its supply mechanisms [Breeze 1984, 269-282], as well as the impact that the military had on local economies. In the case of pottery, which is usually needed after garrison forts are founded (that is, oversimplified, in a phase of the establishing of Roman rule and, afterwards in the stabilization stage), either troops are producing necessary ceramics or, local sources are used, first especially for kitchenware [Greene 1979, 99-100]. Although self-sufficiency of Roman army is well known fact, and data are confirming involvement of army also in ceramic production, meaning not just building materials [Breeze 1984, 276], more often (and where ever that is possible) local potteries were expanding their assortment and very soon were starting with manufacture even of Roman classes of tableware. But neither could be seen at Upper Moesian sites and that is a surprising situation.

In our opinion among various necessities that army needs, especially that huge manpower as it was Upper Moesian in the beginning of the 2nd century (*ca* 32 000 and later *ca* 23 000 people), pottery is not that significant and does not represent one of the important trading goods. Hardly all demands for kitchen and table ware would be fulfilled by import, particularly of the class that was very common in that moment as it was the case with a colour coated ware. We believe that future excavations in *Viminacium* would reveal traces of earlier pottery production, one influenced by legion IV Flavia (considered to be the one that built permanent camp there in Flavian times) [*cf.* Mirković 1996, 36], and that a local pottery production started at least in the end of the 1st and the beginning of 2nd century. Circumstantial data are confirming this opinion. To begin with, the territory of *Viminacium* has yet to be completely investigated, researches were

limited in last decades to the area of necropolises, thus one should expect new information with excavations of a fortress and its surroundings. Secondary, *Viminacium* workshop from Hadrian times has already very elaborated Roman forms and techniques in its repertoire [Bjelajac 1990, 147; Cvjetičanin 1996, 175-180; Ivanišević, Nikolić-Djordjević 1997, 104-106], indicating excellent adjustment of local potteries to new ceramic traditions and highly skillful artisans. Additionally, pottery ascribed to the *Singidunum* workshop from the 2nd century [Cvjetičanin 2000, sl. 9,10], is demonstrating, among other things, the impact of newly stationed legion, and that was IV Flavia. Of course, influence of legion VII Claudia, after its transfer to *Viminacium* around AD 100 should not be excluded.⁶

The existence of a workshop at *Viminacium* before already established date would also explain differences that could be observed in ceramic evidence from western and eastern part of Upper Moesian limes. Pottery from *Singidunum* has more parallels and obviously stronger connections with Pannonia, while ceramics from fortresses and forts downstream from *Viminacium* could be identified as another group⁷, which could be the result of distribution of assumed *Viminacium* workshop.

Naturally, the appearance of specific types in particular classes, such as *terra nigra*, glazed pottery, mottled or painted wares, concentrated at several sites or sporadically recorded, could be explained not by organized supply or trading routes but as private property of soldiers [Cvjetičanin 2000, 119-122]. Auxiliary troops were coming, both in the late Flavian period and in Trajanic times mostly from Germania and Pannonia, rarely from the East [Mirković 1968, 33; Strobel 1984, 119-146], and those were the regions where these classes were produced or densely distributed. Precise origin, as well as for colour coated wares, is hard to establish without additional physical and chemical analysis, hopefully to be done in a future.

Summing up, pottery from Trajanic *limes* in Upper Moesia is abundant and various, showing that different elements contributed to its appearance and distribution. Particular and not yet clearly identified army supply system is the most important one, *limes* being a specific structure with its own mechanisms. Established Gaulish-Germanic and Danubian trading zones with clear difference of supply centres are also playing important role, as well as local potteries with its capability to adapt to new demands and tastes. Additional is a personal element, i.e. a private property of soldiers, visible as random appearance of specific types. Together these elements are producing complex assemblage of Trajanic times, with *terra sigillata*, *terra nigra* and thin walled vessels, glazed, marbled, painted and colour coated wares, grey kitchenware and indigenous pottery.

Notes

¹ For example, in AD 93 there were 2 legions, 3 alae and 9 cohorts in Upper Moesia [CIL XIV 39], and according to diploma from AD 159/160 there were 2 legions, 2 alae and 11 cohorts [CIL XIV 111].

² Researches were conducted within projects Iron Gates I (1964-1971) and Iron Gates II (1978-1985) by the Institute of Archaeology, the National Museum Belgrade and the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy. Unfortunately, results are only partly published.

³ Comprehensive research of this pottery, and generally of the Upper Moesian pottery from *limes*, is an ongoing project. Selected types and classes, from several important military points of different status and capacity in frontier system, such as fortress of legion IV Flavia *Singidunum* [Popović 1997, 1-18; Nikolić-Djordjević 2000, 11-229], auxiliary forts *Novae* [Vasić 1982/83, 91-122], *Transdierna* [Tomović 1982/83, 345-353], *statio cataractarum Diana* [Kondić 1996, 81-86; Jevremović 1987, 49-70], Pontes [Garašanin et al. 1984, 55-84] (auxiliary forts) as well as supplying centers at *Campsia* [Tomović 1996, 73-80] and Konopište [Popović 1996, 101-103], represent valid referent picture.

⁴ At *Diana*, where they are most numerous, in Trajanic and layers generally attributed to the first half of the 2nd century, recorded are 14 vessels, making 41% of all Early Roman glazed pottery assemblage [Cvjetičanin 1999, 731-732, tab. 1-4].

⁵ Recently there is an idea about a pottery production in Roman camps and settlements, for example *Oescus*, as early as in the 1st century, which still is not confirmed by firm evidence [Kuleff, Džingova, Kabakchieva, On the Origin of the Roman Pottery from *Moesia Inferior* (North Bulgaria), *Archeologica Bulgarica* III/1999 — No.3, 29-38].

⁶ At first, the legionary pottery was believed to be connected with legions stationed during the 1st century in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia [Ettlinger 1952, 110]. Even if that assumption was challenged [Greene 1977, 114-115], it seems of importance to mention that both Upper Moesian legions, VII Claudia and IV Flavia, were previously stationed in Dalmatia. Moreover, VII Claudia was there in the same time as XI Claudia [Wilkes 1969, 95-97], the one whose soldiers were producing after transfer to *Vindonissa* pottery recognized as legionary [Ettlinger 1952, 110; Ettlinger 1999, 37-46]. If a newly proposed idea about the strong influence of Italic tradition on legionary pottery is considered [Gassner, Jilek 1997, 306], again Upper Moesian legions could be reflected on as one of the possible actors in its production. First, in respect of pottery, Upper Moesia is the region with a strong connection with Italy. Second, it seems to us that troops that were coming from the same place, with similar experiences in ceramic production and usage, could have similar tendencies in accepting new forms and, particularly new techniques.

⁷ Pattern is confirming that pottery supplied to legionary forts and to those of auxiliary troops would differ only in unusual circumstances.

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JEWELRY AS EVIDENCE OF THE PRESENCE OF THE AUTOCHTHONOUS POPULATION IN THE SETTLEMENTS ON MIDDLE AND LOWER DANUBE *LIMES*

The finds of jewelry at the various sites along the Middle and Lower Danube *limes* yield information not only about the style and fashion of decoration in the certain epoch but also about the relations between local population and newly arrived Romans. The jewelry, especially that from gold and silver had been long treasured in the families as valuables. Thus single chance finds are not chronologically distinctive and it is even more emphasized by the fact that in manufacturing of certain types of adornments during long time period almost unchanged forms had been reproduced. However, as jewelry as well as money had been part of family's fortune, these precious objects had been hidden in the moments of crisis so such hoards could be precisely dated according to their monetary part. Jewelry character in these finds makes it possible to distinguish two basic horizons of jewelry hoards. They differ not only according to its contents but also yield data about the changes of relations between the autochthonous and newly arrived population in the camps and settlements surrounding them.

First horizon of jewelry hoards comprises the period from Roman conquest until the final decade of the 1st century and is represented by closed associations of silver jewelry that could be linked to the last phase of the Dacian hoards of silver objects, whose upper chronological limit is defined by the Domitian denars from the end of the year 81, that are present in the hoards found on the right bank of the Middle Danube, in Tekija (*Transdierna*) and at Bare near *Viminacium* (fig. 1). Both hoards are of heterogeneous contents although in them predominates massive silver jewelry, of the so called Dacian style: bracelets and rings with overlapping and spirally wound ends with sometimes suspended pendants shaped as axes, wedges and other tools (fig. 2), then twisted torques with variously executed finials (fig. 3), bracelets of serpent shape or spirally wound ring with ends depicting stylized snake's head. Dacian goldsmithery developed under strong Hellenistic influences originating from the Black Sea centers first of all *Olbia* and some adornments show this influence clearly especially by their shape and style of decoration. On one silver torque from the Bare hoard two of 23 strungs

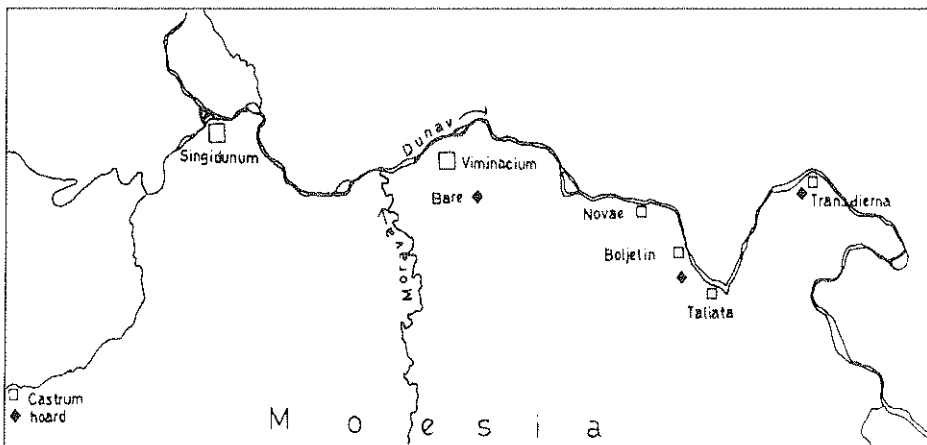


Fig. 1. First horizon of silver jewelry hoards

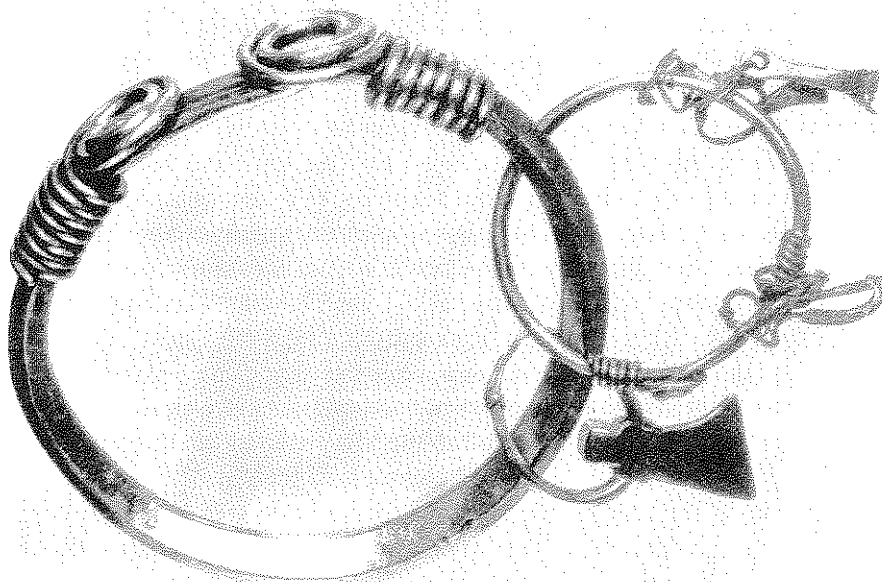


Fig. 2. Bracelet, Tekija

on rings have frontal entwining shaped as Hercules knot (fig. 4), which represents an ancient apotropaic symbol extremely popular on the Hellenistic jewelry. On the other hand the gold ring from Tekija hoard (fig. 5) indicates the symbiosis of Hellenistic traditions in the jewelry decoration noticeable in the use of fine filigree



Fig. 3. Torque, Bare

and granulation with ornamental motifs from the repertoire of the autochthonous population. Thus the miniature axe represented on the ring head since the Hallstatt times had symbolic meaning in the spiritual life of Illyrian—Dacian—Thracian ethnic *substratum*. Besides jewelry the hoards from Tekija and Bare contain also certain other objects of different provenance so just on the basis of heterogeneity of the contents certain conclusions about their owners could be drawn. The hoard from Tekija contains also the silver emblems with representations of deities of Hellenistic-Oriental character, one or more Roman silver parade belts, silver spoons and a pin as well as the luxurious silverware, *paterae* and *simpulum*, that had been produced in the workshops of Flavian epoch in Rome or Campania. Contrary to the opinion that owner of this treasure, which he might have acquired by plunder, was the Roman soldier Valerius Crescus, as his name had been punched on the circular belt buckle, it seems more probable to us that the owner of these objects belonged to the higher social class of the autochthonous population

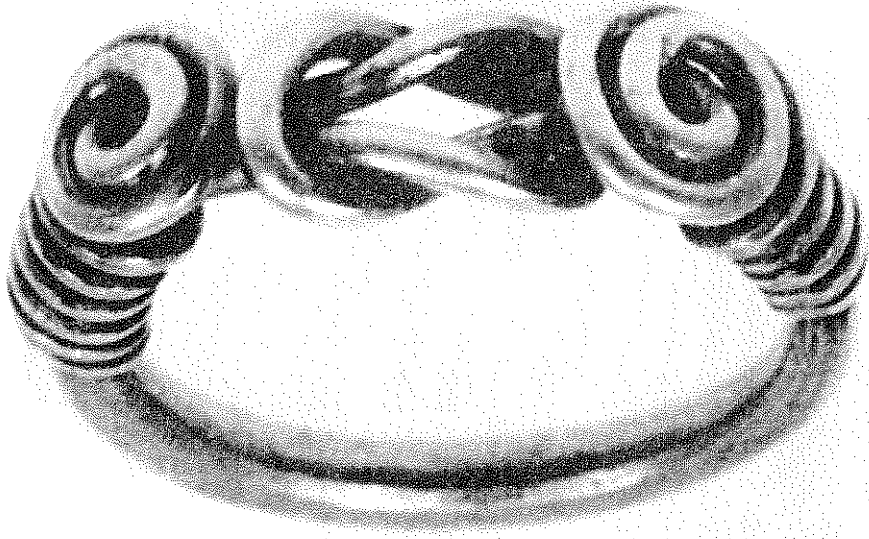


Fig. 4. Link, Bare



Fig. 5. Ring, Tekija

inhabiting the right bank of the Middle Danube and among which predominated the Dacian ethnic element. We came to this conclusion because of the fact that two silver *paterae*, the products of the workshops from Italy, had been additionally perforated and through the holes were hanging rings with overlapping and spirally wound ends. One of the rings even has a pendant shaped as miniature axe (fig. 6) and all these additions are the result of the attempt of the owner to include these vessels in his own cultural context. Similar interpretation could be applied in defining the owner of the Bare hoard, which besides the jewelry of the Dacian style contains also one bracelet with a hinge (fig. 7). On its central medallion are represented deities from Asia Minor — Syrian pantheon within iconographic scheme that indicates the influences from Egypt but also the military character of this jewelry (fig. 8) that probably was *dona militaria*. The first owner, hence had been certain Roman soldier of higher rank, most probably member of the Syrian legion VI Ferrata, whose commander and at the same time the prefect of Egypt, Mucianus, had been in 69 AD transferred from Syria to Moesia to pursue the barbarians wandering across the Danube. These historic data explain the appearance of the luxurious bracelet of military character with representation of Oriental deities in the hoard of the Dacian jewelry. However, it is an open question whether this bracelet was the result of pillage or it had been a present to the member of the local tribal aristocracy, the owner of the later hidden silver jewelry and money. Namely, intrusions of Dacians in Moesia, in the first place to plunder, had become especially intensive from the year 69 when local legions deserted Moesia and set off for Italy to take part in the civil war. Since then and up to the year 89 when Domitian made an agreement with the Dacians the relations between native population among which along the Danube were also the Dacians and the Romans were rather complex. The barbarians from the left river bank crossed the river to plunder and came into conflict with Roman army although there were some attempts of bribing of certain tribal chiefs, that is establishing some kind of mercenary status between Roman army and the Dacians living along the Danube. Against the background of such complex relations should be considered also the heterogeneous contents of the hoards from Tekija and Bare, which probably belonged to some local chiefs who might have got the objects of foreign character as presents for providing the loyalty of their tribes to the Roman army. However, general situation at the Danube frontier was extremely unstable as it is confirmed by the military diploma issued on 26th of September of the year 82 AD and found by the road leading from *Novae* towards Thrace, that same year the cohort V Hispanorum had been transferred to Moesia. This confirms the assembling of 5 *alae* and 9 *cohortes* from Germany with one *ala* and two *cohortes* from Moesia and of conflict of Romans and Dacians taking place in 81-82 AD and this was most probably the reason for depositing hoards from Tekija and Bare as well as the monetary hoard from Boljetin in which the latest coin was the denar of Domitian from 82 AD. Therefore, relations between Romans and

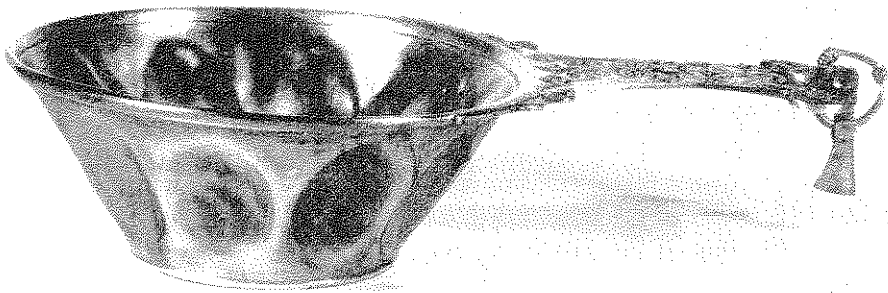


Fig. 6. Patera, Tekija



Fig. 7. Bracelet, Bare, reconstruction

the autochthonous population in different time periods varied from open conflicts to bribery and some kind of mercenary status and that is indicated besides the heterogeneous contents of the Tekija and Bare hoards also by the place of deposition of these hoards in the vicinity of military camps *Transdierna* and *Viminacium*. Namely, the site Bare is situated in the territory of *Viminacium*, about 15 kilometers to the east of the camp, and site on the left bank of the Tekija stream where other hoard has been found is very close to the older fortification at Tekija, dating from 1st-2nd century, that is the civil settlement situated next to this military camp and gravitating towards south and east. These data reveal that autochthonous population lived next to the Roman camps negotiating with their garrisons and tribal chiefs in order to secure loyalty had been given valuables, which they stored together with their possessions and in the moments of danger deposited as hoards.



Fig. 8. Central medallion on the bracelet, Bare

Second horizon of jewelry hoards is represented by closed associations of silver adornments ascertained in the wider Balkan — Pannonian — Danubian region (fig. 9). Their characteristic is distinct homogeneity as all finds have very similar contents distinguished particularly by anchor fibulae linked with multiple entwined chains with hanging lunulae or heart-like pendants, then bracelets of the serpent shape and twisted torques. Some elements of these adornments are decorated with filigree and granulation that represents the continuation of traditions, which reached this region even in the pre-Roman times from the Greek cultural zone. Silver jewelry of this horizon comprise thus traditional forms and on some funeral monuments, numerous in the Drina valley, it could be seen that chains linking *fibulae* worn on the shoulders created distinguished decoration on

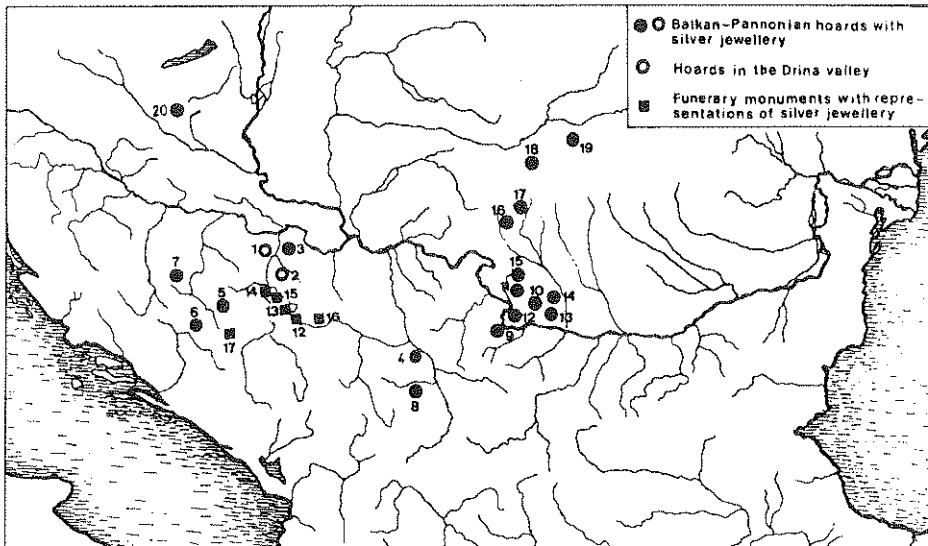


Fig. 9. Second horizon of silver jewelry hoards: 1 — Janja; 2 — Dvorska; 3 — Bela Reka; 4 — Juhor; 5 — Gornji Vakuf; 6 — Bukovica; 7 — Bare-Tribovo; 8 — Nova Božurna; 9 — Arčar; 10 — Vârtop; 11 — Urdinița; 12 — Moțaței; 13 — Drănic; 14 — Craiova; 15 — Bălăcița; 16 — Bumbesti; 17 — Gorj; 18 — Ațel; 19 — Beia; 20 — Szalacska

the chest. As some of these hoards contain also the money it could be concluded that they have been deposited in certain critical moments from the end of 2nd until the sixth decade of the 3rd century. These finds confirm that in the local jewelry production important role was played by the autochthonous component originating from traditions of the La Tène culture and which comprised in its manifestations many generally accepted elements common in this area for Illyrian, Dacian, Thracian and Celtic *substratum*. Hoards of silver jewelry of this type had been recorded at the sites of different character and many of these sites are situated in the inland far from the camps and larger settlements so it could be concluded that these are the settlements of indigenous population, which due to its conservatism preserved for a long time the traditional way of decoration (Janja, Dvorska, Bukovica, Bare-Tribovo, Nova Božurna, Juhor, Gorj, Ațel, Beia, Bela Reka, Szalacska I-III). However, silver jewelry of autochthonous style had been recorded at certain sites at the *limes* or in its closest vicinity. In Arčar (*Ratiaria*) have been found five anchor *fibulae* linked with entwined silver chains (fig. 10), pendant of crescent shape (*lunula*) and two twisted torques but as they were chance finds the archaeological context of this hoard remains unknown. At the left Danube bank, at the sites Vârtop, Urdinița, Moțaței, Drănic, Craiova and Bălăcița have been recorded the hoards with silver anchor *fibulae* and entwined chains as well as some other traditional types of ornaments known from other

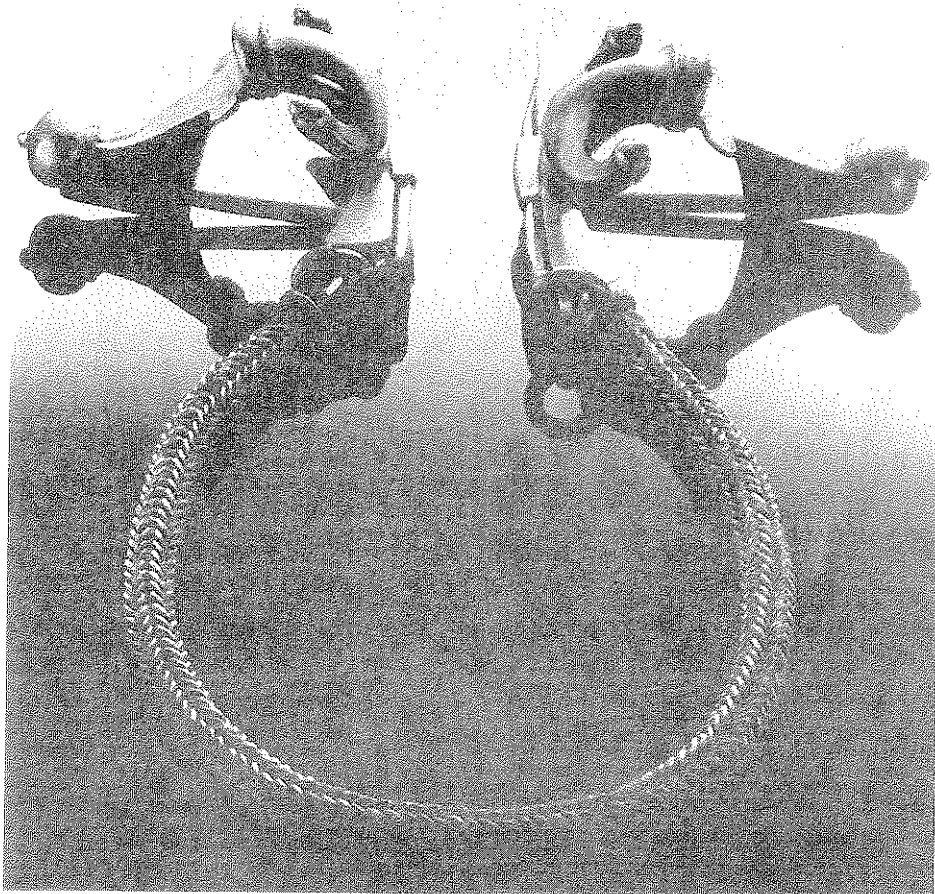


Fig. 10. Anchor *fibulae* linked with chain, *Ratiaria*

finds of this type, so the contents of hoard from Bălăcița and from Glavica at Juhor in the Velika Morava valley are almost identical. Some of these hoards also contain money according to which their deposition could be dated into the period around the middle of the 3rd century in the time when attacks of barbarians first of all the Goths and Carpians became frequent. The hoards at the left Danube bank are concentrated next to the *limes*, in the vicinity of important military and economic center *Drobeta* and only those from the sites Bumbești and Gorj are situated more to the north. These hoards are mostly chance finds discovered out of archaeological context so only for the hoard from Bumbești could be confirmed that it was deposited within the Roman *castrum*. Hoards of silver jewelry of autochthonous style recorded along the *limes* on the right and left bank of the middle Danube indicate that local population had been settled next to the camps

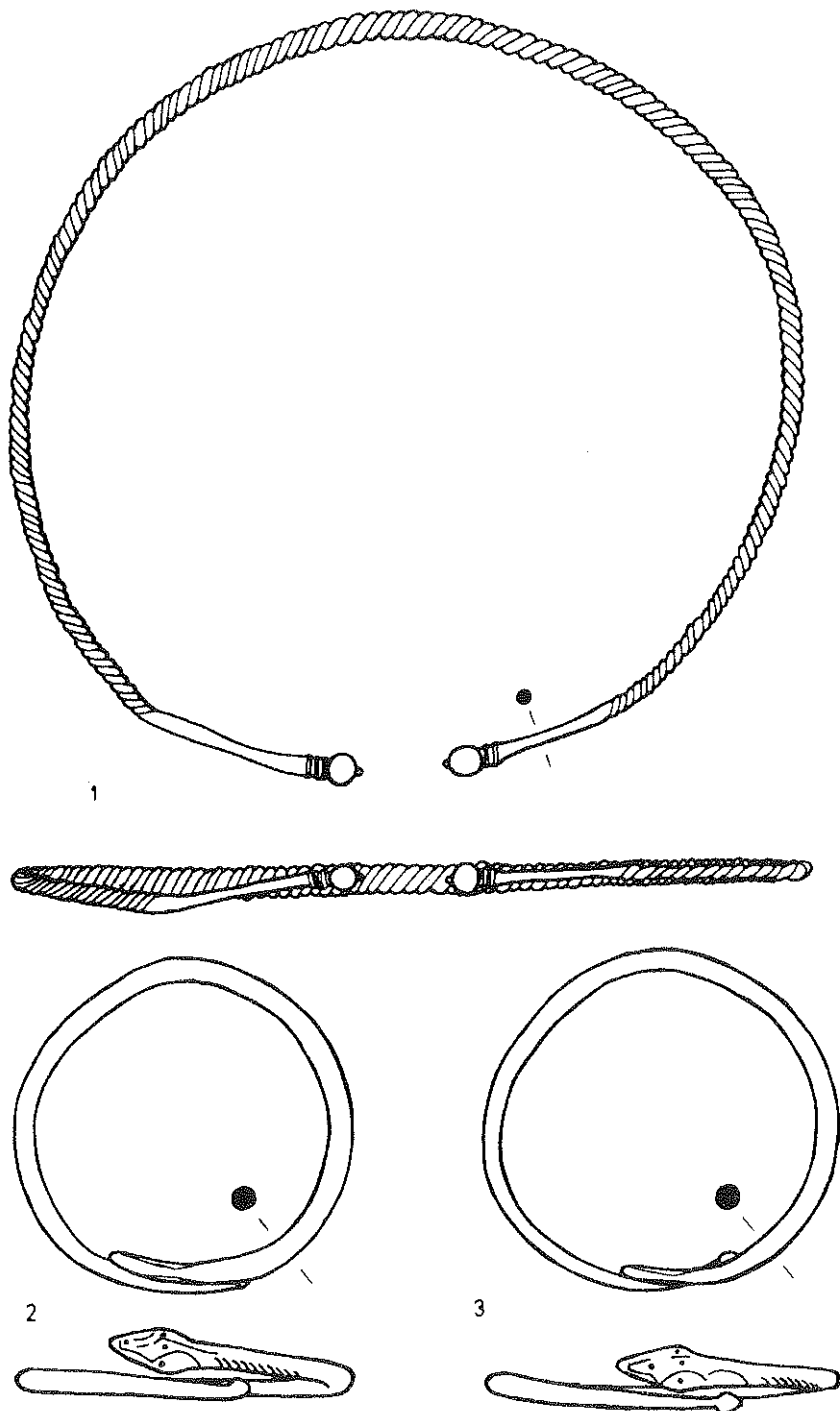


Fig. 11: 1 — torque; 2, 3 — bracelets, Kladovo

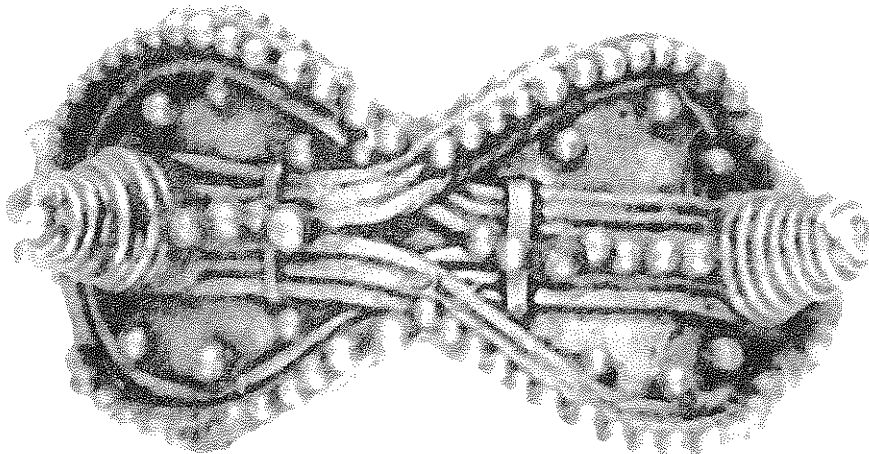


Fig. 12. Earrings with head shaped as Hercules knot, *Viminacium*

or civil settlements in *Ratiaria* and *Drobeta* and living, probably, in separate settlements and areas they cherished there traditional customs and fashion. About incorporation of native population in the large town centers we have confirmation in the finds from the necropolises of *Viminacium* where besides traditional funerary rituals are also registered numerous finds of jewelry of which certain shapes, like torques with *bullae*, *lunulae* and heart-like pendants, clearly indicate that these were the burials of local population. To the same ethnic *substratum* belong also the twisted silver torque found in the vicinity of Kladovo, probably with a pair of bracelets shaped like serpents (fig. 11), elbowed *fibulae* and one prehistoric *fibula* with additionally added chain with pendant representing god Harpocrates. Twisted silver torques discovered in the hoard of ornaments of military character in Čauševo as well as in the graves of young girls in *Ratiaria* and *Oescus* reveal that local population continued to wear this neck ornament even in the Roman times either as military insignia or the jewelry of votive character. Some social layers of this population acquired certain economic power that enabled them to possess relatively luxurious jewelry made of gold and silver. Thus in *Viminacium*, Prahovo (*Aquae*) and Vidin (*Bononia*) have been discovered gold earrings lavishly decorated with filigree and granulation and with head shaped as Hercules knot (fig. 12). This jewelry according to its shape but also to its style of decoration testify to the long duration of Hellenistic traditions that basically influenced the formation of the style of local jewelry and which local population cherished up to the second half of the 3rd century. The earrings of this type recorded on some sites in the Balkan interior, in the southwestern Serbia, at Kosovo, in eastern

Serbia and in Romania represent typical Balkan product produced in the local centers whose activity was based on the Hellenistic traditions. The workshop for production of luxurious specimens of this jewelry intended for higher classes of the local population had been operating, judging by the finds, in *Viminacium*. Other golden jewelry specimens based on the traditions of Hellenistic-Oriental goldsmithery like the hairpins with decorative head shaped as miniature vase

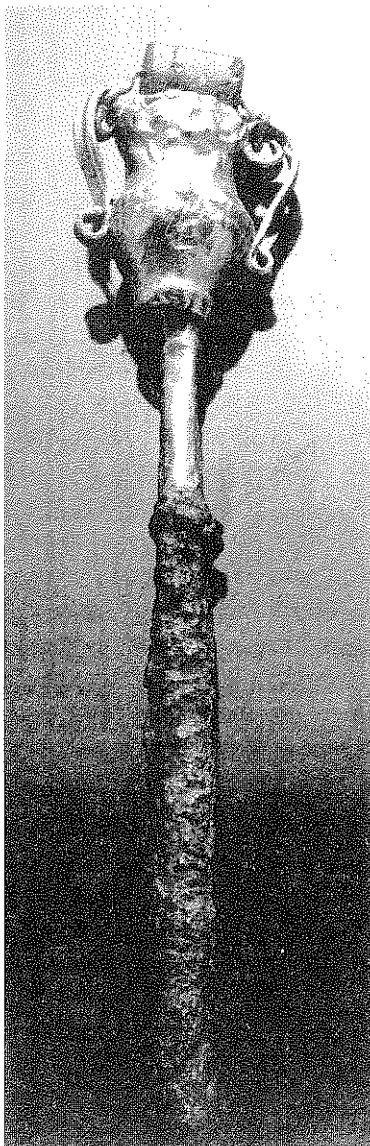


Fig. 13. Hairpin with head shaped as miniature vase, *Ratiaria*

(fig. 13) discovered in Čirilovac near Smederevo (*Vinceia*), at Karataš (*Diana*) in Arčar (*Ratiaria*) and Silistra (*Durostorum*) could also belong to the local population although it is more probable that these forms were made under the influence of Syrian goldsmithery, which especially from the middle of the 3rd century essentially influenced the style of production of the Roman jewelry. Finds from Arčar, Silistra and Smederevo belong to the rather rich grave assemblages dating from the middle to the end of the 3rd century while the hairpin from Karataš has been discovered in a horizon dating from the time of Aurelianus. As silver pins with decorative heads shaped as miniature vases were recorded also in the hoard of jewelry of autochthonous style found at the site Szalacska in Pannonia it is possible that some specimens of this jewelry by motif and decoration close to the native population had been produced in the traditional workshop centers.

Finds of gold and silver jewelry in the settlements along the middle and lower Danube *limes* indicate that settlements of local population had been established already in the first century of Roman domination. In the period before the Trajan's Dacian wars these were more or less permanent settlements close to the military camps and their inhabitants, barbarians among which the Dacians prevailed, from time to time made alliance with Roman army and for that had been given as gifts various valuables. During the 2nd and 3rd century local population gravitated more towards larger urban centers

that developed close to the military camps. Up to the middle of the 3rd century this population cherished traditional forms in jewelry production and it is specially noticeable on the ornaments of silver the use of which for this purpose represents the continuation of traditions from the pre-Roman period. However, wealthier classes of local population became owners also of the golden jewelry of traditional shapes and decoration like the earrings with the head shaped as Hercules knot or twisted torques and these ornaments had most probably been produced in the goldsmiths' workshops in the towns. This layer of autochthonous population accepted more and more the new fashion which means the style of adorning prevailing in the Roman provincial towns. Confirmation of this situation is noticeable in the graves of the girls from *Rattaria* and *Oescus* where besides twisted golden torques have been found also other jewelry, earrings, necklaces and finger rings that represent the standard types of the Roman jewelry.

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HOARDS OF ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINS FROM WESTERN PART OF DANUBIAN PLAIN

Exceptionally large quantity of Republican coin hoards from western parts of Danubian plain is a surprising occurrence. In consequence, it will deserve a separate analysis. From the investigated area originate 33 such deposits. 28 among them were deposited on a comparatively small territory between rivers Vit and Lom (fig. 1). The analysis of these hoards will permit to prove, that such a distinct disproportion in obtained data does not result from a diverse state of investigations and not of publishing messages about some discoveries.

Considerable quantity of Republican coin hoards strikes in comparison with only just four deposits from transit — territory between rivers Černij Lom and Jantra or only several from neighbouring, economically active territory of Dobrogea. The explanation of this phenomenon is not possible without analysis of a historical, economical and cultural context. This may permit, partly at least, to define circumstances of concurrent concealment of the analysed deposits.

The research of reliable explanations will be preceded by an analysis of methods of interpretations of monetary finds. In the literature of a given subject there function three basic theories related to reasons of hiding and leaving in the ground deposits of coins and other objects recognised as a measure of value: symbolical — connected with sphere of beliefs, economic factors and political events — first of all wars and other kinds of troubles [for the methodical aspects of hoards analysis — see: Suchodolski 1998].

Possibilities of interpretation of coin hoards as votive deposits are however limited, because little is known about the context from which analysed hoards originate. Considerably more scholars support the argument about a decisive influence of political events — connected mostly with wars — on depositing coin hoards. This theory was formulated by A. Blanchet and developed by S. Bolin. In his opinion every concentration of hoards in time and space marks periods of wars and disturbances [Bolin 1929, 116 f.]. On this basis one tried to connect every group of deposits with particular events mentioned by written sources. Analysing of coin hoards distribution some researchers even ventured to

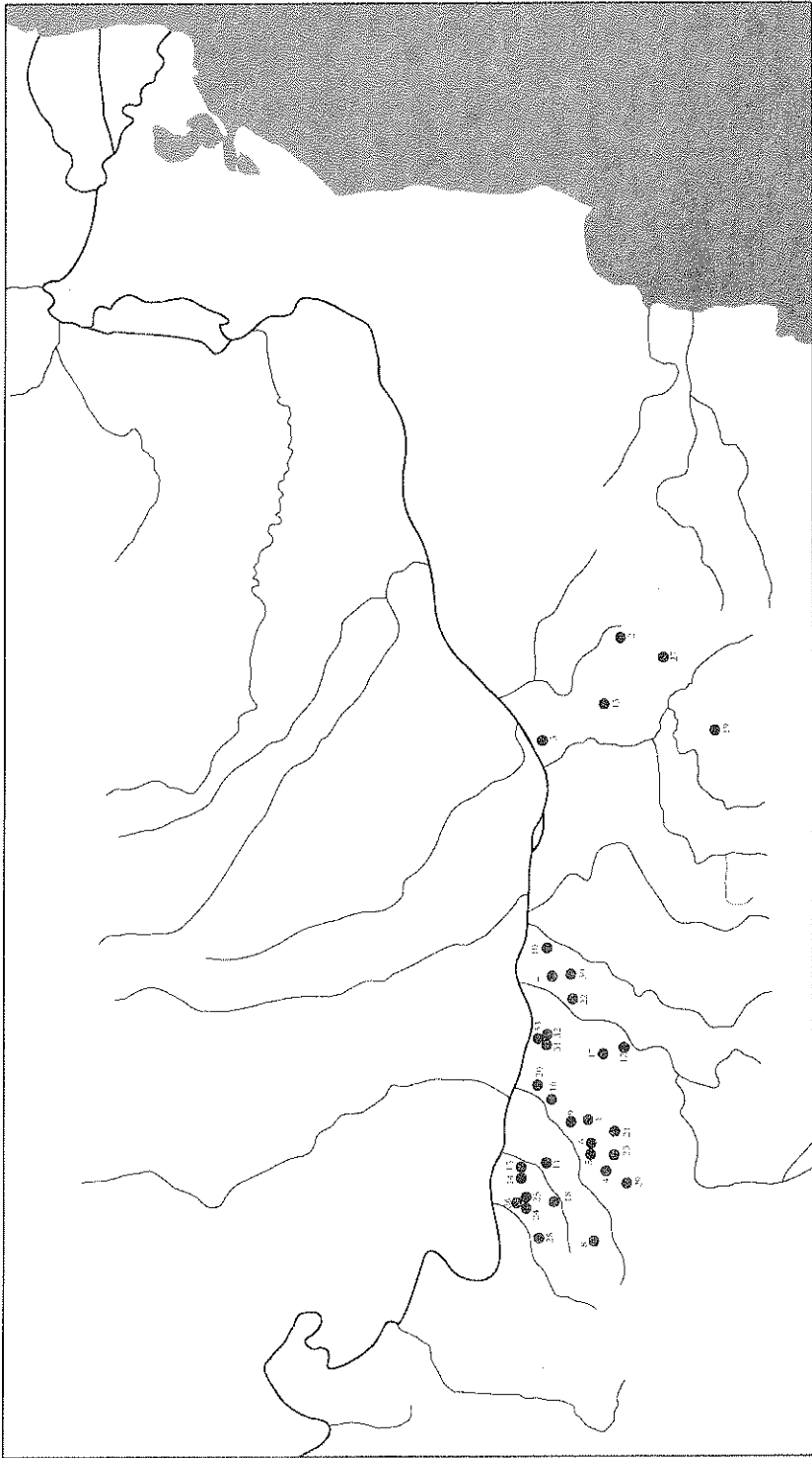


Fig. 1. Distribution of Roman Republican coin hoards in north-western Bulgaria

reconstruct ways of marches of particular armies and tracks of invasions. With reference to the region of the Lower Danube, B. Gerov represented this opinion. His analysis of Roman hoards from Balkan territory bound them directly with barbaric invasions well known from historical sources [Gerov 1977].

In the thirties the polemics started with views of the advocates of “the invasions theory”. First of all one underlined one-sidedness of presenting the problem. This theory underlines the value of political events, but skips other elements, especially economic factors. Detailed analyses of the context of each deposit show other reasons of hiding hoards. It seems that hiding of coins in the ground in protecting containers was caused mostly by practical motive to safely store the accumulated ore. This was independent from a political situation and was not caused by the intention of short-term protection from loss in time of troubles. The process of hiding hoards is itself connected with cumulating ore and keeping it safely in time. In consequence, it does not result from impetuous events, but from the wish of enlarging fortune. We can thus treat accumulation of treasures as a material trace of a degree of wealth of inhabitants of the given territory [see: Tabaczyński 1987, 180-182 for further literature].

Supporters of “the economic theory” do not deny the role of political factor. It is however interpreted differently. Political events do not answer the question why one buried treasures. They rather give a hint why some buried hoards did not become recovered, but death or escape of the owner is not always the reason for leaving treasure in the ground. The objective factors (changes of topographical elements) or subjective (obliteration in memories of the owner) could make recovery of hoard impossible.

The above approach has considerably more advantages than a theory, which explains depositing of hoards exclusively through the prism of political events. Although it permits a better interpretation and reconstruction of manner of accumulation and distribution of goods it has however an important defect. This is a tendency to interpret all the findings exclusively as an indication of processes of circulation of money. The effect of uncritically accepting the economic theory can perhaps lead to interpreting the finds only in context of commercial exchange, overrating the degree of local markets and reproduction of trade routes.

One should thus agree with those scholars, who do not declare for “political” or “economical” theory, but emphasize necessity of regarding to “human factor” — in most cases irrational and difficult to explain with one model or theory [Casey 1988, 40-41; Collins 1988, 1-3]. The question of inflow and depositing of Roman denarii in the northern parts of Balkan area seems to be a good example of various possibilities of interpretation such complicated phenomenon.

From written sources and archaeological data we can see, that the territory of Thrace and Danubian plain was, already from Hellenistic times, the market, which was very absorptive for ores. They were delivered mostly by Greek colonies, which systematically paid tributes to barbaric rulers. Finds of coins from the

territory of Thrace and Danubian plain from the 4th to the 1st century BC confirm large accessibility of silver from different sources. We can find there also didrachmae of Philip II (together with numerous imitations), tetradrachmae of Philip II, Alexander and Lisimachus (and their imitations), falsified coins of Larisa, so-called “Geto-Dacian” tetradrachmae, issues of *Apollonia*, *Dyrrachion* and Thasos, also coins of Macedonia Prima and Roman Republican denarii. The coins of Macedonian rulers and Greek cities and their imitations flowed in from the south via Greek colonies on the western shores of the Black Sea, issues of *Apollonia* and *Dyrrachion* — from the west. Only in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC in this territory existed a local, so-called “Geto-Dacian” mint. During the 1st century BC we notice rapid inflow of large quantities of Roman denarii especially in the western part of the Danubian plain [Crawford 1977, 118].

It seems probable, that the presence of so many various silver coins along the lower Danube from the fourth to the 1st century BC has little in common with the economic function of money. The readiness of accepting coins from different mints, of different weights, without undertaking attempts to have one’s own issue, tells us about specific comprehension of its values. Silver coins did not fulfil the function of means of exchange or of objective measure of value in barbaric communities occupying territories along the lower Danube. It means, that there are no bases to affirm that the appearance of denarii followed inclusion of these zones in Roman model of circulation before the formal incorporation of these territories in the administrative structure of the Roman Empire. What could be helpful to determine the function of Republican coins for barbaric tribes in the Danubian plain is examining the archaeological context of Roman coin hoards in the discussed territory.

If we compare geographical distribution of Republican coin hoards with the archaeological data about the settlement structures in the 1st century BC then we will see that concentration of hoards in the north-west Bulgaria is similar to range of so-called Padea — Panagjurski Koloni group. It strictly corresponds to concentration of bi-ritual cemeteries with burials contained weapons and other objects of Celtic origin (fig. 2). According to Z. Woźniak Padea — Panagjurski Koloni group is an archaeological trace of Celtic enclave in Thracian environment. We can identify it with Strabo’s mentions about the Celts, called *Skordiskoi mikroi*, living among Thracians and Dacians [Woźniak 1974, 238-240; Jankovič, Popovič 1991, 345-346].

The above-mentioned facts tell us, that representatives of local elites, presumably of Celtic origins, probably deposited the discussed group of hoards. No one can, however, on the basis of composition of hoards, define principles of money circulation in this society. A local market, in an economic sense, probably did not exist. This is confirmed mostly by a complete lack of small finds of Republican denarii from the examined territory. We can presume, that Roman coins were used for exchange of gifts, votive offerings or payments such as dowries. The

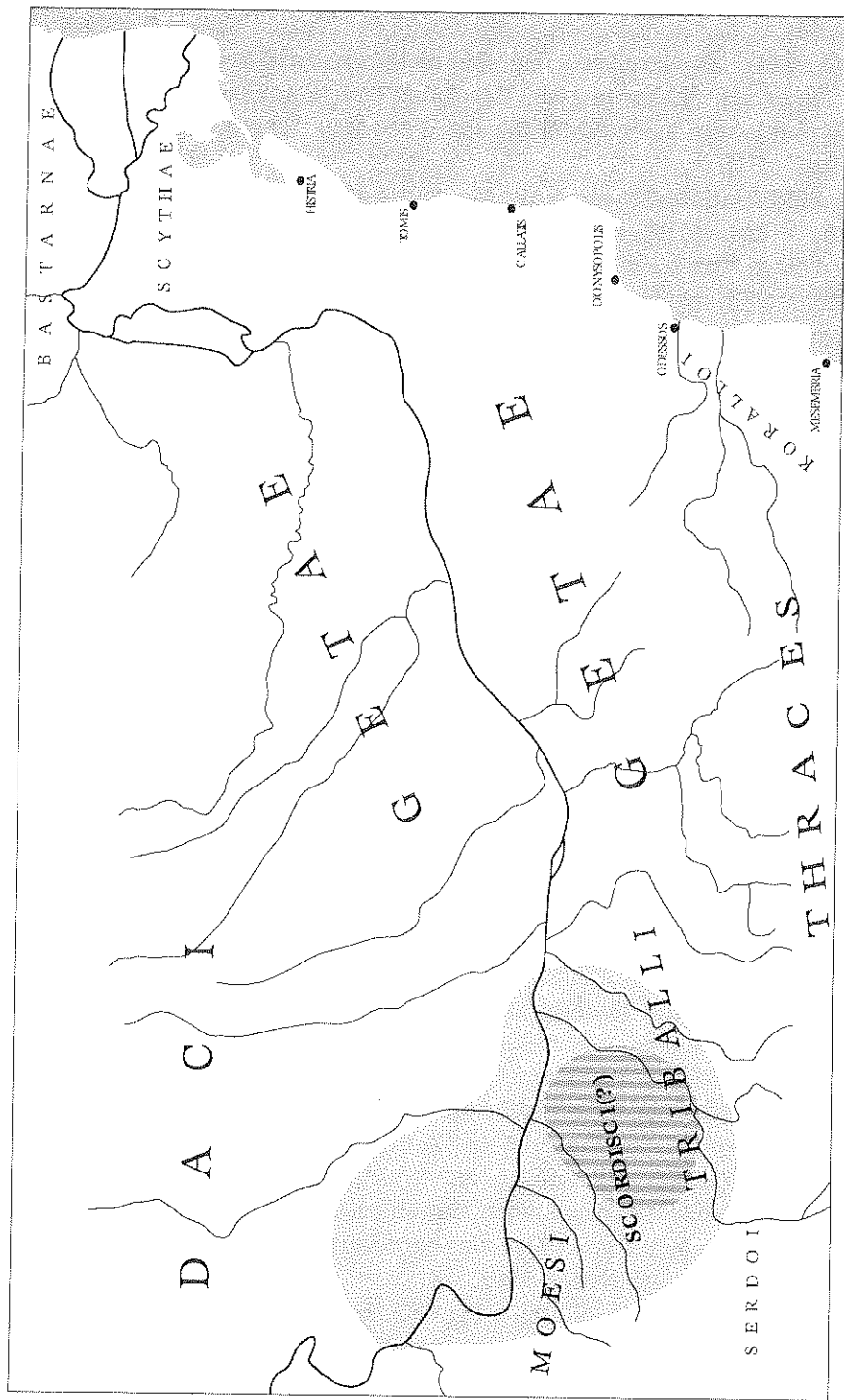


Fig. 2. The Low Danube region in the 1st century BC

- Padea — Pangiurski Koloni Group
- bi-ritual cemeteries with Celtic imports

most possible is, that Roman coins, together with other luxury objects (like bronze or glass vessels, jewellery, etc.) imported from “civilised” societies, defined a rank of the owner. Exchanging and depositing certain amounts of denarii was probably to establish and confirm the social status of the local chieftains [see: Mann 1986, 61 f].

We should consider the reason of mass inflow of Roman silver into discussed area in the 1st century BC. However, there appears a difficulty to explain general notions such as “exchange” and “commercial contacts” used by the authors of publications of Romanian and Bulgarian hoards. One tried also to seek other explanations of this phenomenon. Some scholars affirmed, that Roman coin hoards in northern Bulgaria and in Romania were loots of wars from the period of expansion of Burebista state, or wages paid to Dacian mercenaries serving in the Roman army. However, the scholars did not take into consideration the fact, that the areas attacked by Burebista were characterised by lack of Roman Republican coins. There is also no mention about Dacian mercenaries in the Roman army during the 1st century BC-the 1st century AD [Crawford 1977, 120].

According to M. Crawford, the structure of hoards shows, that they were deposited from the mid-sixties century BC, i.e. after the victory of Cn. Pompeius over pirates in 67 BC followed by the elimination of main tradesmen of slaves from market. Searching for new supplies of slaves coincided with the demand of silver in barbarian elites. The presence of single issues of *Dyrrachion* in denarii hoards from northern Bulgaria points to a western direction of their affluence. It results from the fact, that Roman merchants established commercial relation directly with local elites, with the omission of the agency of Greek colonies [Crawford 1977, 121-123].

M. Crawford’s hypothesis was sharply criticised. Most of scholars denied his arguments about the relationship of the affluence of Republican coins in northern parts of Balkan area with the slave trade, emphasized the lack of written sources, but they limited themselves, however, to a general statement about “commercial relations” or “period of troubles after the death of Burebista” [Fulford 1985; Schönert-Geiss 1989].

Some of Crawford’s opponents turned attention to participation of local imitations of Republican denarii in the discussed deposits. The presence of local imitations in hoards from Romania and northern Bulgaria is undeniable. The analyses of depictions as well as find of dies from the territory of Romania confirm it. It is thus possible that large amount of denarii was minted in the Dacian territory and their circulation in the lower Danube region has little connection with Roman political and commercial expansion.

In my opinion, the appearance of Republican coin hoards in the north-west Bulgaria is a part of wider phenomenon of mass affluence of denarii in the Dacian territory. It corresponds with establishing of Dacian state, its expansion south of Danube on the areas inhabited by Thracian *Triballoi* and Celtic *Skordiskoi*, and

entering political contacts with the Roman Empire. Burebista did not mint his own coins, which is not a typical occurrence — the minting money was a matter of prestige for rulers. It is possible, that in realities of “Burebista monarchy” Roman silver coins could function as symbol of social status. Their redistribution confirmed links between the king and local or tribal chieftains and underlined king’s domination as a distributor of goods and precious gifts.

There are doubts regarding sources of the affluence of coins. It is not very probable that they came only from the slave trade. It is thus justified to search for other, perhaps political sources. Archaeological evidence points, that handing of objects, which were a symbol of prestige, was permanent element of policy of Rome towards Germanic allies during the 1st centuries AD [see: Bursche 1998, 230 f]. Maybe such a situation was a reason for appearing of the large quantities of Republican coins in Burebista’s kingdom.

The last important question is, why discussed hoards were left in the ground. It can be explained for most by political events. The emancipation of particular tribes from the Dacian superiority after the death of Burebista may have had an impetuous course. Besides, Roman conquest in the late 1st century BC brought almost complete depopulation of the discussed territory. However, taking into consideration the state of the current researches, the question of the mass occurrence of Republican coin hoards remains an open matter.

Hoards of Roman Republican coins from north-western Bulgaria (in alphabetical order)

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- Aprilovo: Gerasimov, 1955, 602
- Batin: Gerasimov 1966, 244
- Baurine: Gerasimov 1955, 608
- Beli Breg I: Gerasimov 1966, 214
- Beli Breg II: Jurukova 1978, 73
- Gigen: Gerasimov 1959, 366
- Gorna Verenica: Gerasimov 1937, 320
- Gradesnica: Jurukova 1979, 60-61
- Guljanci: Radomersky 1961, 69-91
- Jakimovo: Gerasimov 1955, 608
- Kamen: Gerasimov 1959, 316; Schönert-Geiss 1987, 100
- Koinare I: Gerasimov 1965, 248
- Komoštica II: Gerasimov 1962, 226
- Komoštica III: Jurukova 1977, 69
- Krušovica: Gerasimov 1937, 316
- Lazarovo: Gerasimov 1964, 238-239
- Medkovec: Aleksandrov, Belitov 1990, 35-37

- Mindja: Gerasimov 1962, 231
 Mizija: Gerasimov 1967, 187
 Ohoden: Dimitrova — Čudiłova 1972, 23-31
 Orehovica: Genova 1967, 53-59
 Progorelec: Mušmov 1922, 239
 Rasovo I: Gerasimov 1965, 249
 Rasovo II: Mušmov 1922, 239
 Rasovo III: Jurukova 1977, 69
 Rodina: Gerasimov 1966, 213; Schönert-Geiss E. 1987, 104
 Stalijska Mahala: Gerasimov 1959, 359
 Stubel: Jurukova 1982, 62
 Trastenik: Genova 1662, 53-59
 Vadin I: Gerasimov 1950, 320
 Vadin II: Gerasimov 1968, 232
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LIMES, MARKT, GELDUMLAUF:
WESTPONTISCHE MÜNZEN IN *MOESIA INFERIOR*
IN DEN 40^{ER} JAHREN DES 3. JAHRHUNDERTS

Mit dem Ende der Regierung der Kaiserdynastie der Severen endet auch der wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Aufschwung der römischen Städte in der Provinz *Moesia Inferior*. In den darauffolgenden Jahren geprägt von wachsender Drohung und Einfällen seitens der freien germanischen Stämme jenseits der Donau dominieren die Verteidigung und die physische Rettung bezweckenden Maßnahmen und beeinflussen das gesellschaftliche Leben. In *Moesia Inferior* und Thracia, zwei der am meisten bedrohten Provinzen, werden neue Militäreinheiten konzentriert, was das Bedürfnis an Bronzenemissionen für die Bezahlung der Hilfstruppen und den Geldumlauf erhöht [Иопкова 1987, 101, 102]. In der veränderten Lage hat die neuaufgenommene oder ihre Kapazität aktivisierende Tätigkeit einiger städtischer Münzstätten an der heutigen bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste — *Anchialus*, *Odessus*, *Mesembria* und einigermaßen *Dionysopolis* — eine deutlich ausgeprägte militär-politische Richtung. Gemeinsam mit anderen provinzialstädtischen Münzenateliers wie *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Marcianopolis*, *Tomis*, *Hadrianopolis* sichert sie beinahe die Hälfte der sich im Umlauf befindenden Geldmasse [Fitz 1978, 809-810]. Die römische Gewalt nützt geschick ihre produktions-technische Kapazität und Erfahrung aus und organisiert eine "militäre" ihrem Charakter nach Münzprägung, die den militären Münzstätten eigen war [Иопкова 1987, 101, 104; Cally 1969, 28; Schönert-Geiss 1968, 253]. Beim Fehlen neuer veröffentlichter zusammenfassender Untersuchungen¹ über die Münzprägung der westpontischen Städte in der frühkaiserlichen Zeit, die die im Laufe des 20 Jh. bekanntgewordenen Münztypen und ihre Varianten systematisieren, beruht das Gesamtbild der durchschnittlichen jährlichen Dynamik der in den Geldumlauf eingeführten Münztypen dieser Münzstätten in den Jahren 193-249 (Tabelle 1) und der Bewegung der in dieser Periode gebrauchten Nominale (Tabelle 2) auf den Daten entalten im Korpus B. Picks über *Dionysopolis* [Pick 1898], B. Picks und K. Reglings über *Odessus* [Pick, Regling 1910], M. Stracks über *Anchialus* [Strack 1912] und im Werk N. Muschmova im Teil über *Mesembria* und *Apollonia*

Tabelle 1

Gesamtzahl und Jahresdurchschnitt der Münzentypen (193-249 n. Chr.)

Kaiser und Familie	Regierungszeit	Dionysopolis		Odessus		Anchialus		Mesembria		Apollonia		Insg.
		Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	
Septimius Severus	193-217	2	0,17	13	1,33	48	6,39	3		7		73
Julia Domna		2		6		8				1		17
Caracalla Caesar				3								3
Caracalla Augustus				8		35		2		2		47
Geta Caesar						11						11
Geta Augustus				2		13						15
Diadumenianus	217									1		1
Elagabalus	218-222			12	5,75							12
Aquilia Severa				1								1
Julia Soemias				1								1
Julia Maesa		1		3								4
Alexander Caesar				6								6
Severus Alexander	222-235	4	0,38									4
Maximinus Thrax	235-238					49	16,33					49
Gordianus III	238-244	21	3,05	61	15,33	31	12,66	4		1		155
Gordianus III Tranquillina				30		37		13				43
Tranquillina				1		8						9

Tabelle 1 (Fortsetzung)

Kaiser und Familie	Regierungszeit	Dionysopolis		Odessus		Anchiatius		Mesembria		Apollonia		Insg.
		Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	Insg.	Jahresdurchschnitt	
Philippus I und Otacilia Severa	244-249											18
Otacilia Severa												1
Philippus II Augustus												15
Insgesamt		34		181		284		57		20		575

Tabelle 2

Nominale: Verhältnis nach Münzentypen (193-244)

Städte	Dionysopolis							Odessus							Anchiatius								
	5	4	3	2	1	1/2		10	5	4	3	2	1	1/2		10	5	4	3	2	1	1/2	
Septimius Severus	1	1																					
Caracalla 193-217				2					16	5	9	2						84	8	11	13		
Elagabalus 218-222									16	1	1	1											
Severus Alexander 222-235	1	1	1		2																		
Maximinus Thrax 235-238																	3	23	12	6	5		
Gordianus III 238-244	20	1						4	80	3	2				7	18	37	5	5	4			
Herrscher																							

[Мушмов 1912], verglichen mit den Resultaten J. Callys in seiner Untersuchung über die Münzpolitik der römischen Kaiser [Cally 1969] und J. Jurukovas über die Münzprägung in *Bizye* [Jurukova 1981] und *Hadrianopolis* [Юркуова 1987]. Nach 23 Typen/5,75 Jahresdurchschnitt unter Elagabalus und Aufhören unter Severus Alexander und Maximinus Thrax werden die neuen Funktionen der Münzprägung in *Odessus* unter Gordianus III deutlich mit der Prägung von 92 Typen/15,33 Jahresdurchschnitt (Tabelle 1)² und Orientierung vorwiegend nach den großen Nominalen — 16 Typen vom 4 und 2 Typen vom 2 und 1 Nominal unter Elagabalus gegen 80 Typen vom 5 und 2 Typen vom 2 Nominal unter Gordianus III (Tabelle 2).³ Eine ähnliche Tendenz wird auch in der Münzprägung des anderen bedeutenden antiken Hafenzentrums an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste — *Ulpia Anchialus* — betrachtet. Nach einer fast Vierteljahrhundert langen Unterbrechung werden unter Maximinus Thrax 49 Typen/16,33 Jahresdurchschnitt geprägt, und unter Gordianus III — 76 Typen/12,66 Jahresdurchschnitt. Die Veränderung der Nominalen ist in Richtung der allmählichen Durchsetzung der grösseren unter ihnen — 23 Typen vom 4 Nominal, 3 Typen vom 5 Nominal und 23 Typen vom 3, 2 und 1 Nominal unter Maximinus Thrax gegen 37 Typen vom 4 Nominal, 18 Typen vom 5 Nominal, 7 Typen vom 10 Nominal und 14 Typen vom 3, 2 und 1 Nominal unter Gordianus III. Die Münzstätte von *Dionysopolis* ist mit nur 21 Typen/3,5 Jahresdurchschnitt unter Gordianus III, von denen 1 Typ vom 4 und 20 Typen vom 5 Nominal viel schwächer vertreten als die beiden führenden Zentren. Beeinflusst von der militärpolitischen Lage ist auch die Münzprägung Mesembrias. Nach mindestens 17 Typen unter Gordianus III erfolgt eine zweifache Vermehrung der benutzten Typen — 34 unter Philippus I und Philippus II. Sie hat die Merkmale der sogenannten „Notprägung“, welche in diesen Jahren auch die Münzstätte in Bizye aufweist [Jurukova 1981, 12-14; Юркуова 1987, 103-104, 109].

Daten über die geographische Irradiierung (Tiefe der Eindringung, Konzentration und Anteil an den Münzfunden) dieser Emissionen wurden aus den auf dem Territorium Bulgariens entdeckten und periodisch bis zur Mitte der 80^{er} Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts vorwiegend in der Periodika des AIM-BAW und der Regionalmuseen Nordbulgariens bekanntgegebenen Kollektivfunden exzerpiert [Герасимов 1934, 469; Герасимов 1946, 236, 240; Герасимов 1957, 324; Герасимов 1959, 363; Герасимов 1962, 230; Герасимов 1963, 257, 258, 259, 264; Герасимов 1967, 189; Gerasimov 1979, 136; Мирчев 1961, 141-142; Мирчев 1966, 145-151; Мирчев, Златарски 1967, 217-221; Мирчев 1971, 194-196, 199; Мирчев/Антонова 1972, 95-106; Юркуова 1977, 70; Юркуова 1979, 62; Юркуова 1983, 115; Юркуова 1987, 99], weil die Anwesenheit dieser westpontischen Emissionen ausschließlich auf dem Territorium der Provinz *Moesia Inferior* und verhältnismäßig schwach in Provinz Thracien festgestellt wird [Юркуова 1987, 108, 113; Герасимов 1962, 228; Cally 1969, 35, 37, 57; Winkler 1968, 363]. Die Untersuchungen der letzten provinzialstädtischen und

kaiserlichen Emissionen von Gordianus III, Philippus I und Philippus II, beteiligt an den Kollektivfunden aus dem Territorium des heutigen Nordbulgariens lassen eine unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen den Ursachen ihrer Versteckung und den Angaben von den Einfällen der unabhängigen germanischen Stämme auf das Kaiserreich in den Jahren 242, 248 und 250/51 zu [Gerov 1980, 364-365, 378-379, 380, 382, 383, 386; Boteva 2001, 37-44]. Sie ist ein Hinweis darauf, daß sie Münzen enthalten, die in ihrem Großteil vom Geldumlauf unmittelbar entzogen sind und deswegen generell die Eigenart des Umlaufs in *Moesia Inferior* in den 40^{er} Jahren des 3. Jh. n. Chr. widerspiegeln [Gerov 1980, 364].

Im die Kollektivfunde aus Bulgarien bekanntgebenden Bulletin werden solche aus der Schwarzmeerküste mit beteiligten Münzen von *Dionysopolis*, *Odessus*, *Mesembria*, *Anchialus* und *Apollonia* nicht verzeichnet. Der Anteil Mesembrischer Emissionen an vier unveröffentlichten Funden aus Tvarditsa und Senokos, Distrikt Dobritsch und aus Varna und Priseltsi, Distrikt Varna wird neuerlich behandelt [Караѝотов 2001, Nr. 94, 105, 118, 131]. Das erforderte für die "Verdichtung" der Datenbasis auch die Erschließung der einzelnen Münzfunde mit genau festgestellten Fundumständen auf dem Territorium von *Dionysopolis* und *Odessus*, die in den Museensammlungen in Kavarna, Baltschik, Varna, Nesebar, Burgas und Sozopol inventiert sind. Da die Zeit ihrer Entziehung dem Geldumlauf praktisch nicht datierbar ist, geben sie Information vorwiegend über die Zusammensetzung des regionalen Umlaufmilieus in der Zeit nach ihrer Prägung im 3. Jh. n. Chr. an. Mit der allgemeinen massenhaften Versteckung von Münzen in den 40^{er} Jahren des Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Regierung des Kaiser Decius [Gerov 1980, 383] wird die in der Provinz *Moesia Inferior* vorhandene Geldmasse bis zu einem hohen Grade dem Geldumlauf entzogen und praktisch vernichtet [Cally 1969, 37, 481; Gren 1941, 148]. In den nächsten 34 Jahren von Trebonianus Gallus bis Carinus — eine Periode, in der die Einfälle ihrer Kraft und ihrem Umfang nach nicht nachlassen — ist unter den 60 Kollektivfunden, die in der bekannten Studie B. Gerovs benutzt werden, nur ein aus der Provinz *Moesia Inferior* aus Mangalia mit Anteil provinzialstädtischer Bronzeemissionen vorhanden [Gerov 1980, 421]. Ein anderer neuerlich veröffentlichter aus Onogur, Distrikt Dobritsch, ist unter Claudius II 269 versteckt worden [Торѝатов 1990, 50-55]. In der Zeit seiner Regierung sind die Zentren der Münzprägung und Münzenkonzentration allmählich in Richtung West der Donau entlang verlegt worden, und die Funktionen der ihre Tätigkeit unterbrochenen westpontischen Münzstätten sind von jenen in *Moesia Superior* und Dacia aufgenommen worden [Юрѝкова 1987, 111-112; Cally 1969, 18, 477]. Diese Ereignisse und Prozesse, neben der sich durchdringenden Unifizierung der Münzenzeichen in den Provinzen [Юрѝкова 1987, 112; Cally 1969, 110] lassen die Vermutung zu, daß die einzelnen Münzfunde aus dem Territorium von *Dionysopolis* und *Odessus* größtenteils bis zum letzten Viertel des 3. Jh. n. Chr. aus dem Umlauf ausgefallen sind.

Die Anwesenheit provinzialstädtischer Emissionen der römischen Städte an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste am Geldumlauf auf dem Territorium der Provinz *Moesia Inferior* wird in 31 Kollektivfunden festgestellt, die in den Unruhenjahren von Gordianus III bis Decius versteckt worden sind (Abb. 1; Tabelle 3). Davon sind etwa 1/3 mit vollständig erhaltener Zusammensetzung. Ihre Gegenüberstellung mit den verstreuten Funden stellte ungefähr die gleichen chronologischen und quantitativen Verhältnisse zwischen den Emissionen der in ihnen vertretenen städtischen Münzstätten fest. Die überwiegende Anzahl dieser Funde verteilt sich des strategisch wichtigen Querweges *Melta — Nicopolis ad Istrum — Marcianopolis* entlang (Tabelle 3/2, 13, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25; Abb. 1-2, 13, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25) und in Richtung der meridionalen und diagonalen zweitrangigen Wege, die die Verbindung sichern mit den des Donauweges entlang oder mit ihm im Zusammenhang stehenden Siedlungen und Garnisonen wie *Novae* (Tabelle 3/6, 8; Abb. 1-6, 8) und *Abritus* (Tabelle 3 /22; Abb. 1-22), sowie mit denen in der Provinz Thracia durch die Stara Planina Pässe — Trojanski (Tabelle 3/1; Abb. 1-1), Schiptschenski (Tabelle 3/4; Abb. 1-4), Tvardischki (Tabelle 3/5, 9, 10; Abb. 1-5, 9, 10), Varbischki (Tabelle 3/11, 16; Abb. 1-11, 16), Rischki (Tabelle 3/18, 19, 21, 23; Abb. 1-18, 19, 21, 23) und Aitoski/Djulinski (Tabelle 3/29, 30, 31; Abb. 1-29, 30, 31). Der Weg *Melta — Nicopolis ad Istrum — Marcianopolis* und die im Zusammenhang mit ihm geschaffene Verkehrsorganisation sichern für die römischen des Donaulimes entlang dislozierten Militäreinheiten eine schnelle und bequeme Verbindung mit der Schwarzmeerküste, wo die Häfen von *Odessus* und *Anchialus* notwendigerweise optimale Möglichkeiten für die Seetransporte nach Osten darbieten [Юркова 1987, 106; Gren 1941, 39]. Auf dieser Route wird ebenfalls ein Teil des zivilen Handelsaustausches zwischen den Territorien auf beiden Seiten der Meerengen verwirklicht — wichtigste Kontrahenten sowohl in der vorrömischen, als auch in der frühen Kaiserzeit [Gren 1941, 141; Gerov 1979, 222]. Die Untersuchung dieses Problems wird von der Klärung der Wirtschaftsbedeutung der dargestellten Münzfunde erleichtert, indem die Herkunft und die Anhäufungsmotive (frühere Vermögen, gesparte Gelder, verborgene Geldbeträge [Fitz 1978, 253 sqq.], der Nominalwert, die Veränderungen in der Metrologie (Durchschnittsgewicht, Durchmesser) der Münzkerne u.a. geklärt werden. Der Umfang und die Eigenart dieses Problems machen seine nähere Untersuchung im Rahmen einer numismatischen Sonderstudie erforderlich.

Die topographische Lage der Funde zeigt, daß die Emissionen der Küstenstädte mit der Entfernung von den ausstrahlenden Zentren allmählich "aufgelöst" werden, um als den Münzenumlauf effektiv Formierende kurz nach der diagonalen Strassentrasse *Novae — Melta* in Richtung Montana zu verschwinden. Münzen mancher von ihnen sind auch weiter davon verborgen worden, nicht weit von der Kreuzung dieses Wegs mit dem Weg *Oescus — Serdica*, wahrscheinlich während der Regierung des Kaiser Severus Alexander [Герасимов 1946, 236;

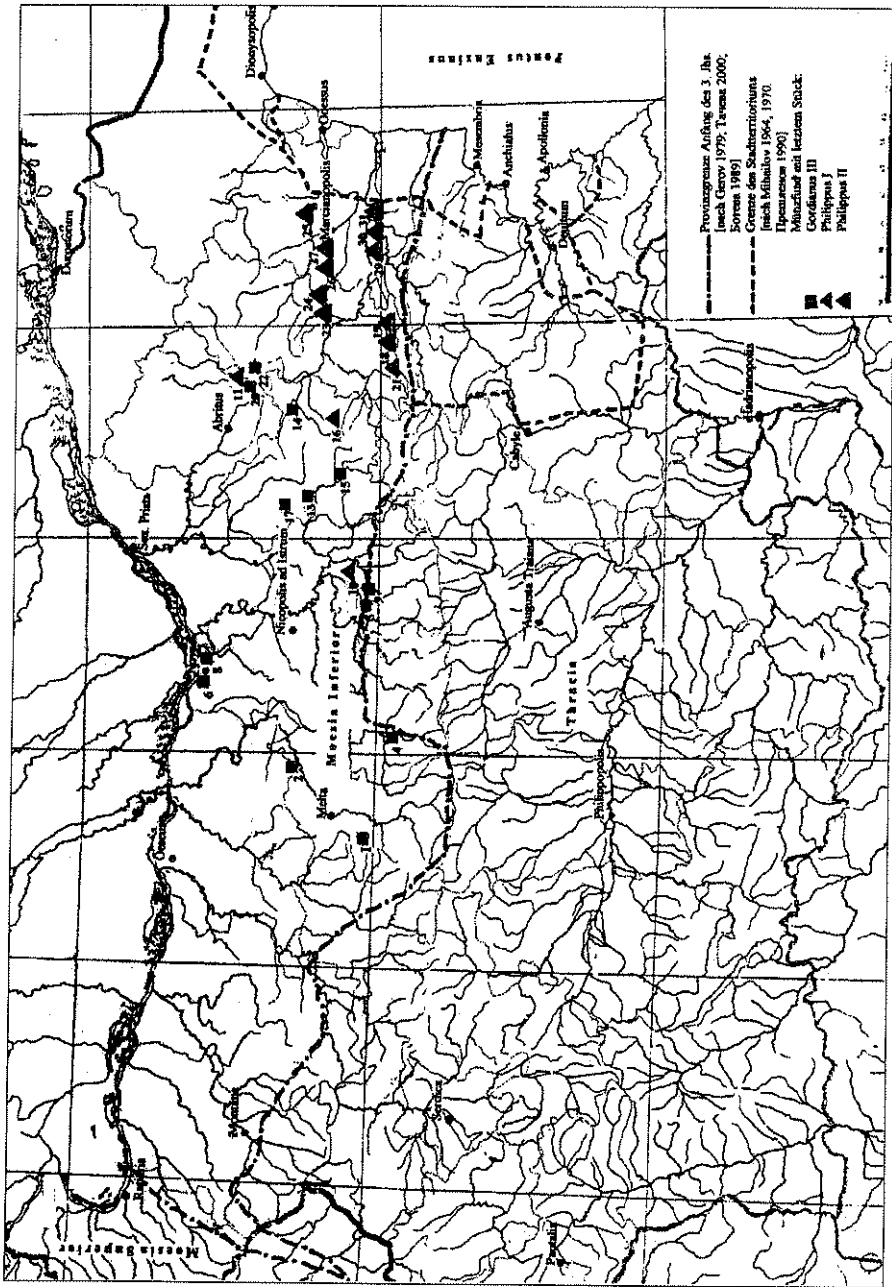


Abb. 1. Funde mit westpontischen Münzen in Moesia Inferior

Герасимов 1959, 363]. In diesen geographischen Grenzen könnten bedingt drei Zonen einer fast linearen Ost—West Eindringung abgezeichnet werden. Bei der Orientierung und Synchronisierung der Fundorte der einzelnen Kollektivfunde hinsichtlich der gegenwärtigen und antiken administrativ-territoriale Teilung [Геров 1980, 75, 82, 85-86, 91] kann die Anwesenheit der westpontischen Münzen auf dem Gebiet der Distrikte Lovetsch und Veliko Tarnovo, bzw. auf dem Territorium von *Melta, civitas Usdicensis*, in den westlichen Teilen des Territoriums von *Nicopolis ad Istrum, Novae* am schwächsten festgestellt werden (Tabelle 4). Ausgeprägter ist der Anteil der Münzen von *Anchialus* im Westen gemeinsam mit denen von *Serdica, Philippopolis* und *Augusta Traiana*, und im Osten mit den progressiv anwachsenden Emissionen von *Nicopolis ad Istrum* und *Marcianopolis*. Beträchtlich ist auch der Anteil der Münzstätte von *Hadrianopolis*. Dieses Verhältnis ist noch deutlicher in der zweiten Zone. In den V. Tarnovo und Targovische Distrikten, bzw. in den östlichen Teilen des Territoriums von *Nicopolis ad Istrum* und in den westlichen Teilen des Dörferterritoriums zwischen *Nicopolis ad Istrum* und *Marcianopolis* bleibt die Aktivität *Anchialus* erhalten, es folgen *Odessus* und *Dionysopolis*, dominierend jedoch sind *Nicopolis ad Istrum* und *Marcianopolis*. In der letzten Zone in den Distrikten Targovische, Schumen und Varna, bzw. in den östlichen Teilen des erwähnten Dörferterritoriums, auf jenem von *Abrutus* und *Marcianopolis* verschwinden almählich die Emissionen von *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, jene von *Marcianopolis* bilden den Kern der Funde, gefolgt von jenen von *Odessus, Anchialus, Mesembria* und *Dionysopolis*.

Die Tätigkeit der provinzialstädtischen Münzstätten an der heutigen bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste hat im allgemeinen im Vergleich zu jenen von *Nicopolis ad Istrum* und *Marcianopolis* eher einen ergänzenden Charakter [Юркова 1987, 98; Cally 1969, 37]. Etwa 1/8 von der Anzahl der in den 31 Kollektivfunden vorhandenen Münzen fallen auf *Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesembria, Anchialus* und der symbolisch vertretenen *Apollonia* (Tabelle 4). Die aktivste unter ihnen ist *Anchialus* mit 215 Münzen beteiligt an 28 Funden. Diese Lage verändert sich zugunsten von *Odessus* (20 Funde/160 Münzen) nur auf dem Territorium von *Marcianopolis*, dessen natürliche Debuche sie ist. Die Mesembrischen Münzen sind in 17 Funden mit 120 Stück vertreten. Ihre spürbare Anwesenheit auf dem Stadtterritorium von *Marcianopolis* ist auf die intensive Tätigkeit der Mesembrischen Münzstätte unter Philippus I und besonders unter Philippus II zurückzuführen, als die anderen Städte in der Region bis auf *Marcianopolis* und *Tomis* ihre Tätigkeit eingestellt haben. Während des grossen Goten-Einfalls 248 n. Chr. auf *Marcianopolis, Odessus* und ihre Territorien [Геров 1980, 382] sind diese Emissionen massenhaft versteckt worden. Im Westen beruht der Münzenumlauf immer noch auf den Emissionen von Philippus I, Gordianus III und in begrenztem Umfang auf jenen der Severen (Tabelle 5). Mit einer Beteiligung an 17 Funden mit 51 Münzen weist *Dionysopolis* bescheidenere Möglichkeiten auf. Die praktische Nichtbeteiligung der Münzstätte Apollonias an der Versorgung des *Moesia*

Tabelle 4

**Westpontische Münzen in Moesia Inferior: Verhältnis und Konzentration
in den 40^{er} Jahren des 3. Jhd. n. Chr.**

Fundort	Dionysopolis		Odessus		Mesembria		Anchiatius		Apollonia		Insgesamt		
	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Westpontische Stücke
Distrikt Lovetsch	1	X	1	2	1	1	4	31	1	1	4	614x	35
Distrikt Veliko Tarnovo	3	4	3	5	1	1	6	13			6	379x	23
Distrikt Razgrad			2	9	2	3	1	4			2	94x	16
Distrikt Targovishte	2	7	3	19	1	6	4	59			5	888x	91
Distrikt Schumen	6	23x	6	62x	5	67	6	74			7	1969x	226x
Distrikt Varna	5	17	5	63	7	42	7	34			7	512x	156
Insgesamt	17	51	20	160	17	120	28	215	1	1	31	4456x	547x

Tabelle 5

Westpontische Münzen in Moesia Inferior in den 40^{er} Jahren des 3. Jhd.
(Anteil an Münzfunden und Stücken nach Herrschern)

Herrscher	Dionysopolis		Odessus		Mesembria		Anchialus		Apollonia		Insgesamt	
	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke	Funde	Stücke
Antoninus Pius	1											
Septimius Severus	1	1	1	4			13	28	1	1	16	34
Julia Domna			1	1			1	1			2	2
Caracalla	2	2	5	10			9	28			16	40
Caracalla/ Domna							1	1			1	1
Macrinus							1	1			1	1
Elagabalus			5	7							5	7
Aquila Severa			1	1							1	1
Severus Alexander	3	3	6	8							9	11
Severus Alexander/Maesa			1	1							1	1
Maximinus Thrax												
Gordianus III	10	21	15	53			5	13			5	13
Gordianus und Tranquillina			11	51	10	29	1	1			26	75
Philippus I und Otacilia Severa			1	1							10	32
Philippus II	1	1	1	1	11	52					13	54

Tabelle 6

Einzelfunde provinzialstädtischer Münzen an der Bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste (193-249)

Fundstätte	Münzstätte													
	<i>Histria</i>	<i>Tomis</i>	<i>Callatis</i>	<i>Dionysopolis</i>	<i>Odessus</i>	<i>Mesembria</i>	<i>Anchialus</i>	<i>Marcianopolis</i>	<i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i>	<i>Deultum</i>	<i>Bizye</i>	<i>Augusta Traiana</i>	<i>Smyrna</i>	<i>Nicaia</i>
Baltschik (Umgebung)			1	2	3		1	4				1		
Baltschik		4	2		8	3	3	9						
Kavarna	1	2	2	1	6	2	3	16		1			1	
Varna		6		4	20	4	2	21			1			2
Varna (Umgebung)		4		8	27	3	6	40		2	1			

Inferior Limes mit Geld ist wahrscheinlich neben der beschränkten finanziellen Möglichkeiten auch auf die Ignorierung der Stadt von den römischen Behörden zurückzuführen. Gründe dafür könnten hypothetisch auch im gescheiterten Widerstandsversuch auf der Seite Mithridats VI in seinem dritten Krieg gegen die Römische Republik 72 v. Chr. gesucht werden.

Unter den Münzstätten, die die Bedürfnisse des städtischen Geldumlaufs in *Odessus* und *Dionysopolis* sichern, sowie jenen auf ihren städtischen Territorien, zeichnen sich *Marcianopolis* und *Odessus* aus. Die bekannten und der Forschung zugänglichen Einzelfunde provinzialstädtischer Emissionen aus der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste, die in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr. geprägt sind, lassen den Eindruck von Übergewicht der ersten Stadt auf dem Territorium von *Dionysopolis*, in Bizone und in der Stadtumgebung von *Odessus* (Tabelle 6).⁴ Die Münzen der restlichen Zentren bilden zwei ungefähr gleich starke Gruppen. In der ersten sind *Dionysopolis*, *Tomis*, *Callatis*, *Anchialus* und *Mesembria* und in der zweiten — *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Deultum* und *Bizye*. Das Vorhandensein von Münzen aus anderen Zentren wie Augusta Traiana, Smyrna und Nicaia ist sporadisch und beruht nicht auf dauerhaften Handelskontakten.

Eingeschlossen im Umlaufstrom, werden die westpontischen Münzen als vollwertige Geldeinheiten auf den verschiedenen Gebieten des alltäglichen Lebens benutzt. Sie sind in Siedlungen und Burgen [Караџотов 1974, 13], Wirtschaftsgebäuden [Султов 1962, 15], als Weihbeigaben [Герасимов 1946а, 52, 63-64; Герасимов 1955, 579, 581; Alföldi 1978, 57], „Obolos für Charon“ [Гунев 1986, 23] und als Teil des Grabinventars [Герасимов 1938, 451; Герасимов 1957, 325; Alföldi 1978, 59] anzutreffen. Nach der Neugestaltung des Münzwesens im Kaiserreich vom Kaiser Aurelianus ist das Schicksal der westpontischen Münzen endgültig bestimmt, und sie verlassen die Märkte und Garnisonen der Provinz *Moesia Inferior*.

Anmerkungen

¹ Die neuerlich abgeschlossene Untersuchung von Iv. Karajotov [Караџотов 2001] über die bronzene Münzprägung in Mesambria Pontica ist immer noch nicht erschienen.

² In Tabelle 1 wird in chronologischer Reihenfolge die Gesamtanzahl der Münzentypen nach Kaisern, Mitregierenden und Familienangehörigen, im deren Namen die Münzen geprägt werden, dargestellt. Ihre durchschnittliche Jahreszahl, eine Vorstellung von der Intensität der Münzprägung vermittelnd, ist nach Perioden berechnet, wobei die in den Geldumlauf insgesamt eingeführten Münzentypen während der Regierung jedes Kaisers erschlossen werden.

³ In Tabelle 2 berücksichtigt die Absonderung der Münztypen nach Nominalen die festgestellte höhere Kaufkraft des 3 und besonders des 4 Nominals (Sestertia), benutzt bei den grösseren Handelszahlungen [Юркува 1987, 89; Levy 1964, 88].

⁴ Die entsprechende Information darüber verdanke ich meinen Kollegen As. Salkin, M. Dimitrov, Al. Minčev, M. Dončeva, D. Kožuharov, Iv. Karajotov und D. Nedev, bei denen ich mich bedanke.

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Abkürzungen

- ИАИ* — *Известия на Археологическия институт*
ИБАИ — *Известия на Българския археологически институт*
ИВАД — *Известия на Варненското археологическо дружество*
ИНМВ — *Известия на Народния музей — Варна*
ИНМШ — *Известия на Народния музей — Шумен*
ИОМВТ — *Известия на Окръжния музей — Велико Търново*

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AUGUSTA TRAJANA — BEROE 2ND-8TH CENTURY ACCORDING TO THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Roman town Augusta Trajana¹ had been founded by emperor Trajanus in the beginning of 2nd century, after his victory under Dacians. The settlement had strategic place on the main road from *Serdica* and *Philippopolis* to *Hadrianopolis* and *Anchialus*. It had been situated in the north part of Thrace, on the south hills of Sarnena Sredna Gora.²

This article gives the main periods of the coin circulation on the territory of Augusta Trajana — Beroe (*Verea*) 2nd-8th century. The numismatic materials had been collected more than 25 years from temporary archeological explorations³ and occasional finds. Contemporary Stara Zagora lies just on the medieval Boruj, and roman Augusta Trajana, that makes difficulties for their explorations.

The main problem connected with the chronology is the existence of preroman *Beroe*. According the archaeological researches the last conclusions are that Augusta Trajana had been founded in the beginning of 2nd century on the new place. Although the earliest singular coins of Philip II, Alexander the Grate, Seuthes III, Remetalkus, those that had been found in different sectors of the roman town Augusta Trajana, except necropolis, it doesn't prove the existence of earlier preroman settlement Beroe on this place. Completely different is the situation through I century. Most earliest of the coins finds from second half of 1st century (Claudius 1st, Vespasianus Domicianus, Nerva) provenance from the necropolises of Augusta Trajana (tables 3, 5) previously, that confirms the suggestion that Augusta Trajana had been founded in the beginning of 2nd century. The thracian preroman Beroe had been near to Augusta Trajana, and after the foundation of Augusta Trajana it population gradually left it and moved to the new founded town. According the last publications there are facts that two names — Augusta Trajana and Beroe existed parallel from 2nd-4th century.⁴ The town mints own coins from L. Verus till Gallienus with the roman name, Augusta Traiana.⁵ After the dividing of the Roman empire in the end of 4th century Augusta Trajana also endure political and social changes. Then finally named Beroe as an reminiscential of the preroman Beroe.

According the archaeological excavations on the territory of Augusta Trajana the numismatic materials from 2nd century origins from all investigated parts of the town (sectors 1-6).⁶ Most earliest are the coins of Trajanus and Hadrianus. One of the interesting is an example of Trajanus with countermark TONZOY. Two similar, but from Nero and Caesar August are with the same rare countermark.⁷ Next table 1-2 presents all coins finds from the archaeological researches in Augusta Trajana — Beroe. The coins from necropolises are in separate tables 3-6.

Table 1

Emperor	Sector 1 MD	Sector 2 Forum ⁸	Sector 3 OUS	Sector 4 PD ⁹	Sector 5 CP	Sector 6 DS	Total
Trajanus	1				1		2
Hadrianus					2		2
Gordianus III		1	3	1	1		7
Filipus Pater		2					2
Gallienus	1		1			1	3
Filipus Iunior						1	1
Claudius II Gothicus	3	2	1		1	3	10
Severina		1					1
Aurelianus	1	1	2		1		5
Probus	3		1		3	2	9
Carus	1						1
Maximianus I				1	2		3
Diocletianus	1	3	4		2		10
Licinius I		2	1		2		5
Licinius II		1				1	2
Constantinus Magnus	5	8		7	2		22
Constans	1	2					3
Constantius II	2		4	4	5		15
Iulianus II	1	1					2
Iovianus			1				1
Valentinianus I	1	1	1	2	1	3	9
Valent		1			3		4
Flacilla					1		1
Theodosius I	3			4	1	2	10
Arcadius	3	1	1		4		9
Honorius	2	1			1		4

Emperor	Sector 1 MD	Sector 2 Forum ⁸	Sector 3 OUS	Sector 4 PD ⁹	Sector 5 CP	Sector 6 DS	Total
Eudocia		1					1
Theodosius II		1	1		4		6
Valentinianus III		2			1		3
Marcian	1			1			2
I-II		1		2			3
III		2		1	1		4
IV	2	5	6	4	2		19
IV-V		4	1	2	1		8
Zenon							1
Elia Verina							1
Anastasius I	1			4			5
Iustinus I		2		1	1		4
Iustinianus I	3	3	1	6	11		24
IustinusII	3						3
Tiberius II Constantinus		1		2	1		4
Mavricius Tiberius	2	2		6	1		11
Foka		3	1	4	4		12
Heraclius		1			1		2
Constantinus V					3		3
Total							258

Table 2. Roman provincial coins 2nd-3rd century (sectors 1-6)

Sector 1 — MD (Mladežki dom)

1. Augusta Trajana /Commodus	2
2. Augusta Trajana /Sept. Severus	1
3. Augusta Trajana /Caracalla	1
4. <i>Deultum</i> /Gordian III	1
5. <i>Deultum</i> /Philip Arab	1
6. <i>Deultum</i> (?)	1
7. <i>Philippopolis</i> /Elagabal	1
8. <i>Philippopolis</i> (?)	1
9. <i>Pautalia</i> /Antoninus Pius	1
10. <i>Pautalia</i> (?)	1
11. <i>Serdica</i> /Caracalla	2

12. <i>Nicopolis ad Nestum</i> /Caracalla	1
13. <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> /Sept. Severus	1
14. <i>Hadrianopolis</i> /Gordianus III	1
15. (?) Caracalla	1
Total	17

Sector 2 — CP (Centralen plosštad)

1. Augusta Trajana/Faustina	2
2. Augusta Trajana/Caracalla	1
3. <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> /Sept. Severus	1
4. <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> /Gordianus III	1
5. <i>Philippopolis</i> /M. Aurelius	1
6. <i>Philippopolis</i> /Caracalla	1
7. <i>Deultum</i> /Macrinus	1
8. <i>Deultum</i> /Gordianus III	1
9. <i>Marcianopolis</i> /Caracalla	1
10. <i>Hadrianopolis</i> (?)	1
Total	11

Sector 3 — Forum

1. Augusta Trajana/Geta	1
2. Augusta Trajana/Caracalla	1
3. Augusta Trajana /Galienus	1
4. Augusta Trajana (?)	1
5. <i>Serdica</i> /Caracalla	1
6. <i>Philippopolis</i> (?)	2
Total	7

Sector 4 — OUS (Okrazno upravljenie na saobsštvenijata)

1. Augusta Trajana/Caracalla	1
2. Augusta Trajana/Galienus	1
3. <i>Marcianopolis</i> /Elagabalus	1

4. <i>Deultum/Macrinus</i>	1
5. <i>Pautalia /Geta</i>	1
6. <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum/Macrinus</i>	1
Total	6

Sector 6 — PD (Partien Dom)

1. Augusta Trajana /M. Aurelius	1
2. <i>Hadrianopolis/Caracalla</i>	1
3. <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum/Macrinus</i>	1
Total	3

Table 3. Necropolis —DS (Dom na sâvetite)

Tiberius Claudius Drusus (41-54)	1
Flavius Vespasianus (69-76)	1
Domitianus (72-96)	1
Marcus Cocceius Nerva (96-98)	1
Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus Crinitus (98-117)	2
Publius Aelius Nerva Trajanus Hadrianus (117-138)	1
Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus (117)	1
Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius (138-161)	1
Faustina	1
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (140-180)	1
Lucius Aurelius Verus (161-169)	1
Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius (238-244)	1
Furia Sabinia Tranquillina	1
Marcus Aurelius Valerius Claudius (269-270)	1
Lucius Domitius Aurelianus (270-275)	3
Marcus Aurelius Probus (277-282)	2
Marcus Aurelius Carus (282-283)	1
Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximinus (305-313)	2
Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius (307-323)	3
Flavius Valerius Constantinus (306-337)	6
Flavius Iulius Crispus (317-326)	1
Flavius Iulius Constans (323-350)	1
Flavius Iulius Valerius Constantius (323-361)	2
Flavius Valent (364-378)	3
Flavius Valentinianus (364-375)	2
Procopius	1
Flavius Gratianus (367-383)	1

Flavius Theodosius (379-395)	1
Theodosios II (408-450)	1
<hr/>	
Total	46

Table 4. Provincial coins from DS(Dom na sâvetite) *necropolis*

<i>Augusta Trajana /M. Aurelius</i>	1
<i>Augusta Trajana/ Commodus</i>	1
<i>Augusta Trajana /Geta</i>	1
<i>Augusta Trajana /Sept. Severus</i>	1
<i>Augusta Trajana (?)</i>	1
<i>Philippopoli/Aelius Caesar</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis Filippopolis/Antoninus Pius</i>	2
<i>Philippopolis /Marcus Aurelius</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis /Elagabalus</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis /Geta</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis /Commodus</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis / Caracalla</i>	1
<i>Philippopolis (?)</i>	3
<i>Deultum /Gordianus III</i>	1
<i>Deultum /Tranquillina</i>	2
<i>Deultum (?)</i>	1
<i>Hadrianopolis /Antoninus Pius</i>	1
<i>Hadrianopolis /Gordianus III</i>	1
<i>Pautalia /Geta</i>	1 *
<i>Serdica /Caracalla</i>	1
Provincial unidentified	3
<hr/>	
Total	27

Table 5. *Necropolis* Gradski stadion

Tiberius Claudius Drusus (41-54)	1
Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus (252-254)	1
Caius Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus (254-268)	1
Marcus Aurelius Valerius Claudius (269-270)	5
Lucius Domitius Aurelianus (270-275)	3
Marcus Aurelius Probus (277-282)	2

Marcus Aurelius Carus (282-283)	1
Caius Valerius Diocletianus (284-305)	3
Galerius Valerius Maximianus (292-305)	1
Flavius Valerius Constantinus (306-337)	3
Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius (307-323)	2
Flavius Iulius Valerius Constantius (323-361)	2
3 rd century	4
<hr/>	
Total	29

Table 6. Provincional coins (*Necropolis Gradski stadion*)

Augusta Trajana /Lucius Verus	1
Augusta Trajana /Marcus Aurelius	1
<i>Philippopolis</i> /Antoninus Pius	1
<i>Philippopolis</i> /Faustina	1
<i>Anchialus</i> /Maximinus	1
<i>Hadrianopolis</i> /Caracalla	1
<i>Deultum</i> / Filippus Pater	1
<i>Viminacium</i> / Filippus Pater	1
<hr/>	
Total	8

According to the evidence, the coin circulation in Augusta Trajana is most intensive from the beginning of 3rd to the end of 4th century. In the necropolises of Augusta Trajana had been found some collective coin hoards¹⁰ from 4th-5th century. The biggest one's with 417 coins of Constant, Gracian, Arcadius, Honorius and Eudocia.¹¹ Most of them (360), had been minted in the first half of 5th century. The main reason for their hidden are the hunian rides in the beginning of 5th century.

In grave 234 were found 55 coins (of Valent — 22, Constantius II — 15, 4th-5th century — 18). In grave 940 — 20 coins of Constantius I and Valent. Also from graves are 15 coins of Constantinus and 9 another of Constantius I, Constantius II and Constant. Collective coin hoard from 24 examples had been found in time of the explorations on Forum. Those coins are in bad condition. Generally they are from 4th-5th century.

From archaeological excavations of sector PD had been found 10 coins of Marcianus. With fixed localization are 2 tremises of Zenon and Elia Verina. The coin circulation is intensive till the end of 4th century. Mainly circulates coins from the east mints like Nikomedia, Kyzikus, Konstantinopolis. Avaroslavonic

rides trough 7th century are the main reason for the crisis in this settlement too. The coins circulation suddenly decreases. Had been found few coins from this period (Tiberius II Konstantyn, Mauricius Tiberius, Foka) and only 3 from 8th century (Konstantyn V Cupronimus). The town hadn been depopulated. It continues to exist on the basis of the late roman town. The lack of the coins for 9th century till the second half of 10th century is not an exception. Is the situation in the other medieval settlements. It is the result of the returning back to the natural economy. Medieval town Boruj continue to exist on the place of the late roman town.

Notes

¹ A. Dumont, Inscriptions grecques de l'Hemus, *Bulletin de correspondans hellenique*, 1878, 406.

² D. Nikolov, Augusta Trajana — Vereja II-VI v., *Arheologia* 3, 1965, 11-21.

³ Kr. Kalchev, Arheologicheskijat rezervat "Augusta Trajana — Beroe"— prouchvanija i problemi (85 godini Istoricheski muzej Stara Zagora), Stara Zagora 1992, 46-69.

⁴ D. Jankov, Za naj staroto ime na Stara Zagora: Marica Iztok, *Arheologicheski prouchvanija i problemi*, v. II, Sofia 1994, 189-194.

⁵ E. Sch. Geiss, Die Munzprägung von Augusta Traiana und Traianopolis, Berlin 1991 (Griechisches Munzwerk. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike 31).

⁶ The numeration of sectors 1-6 is by the author of the article.

⁷ J. Yurukova, Monetosecheneto na gradovete v Dolna Mizia I Trakia II-III Hadrianopol, Sofia 1987, p. 8.

⁸ D. Nikolov, L'ensemble du forum d'Augusta Trajana — Beroe. Recherches sur la culture en Mesie et en Thrace (Bulgaria) — II-IV^e siecles, *IAI* 37, 1987, 96-107.

⁹ D. Nikolov, Kr. Kalchev, Razkopki na obekt Partien Dom, Stara Zagora, *Izvestija na muzeite ot Jugoiztochna Balgaria*, v. 8, 1985, 31-48.

¹⁰ M. Minkova, Kasnoantichni monetni nahodki ot fonda na Istoricheski muzej Stara Zagora, *Numizmatika/Dokladi*, Veliko Târnovo 1994, 24-26; M. Minkova, Rzymskie skarby monetarne z terytorium administracyjnego Augusta Trajany, *Novensia* 8, 1995, 101.

¹¹ M. Minkova, Sakrovishte na kasnorimski moneti ot Augusta Trajana, *Izvestija na Istoricheski muzej Kjustendil V*, 1993, 369-374.

Alexandra Dimitrova-Milčeva

Sofia

MARMORTORSO DER APHRODITE PUDICA VOM TYP RHODOS AUS SVETI VRAČ¹

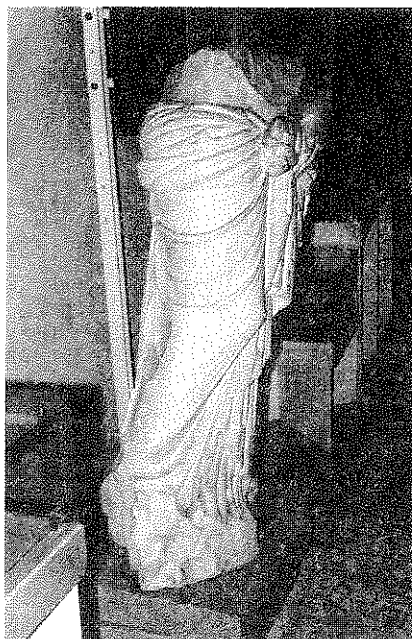
Alle, die das Archäologische Museum in der Stadt Sandanski (früher Sveti Vrač) besucht haben, haben sie unbedingt bemerkt — sie nimmt den zentralen Platz im Saal, gewidmet der Steinplastik aus dem Territorium der z.Z. noch namenslosen antiken Stadt, ein (Abb. 1a-d). Von der Statue ist nur der untere Teil, etwas über der Scham, erhalten. Sie wurde im Jahre 1968 während Rettungsausgrabungen eines römischen Bades entdeckt, an der Stelle, wo sich jetzt das Gebäude der Staatlichen Sparkasse befindet, auf dem Platz "Mazedonien" unterhalb neben dem frühchristlichen Zentrum.

Die Statue gehört einer stattlichen Frauenfigur mit saftigen Formen und graziösen Bewegungen im blühenden Alter. Sie ist aus feinkörnigem weißem Marmor gearbeitet. Die erhaltene Höhe mit dem Postament, auf dem sie steht, ist 1,25 m und weist auf etwas Überlebensgröße. Bestoßungen am Bauch, an den Fingern der Hand, an dem Kleiderrand und den Sohlen. Von dem Delphinkörper neben ihrem linken Schenkel ist nur der Schwanz erhalten. Doch nur dieser Teil der Statue reicht, um die Darstellung der Göttin Aphrodite in einem sehr populären ikonographischen Typ zu unterscheiden. Die Göttin ist stehend dargestellt, mit leichter graziöser Drehung nach links. Die Körperschwere fällt auf das linke Bein. Das rechte Bein ist im Knie gebogen und zurückgestellt. Der Körper ist in einem Chiton fest umwickelt. Breite Falten fallen über Schenkel und Knöchel. Im bekannten Chema umwickelt das Kleid ein Teil der Hüfte durch vertikale effektvolle Falten. Vorne bilden sie einen großen Knoten und fallen nach unten, wobei sie zickzackförmige Falten am Rand des Chitons bilden. Die linke Hand, nur bis zum Handgelenk erhalten, hält den Chiton über den Knoten fest. Unter dem linken Knie, fest an den Knöchel gelehnt, war eine Delphinfigur mit dem Kopf nach unten. Die Skulptur ist in einer zurückhaltenden Manier gearbeitet, bei der die Kleiderfalten und die Körpermuskulatur konventionell wiedergegeben sind, mit der für Aphrodite Pudica typischen, aus der hellenistischen Zeit stammenden Geste. Als Aphrodite Pudica wird meistens die nackte, nach vorn geneigte Göttin kennzeichnet. Mit der rechten Hand verdeckt sie

a



b



c



d



Abb. 1 a-d, Aphrodite Pudica Type Rhodia aus Sveti Vrač (Sandanski)

teilweise ihre Brust, mit der linken versucht sie leicht verschämt ihre Scham zu verdecken. Öfters stehen neben ihrem linken Fuß als Attribut ein Wassergefäß oder ein Delphin, ein Baumstamm, Eros.

Die große Vielfältigkeit der Venusdarstellungen während der hellenistischen Epoche ist das Ergebnis der ungezügelter Phantasie geschickter Kopisten. Ihnen verdanken wir die zahlreichen Varianten des Typs Pudica, die auch heute durch den Überfluß von Denkmälern Respekt einflößen. Anscheinend war es üblich, die Göttin in dieser Stellung darzustellen.

Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts typologisiert I. Bernoulli aufgrund der Attribute die zahlreichen Kopien der Aphrodite Pudica und trennt sie in Gruppen. Das Werk von Bernoulli umfaßt achtzig Repliken [Bernoulli 1983, Typ 7, 268-272]. Heute ist ihre Anzahl bedeutend größer und die Kriterien ihrer Bestimmung sind geändert. Das zeitgenössische Gruppieren der Kopien gründet sich auf die Architypen, von denen sie abstammen. Nach Felletti Maj sind das: Typ Medici, Dresdner-Kapitolinischer, Aphrodite aus Troada [Felletti Maj 1951, 41-61].

Das Entstehen des Typs wird in das 4. Jhd.v.Chr. datiert. A. Hekler [1912] und M. Bieber [1915, 24-25, Taf. XXII, 30], Felletti Maj [1951, 44] halten sich an die Autorschaft von Praxiteles. Furtwängler [1893, 643] und Collignon [1897, 639 u.w.] sind geneigt, ihn seinen unmittelbaren Erben zuzuschreiben. Man könnte sagen, daß die heutige archäologische Literatur beinahe völlig die Zweifel bezüglich der Autorschaft von Praxiteles des Typs Aphrodite, die mit der Hand die Lebensquelle verdeckt, überwunden hat. Diesem außerordentlich populären Bildnis der Göttin, das in den Sammlungen beinahe aller größeren Weltmuseen vertreten ist, liegen die beiden berühmten Statuen — der Knidischen Venus aus dem Kapitolinischen Museum in Rom und der Venus Medici aus der Galerie Uffizi in Florenz [Neumer-Pfau, 1982] zugrunde. Fast alle Autoren sind der Meinung, daß Venus Pudica eine Entwicklung der Knidischen Venus im Laufe von einigen Jahrzehnten und in demselben künstlerischen Kreis darstellt. Diese Evolution kann auch später im Entstehen eines neuen Typs der halbbedeckten Venus Pudica verfolgt werden. Über diesen Typ urteilen wir nach der berühmten Venus Anadyomene.² Nach Meinung von Bernoulli, Furtwängler und Amelung entsteht dieser Typ unmittelbar unter dem Einfluß des Werkes von Apelles. G. Lipold, Himmelmann, Luli suchen die Tradition von Lysipp, beeinflusst von alexandrinischen Prototypen. Das Original der Venus Anadyomene stammt aus dem 3. Jhd.v.Chr. Eben aus dem Bad gestiegen, drückt sie ihr Haar vom Wasser aus. Der untere Teil des Körpers ist von einem Himation umhüllt, dessen Enden in einem Knoten unter dem Nabel gebunden sind. Eine frühe Gestaltung dieses Werks ist die Terrakotte aus Megara in der Sammlung Sabouloff [Furtwängler 1883-1887, Taf. CXXX].

Der kleine Eros von der linken Seite der Göttin ist durch einem mit Ente spielendem Kind getauscht. Ein anderes Beispiel einer Marmorstatue nähert uns noch mehr an das Modell der Statue aus Sandanski. Zufällig wurde am Meeres-

boden eine stark verwitterte Marmorstatue entdeckt, die in der Literatur als die Venus von Rhodos bekannt ist, heute im Museum der Insel Rhodos. Sie stellt die Göttin mit verfeinerten Bewegungen und jungfräulichem Reiz dar. Ihre Schenkel sind im bis zu den Knöcheln fallendem Himation umhüllt. In dieser Ikonographie ist die Statue aus Rhodos eine Variante der Venus Sabbie. Sie wird in Ende des 4-Mitte des 2. Jhdt.v.Chr. datiert. Diese unsichere Datierung wurde in der tiefgreifendsten Forschung des Typs Venus von Rhodos von Antonio De Vita überwunden, welcher sie in die Mitte des 2. Jhdts.v.Chr. datiert [De Vita 1955, Taf. V/VI].

Der Typ der halbbeleideten Venus Pudica mit den meistverbreiteten Attributen Eros oder Delphin, nicht selten auch Eros, auf dem Delphin reitend, wird das Lieblingsthema der Kuroplasten und Bildhauer im 2. Jhdt.v.Chr. und später, besonders während der römischen Zeit [Felletti Maj 1951, Anm.3]. Venus Pudica, nackt oder bekleidet, ist die meistverbreitete Gestalt unter den Darstellungen der Bronzekleinplastik aus Thrakien und den Provinzen an der Unteren Donau [Ogenova, Marinova 1975, 130-156, Nr. 143-180; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1986, 400-403; Georgiev Autoreferat 1993; Tekosu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, 84-100, Nr. 88-120].

Die Statue aus Sandanski findet in Ikonographie und Stil Analogien bei außerordentlich vielen römischen Kopien. In ihrer Ausführung trägt sie die charakteristischen Merkmale der römischen Provinzkunst, ausgedrückt in den recht realistisch dargestellten weiblichen Formen, eine Tendenz, die sich schon bei der Statue der Venus von Milo bemerkbar macht; die Art, in der der Chiton in Falten gelegt ist, die verlängerten Proportionen der Schenkel und Knöchel und insbesondere der Finger — ein charakteristisches Merkmal für die Kunst aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhdt. n.Chr. Die Knöchel und Knie sind stark vom anatomischen Standpunkt aus. Im eleganten Bogen des nackten Körpers können die noch immer lebendigen Traditionen der griechischen Kunst entdeckt werden.

An die Kunst aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhdts. nähern sie ein paar besonders nahe Beispiele, wie z.B. das Standbild von Julia Semeja aus dem Museum im Vatikan, halbnackt wie Venus, mit einem Delphin neben dem rechten Bein [Amelung 1903, 743-744, Nr. 639, Taf. 80]. Mit der rechten Hand hält sie eine Haarsträhne, in der linken hielt sie wahrscheinlich einen Spiegel. Als ein Stil, der die offizielle Tendenz der Kunst während der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhdts.n.Chr. widerspiegelt, verstärkt die Analogie mit der genannten Statue die Argumente für die Datierung unserer Statue in die Zeit dieser römischen Kaiserin. Eine ganze Serie von Standbildern der Venus Pudica von demselben ikonographischen Typ hat ihren Platz im Katalog der Skulptur aus Cirene gefunden. Die meisten davon werden von Parabini als Venus Pudica vom Typ Rhodos bestimmt [Parabini 1959, 96-100, Nr. 246-265]. Im Kreis der nahen Analogien nimmt das Marmor torso der halbnackten Venus aus dem Palast Parthenios in Stobi, heute im Volksmuseum von Belgrad, einen wichtigen Platz ein, besonders im Bezug auf den Typ [Грвѹт 1958, 90-91, табл. LX; Соколовска 1987, обр. 172, Nr. 135].

Die Göttin ist in der bekannten Ikonographie mit Delphin neben dem linken Bein dargestellt. Sie verdeckt die Scham nicht mit der linken, sondern mit der rechten Hand. Die Drapierung des Chitons fällt auf der aus den Standbildern der Venus von Rhodos bekannten Art und nicht im Zickzack wie bei der Statue aus Sveti Vrač. Die Ausarbeitung ist gröber, was wahrscheinlich auf die mindere Qualität des Marmor zurückzuführen ist. Ohne Zweifel ist unsere Skulptur das Werk eines guten Künstlers. Das sollte uns nicht überraschen, wenn man die großen Errungenschaften in der dekorativen und votiven Metallplastik in der Stadt und der Umgebung im 2.-3. Jhdt. voraussieht, bedingt durch das Vorhandensein wunderbarer Marmorsteinbrüche. Eben aus diesem Grund neige ich zu der Annahme, daß das Standbild der Venus Pudica aus Sveti Vrač ein Werk der örtlichen Skulpturwerkstätten ist.

Das Entdecken dieser typologisch gleichen und stilistisch nahen Statuen der Göttin in Stobi und Sveti Vrač ist eine Äußerung der Achtung der Göttin seitens der Bevölkerung dieser nahegelegenen und von einem Kulturkreis umfaßten Städten. Aus Stobi sind auch andere Darstellungen der Venus Pudica in Marmor und Bronze bekannt. In Thrakien und Mösien ist sie weit verbreitet, besonders in der Kleinplastik. Ein Steintorso der halbbekleideten Venus aus einem Badraum in Pautalia wird im Museum der Stadt Kjustendil aufbewahrt [Slokoska Faltblatt]. Letzteres ist jedoch gröber in der Ausführung. Aufmerksamkeit verdient eine seltene Darstellung der Venus Pudica auf einer trapezförmigen Motivplatte aus *Novae*. Darauf ist die Göttin mit Delphin und *Genius Mortis* bei dem Stanbein dargestellt [Dimitrova-Milčeva 1986, 402, Abb. 20].

Andere Denkmäler der Venus Pudica aus Sveti Vrač sind nicht bekannt. Wie ich am Anfang bemerkte, hat das Standbild dieser Göttin eines der römischen Bäder in der Stadt geschmückt. Berühmt mit seinen heilkräftigen Mineralquellen, mit dem Gymnasion und der Fürsorge für die Sportspiele, zeigte die Stadt besondere Achtung gegenüber den Gottheiten der Gesundheit und des glücklichen Zufalls. Darunter hatte auch die Göttin Venus ihren Platz, nicht nur als Symbol der Naturschönheit, sondern auch als Symbol der physischen und seelischen Vollkommenheit.

Anmerkungen

¹ Die Ausgrabungen wurden von Tzanka Slavčeva-Ribarova, damals Museumsleiter im Historischen Bezirksmuseum Blagoevgrad, durchgeführt. Sie hat mir liebenswürdigweise das Standbild zur Veröffentlichung überlassen. Im Jahre 1998 bei Rettungsausgrabungen südlich des angegebenen Terrains, auf dem Fahrdamm der Straße "8. März" — ein Terrain, bestimmt für Wohnbauten — wurden massive architektonische Überreste und eine Nekropole aus der späten Antike und des Mittelalters entdeckt.

² Unter den besten Beispielen mit Delphin, welche die Verbindung der Göttin mit dem Meer zeigen [*LIMC* II, 1 (1984), 82]. Im Körpermotiv von der Aphrodite vom Kapitol sieht De Vita den Prototyp der halbbeleideten Aphrodite, dessen zahlreiche Kopien während der römischen Zeit "freie Erfindungen römischer Zeit sind" [Arnd, Lippold, 82]. Analog der unseren sind die Statuen der Aphrodite mit Delphin bei dem Standbein [*Hesperia* 4, 1935, 394-395, Abb. 19-21; *LIMC* II, 2, 689], Marmorstatue der Göttin aus Karthagen, heute im Museum Bardo [*LIMC*, Nr. 736], Marmorstatue aus dem Hafen in Rhodos [*LIMC* Nr. 740]. Die angegebenen Beispiele haben eine recht ausgedehnte Datierung.

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Iwona Modrzewska-Pianetti

Varsavia

INTORNO A UN' ANFORA INEDITA RITROVATA NEL CANALE RIGÀ DELLA LAGUNA DI VENEZIA

La laguna di Venezia ha cambiato durante i secoli il suo aspetto [Modrzewska 2000, 11-54]. Sono varie le cause di questo fatto che, al giorno d' oggi, consente che un veneziano, E. Canal, ritrovi i materiali antichi nei canali, paludi e nelle terre fangose delle isole [Canal 1998]. I resti romani sono oggi sommersi nelle acque lagunari come nel canale Rigà nella laguna settentrionale vicino a Lio Piccolo, a Sud dell' isola di Torcello (fig. 1). In questa zona sono state fatte prospezioni subacquee nel 1978. Così si è potuto accertare la presenza di una grande arginatura costruita con pietre, mattoni, ceramiche varie e pali sui 2,5 metri sotto il livello delle acque lagunari. Assieme fu trovato un tronco di albero, in parte scavato, collocato con la punta nella sponda del canale. Purtroppo questo reperto oggi è disperso [Canal 1998, 76-77]. Negli anni successivi venivano continuate le prospezioni nel canale che hanno permesso di testimoniare la esistenza della struttura di laterizi e legni identificata come Chiese Bruciate, sito oggi scomparso [Canal 1998, 78-79]. Carotaggi hanno portato alla identificazione delle costruzioni di mattoni depositate alla profondità di 2,30-2,50 m (ca 5 m sotto il livello del mare del 1970). Questo sarebbe il luogo ove cominciava la arginatura lunga 1200 metri. Queste costruzioni vengono collegate con gli antichi insediamenti nella laguna veneziana, secondo le ipotesi di W. Dorigo [Dorigo 1983, 14-18; discussione in Crouzet-Pavan 2001, 20]. Nel canale Rigà sono state ritrovate varie anfore recuperate da E. Canal e depositate successivamente presso il Museo Archeologico di Venezia dove potevamo studiarle grazie al permesso della M.B. Scarfi, già soprintendente archeologico del Veneto. Le anfore furono depositate nei magazzini del museo negli anni novanta del XX secolo e poi trasferite nel nuovo magazzino veneziano. La anfora ritrovata nel canale Rigà, come grande parte dei reperti lagunari, è incompleta: le manca la parte inferiore del corpo (fig. 2, 3). Nonostante la frammentarietà dei reperti lagunari è stato possibile distinguere vari tipi di anfore adriatiche, spagnole, egee ed orientali [Modrzewska 1995, 114]. A volte, accumuli di vari materiali ci portano a pensare che realmente ciò che si trova nella laguna provenisse da riporti della terraferma, come suggerisce ancora

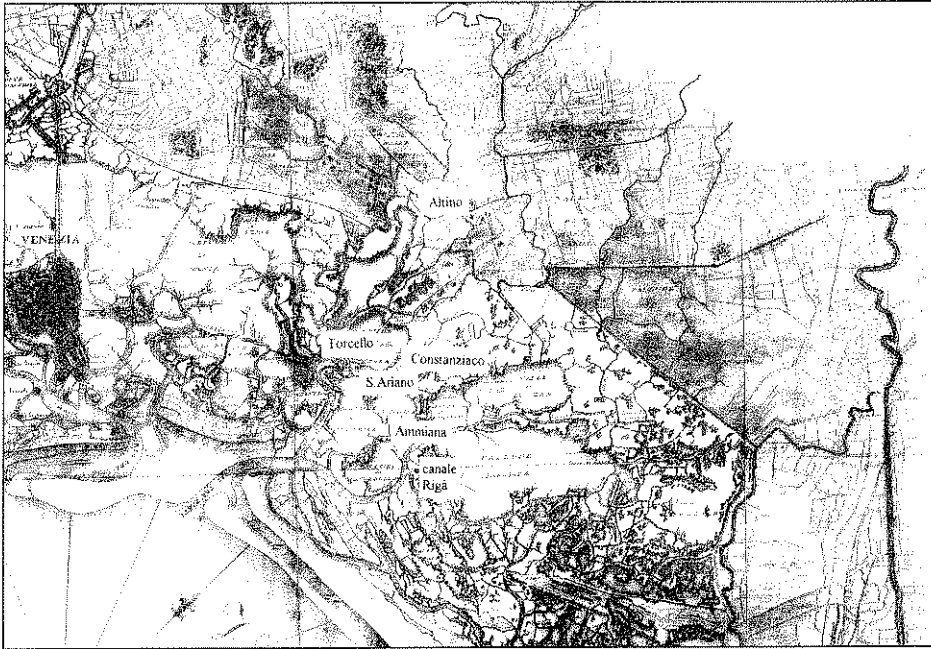


Fig. 1. Mappa generale delle lagune di Venezia (particolare secondo riproduzione di A. Rusconi del 1992; Ufficio Idrografico e Mareografico Venezia)

oggi la E. Crouzet-Pavan [2001, 88-89] e come credono alcuni studiosi da lei citati. Questa opinione è in opposizione a quelle di W. Dorigo e E. Canal. Il ritrovamento della *domus* di S. Lorenzo di Ammiana, isola situata a Est di Torcello, conferma l' esistenza di insediamenti nelle isole nell' epoca romana [Canal, Fersouch *et al.* 1989] (fig. 1). Oggi i reperti romani si trovano a *ca* 2 m di profondità ciò che è provocato dalla subsidenza dell' area lagunare. Perciò i luoghi come canale Rigà nei tempi romani non erano sommersi; nelle vicinanze E. Canal ha scoperto varie strutture antiche [Canal 1998, 153]. I lavori di rafforzamento, alzamenti del livello delle isole prima di abbandonarle, sono stati testimoniati nella parte orientale della laguna secondo W. Dorigo [1995, 141-145]. Queste forme di arginature sono fatte di vari materiali incluse anfore tardoromane o bizantine, come quella che è oggetto di questo studio. La nostra anfora proveniente da canale Rigà conserva la parte superiore con un' ansa e inizio delle spalle; è inventariata con il numero 142947. La anfora ha collo che assomiglia a un imbuto molto aperto, ansa rotonda attaccata sotto l' orlo e curvatura molto evidente delle spalle. L' orlo è separato dal collo con modellatura molto ben fatta segnata con una incisione. La ceramica è ben cotta, sottile, color terracotta, molto erosa dagli organismi dei depositi lagunari ove si trovava per molti secoli. La difficoltà della

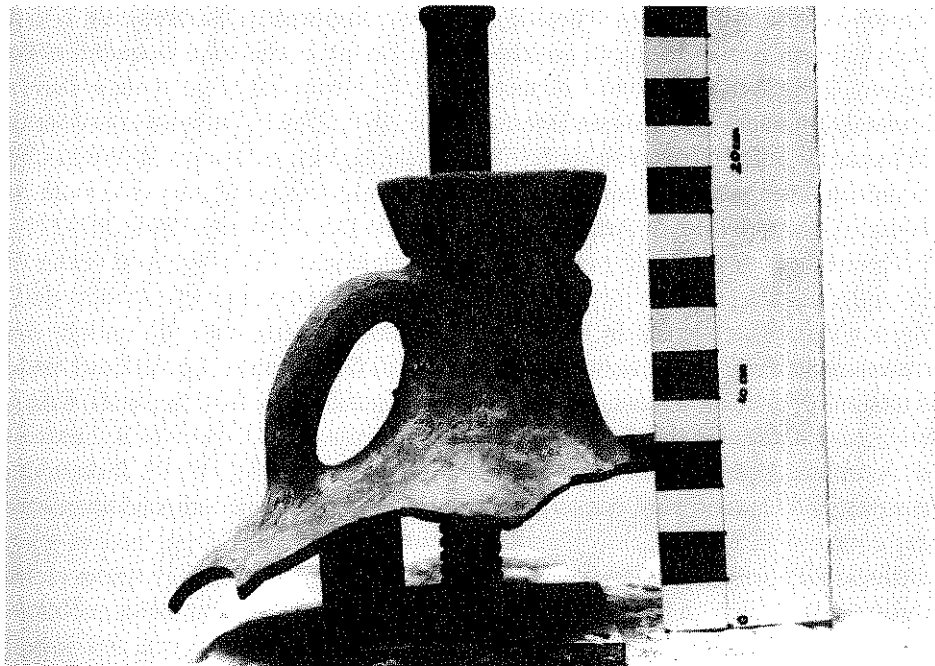


Fig. 2. Frammento di anfora ritrovata nel canale Rigà. Fot. I. Modrzewska



Fig. 3. Ut supra; deposito di Ernesto Canal a Venezia. Fot. I. Modrzewska

identificazione dell' anfora è data dalla sua incompletezza. Sicuramente è una delle più rare forme fra quelle tardoromane e bizantine che sono frequenti nella laguna. I più frequenti sono i contenitori dell' Africa del Nord o varie forme orientali chiamate Late Roman [Modrzewska 1996, 25-40]. Durante la revisione di materiali anforici ritrovati da E. Canal nella laguna, potevamo accertare che le anfore tarde sono più numerose nella parte orientale, cioè presso le isole di Torcello, Costanziaco, S. Ariano e al Lio Piccolo [Modrzewska 1998, 267-271]. I ritrovamenti di E. Canal provenienti dalle vicinanze dell' Ottagono (isola di Poveglia), nella parte occidentale della laguna di Venezia, sono importati dall' Egeo e Africa del Nord. In maggior parte questi reperti sono più antichi dei ritrovamenti delle anfore della zona dell' isola di Costanziaco. La difficoltà delle datazioni è data dalla mancanza di scavi stratigrafici nelle isole lagunari. Costituiscono l'eccezione due isole: Torcello e, collocata a Est l' isola di S. Lorenzo di Ammiana [Leciejewicz *et al.* 1977; Canal, Fersouch *et al.* 1989]. Il resto dei ritrovamenti lagunari può essere trattato solo tipologicamente indipendentemente dal contesto di ritrovamento. Per il ritrovamento di canale Rigà, non ci sono analogie fra i ritrovamenti lagunari. L' anfora incompleta assomiglia a forme molto frequenti nella laguna le Late Roman 2, come venivano chiamate nella pubblicazione sui materiali di Cartagine [Riley 1979, 218]. Queste forme del V-VII sec.d.C. prevalgono negli strati superiori al VII, nello scavo di Torcello e nei vari ritrovamenti lagunari. Però non sono forme identiche a quella della nostra anfora. Per cercare le analogie ci siamo serviti delle tipologie proposte da P. Dyczek per le anfore del Basso Danubio. Egli propone due varianti delle forme simili alla nostra [Dyczek 1999, 136-137]. La prima delle forme del suo tipo 25 sembra essere più simile alla nostra anfora. Sarebbe la forma più antica, chiamata dalla studiosa che ha fatto la tipologia per i territori del Bosforo, Zeest 90 [Zeest 1960, 11]. P. Dyczek indica la provenienza di questa forma dalle anfore tipo Portorecanati con collo ad imbuto. La studiosa francese, B. Carre, ritiene questa forma di provenienza dal Mar Nero e dall' Egeo [Carre 1985, 234]. La forma seconda del tipo Dyczek 25 dovrebbe essere identica con Late Roman 2 [Dyczek 1999, fig. 132]. L' autore cita la storia delle ricerche su queste forme simili alla nostra e nota che sono più documentate ad Agora di Atene, Ostia, Siracusa [per le analogie vedi Dyczek 1999, 136]. Le anfore sono presenti in Libia e territori del Mar Nero, Dobrugia ed a *Histria*. Queste forme ci sono anche a Knossos, Britannia e Pannonia; sono ritenute come pontiche in Mesia Superiore [Bjelajac 1996, 53-59]. Questa opinione sicuramente si basa sulla frequenza di questa forma apparsa sul detto territorio. Le somiglianze della anfora della laguna di Venezia con la forma 25, variante primo del Basso Danubio, si manifestano nella forma dell'orlo tipo imbuto bene modellato e la pasta ceramica bene preparata, che dopo la cottura ha colore marrone chiaro o terracotta più o meno rosso. Le analisi fatte per i campioni delle anfore ritrovate nel Basso Danubio dimostrano la omogeneità tecnologica, ma gli elementi in traccia indicano provenienza da varie

zone e manifatture [Dyczek 1999, 140-141]. Secondo i dati ottenuti per le anfore della fine del III d.C. dimostrano i parametri peggiori che provocano la maggiore porosità della ceramica. Le forme ritrovate a *Novae* nel Basso Danubio sono frammentarie, ma sono datate secondo la stratigrafia dello scavo al II, III d.C. Alcuni frammenti sono bollati o hanno iscrizione dipinta, in latino ma più frequentemente in greco. La ricostruzione fatta in base alle analogie con le anfore, ritrovate nei luoghi sopra elencati indica, che anche la anfora di canale Rigà aveva corpo ovale o piriforme forse con scannelature fina e il piede a forma di bottone. Secondo P. Dyczek la variante prima, della sua forma 25, avrebbe la capacità di 40-59 litri e la variante seconda, assimilata alla Late Roman 2, ca 28-36 litri. Variano anche le dimensioni delle anfore integre da 91-96 cm alle 50-58 per le Late Roman 2. Secondo le parti conservate, l' anfora di canale Rigà si colloca nella prima variante, più grande, dei contenitori conosciuti dal territorio del Basso Danubio; perciò, integra avrebbe la pancia di 35-42 cm di diametro e più di 90 cm di altezza. Il contenuto di queste anfore non è ben definito oppure variava [Dyczek 1999, 151-152]. Una iscrizione dipinta sulla anfora di *Romulo* suggerisce olio come contenuto. Come indica la tradizione, da secoli le anfore apule e betiche per olio sempre erano ovali o rotonde. P. Dyczek spiega le importazioni di olio nelle zone del Basso Danubio con il fatto che dalla Penisola di Istria prima arrivavano principalmente anche le anfore olearie e solo poche di importazione betica. A *Novae* una delle anfore aveva un dipinto, che indica come contenuto — le ostriche in acqua salata. P. Dyczek non esclude anche il trasporto di noci. Per la anfora di canale Rigà è difficile indicare il contenuto però molto più probabile è l' olio, dato che dal II e III d.C. è diminuita la produzione dell' olio istriano. A questo punto arriviamo ai problemi con la datazione. Le anfore simili alla "lagunare" appaiono prima ad *Histria* nel I e II d.C. Un poco dopo sono presenti nei territori del Bosforo e zone settentrionali del Mar Nero [Zeast 1960, 135]. Poi, nella metà del II d.C., le anfore si espandono in Pannonia e Mesia Superiore [Dyczek 1999, 152]. In Bulgaria, a *Novae*, appaiono nella fine del II e III d.C. Gli esemplari più tardi sono di Agora d' Atene della metà del III e inizi del IV d.C. [Robinson 1959, 100]. Pare, che questo è il periodo quando esse vengono sostituite dalle Late Roman 2. Nonostante ciò la loro produzione è durata quattro secoli, cosa che spiega l'esistenza di varianti delle forme. Il periodo più antico si caratterizza per ricchezza di iscrizioni dipinte e bolli. Secondo P. Dyczek le varianti del IV d.C. sono senza iscrizioni con la pancia più evidente e collo corto; queste caratteristiche ha la anfora di canale Rigà. Se anche le tipologie formali non hanno molto senso, questa presentata da P. Dyczek è molto convincente; lo sviluppo della forma sarebbe dalla Dressel 6A e B adriatiche del I d.C., tipo Portorecanati per creare tipo Zeast 90 o Dyczek 25 (a) e finire nel VII d.C., con Late Roman 2 dell' Asia Minore. Questo significa che le forme adriatiche più antiche avrebbero avuto influsso nel creare nelle parti del Mar Nero le forme successive. Sui terreni danubiani si incontravano importazioni dell'

Oriente ed Occidente per soddisfare i legionari. Rimangono da studiare le importazioni italiane verso i territori settentrionali del Mar Nero; al momento abbiamo la scoperta della K. Paczyńska, che dimostra l'importazione nel I-III d.C. delle anfore Forlimpopoli del Piceno a *Tanais* [Paczyńska, Naumienko 2001]. D'altra parte a *Novae* si incontrano le anfore Forlimpopoli assieme con le forme simili prodotte al Mar Nero. Esse, chiamate "di argilla chiara" identificate da D.B. Šelov, vengono pubblicate per *Novae* dalla L. Kovalevskaja [Šelov 1989; Kovalevskaja 1998]. Nel periodo romano e tardoromano si incontrano anche a *Novae* le importazioni della Lusitania o Betica, di salse di pesci [Dyczek 1996a; Dyczek 1999, 98-99]. Nelle zone del Basso Danubio arrivavano le anfore del Mar Egeo e dell' Africa settentrionale; le quantità più grandi servivano per il vino e olio. L' olio nei primi secoli veniva anche dalla Betica, ma dal II secolo si osserva una evidente diminuzione d' importazioni. Le produzioni pontiche si mantengono e in modo chiaro crescono le importazioni orientali [Dyczek 1996a, fig. 20e, 21]. Le stesse osservazioni riguardanti le importazioni abbiamo per le zone lagunari veneziane. La differenza è questa, che nell' Alto Adriatico le produzioni locali prevalgono nei due primi secoli della nostra era. Tra le altre anfore a *Novae* la forma Dyczek 25 o Zeest 90, come nella laguna, è rara [Dyczek 1996b; Modrzewska 1995, 107-116]. Queste forme non risultano ad Aquileia nello scavo al foro [Scavi di Aquileia I, 1991]. A Iutizzo in Friuli, sono presenti le anfore monoansate Mild Roman 3/Late Roman 3 prodotte in Asia Minore e al Mar Nero nel III-IV d.C. Invece ad Altino prevalgono le forme romane, adriatiche varie ed importazioni rare della Betica, Africa settentrionale ed Egeo [Toniolo 1991]. A Caorle, nella costa veneta, sono presenti i tipi delle anfore locali ma anche puniche, apule, greco-italiche, troncoconiche, rodie, iberiche, picene, africane ed orientali bizantine [Cacciaguerra 1996, 1-66]. A Padova ci sono varie importazioni, che costituiscono nella prima metà del I d.C. ca 15% delle presenze di contenitori italiani e già nella seconda metà del I d.C., ci sono 24% di importazioni orientali e solo 61% dei prodotti italiani. La forma Dressel 25 identificata a Roncaglia di Ponte S. Nicolò (Padova), per aspetto formale è simile alla parte superiore dell' anfora del canale Rigà. Però la somiglianza con la forma patavina detta Cretoise 3 è illusoria. Le anfore Cretoise 3 sono molto più piccole, che le Zeest 90, Dyczek 25, ed hanno le caratteristiche delle paste molto diverse. Contenitori di Creta per il vino, in poche quantità, vengono importate nel Veneto dal I al inizio del III d.C. Molto più numerose nel Veneto sono le Dressel 25, che si notano anche disperse in tutta la Cisalpina del I d.C. Una parte di esse poteva provenire dall' Oriente egeo-turco, data la presenza, nella pasta, di ossidiana [Cipriano, Mazzocchin, Pastore 1977, 105]. Invece prodotti simili del III d.C. provengono dalla parte tirrenica dell' Italia. In tutti i casi, nel Veneto sono accertati contatti commerciali con l'Oriente ancora dai tempi preromani, per citare: le ceramiche greche ad Adria. A Padova, Altino, Caorle è stato accertato un legame con l'Oriente per importazioni di vino, dalla fine del I a.C. I contatti con l'Oriente

si intensificano dalla fine del I d.C. con le importazioni delle anfore varie. Questa direzione del commercio viene mantenuta nelle epoche successive documentata nella terraferma e nella laguna veneta [Villa 1994, 335-431]. A questo punto arriviamo al problema più complicato, alla provenienza delle anfore del tipo come questa del canale Rigà. La provenienza di queste anfore è sempre in discussione. Si possono accertare i ritrovamenti e concentrazioni più grandi sempre più evidenti nei territori del Mar Nero. Ci sono molte varianti di questo tipo di contenitore. Si evidenziano i ritrovamenti della prima variante di queste anfore per esempio a Kalos Limen, *Histria*, *Tanais*, *Olbia* [Uzenzev, Jurkin 1995, 100-108]. La variante seconda, con l' orlo più imbutiforme e collo lungo, è presente per esempio a *Tanais*, Zolotoje, *Olbia*, Cernorjece, *Histria*. La terza variante, più simile al nostro esemplare "lagunare" identificato con tipo Zeest 90 è presente a *Tanais*, sovcoz "Sevastopolskij", *Olbia*, nel paesetto Djalman. A *Tanais* è datata al II, ad *Olbia* — al III d.C.; probabilmente il tipo perdura fino al IV d.C. Come ritengono gli autori della pubblicazione delle anfore del Bosforo, non si conoscono i luoghi di produzione. Però è molto probabile che esistessero vari centri perciò le anfore si differenziano tanto fra di loro. La forma seconda del tipo descritto veniva prodotto nella Grecia settentrionale, ciò che può riferirsi ai centri più antichi [Uzenzev, Jurkin 1995, 106]. Le forme simili alla anfora della laguna di Venezia sono descritte come tipo III identificato da A.P. Abramov fra le anfore di questa famiglia presente nella Penisola di Taman [Abramov 1993, 135]. Ci sono pochi esemplari venuti alla luce datati fra 350-408 d.C. *per analogiam* con gli esemplari di Agora d' Atene [Abramov 1993, 19]. A *Tanais* ci sono queste forme nella prima metà del III d.C., attestate dagli T.M. Arsenieva, S.A. Naumienko [1994, 61-105]. L'anfora di *Tanais*, riprodotta molto schematicamente [Arsenieva, Naumienko 1994, fig.15, no. 3-571], è molto più piccola dalle forme Zeest 90; ha 43 cm e fondo piatto perciò la somiglianza è solo nella formazione dell' orlo. Anche la lettura delle caratteristiche della pasta con inclusioni bianco — nere esclude questa forma dai confronti con la nostra. La forma dell' orlo imbutiforme risulta ben popolare per le anfore di Mar Nero, se anche i corpi venivano formati in maniera diversa. Le altre comparazioni formali sono di F. Zevi, che confronta le forme come tipo Zeest 90 e Dyczek 25 con le anfore Dressel 24 conosciute nel I-III d.C. [Zevi 1966, 223]. Secondo M. Py queste anfore sarebbero di origine histo-pontica [Py *et al.* 1993, 70]. Le anfore possono avere iscrizioni con i nomi greci o latini [Dyczek 1999, 144]. I nomi greci sono più frequenti nelle zone bassodanubiane e pontiche. Pare giusta la osservazione di J.A. Riley, che queste anfore sono più frequenti sul Bosforo [Riley 1979, 206]. La lettura della parola *Erythrai*, sul timbro fatto con la moneta, è stata effettuata dal P. Dyczek sulla anfora del museo di Plovdiv [Dyczek 1999, 144]. Questo fatto spinge l' autore a credere che le forme di contenitori simili fossero prodotte in Asia Minore. A fronte di questa documentazione rimane da aspettare le nuove scoperte che lo confermino. Dalle carte della distribuzione della forma 25 della sua tipologia,

risulta che le anfore si ritrovano nel Basso Danubio e poi al Bosforo, Crimea, Cipro, Creta, Asia Minore, Peloponneso, Libia, Ostia, Britannia; ci sono i ritrovamenti subaquei fatti presso la Sicilia. Ora possiamo aggiungere anche la presenza di un' anfora tipo Zeest 90, Dyczek 25 (a) nella laguna di Venezia, come dimostra il ritrovamento di E. Canal nel canale Rigà.

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STUDIO ARCHEOLOGICO ED ANALITICO DEL CONTENUTO DI ANFORE RITROVATE NEL VENETO (ITALIA DEL NORD)

Esposizione archeologica del materiale ceramico analizzato (I.M.-P.)

Per lo studio presente sono stati scelti alcuni campioni di anfore raccolti nel quadro degli studi svolti, nel programma del CNR, concernenti proprietà e significato storico delle importazioni e produzioni dei contenitori per alimentari [Modrzewska, Oddone, Pianetti 1994].

Lo scopo delle indagini sulle importazioni provinciali romane in generale ha un senso storico perchè permette di valutare la quantità di prodotti locali e prodotti importati [Pannella 1985]. Durante gli ultimi venti anni per alcune provincie romane si hanno le opere ormai classiche di J. Remesal per la Spagna e Germania, F. Laubenheimer per la Francia, di S. Martin Kilcher per la Svizzera, che permettono valutare le merci importate dalle altre provincie e dall' Impero. I vari studi di C. Panella danno l'immagine delle importazioni dalle provincie verso l' Italia. L' elenco degli studi particolari si può ultimamente allargare ai titoli sulle produzioni locali andaluse [Lagostena Barrios 1996; Garcia Vargas 1998]. Mancavano sempre i dati per le produzioni del Mar Nero, fino a che ultimamente Y. Garlan ha pubblicati gli atti del congresso di Istanbul [Garlan 1999]. Per il Basso Danubio si ha ora il libro di P. Dyczek [Dyczek 1999].

Per la Gallia Cisalpina i dati erano molto incompleti. Abbiamo proposto anni fa lo studio delle anfore iberiche importate nel Veneto [Modrzewska 1995]. Si hanno ora anche i cataloghi delle anfore di Altino e Padova [Toniolo 1991; Anfore romane di Padova 1992]. Nella rivista edita dalla Regione Veneto, *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto*", da anni vengono pubblicate le relazioni sui ritrovamenti delle anfore nel Veneto e gli studi specifici. A volte appaiono notizie nei *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia* anche sulle importazioni in Friuli [Modrzewska 1998a; Modrzewska 1999a].

Per la parte occidentale della Cisalpina, a parte i completi rapporti degli scavi di Luni e Milano, non si ha l'immagine generale delle presenze anforiche. Solo

B. Bruno ultimamente ha presentato un quadro più completo in occasione del convegno di Cremona sul significato della via Postumia [Bruno 1998]. Questi dati sono stati commentati dalla Pesavento Mattioli e I. Modrzewska durante il congresso organizzato dall' Università di Sevilla "Ex Baetica Amphorae" nel 1998, edito nel 2000.

I dati numerici per valutare la presenza delle anfore importate (iberiche, microasiatiche, egee ed altre) sono da riferire sempre alla presenza delle produzioni locali cioè alla grande famiglia delle anfore dette generalmente norditaliche o adriatiche. Qui non è il luogo per discutere la storia delle denominazioni che si usano per le anfore che ci interessano in questo studio: Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A e Dressel 6B. A queste si aggiungono le forme più popolari nei primi secoli prodotte in varie parti del Mediterraneo: Dressel 2-4. La Toniolo ha proposto la divisione dello sviluppo delle forme delle anfore suddette, specialmente Dr 6B [Toniolo 1991]. Questi tipi di contenitori specialmente Dressel 6A e Dr 6B sono presenti a centinaia nei vari depositi specialmente nel Nord Italia ove servivano per rafforzi e drenaggi del suolo poco solido. In un recente seminario a Padova sono stati presentati studi concernenti aspetti tecnici e topografici delle bonifiche anche nella Cisalpina [Bonifiche e drenaggi 1998, 85-223].

La identificazione delle anfore serve però per poter valutare anche il loro contenuto e non solo la cronologia. E proprio il contenuto è essenziale per un discorso sul commercio e per una immagine delle strutture dei mercati antichi. Si sa che la Cisalpina fu ricca delle varie merci e non mancavano pesce, molluschi, olive, vino e carne [Righini 1970]. Il ruolo della X Regio, Venetia et *Histria*, era di produttore ed anche distributore della merce che arrivava nella costa adriatica [Modrzewska 1998a]. Però sempre rimane incerto il contenuto delle anfore Dressel 6A e 6B specialmente di queste ultime che, dai tempi del classico studio di F. Zevi, vengono chiamate polivalenti [Zevi 1966]. Questa ambiguità non permette di valutare le quantità delle anfore per vino e per l' olio e/o per *garum*, come si crede per le Dressel 6B. Sappiamo che alcune di esse vengono anche portate fino nel mondo greco ove sono ritrovate a Cipro [Modrzewska 1999b]. D' altra parte la direzione dei contatti cambia con i secoli e l' Oriente esporta poi le merci nella costa adriatica [Modrzewska 2000]. Abbiamo studiato anche una di queste anfore ritrovata nella laguna di Venezia.

Il ruolo marginale delle esportazioni adriatiche nel periodo romano in confronto delle esportazioni verso la Transalpina, è stato dimostrato da T. Bezeczky [Bezeczky 1994; Maier-Maidl 1992]. Abbiamo potuto osservare la scarsa presenza delle importazioni dall' Egeo e dalla Spagna, in confronto alla dominante presenza delle anfore Dressel 6B e 6A a Magdalensberg, Teurnia, e Virunum. La sono presenti anche altri contenitori come le anfore troncoconiche e tipo chiamato Forlimpopoli, che arrivano anche al Mar Nero [Muffatti Musselli 1986; Dyczek 1999, 65-68 e 95; Paczyńska c.s.]. La poca quantità di anfore betiche per olio,

come quelle di cui è fatto il Testaccio, fanno pensare che le anfore adriatiche per olio bastassero per le necessità di queste città del Norico. D' altra parte le Dressel 20 betiche ci sono sulle coste dalmate [Cambi 1985]. Questo dimostra l' esistenza di mercati locali come è stato dimostrato anche per le importazioni delle anfore italice sulle coste orientali iberiche [Molina Vidal 1997]. Esistevano differenze di importazioni fra città anche vicine cioè i mini mercati locali.

Sarebbe però opportuno verificare se in realtà le Dressel 6A e 6B potessero essere usate in modo polivalente. Meno di tutto sappiamo sulle conserve di pesci prodotte nella zona adriatica. In realtà fra le importazioni iberiche sono le conserve, anche se non tantissime, che dominano sull' olio e vino.

Abbiamo intrapreso lo studio archeometrico sulle paste e forme delle anfore, principalmente iberiche, ritrovate nel Veneto; fra gli altri [Modrzewska, Pianetti 1994; Azzarelli *et al.* 1996; Gonzalez Vilches *et al.* 1998].

Le anfore campionate (I.M.-P.; Fr.P.)

Questa volta ci siamo posti la domanda sul contenuto delle anfore. Abbiamo intrapreso lo studio anche se la quantità dei campioni era limitata. Durante i nostri studi abbiamo raccolto, sempre con il permesso della drssa B. Scarfi allora Soprintendente archeologico del Veneto, soprattutto i campioni delle anfore iberiche e quelle che servivano per confronto in caso di incertezza. Ad esempio lo studio comparativo delle anfore betiche Dressel 38 confrontate con le forme che abbiamo chiamato Dressel 8 similis in piccola quantità ritrovate nel Veneto ma anche in Pannonia [Modrzewska *et al.* 1995]. Da questo studio analitico è risultata la differente composizione chimica della pasta di tali anfore, ciò che naturalmente non permetteva di risolvere il problema della provenienza delle anfore ibride [Modrzewska, Pianetti 1994]. Ultimamente le anfore così abbiamo visto nel Museo Vivico di Reggio Emilia. Per la gran parte delle anfore iberiche per salse e conserve di pesce non è neanche necessario fare le analisi del contenuto perché queste spesso avevano le informazioni su di esso dipinte ciò che era anche una forma di pubblicità.

Per questo studio abbiamo scelto 24 campioni presi all' interno delle anfore più due campioni di resina che era visibile. Fra i campioni vi sono quelli di anfore della terraferma e alcune della laguna veneziana ove erano deposte dai primi secoli della nostra era. Abbiamo già provato a procedere allo studio delle alterazioni delle paste delle anfore iberiche ritrovate da Ernesto Canal nella laguna (M. Vendrell, I. Modrzewska — poster al IV congresso sulla ceramica antica ad Andorra nel 1997). Ora volevamo vedere se è possibile scoprire il contenuto dei contenitori sommersi.

Fra le anfore precedentemente campionate abbiamo scelto per questo studio: un' anfora Dressel 8 che con grande probabilità serviva per conserve di pesce iberiche. Alcune Dr 2-4 che normalmente venivano usate per vino nei due primi secoli della nostra era in vari luoghi. Dalla terraferma veneta proviene un' anfora iberica conosciuta come Dressel 11 (oppure in generale — Beltran I) che è stata ritrovata a Buso Nera (Padova). Anche questa forma è usualmente collegata con le conserve di pesci. C' è anche una Dressel 8 similis di Altino, il tipo sopra nominato, che non si può escludere che fosse della Cisalpina. Però il contenuto rimaneva sconosciuto anche se presente in vari depositi nel Veneto. Fra i campioni ci sono anche tre frammenti di anfore Dressel 20 e/o 23 destinati all' olio betico che è rara importazione nel Veneto [Modrzewska 1995, 102-105]. Gli altri campioni li abbiamo prelevati dalle anfore adriatiche Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A e 6B dalle quali i due primi tipi erano probabilmente destinati al vino. Ci sono infine le Dressel 2-4, in varie forme e paste presenti nel Veneto e forse vinarie.

Due campioni vengono anche dall' interno di due anfore Dressel 20 di Concordia Sagittaria e di una ritrovata da E. Canal presso Constanziaco — La Cura, una volta un' isola della laguna settentrionale [Canal 1998]. Da qui proviene la parte superiore di tipo Late Roman che viene spesso importato nella zona adriatica in epoca bizantina [Modrzewska 1996; Modrzewska 1998b]. Questi nostri non sono i primi studi del contenuto delle anfore delle quali non si conosce la destinazione [Formenti 1992].

Questa varietà di campioni ha lo scopo di differenziare le anfore per le quali il contenuto è sicuro e quelle come le Dressel 8 similis; sconosciute sia per destinazione sia per luogo di produzione. Inoltre le anfore della produzione orientale, come la Late Roman, che, come dimostra lo studio di P. Dyczek per il basso Danubio, servivano per il vino [Dyczek 1999, 189-192].

Elenco dei campioni analizzati (I.M.-P; Fr. Pianetti)

(qui il tipo delle anfore segnate dal Dressel viene abbreviato come Dr; tipi secondo N. Lamboglia — Lamb.)

A. Due anfore della laguna:

— una anfora Dr 8 ritrovata nel canale Rigà (nr inv. 1429229) probabilmente iberica;

— una anfora Dr 2-4 ritrovata presso canale S. Felice Bambagio, forse italica (nr inv. 70908-a); il frammento è troppo piccolo per identificare la variante della forma fig. 1.



Fig. 1

B. Cinque anfore ritrovate nella terraferma veneta, probabilmente iberiche:

— tre anfore Dr 20 e Dr 23 per olio ritrovate a Concordia (nr inv. 19653; 17655; 19749) fig. 2;

— un' anfora di Altino Dr 8 similis (nr inv. 19568) di identificazione incerta;

— un' anfora di Busonera (Padova) Dr 11 iberica (nr inv. prov. A 155).

C. Cinque anfore italiche ed adriatiche ritrovate nella terraferma veneta:

— un anfora Dr 2-4 di Altino (nr inv. 19339) forse per vino fig. 3;

— un anfora Dr 2-4 di Vicenza (nostro nr prov. 2) fig. 4;

— tre anfore Dr 6 A forse per vino di Treviso (nostri nr 3, 4, 8) fig. 5.

Gli altri campioni di anfore varie adriatiche e italiche sono di depositi moderni di Verona

— Via N. Mazza:

— Dr 6 B nr 24 fig. 6;

— Dr 1/Dr 2-4 nr 27 fig. 7;

— Dr 2-4 nr 29 fig. 8;

— Dr 6A o Dr 6B nr 36 fig. 9.

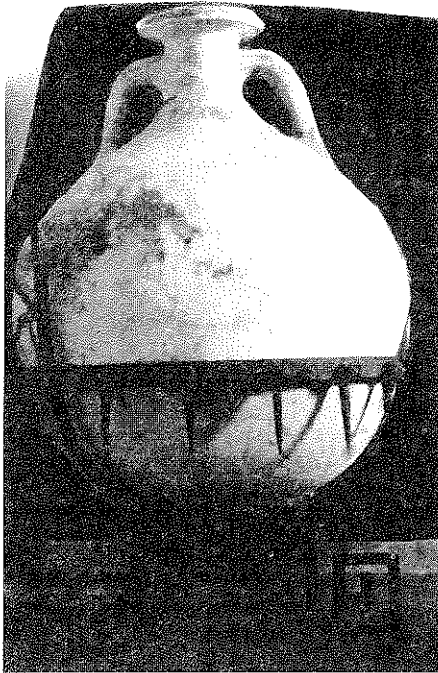


Fig. 2

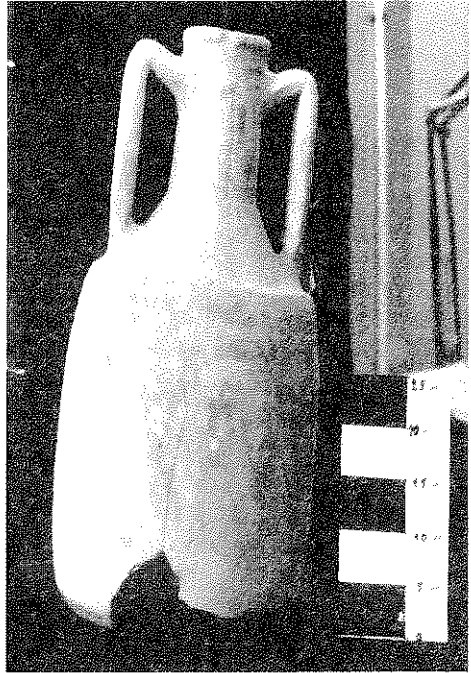


Fig. 3

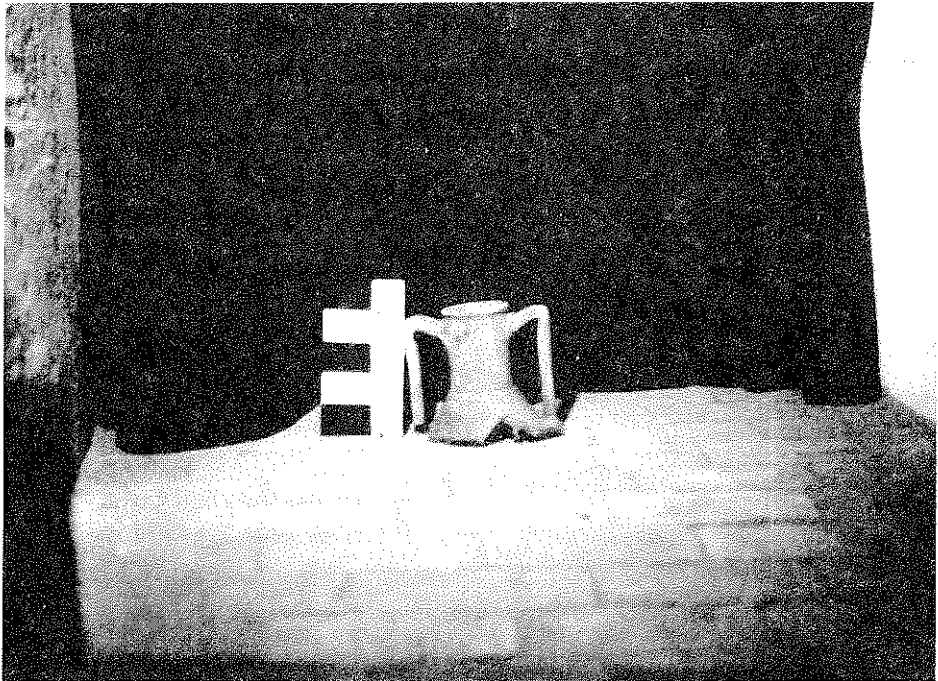


Fig. 4

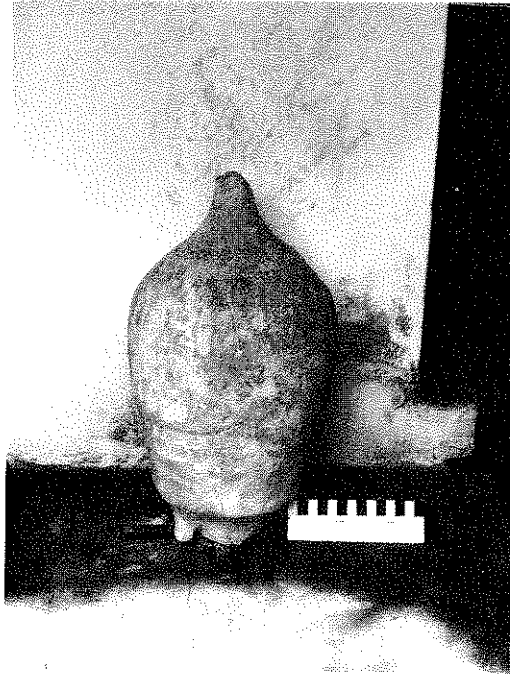


Fig. 5

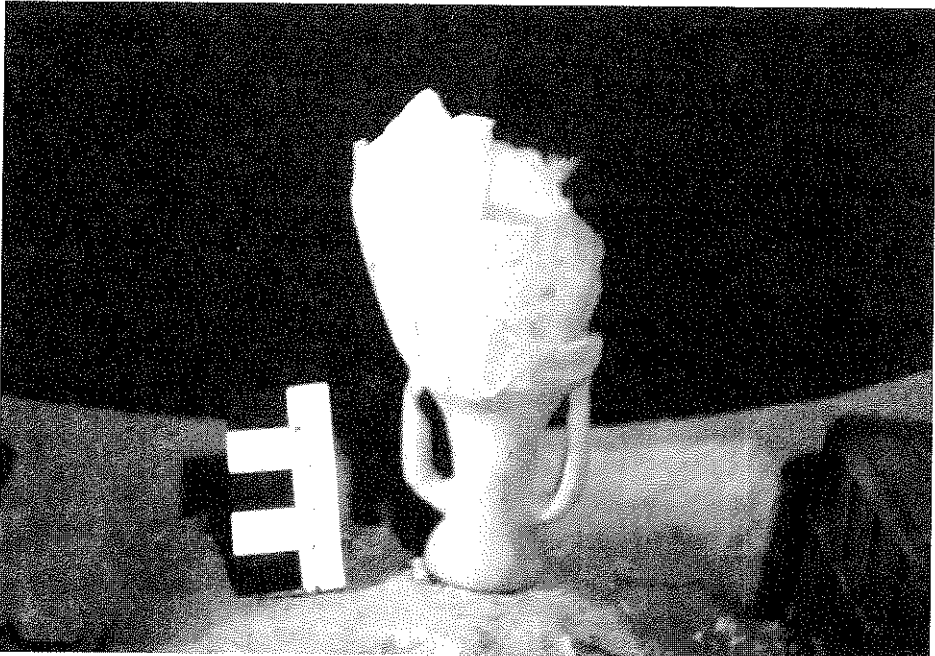


Fig. 6

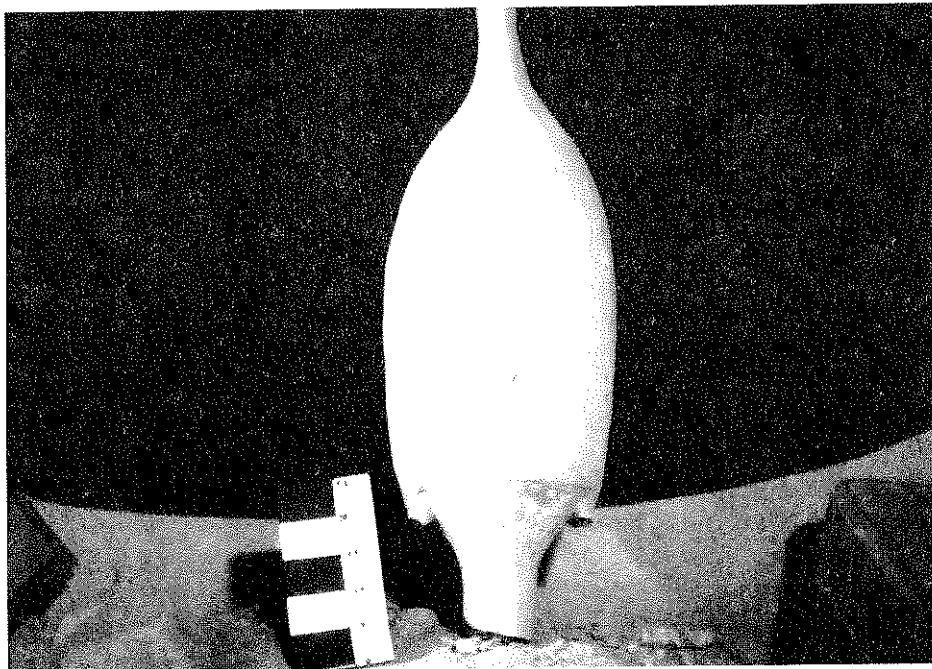


Fig. 7

Valdonega:

- Lamb. 2/Dr 6A — nr 2;
- Dr 6A — nr 3, fig. 10;
- Dr 6A — nr 6bis fig. 11;
- Lamb.2/Dr 6A — nr 2 fig. 12;
- Lamb.2/Dr 6A — nr 10 fig. 13.

Per queste è impossibile la identificazione data la frammentarietà delle anfore che probabilmente influisce anche sulla possibilità di analisi.

Tomba di Giulietta:

- Dr 6A — nr 9 fig. 14;
- Dr 6A — nr 11 fig. 15;
- Lamb.2 — nr 30 fig. 16.

In tutto dai depositi di Verona si hanno 12 campioni di anfore adriatiche per lo studio.

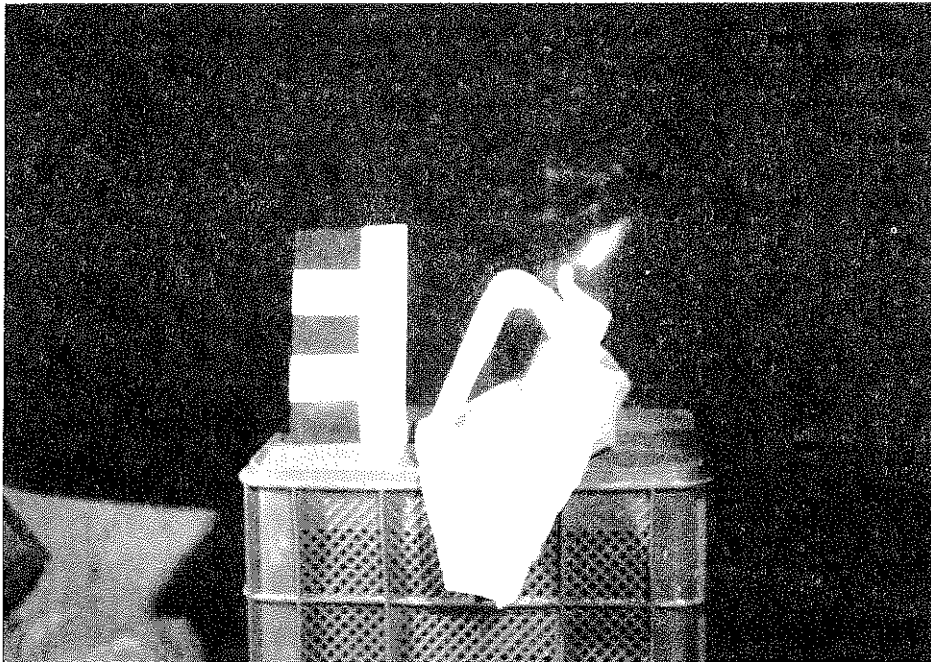


Fig. 8

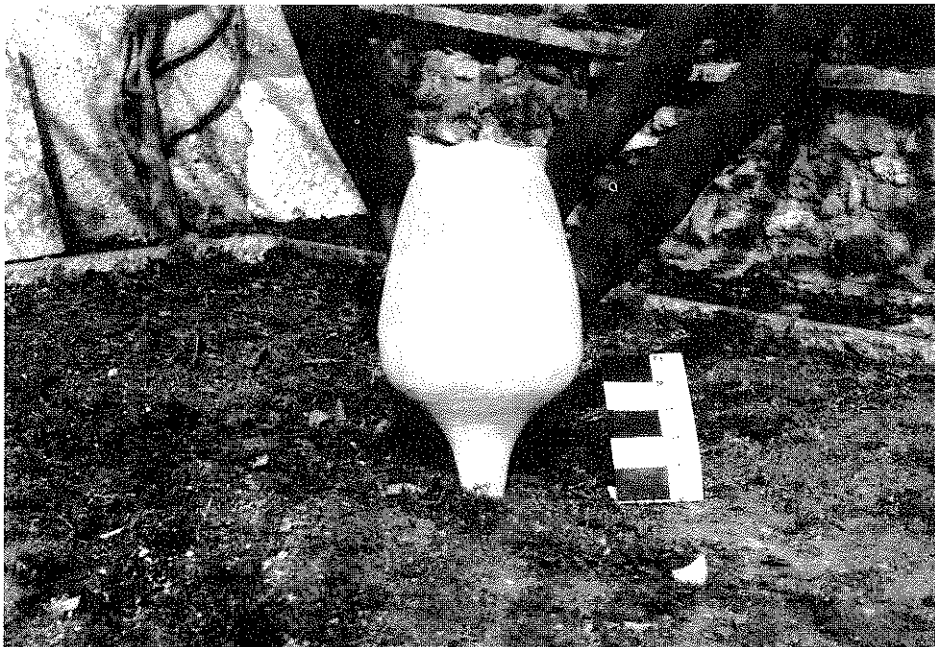


Fig. 9

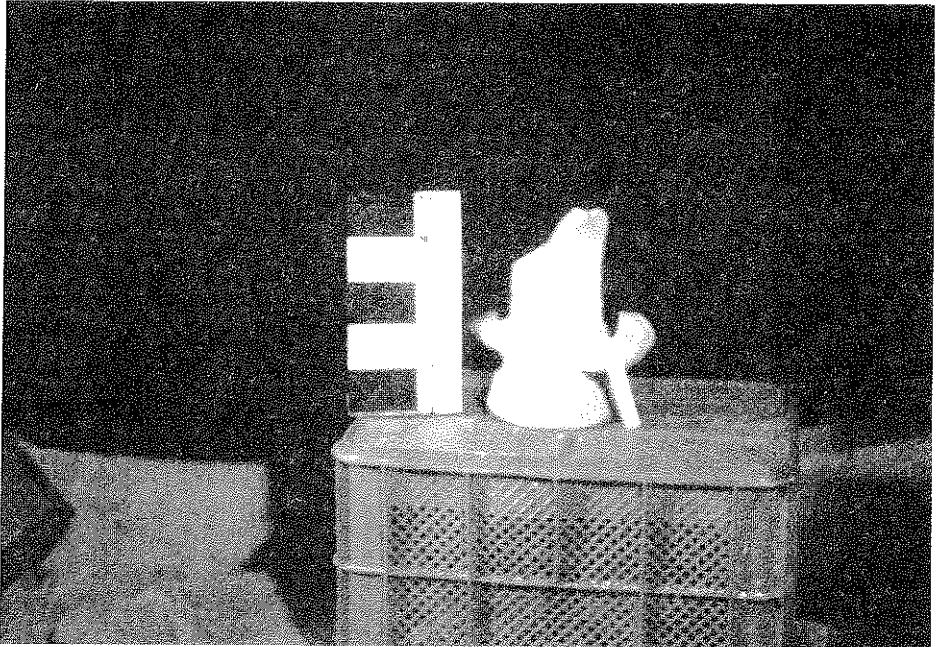


Fig. 10

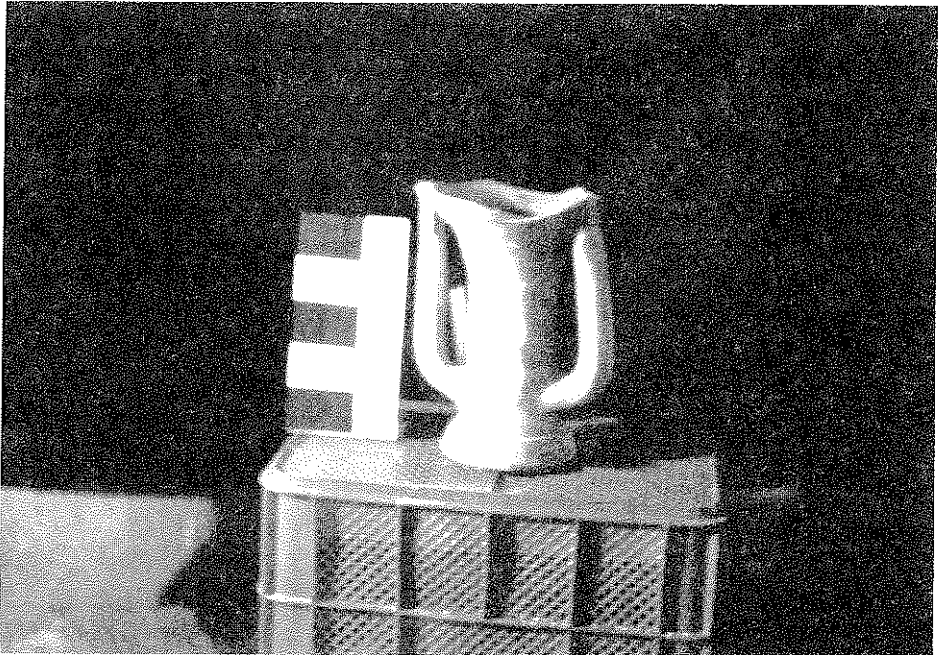


Fig. 11

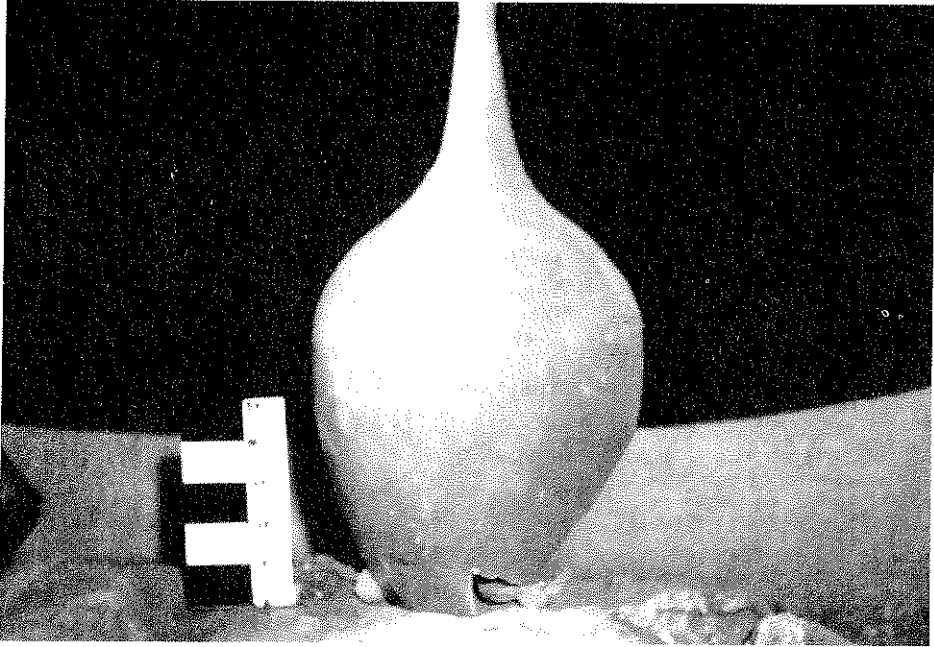


Fig. 12

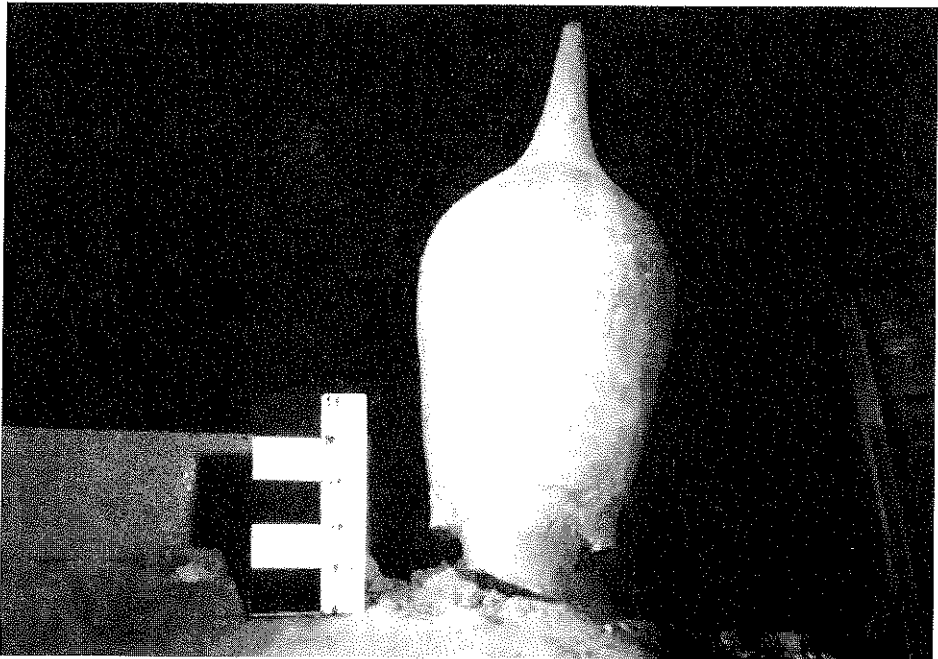


Fig. 13.

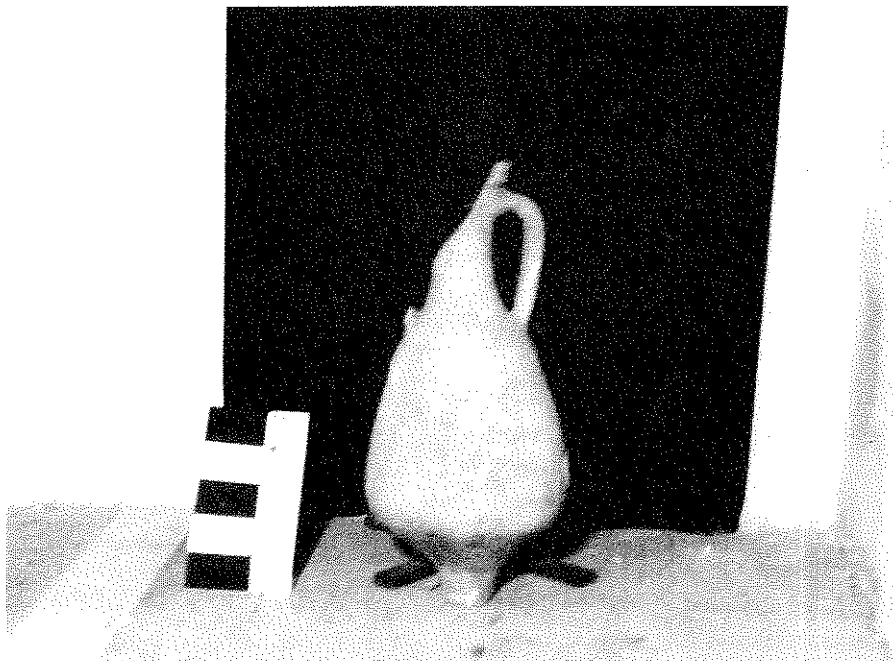


Fig. 14

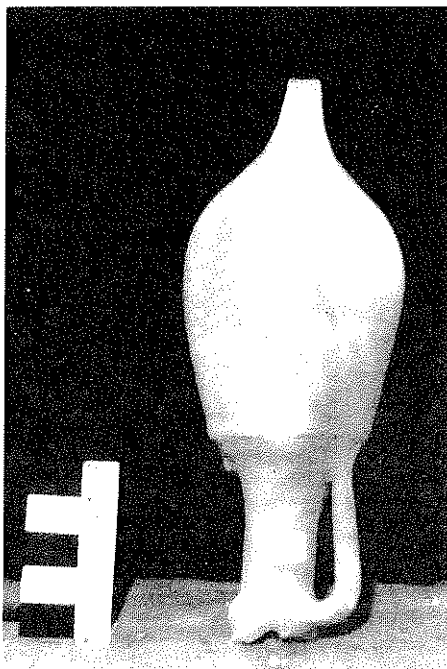


Fig. 15

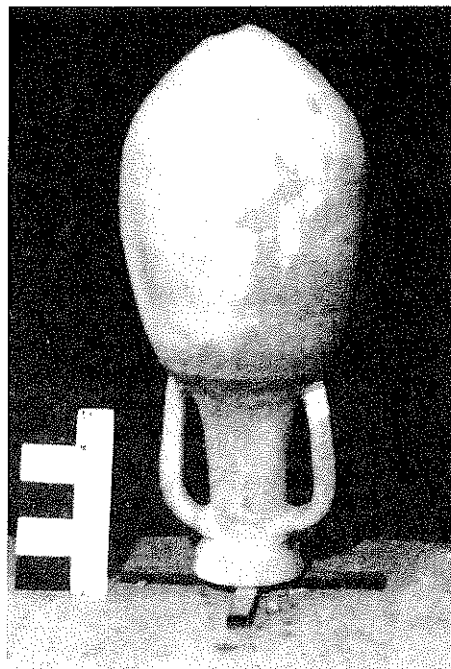


Fig. 16

Per lo studio sono considerate anche altre anfore adriatico — italiche che provengono da altri ritrovamenti veneti:

- una Dr 2-4 ritrovata nella laguna presso S. Felice Bambaggio (nr inv. 70908 A);
- una Dr 2-4 di Altino (nr inv. 19339);
- una Dr 2-4 di Vicenza (nr nostro 2);
- tre anfore tipo Dr 6 A di Treviso (nr nostri 3, 4, 8).

Commento sulle analisi organiche allegate (I.M.-P.; Fr. P.)

Cioè a parte le 12 anfore adriatico-italiche di Verona ci sono allo studio 6 anfore di questi tipi ritrovate negli altri luoghi della terraferma e laguna di Venezia.

In tutto sono stati analizzati 18 campioni di anfore adriatico-italiche e per confronto i 6 campioni delle anfore iberiche della terraferma e laguna di Venezia.

Abbiamo preparato principalmente campioni di anfore adriatico-italiche dato che questo era l'obiettivo principale dello studio della parte organica. Anni fa uno studio di chimici e archeologi ha permesso individuare le proprietà chimiche delle paste di anfore apule e istriane provenienti da Aquileia e Carlino [Mello *et al.* 1982]. La differenza fra esse concerne le concentrazioni di Ca, Sb, Ce ed Eu. Quelle iberiche da noi studiate per conserve e olio sono già conosciute grazie all'epigrafia e indagini archeologiche perciò servivano come confronto.

La scelta dei luoghi di ritrovamenti delle anfore allo studio è stata dettata dalla presenza delle anfore iberiche da cui è partito il nostro lavoro storico [Modrzevska 1995a]. La quantità dei prelievi è stata condizionata anche dallo stato di conservazione perciò a volte sono i campioni presi dall'interno delle spalle delle anfore che hanno portato a una risposta negativa delle analisi. Dovrebbero infatti esserci condizioni ideali per la campionatura in modo da prelevare un grande frammento dalla parte della pancia del contenitore.

In alcuni campioni di anfore adriatiche ed italiche per vino è stata accertata la presenza di resina. Interessante è il risultato ottenuto sulla Dressel 8 similis che viene associata con il gruppo per vino ciò che può far pensare che questa forma fosse italice [Modrzevska, Pianetti 1997]. Le analisi delle Lamboglia 2/Dressel 6A indicano presenza di resina e induttivamente di vino. Le scarse quantità delle Dressel 6B studiate non permettevano risposte definitive però nel caso delle adriatico-italiche non è stata accertata nessuna traccia delle conserve di pesce.

Nel caso della Late Roman, proveniente dal ritrovamento lagunare, è stata accertata la presenza della resina.

Speriamo che in un futuro studio sarà possibile analizzare quantità più grandi provenienti dalle Dressel 6B che daranno risposte per il loro contenuto. Nelle anfore Dressel 20 e 23 risulta confermato il contenuto di olio. Molto interessante è il risultato ottenuto sull'olio che è risultato molto simile all'olio moderno studiato per confronto.

PARTE ANALITICA

Analisi su campioni di anfore (M.S.)

Le anfore, in genere, venivano utilizzate per trasportare e utilizzare olio, vino, e si trovano in letteratura molti studi mirati alla messa a punto di metodi tramite cui stabilire con certezza quale delle due sostanze contenevano, indipendentemente dalla interpretazione archeologica che nella maggior parte dei casi è in grado di risalirvi dall'esame della forma.

Nel caso dell'olio viene ricercata la frazione lipidica; infatti l'elevato grado di saturazione presente nei lipidi conferisce loro proprietà idrofobiche, che riducendone la solubilità in acqua, ne limitano anche la perdita per dilavamento. La tendenza quindi a persistere nel sito di deposizione iniziale li rende ottimi biomarkers nelle analisi archeologiche. Il fatto poi che si trovino blocca in alcuni substrati particolari, può determinare un aumento delle possibilità di buona conservazione. Nel caso delle anfore, i lipidi possono essere stati in parte assorbiti dalle pareti porose e ciò può aver contribuito ad una riduzione nella perdita di molecole per diffusione e ad una diminuzione dell'attività di degradazione ad opera di microorganismi, dal momento che è ostacolato il loro accesso ai potenziali lipidi. Naturalmente possono anche essere state assorbite sulle pareti molecole d'acqua o di altre specie reattive in grado di attivare reazioni d'idrolisi non microbica, ma chimica, e specialmente se i reperti sono rimasti a lungo a contatto con la terra o immersi nell'acqua le possibilità di contaminazione ambientale aumentano.

L'olio di oliva è principalmente costituito da una miscela di gliceridi risultanti dall'esterificazione delle funzioni alcoliche del glicerolo ad opera di acidi grassi alifatici a catena lunga; in concentrazioni molto piccole (0,5-2%) sono inoltre presenti composti non saponificabili.

I principali acidi grassi contenuti nell'olio di oliva sono:

- C₁₆ un acido saturo: l'acido palmitico (7-20%),
un acido monoinsaturo: l'acido palmitoleico (0,5-5,5%).

- C_{18} un acido saturo: l'acido stearico (0,5-4%),
- un acido monoinsaturo: l'acido oleico (55-85%),
- un acido con due legami insaturi: l'acido linoleico (3-20 %).

La concentrazione degli acidi grassi varia a seconda della provenienza dell'olio, ma va considerato che in genere nelle analisi di reperti fossili non si riscontra una composizione paragonabile a quella degli oli naturali e ciò è principalmente dovuto agli effetti di degradazione verificatisi nel tempo. Un doppio legame rende la molecola più fragile e quindi più facilmente soggetta a processi diagenetici. La percentuale di acido oleico risulterà allora minore di quella attesa, in genere scompare quasi del tutto l'acido linoleico (con due doppi legami), mentre l'acido palmitico e lo stearico (acidi saturi) si rilevano più facilmente ed in quantità maggiori.

In genere dopo una opportuna estrazione, gli acidi grassi vengono esterificati ed analizzati mediante gas cromatografia in tandem con la spettrometria di massa, metodo che ne consente l'esatta identificazione. Poichè gli acidi grassi provenienti da oli di origine vegetale hanno un numero pari di atomi di carbonio, l'analisi dovrebbe rivelare acidi compresi tra C_{12} e C_{18} . Esteri corrispondenti ad acidi grassi con C_{15} e C_{17} sono probabilmente il risultato di una contaminazione esterna.

Le difficoltà nell'evidenziare i prodotti caratteristici dei residui organici sono indubbiamente maggiori per il vino rispetto all'olio, ed i motivi principali sono due:

- le pareti delle anfore utilizzate per il trasporto di vino erano interamente rivestite di una resina che avrebbe impedito al liquido contenuto di penetrare nei pori del materiale argilloso,

- i vari componenti presenti nel vino sono chimicamente più labili e quindi maggiormente soggetti a processi di degradazione.

Se nelle anfore si rileva la presenza di un residuo liquido si possono ricercare alcuni costituenti del vino (l'acido tartarico ed i suoi composti di degradazione oppure componenti fenolici come i tannini), altrimenti la dimostrazione della presenza di una resina può essere usata come prova indiretta che l'anfora serviva per contenere vino.

Le resine naturali in genere erano ottenute come essudati dalle piante o dall'incisione dei tronchi stessi. Tali composti presentano una struttura terpenica.

Nell'analisi dei residui organici di resine, vengono rivelati come specie significative i composti con funzioni acide, che possono essere divisi in due principali gruppi:

- acidi di tipo abietico (80%),
- acidi di tipo pimarico (20%).

L'acido abietico ed il pimarico sono acidi monocarbossilici di nuclei di idrofenantrene alchilati, contenenti due doppi legami, coniugati per l'acido abietico.

Gli acidi analoghi all'abietico si trasformano rapidamente in acido abietico, e per trattamenti drastici della resina o come risultato di una lenta alterazione del substrato si forma un nuovo acido, l'acido deidroabietico.

I principali acidi che possono essere analizzati sono quindi:

— **acido pimarico** (acido 7-etenil-1,2,3,4,4a,4b,5,6,7,9,10,-10a-idrododecano-1,4a,7-trimetil-1-fenantrene-carbossilico), $C_{20}H_{30}O_2$

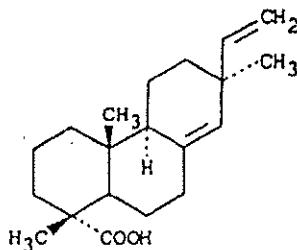


Fig. 17

— **acido isopimarico** (acido 7-etenil-1,2,3,4,4a,4b,5,6,7,8,10,-10a-idrododecano-1,4a,7-trimetil-1-fenantrene-carbossilico), $C_{20}H_{30}O_2$

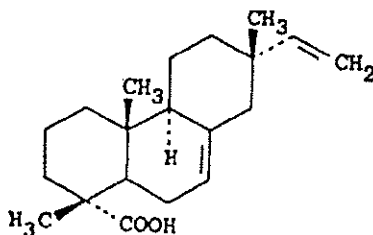


Fig. 18

— **acido levopimarico** (1R)-1,2,3,4,4°,4bα,5,9,10,-10α-decahydro-1,4αβ-dimethyl-7-(1-methylethyl)-1α-phenanthreincarboxylic acid $C_{20}H_{30}O_2$

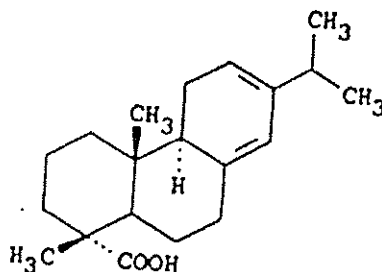


Fig. 19

— **acido palustrico** [1R(1 α ,4 α β ,10 α)]-1,2,3,4,4a,5,6,9,10,10a-decaidrod-1,4a-dimetil-7-(1-metiletil)-1-fenantrenecarbonossilid $C_{20}H_{30}O_2$

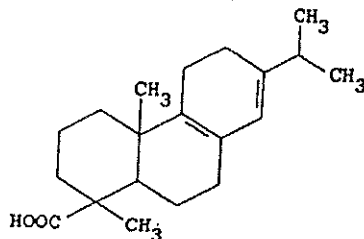


Fig. 20

— **acido abietico** [1R(1 α ,4 α β ,4b α ,10 α)]-1,2,3,4,4a,5,6,9,10,10a-decaidrod-1,4a-dimetil-7-(1-metiletil)-1-fenantrenecarbonossilid $C_{20}H_{30}O_2$

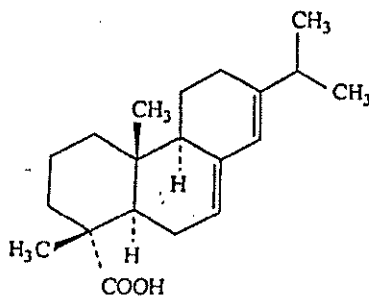


Fig. 21

— **acido deidroabietico** [1R(1 α ,4a β ,10 α)]-1,2,3,4,4a,9,10,10a-ottaidrod-1,4a-dimetil-7-(1-metiletil)-1-fenantrenecarbonossilid $C_{20}H_{28}O_2$

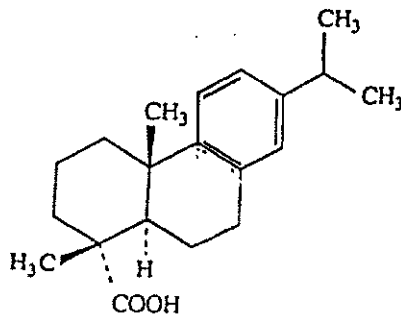


Fig. 22

È possibile anche trovare nel cromatogramma dei composti derivati da questi acidi cioè idrocarburi di tipo retenico o abietenico, per esempio il retene ($C_{18}H_{18}$) è uno dei maggiori prodotti che derivano dalla trasformazione dell'acido abietico retene 1-metil-7-(1-metilfenantrene) $C_{18}H_{18}$.

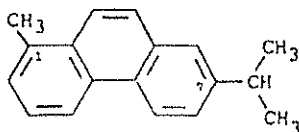


Fig. 23

CONDIZIONI SPERIMENTALI

Strumentazione

Gascromatografia-Spettrometria di massa: Le analisi sono state condotte utilizzando un gascromatografo GC HP 5890 series II, nelle seguenti condizioni sperimentali.

Iniettore: La zona di iniezione è stata riscaldata ad una temperatura di 250°C e sono stati iniettati volumi di campioni di *ca* 10 µl.

Gas di trasporto: come carrier è stato utilizzato He con una pressione di ingresso di 6 PSI.

Colonna cromatografica: è stata utilizzata una colonna capillare (30m x 0,25 mm x 0,25 µm) di spessore del film, la fase legata è costituita da poli (5% difenil /95% dimetilsiloxano). La colonna è stata posizionata nella camera termostatica del cromatografo e collegata all' iniettore e al sistema di rilevazione. Sono stati utilizzati diversi gradienti di temperatura per ottimizzare la separazione dei picchi e ridurre i tempi di analisi:

Gradiente 0

Step	Incremento °C/min	Temperatura in isoterma	Tempo in isoterma
1	5	50°C	10 minuti
2	-	250°C	30 minuti

Gradiente 1

Step	Incremento °C/min	Temperatura in isoterma	Tempo in isoterma
1	5	70°C	5 minuti
2	5	210°C	10 minuti
3	5	250°C	10 minuti
4	-	280°C	10 minuti

Step	Incremento °C/min	Temperatura in isoterma
1	5	180 °C
2	5	210 °C
3	5	250 °C
4	-	280 °C

Rivelatore: l'impiego di un rivelatore a massa (MS HP 5972 Series Mass Selective Detector) ha permesso l'identificazione delle sostanze estratte. La temperatura della zona di rivelazione è stata programmata a 300°C.

Preparazione dei campioni: Per evitare contaminazioni di laboratorio pipette pasteur e minivials sono stati usati solo se nuovi, gli altri tipi di vetreria sono stati lavati e riscaldati in muffola a 500°C per una notte in modo da eliminare ogni traccia di sostanza organica.

Il metodo consiste nell'estrazione e nella derivatizzazione degli acidi organici, analizzati successivamente mediante una colonna capillare per gascromatografia. È stato impiegato il seguente procedimento (fig. 17-23):

— Frammenti delle pareti interne dei reperti (0,5-1 gr) sono stati prelevati e polverizzati. L'estrazione è stata effettuata con una miscela costituita da CHCl_3 : CHOH in rapporto 2/1 e condotta in bagno a ultrasuoni (15 minuti x 2).

— Dopo ogni estrazione il sistema è centrifugato e la soluzione risultante, concentrata in rotavapor, può essere direttamente iniettata in GC, per avere una prima idea delle sostanze estratte.

— Se rilevata la presenza di acidi grassi è stata condotta un'esterificazione a freddo tramite una soluzione di (KOH) MEOH 2N : 200µl di reattivo sono aggiunti all'estratto del campione insieme a 2 ml di esano.

— Il sistema, agitato vigorosamente per qualche minuto, è lasciato per circa un'ora a T ambiente, infine viene prelevata la soluzione sovranante contenente gli esteri pronta per essere iniettata in gascromatografo. Se non iniettate immediatamente, le soluzioni sono state mantenute in freezer a -10°C.

ORISULTATI

Non in tutti i casi è stato possibile identificare il contenuto delle anfore e questo per una serie di motivi:

In genere l'analisi è stata condotta su campioni molto piccoli, per cui i picchi risultanti sono di bassa intensità e molto facilmente possono essere mascherati da altre sostanze presenti in maggiore concentrazione. Nella maggior parte delle

analisi infatti sono rilevati picchi attribuibili a silani e siloxani pesenti in grande quantità; si tratta infatti di alcune sostanze che potrebbero essere state applicate sulle anfore stesse. Durante l' analisi questi picchi estremamente allargati coprono completamente il cromatogramma rendendo impossibile l' identificazione di eventuali altre sostanze.

Alcuni campioni probabilmente costituivano parte dell' orlo delle anfore e di conseguenza non sono venuti in contatto con la sostanza conservata in esse o con un eventuale rivestimento, quindi non consentono l' acquisizione di informazioni utili.

Dove sono stati ottenuti buoni risultati è stato molto più semplice rilevare la presenza di vino rispetto all' olio, i cui componenti sono stati riscontrati solo in alcuni campioni. La spiegazione può essere duplice, sicuramente come struttura quella degli acidi costituenti le resine è molto più stabile, e meno soggetta a fenomeni di degradazione drastici, inoltre essendo particolare, rende i prodotti originati da una sua parziale degradazione facilmente riconoscibili. Inoltre l' anfora che doveva contenere vino veniva internamente rivestita dalla resina e quindi è più facile trovare tracce di quest' ultima rispetto alle sostanze grasse assorbite sulle pareti l' assorbimento, se pure c'è stato potrebbe non essere stato omogeneo quindi sarebbe eventualmente necessario esaminare più campioni provenienti dalla stessa anfora per avere dati più attendibili.

Nel caso in cui l' estratto in cloroformio/metanolo aveva evidenziato la presenza di componenti di resine in genere non si è proceduto alle successive operazioni di esterificazione in quanto i picchi erano ben visibili per cui l' identificazione è stata condotta sull' estratto stesso.

In alcune analisi sono stati trovati, anche se caratteristici, pochi composti che consentano di dire che è presente una resina e questo riguarda i seguenti campioni:

- 19339 Dr 2-4 (metilestere dell' acido deidroabietico);
- Valdonega 10 Lamb, 2 Dr 6A (due derivati fenantrenici);
- Valdonega 2 Lamb. 2 Dr 6A (acido deidroabietico);
- Valdonega 3 Dr 6A (retene e un derivato fenantrenico);
- Valdonega 36 Dr 6A o 6B (acido deidroabietico).

In tutte queste analisi però è molto rilevante la presenza di silani, siloxani ed altri inquinanti ambientali tra cui spiccano l' acido benzendicarbossilico variamente sostituito e gli ftalati, che possono provenire anche dai contenitori di plastica in cui sono stati conservati i campioni.

Cromatogrammi sicuramente più ricchi e interessanti sono quelli relativi ai seguenti reperti:

— Anfora orientale, di Cura nella laguna veneziana SE7B (esaminato secondo il gradiente 0). Dall' esame del semplice estratto, si può riscontrare la presenza di acido deidroabietico riconosciuto con un grado di approssimazione molto elevato (98-99%) della relativa aldeide, risultato di fenomeni di ossidazione e di una serie di composti di tipo fenantrenico, di cui sono riportati alcuni spettri. Si

riscontrano anche derivati del benzphenantrene, composti ossigenati dell' antracene e molti derivati naftalenici. Una composizione simile, anche se meno abbondante si ritrova nell' analisi del prodotto di esterificazione condotta con lo stesso gradiente di temperature.

— Altino 19568 Dr 8 similis (esaminato secondo il gradiente 2). I risultati sono molto simili al campione precedente, si è riscontrata la presenza di acido deidroabietico e in questo caso anche di acido pimarico, oltre al retene e ad altri composti di tipo fenantrenico. Ugualmente sono presenti derivati del naftalene e dell' antracene.

— Concordia 10445 Dr 20, anfora spagnola (esaminato secondo il gradiente 1). Già l'estratto metteva in evidenza la presenza di metilesteri dell' acido palmítico e stearico, nel prodotto esterificato invece sono presenti i metilesteri in praatica di tutti i componenti dell' olio, come si può vedere anche dalla figura sono presenti gli esteri dell' acido oleico, linoleico, stearico e particolarmente abbondante è il metilestere dell' acido palmitico: Il fatto che siano presenti tutti i componenti, anche l' acido linoleico, indica un ottimo stato di conservazione del campione. Sono stati identificati, inoltre, un alchol derivato dall' acido palmítico, il cetilalchol (palmytilalchol), e lo squalano, composto che può essere il risultato della totale idrogenazione dello squalene, presente in quantità molto piccole (0,1-0,7%) nell'olio di oliva. Nei cromatogrammi, sono presenti molti composti lineari a catena lunga che sono componenti ubiquitari delle resine, secondo i dati trovati in letteratura.

Per i composti di maggior interesse analitico sono riportati gli spettri confrontati con quelli delle sostanze con cui sono identificati.

Le analisi GC MS dei campioni ceramici sono state eseguite su estratti da Etere di petrolio e Cloruro di Metilene.

Sono stati analizzati gli estratti totali ed è stata effettuata una ricerca mirata alla componente oleosa ricercando i FAMES.

Dopo saponificazione degli estratti grezzi, acidificazione e riestrazione, si è effettuata la metilazione con Diazometano, ricercando quindi i metilesteri degli acidi grassi.

Per quanto riguarda i prodotti peciosi, la presenza di acido Deidroabietico e di altri terpeni correlati rivela la presenza di resine di Pinacee, comunemente usate nelle anfore per il trasporto del vino.

Una modesta componente idrocarburica potrebbe essere esogena (inquinamento?).

Nel dettaglio:

— Dr 8 142922: tracce di acidi grassi, vari picchi di idrocarburi e di sostanze organiche riconducibili ad attività biologica (vegetali, batteri funghi) o inquinamento.

— Dr 2-4 70908A: picchi idrocarburici e sostanze riconducibili ad attività biologica

— Dr 20/23 17655: tracce di acidi grassi + sostanze riconducibili ad attività biologica; idrocarburi.

— Dr 8 similis 19568: qualche acido grasso (?) idrocarburi, sostanze riconducibili ad attività biologica.

RIASSUNTO

Sono stati scelti per lo studio campioni di anfore romane ritrovate nel Veneto, per le quali il contenuto è conosciuto come le Dr 8 e le Dr 20, e altre che potevano servire per vari prodotti e di altre anfore che potevano servire per vari prodotti (vino, olio, salse di pesce, dette polivalenti). Nel caso delle anfore prodotte nell' Alto Adriatico, specialmente le Dr 6 erano destinate a più prodotti.

È stata analizzata anche la forma Dr 8 similis della quale non si conosce il luogo di produzione e la destinazione. Così pure è stata analizzata un' anfora tardoantica ritrovata nella laguna di Venezia appartenente alla famiglia delle Late Roman. Queste due ultime servivano per il vino.

Nel caso delle anfore olearie si è ben dimostrata la presenza del prodotto.

La impossibilità di prelevare campioni di materiale idonei all' interno dell' anfora non ha permesso di stabilire il contenuto delle Dr 6B. Per le Dr 6A e Dr 2-4 si conferma l' uso per il vino, come si induce dalla presenza di resina.

In nessuna delle anfore esaminate si sono rilevate tracce lasciate da prodotti ittici.

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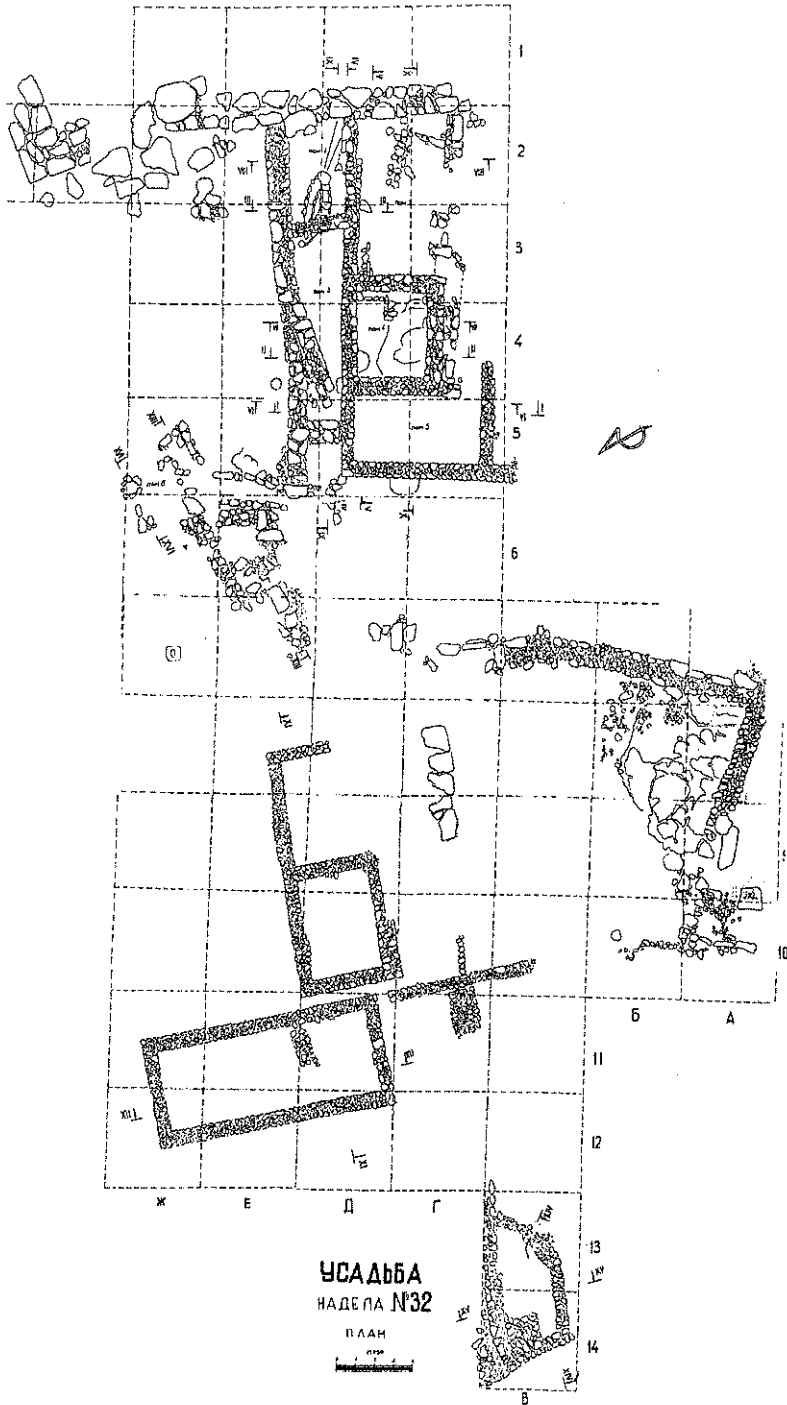
A DOMESTIC RURAL SANCTUARY OF THE 1ST CENTURIES AD NEAR TAURIC CHERSONESOS*

Important changes take place in the religious life of Chersonesos in the first centuries AD: the role of official cults is reduced but at the same time the meaning and number of private cults increase. New oriental cults appear in the town's pantheon. Some of the deities, which were official in earlier times, become domestic patrons of families. The worship of these patron-deities takes place in domestic sanctuaries. The private cults of the Maiden, Zeus, Hera, Herakles, Dionysos, Apollo, Athena, Asclepius and Hygieia, Aphrodite, Hermes, Demeter and Kora-Persephone, Cybele and some other deities existed in the city in the 1st centuries AD [Kadeev 1996, 149-155; Zolotarev 1988, 49-59; Mescheryakov 1980, 9-11; Shevchenko 2000, 126-129].

The religions of the rural population of Chersonesos in this period are not yet known so well. A small number of vessels with graffiti, some terracotta statuettes, fragments of sculptures of deities, which date to this period, are found in the agricultural territory. Thus the finds from the farmhouse of plot № 32 are the most interesting for the study of cults, which were common in the rural area in the 1st centuries AD.

This farmhouse is situated in the western part of the Heraklean Peninsula on the western coast of Kamyshovaya Bay. Excavations by the Heraklean Expedition of the Archaeological and Historical Museum of Chersonesos, Sevastopol (now called the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos) in 1979/1982, led by T.Yu. Yashaeva, show that this farmhouse was a multi-level complex, used in the Hellenistic, Roman and medieval periods [Archive, 2236, 59-102]. A small room, dated to the 1st centuries AD by ceramic material, was found in the northeastern part of the building. Unfortunately, the building remains were so insignificant that they did not allow the ascertainment of the sizes and plan of this room (fig. 1). Some interesting finds were made here. First are 2 marble fragments of the sculpture of the goddess Cybele:

* I am very grateful to Tatyana Yu. Yashaeva for the possibility to study and publish material from her excavation. All finds are preserved now in the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos.



— A head of a goddess. White marble. Height: 7.3 cm Coll. № 13/37038. The head of the goddess Cybele in the high polos. The face is somewhat damaged: there are no nose, no mouth, no chin, and a part of a cheek is missing (fig. 2).

— A fragment of a hand. White marble. Length: 8.5 cm. Coll. № 13/37038. The fragment of the right hand, holding a phiale (fig. 3).

These 2 fragments belong to one statuette of Cybele. The goddess is represented by her typical attributes — a polos and a phiale.

The small limestone altar was also found in this room — Coll. № 19/37038. It measures: 10.5 cm in height, 8.0 cm in width, 5.5 cm in thickness (fig. 4). The altar has a rectangular body with a profiled base; its back is plain. A depression with tracks of burning is on the upper side of the altar (measures: 6.2 x 4.9 x 2.3 cm). Several burnt seeds and three red-clay lamps, dating to the 1st centuries AD, were found near the altar.

The pit, reverted by plain stones with remains of clay daub, was found in the northern corner of this room. (The diameter of the pit is 0.75 m, the depth is 1.0 m). The pit was filled with a damp clay soil with very small ceramic fragments and an insignificant number of bones of domestic animals.

The ceramic material from this room dates to the 1st centuries AD [Archive, 2236, 78-81].

In our opinion, all these finds allow to define this room as a domestic sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Cybele.



Fig. 2

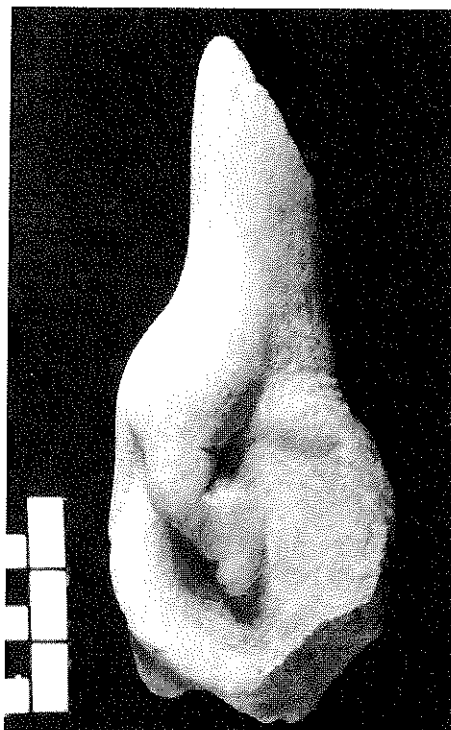


Fig. 3

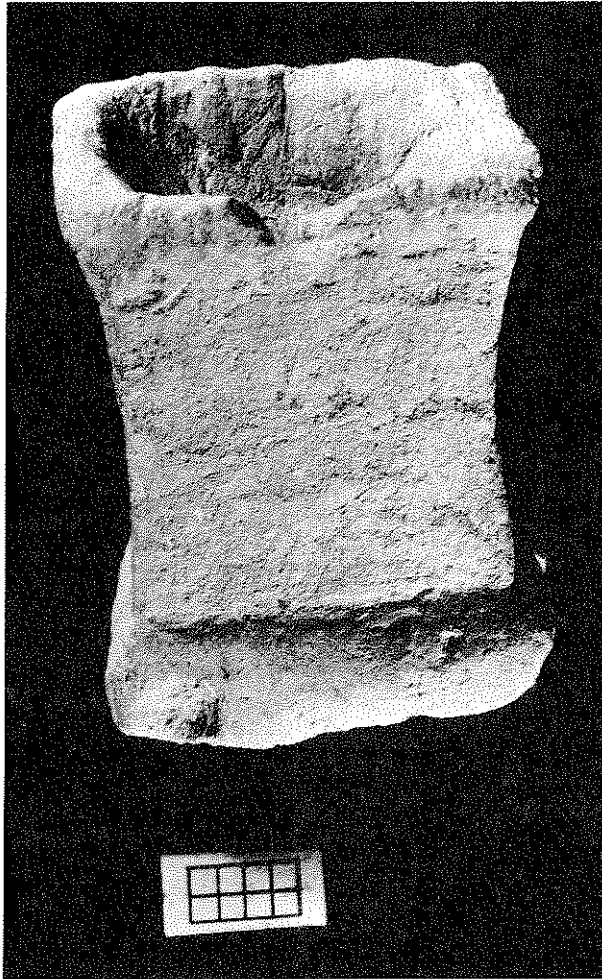


Fig. 4

The cult of Cybele, the Great Mother of the gods of Asia Minor, and her constant companion, the god Attis, appears on the northern coast of the Black Sea in the 6th century BC. The earliest terracotta figures of Cybele from *Olbia* date to this time [Rusjaeva 1992, 143-148]. This cult was widespread in this region in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There are numerous monuments of the goddess made of stone and clay. Most of them mirror the images of Cybele from Asia Minor, while some figures are in the Attic style [Kobylyna 1976, 1-3; Kobylyna 1978, 10; Kruglikova 1966, 110-115]. Very often the goddess is represented sitting on a high throne, her left hand holding a tympanon, while a lion lies on her knees or reclines near her legs. Sometimes there are two lions near the

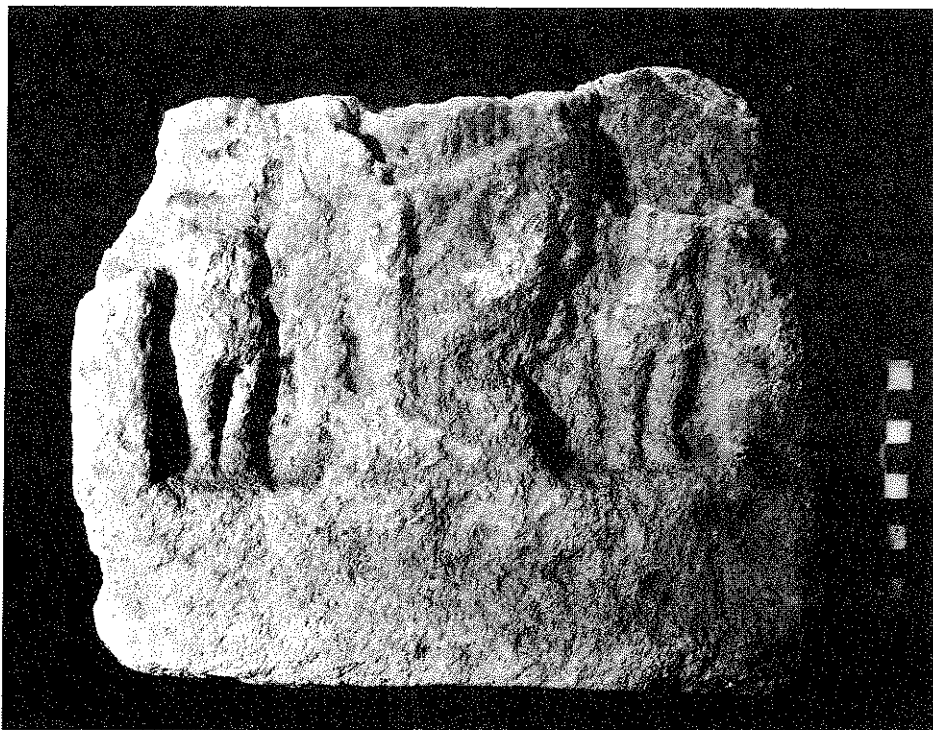


Fig. 5

throne of Cybele; on rare occasion Attis, Hermes and Kora are near the goddess [Kobylina 1978, 11-12; Levi 1970, 34-37, fig. 14.9; 17.2; 18.2; 18.5].

At Chersonesos the cult of Cybele is known from the late fifth-the first half of the 4th century BC [Ševčenko 1988, 130-132]. The worship of Cybele becomes official in Chersonesos in the 2nd century BC [Ševčenko 1997, 126-127]. Terracotta statuettes made by local masters are found in Chersonesos; most of them date to the end of the 3rd-2nd century BC [Ševčenko 2000a, 28-30]. Among the sculpture monuments from Chersonesos, the earliest patterns of Cybele date to the 4th century BC, the others — to the 1st centuries AD [ASCh 1976, 26-29].

Most of these finds, which are evidence for the worship of Cybele, are from the urban territory, while only a small number of the finds are from the agricultural area. The limestone relief with a representation of Cybele sitting on the throne with a lion on her knees was found during the excavation of a farmhouse near Kamyshovaya Bay by V.P. Lisin in 1937. This slab was found in a store-room, which was situated in the south-eastern part of this building complex, and dates to the 2nd-4th centuries AD [Strzheletskij 1961, 142-144]. This votive relief is of local manufacture of the 1st centuries AD [ASCh 1976, 27, fig. 46]. It is interesting

that the stone altar was found in the yard of this complex. It is assumed that domestic sanctuary, dedicated to the goddess Cybele, was in this farmhouse in the 1st centuries AD.

In addition to the information above, mention should be made of about a casual find on the Heraklean Peninsula in 1984. This is a limestone votive relief of Cybele — Coll. № HBΦ 992. Only the lower part of this slab is preserved. It measures: 23.5 cm in height, 26 cm in width, 7.5 cm in thickness. The goddess is represented sitting on the throne between two lions. The back side of the slab is worked crudely, probably because the relief stood close to a wall (fig. 5). This representation of Cybele has analogies among votive reliefs from Chersonesos, dated to the 1st centuries AD [ASCh 1976, 27, fig. 47, 48]. A type of the goddess sitting between two lions goes back to the statuette made by Agoracritus in the 5th century BC; it becomes the basis for a numerous of ancient images of Cybele. The patterns, which were made in the Roman period, are copies of earlier models [Kobylyna 1976, 1-3; Vermaseren 1982, 5].

These votive representations of Cybele from the Heraklean Peninsula are evidence for the spread of Cybele's cult among the rural population of Chersonesos in the 1st centuries AD. The high and stable harvests were the main aspects of the rural life. Inexhaustible fertility in combination with the protection of fields and animals were general characteristics of the cult of the Great Mother. The patent and terrible mistress of forests and mountains of the past, she is now more often perceived as a patroness of the earth, plants and domestic animals [James 1959, 161-165]. Such distinguishing feature of her cult made this goddess one of the most popular deities of the ancient world [Krill 1978, 30-32]. The worship of Cybele was widespread in the Roman Empire, in all provinces and many sites of these times.

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Chersones

GLASS BEAKERS OF THE 1ST-2ND CENTURIES AD WITH “LOTUS BUD” RELIEF FROM CHERSONESOS

Among glass vessels of the 1st-2nd centuries AD recovered during excavations in Chersonesos there is a small group of mould-blown beakers. A distinctive feature of these beakers is ornamentation consisting of so-called “lotus buds” in relief that are arranged in a checkerboard fashion. The lotus buds also occur in more complicated relief with a central boss. In addition, sometimes there are small round bulging points between lotus buds.

Unfortunately, we do not have any complete vessels, but general shapes may be reconstructed on the basis of surviving fragments and by parallels found within the museum collections at Chersonesos and elsewhere.

Typically these vessels are conical beakers with straight walls that taper towards the base; the rim is cut and roughly polished. Concentric circles are impressed as well as in relief on the bottom. Often there is a cut grave line below the rim.

The thickness of the walls measures 0.1-0.3 cm, and the height of these beakers varies from 8.5 to 17 cm. As regards the beakers that were found in Chersonesos, the height of their surviving fragments is 3.5-9.2 cm. On the basis of the surviving fragments we can determine the diameter of the bottom (from 3.8 to 5.0 cm) and the rim (6.0 and 10 cm).

The beakers with lotus buds were blown in moulds that were made of stone or clay. The moulds included four pieces — three for the walls and one for the bottom, as the positions of the seams indicate [Kunina 1997, 275, catalogue 118].

The colour of Chersonesos glass vessels is either light-blue or olive. But it is necessary to note the very high quality of the material: the glass is bright, consistent, without bubbles, the surface of the vessels is almost free of iridescence, which is rare for most Chersonesos glass.

Since these vessels are noted for their unusual decoration, it is possible to establish a typology and to distinguish four groups.

Group 1. Simple buds without points (fig. 1)

This group consists of four fragments of vessels, one of which is distinguished by its large dimensions. It is the top of the beaker that was found in 1909 near the west defensive wall (during the excavations of Leper). The beaker is made of light-blue glass. The rim was cracked off and ground. There are cuts and grooves below the rim. Note the dimension of the buds of the upper row. They measure 3.0 cm and rim's diameter is 10 cm. This fragment probably belongs to one of largest vessels of this kind. The three other fragments of this group probably belong to the same vessel, as all of them come from Grinevich' excavations of 1928 and have the same olive colour and quality of material. The fragment of the rim allows to determine its diameter. In Neuss, Germany, two fragments were found that have analogous ornament [M.E. van Lith, Sofia 1994, 329, Tab. 14, Nr. 936].

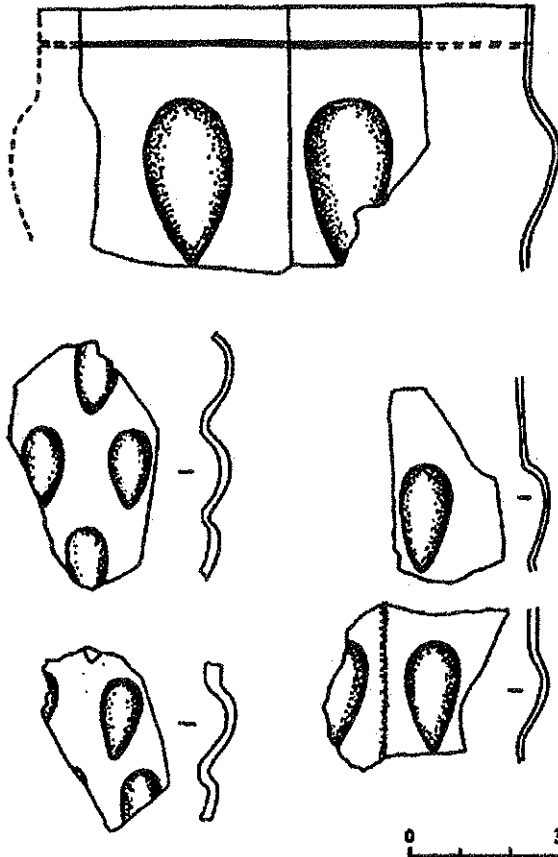


Fig. 1. Group 1

Group 2. Simple buds and points (fig. 2)

This group consists of two fragments — a wall and a piece of the top of the vessel - on the basis of which we can define the diameter of the rim: 6.0 cm. The glass is light-blue. Both were found in the port region of Chersonesos in the same room. It is possible to assume that these fragments belong to the same vessel. A beaker of this type made of light-greenish glass was found in Yugoslavia (in Burgen) [Saranović-Svetek 1986, 16, Tab. III/9].

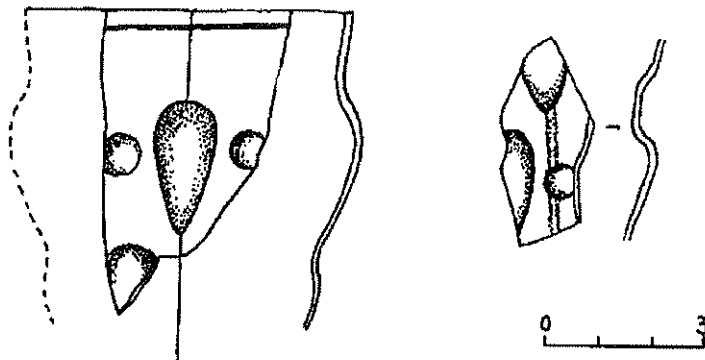


Fig. 2. Group 2

Group 3. Buds with a central bulge, without points (fig. 3)

From the five specimens included in this group it is necessary to point out one well-preserved vessel. It comes from Leper's excavations of 1909 near the western defensive wall. The beaker is made of light-blue glass. The bottom and walls of the beaker were preserved. The diameter of the bottom is 3.8 cm, and the height of the surviving wall fragments is 5.7 cm. There are two convex concentric circles on the bottom. In addition, we can see three clear seams of matrix on the walls. Once again, these characteristics indicate that these beakers were made with a four-part mould. Ornament of this kind is more widespread and the vessels of the 3rd group occur in the Northern Black Sea region [Kunina, 1997, 275, kat. 118] as well as in western and eastern Europe: the Rhine region [M.E. van Lith, Sofia 1994, 327, Tab. 14, Nr. 935], Italy [Isings 1957, 45-46], Romania [Bucovală 1968, 52, fig. 57a].

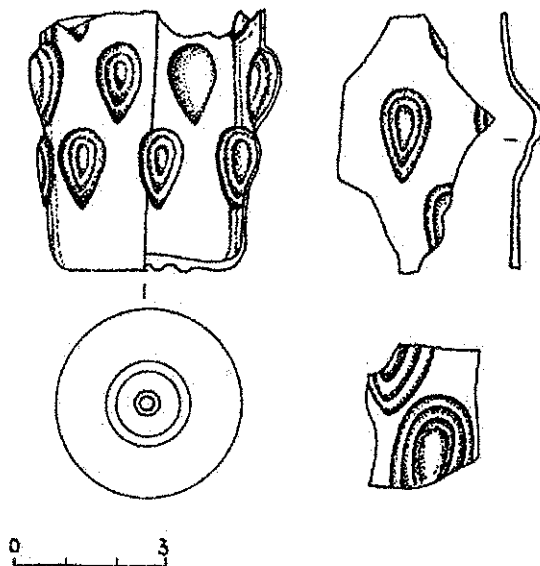


Fig. 3. Group 3

Group 4. Buds with a central bulge and points (fig. 4)

This group consists of fragments of five vessels. The majority of pieces belongs to the light-blue beaker (Grinevich's excavations of 1928 in south-east region of Chersonesos). It is a vessel of very large dimensions. The rim's diameter is 10 cm and size of the buds of upper row measure up to 3.5 cm. In addition, the quality of the material is very high: the glass is transparent, bright, and without iridescence. Vessels of this group were also found in Pantikapaion [Sorokina 1962, 217], Tira [Son 1988, 47, fig. 2,5], Gallia [Damevski 1976, 69, Tab. XII, fig. 5].

It is necessary to note two beakers from the 4th group. Masks alternating with lotus buds are added to traditional ornament in the lower row. Three masks out of four have survived. They depict a satyr, a meniad and an actor (Silene). A fragment with part of the fourth mask has survived, but who exactly is depicted is difficult to establish. It may be a depiction of Silene as well (fig.5).

Even though the beakers are of different-coloured glass (one being light-blue, the other olive), after microscopic examination it is clear that both vessels were moulded in the same matrix.

The use of Bacchus' masks in the composition makes it possible to connect these beakers to the cult of Dionysus that played an important role in the life of

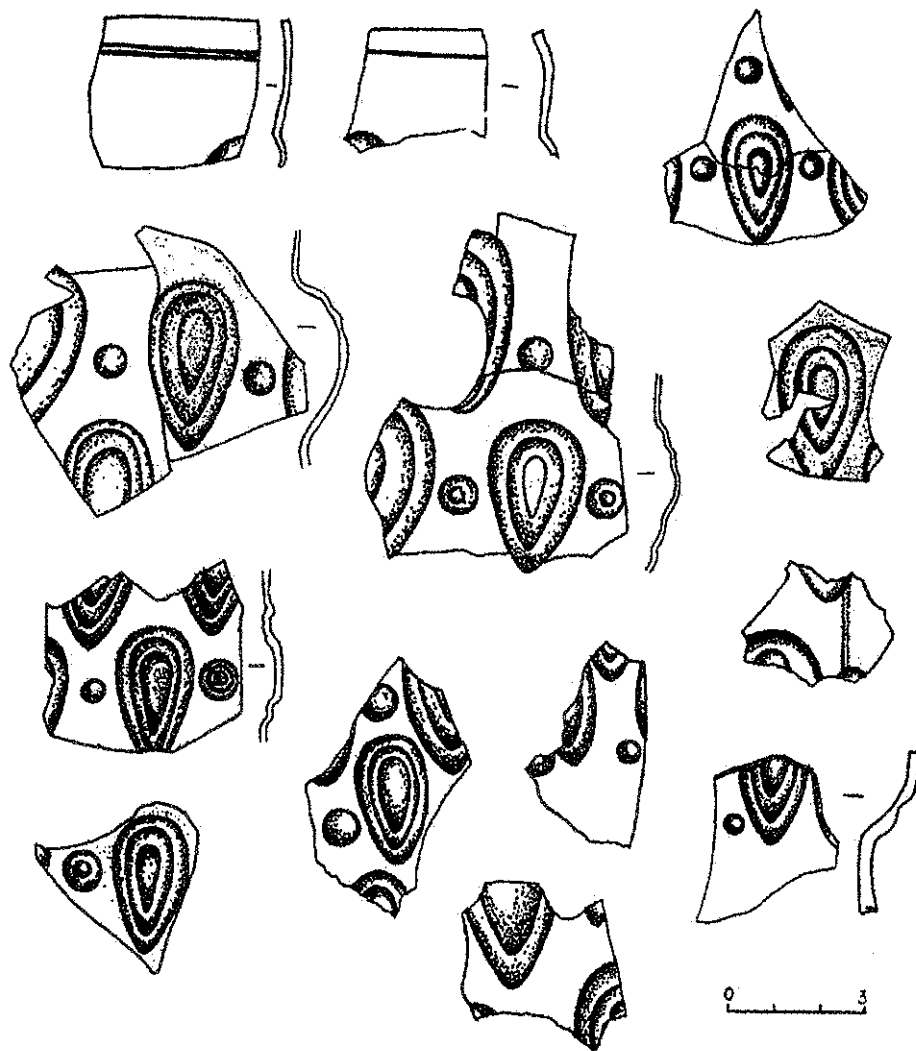


Fig. 4. Group 4

Chersonesos. Epigraphic sources testify to the popularity of this cult. Also, a temple dedicated to Dionysus was erected already in the 3rd century BC [Ivanova 1964, 134-139]. In honor of this deity were conducted celebrations (IOSPE, I², 344). The month "dionysii" was in the Chersonesan calendar (IOSPE, I², 343, 352). Record exists of the carrying of the statue of Dionysus during religious processions.

Numerous works of applied art that were dedicated to Dionysus also testify to the popularity of the cult of Dionysus in Chersonesos. There are terracotta masks and statuettes of Dionysus, Silene, Satyr, the meneads [Belov 1931], a marble sarcophagus wall with depictions in relief of masks of Dionysus and his suite [Belov 1940, 279] and a limestone slab with a depiction of a Bacchanal procession [Belov 1962, 153-158].

The vessels mentioned above quite probably were used during ceremonies dedicated to the cult of Dionysus.

The published analogies of these beakers are not presently known. However there is mention of a beaker with mask decoration in a catalogue by Saranović-Svetek [Saranović-Svetek 1986, 16]. This vessel is situated in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

The area of occurrence of the "lotus bud" beakers is quite wide: single specimens were found in Italy (Pompeii), France (Gallia), Romania (*Tomis*, Tiras, Mangalia), Hungary (Kesthey), the Northern Black Sea region (Pantikapaion, Tira) and Syria. But the largest quantity of the finds is concentrated in Yugoslavia (Split, Zadar), the Rhine region (*Vindonissa*, Köln, Neimegen) and in Chersonesos. It may be possible to account for this widespread occurrence by the presence in these areas of the Roman legions, among which the cult of Dionysus was very popular.

The group of beakers from *Vindonissa* was elaborated by L. Berger [Berger 1960, Tab. 8, 19]. He classified these vessels on basis of their decoration. However, the vessels from western regions of the Roman provinces show considerable differences from the beakers that were found in Chersonesos and other regions. In most cases each "bud" (or "tear" by Berger's classification) is surrounded by a diamond-shaped frame (fig. 6).

One should also note a well-preserved beaker from Reims. Its ornament represents lotus buds in relief as well, but they are situated on the walls of a vessel in a flat arrangement [Cabart 1996, 8-9]. It is believed that the beakers from *Vindonissa* and Reims were made in Rhenish workshops in resemblance to the Syrian vessels, but with the additional decoration made by native masters. This permits us to exclude a western European origin for the beakers from Chersonesos.

I'd like to make some suggestions about the décor of these beakers. Some scholars use the name "lotus buds", but this moniker is quite relative. We think that these are probably stylized grape bunches, since firstly, it would follow that lotus buds would be depicted with their sharper edges pointing upwards. Secondly, the grapes as symbols of wine-making would correspond to the purpose of these vessels.

It is interesting that almost all the beaker fragments found in Chersonesos were concentrated in the same area that is the port region of the city. Only some fragments come from the southeastern region, and two fragments from excavations near the western defensive wall.

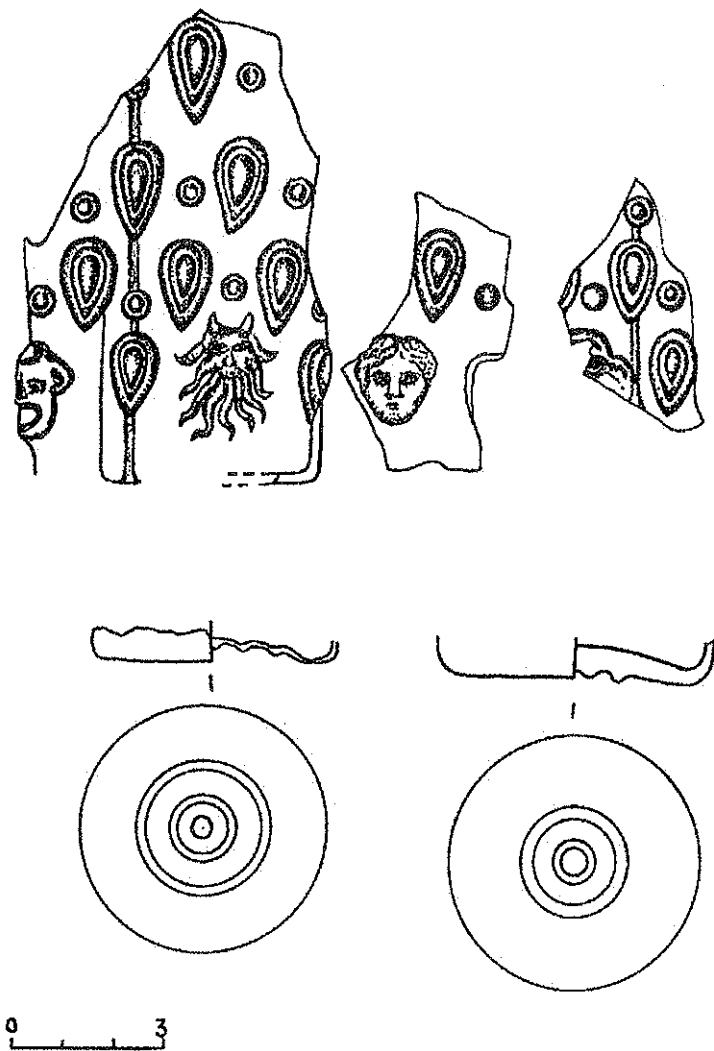


Fig. 5. Beaker with masks

Both native and foreign scholars date the beakers with “lotus buds” to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and attribute them to Syrian workshops. It was during this time that Chersonesos had stable trade contact with Syria [Kadeev, Soročan 1989, 37, 46] and it is quite possible that such vessels were brought to the city through the Balkan trade route (Lower Pannonia, the Danube region, Thrace).

Unfortunately, the majority of vessels found in Chersonesos that are addressed in this paper are among the finds without definitive contexts from the excavations of Kosciuszko-Valuzhinich. The dating of the vessels is difficult because many

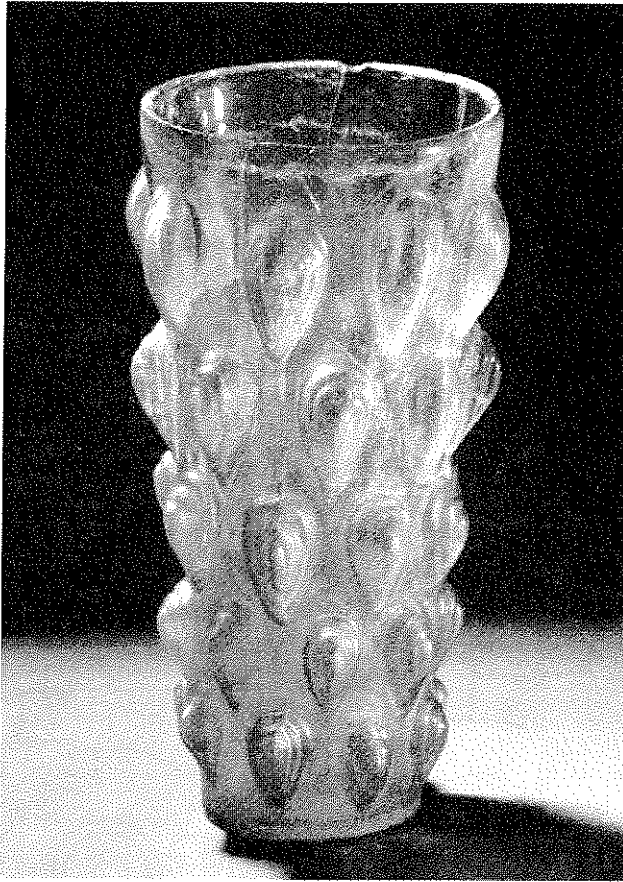


Fig. 6

of the fragments were found in a filled hole or pit together with diverse material from the 3rd-13th centuries AD. Hence we relied on analogies and material from limited complexes of the port and southeastern regions. They are represented by red-slip wear of the 1st-3rd centuries AD. Thus, we can slightly expand the limits of existence of such vessels in Chersonesos to the end of the 2nd century AD.

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POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT *TANAIS*

Since 1996 the Centre for Archaeological Research in *Novae* and the Institute of Archaeology at Warsaw University have been conducting excavations in the ancient town of *Tanais*, located near the modern town of Rostov on the Don River (Russia) (fig. 1). This work is carried out within the boundaries of the Russian Archaeological Mission directed by Tatiana Arsen'eva.¹

Since 1999 our research has concentrated on the area located directly in front of the Hellenistic defensive wall of the so-called western *Tanais* (fig. 2). The reason for selecting this site was the fact that it is possible to study there both: the Hellenistic fortifications and the area of the neighbouring rural hinterland.

The fortifications of *Tanais* dated to the first centuries AD have become well known thanks to the long-lasting excavations of Dmitrij Šelov, began in the 1960s.² Erected in the late 1st-early 2nd century AD, the huge stone walls were additionally protected on the outside by a deep and wide ditch. The walls were reinforced and repaired several times until the fall of *Tanais*, that is till the mid-3rd century. The Roman wall followed in part the outline of the Hellenistic fortifications, and used some of its fragments. The research conducted in one of the towers by Svetlana Naumienko last year and this year has allowed to gain better insight into that issue.

Also our trench no. XXV has helped to shed new light on how *Tanais* and its fortifications were constructed (fig. 3). The earlier belief, introduced by Dimitrij Šelov, was that in the Hellenistic period there existed two separately defended parts of the town.³ The western part was inhabited by the people of local tribes, and the eastern one by the Greeks. In contrast to the eastern part of the fortifications, the western part was considered as something inferior. It was supposed that it consisted of a 3 m wide stone wall with two facings resting on the bedrock, and the outer facing was supposed to have been cut into the bedrock to the depth of 0.20 m.⁴ The excavations conducted in the recent two years have brought unexpected results. In front of the stone wall a defensive ditch has been discov-

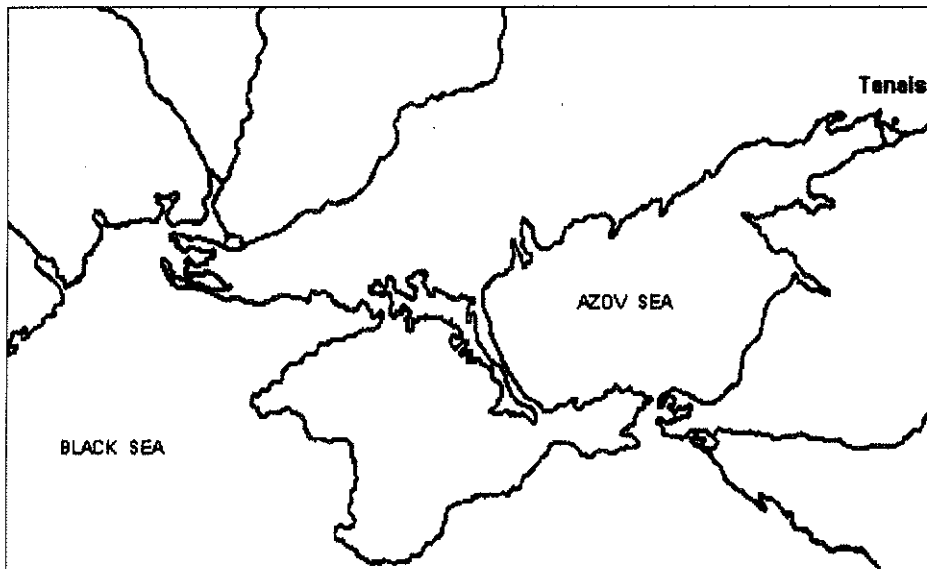


Fig. 1. Location of *Tanais*

ered (fig. 4). It was 10 m wide at the top and 3 m deep, with a gentle slope to the west and steep one to the east (fig. 5). The wall also seems to have been constructed in a different way than it was assumed: the outer facing is cut into a 0.80 m wide and 0.60 m deep canal carved in the bedrock (fig. 6). The wall is filled with ashlars. Small stones, which used to fill in the wall, are, unfortunately, not *in situ*. As a result of using this part of the wall as a *sui generis* quarry in the 1st century AD, and the pressure of the so-called Turkish wall from the east, the filling was shifted (fig. 7). The finds discovered in that place include both Hellenistic and even Goths' artefacts.

We hope that further archaeological excavations in the eastern part of the town will bring about better knowledge of the Hellenistic fortifications of *Tanais*.

Notes

¹ T. Scholl (with contributions by K. Misiewicz), *Tanais 1996 — wykopaliska nekropoli zachodniej — pierwszy sezon badań*, *Światowit* 41-A, 1998, 190-193; T. Arseniewa, T. Scholl, *Tanais. Na kresach cywilizacji antycznej*, *Archeologia Żywa* 10, 1999, 23-25; T. Arseniewa, T. Scholl,

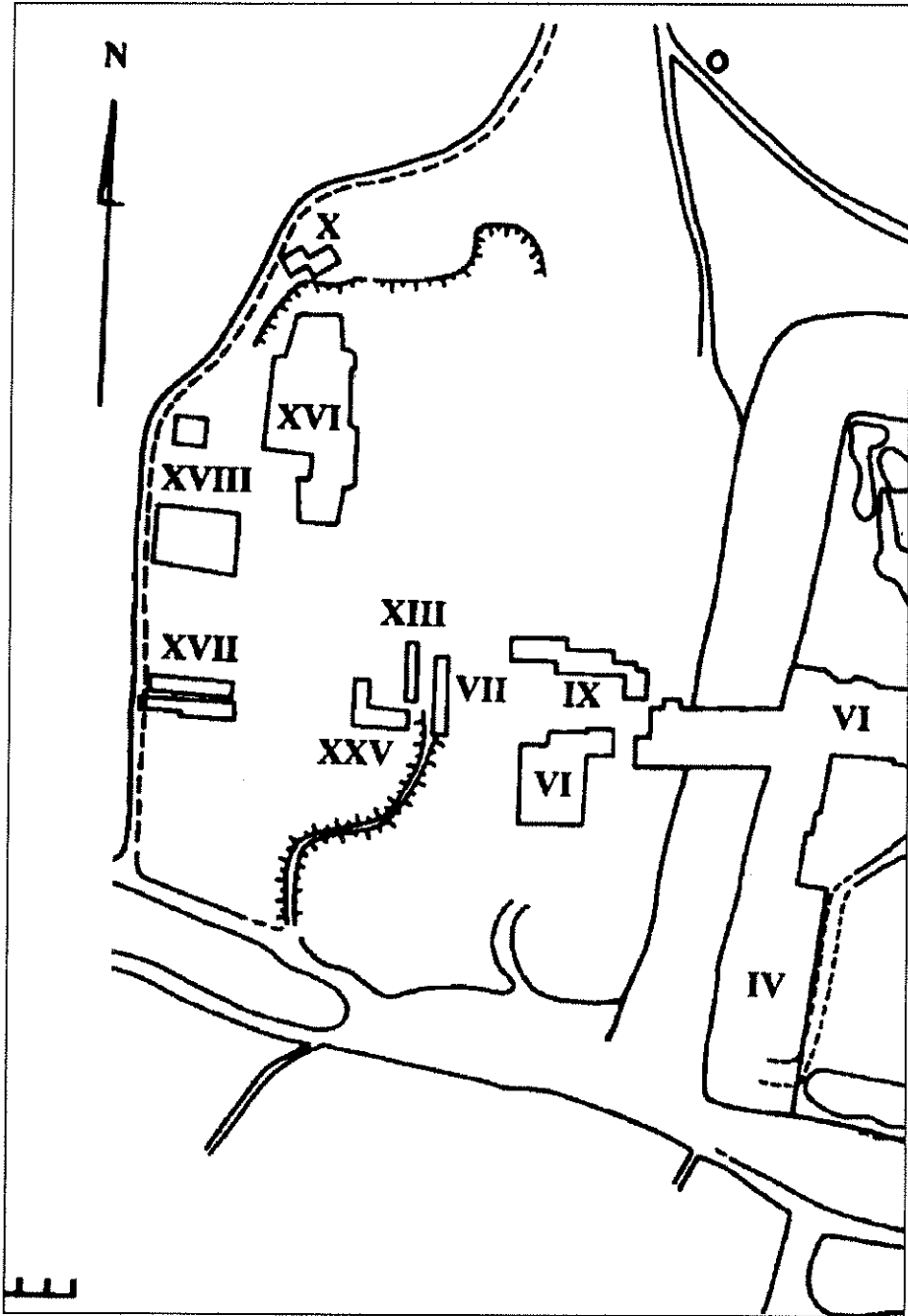


Fig. 2. Trenches of western *Tanais* after S. Naumienko

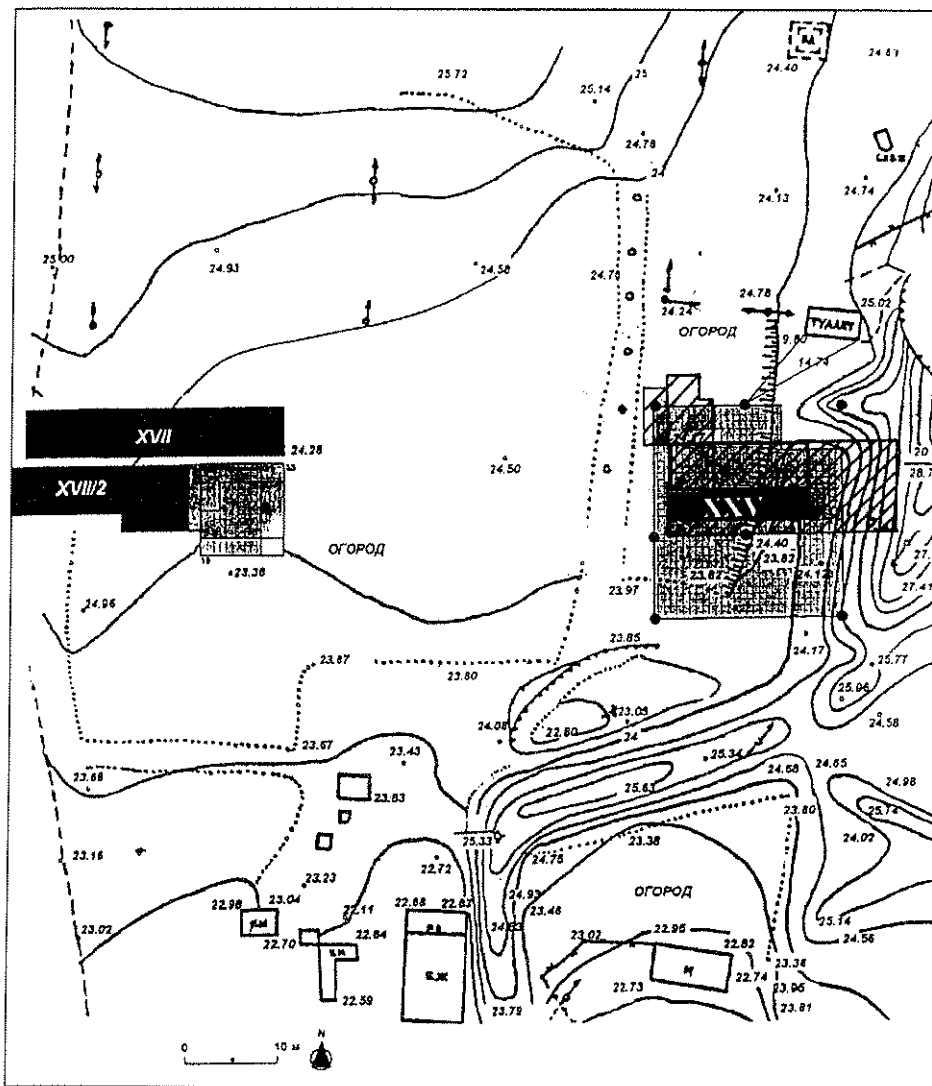


Fig. 3. Location of trench no. XXV

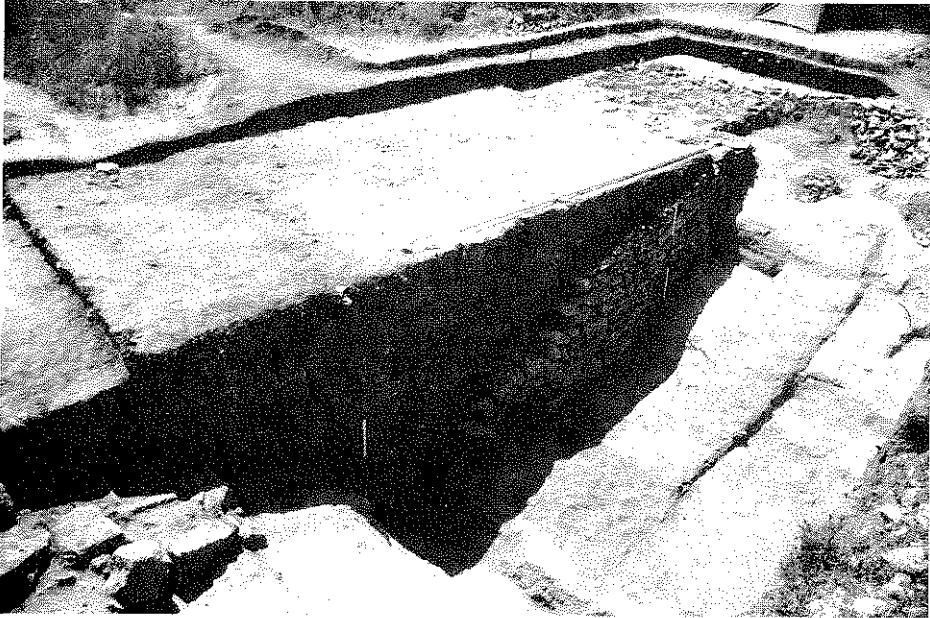


Fig. 4. Defensive ditch

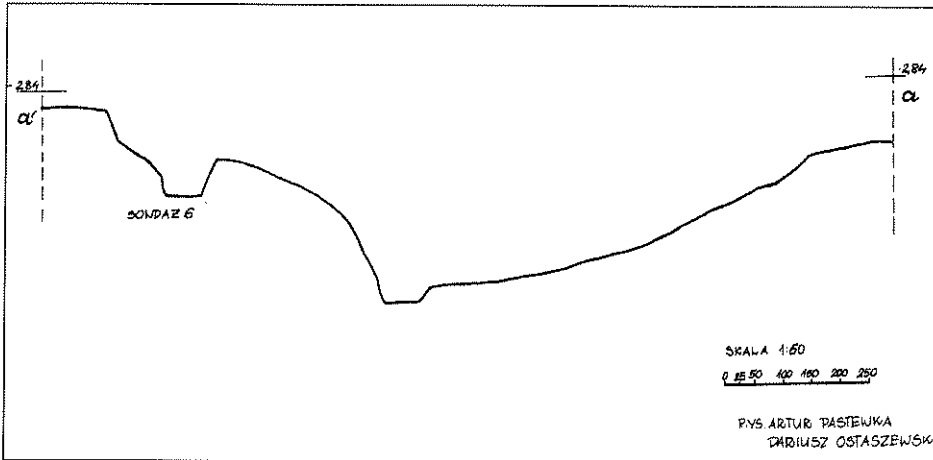


Fig. 5. Profile of defensive ditch



Fig. 6. Outer facing of the wall



Fig. 7. Filling of the wall

Tanais – trzy lata badań nekropoli zachodniej, *Światowit* 42-A, 1999, 15-16, pl. 1-6; T. Arseniewa, K. Piasecki, T. Scholl, Żelazny wojownik z Tanais, *Archeologia Żywa* 13, 1999/2000, 27-29; T. Arseniewa, T. Scholl, Sprawozdanie z kampanii wykopaliskowej przeprowadzonej na terenie zachodniej nekropoli Tanais w sezonie 1999, *Światowit* 43-A, 2000, 13-16, pl. 2-11.

² D.B. Šelov, Tanais i Nižnij Don v pervye veka našej èry, Moskva 1972, *passim*.

³ D.B. Šelov, Tanais i Nižnij Don v III-I vv. do n. è., Moskva 1970, 212.

⁴ A.I. Boltunova, Raskopki oboronitel'noj steny zapadnogo rajona Tanaisa (1958-1963 gg.), [in:] *Antičnye drevnosti Podon'ja-Priazov'ja*, Moskva 1969, 121-122; Šelov, Tanais i Nižnij Don v III-I..., *op. cit.*, 130.

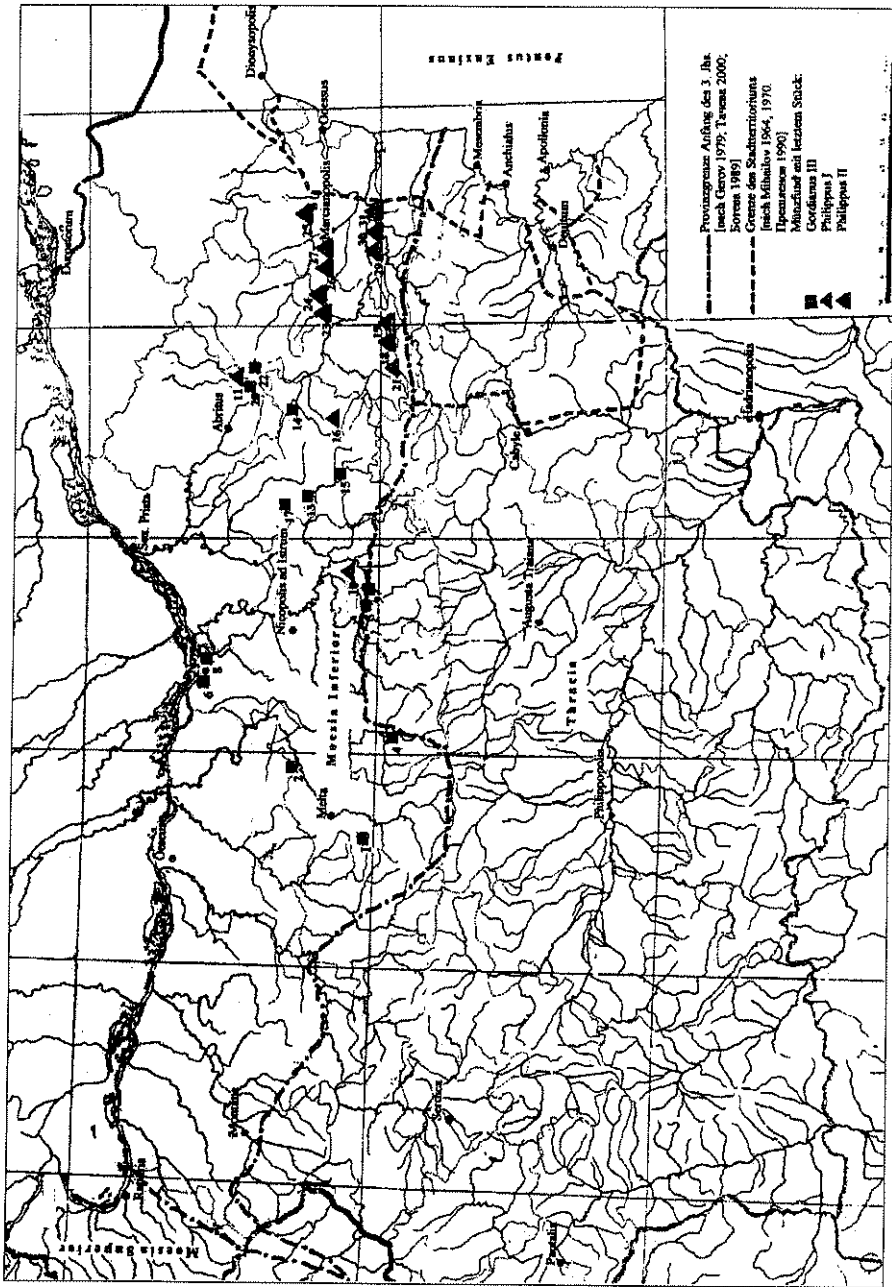


Abb. 1. Funde mit westpontischen Münzen in Moesia Inferior

