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National Archaeological Institute
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On the covers: Building inscription on the eastern *parascaenium* of Philippopolis' theatre, AD 116-117 (photo: N. Minchev); *hedera* carved on the seats of Philippopolis' theatre (photo: N. Sharankov).

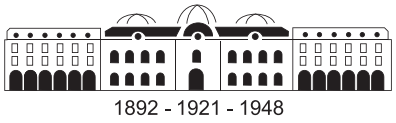
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"Cities, Territories and Identities" (Plovdiv, 3rd – 7th October 2016)

EDITED BY
LYUDMIL VAGALINSKI, MILENA RAYCHEVA,
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Sofia 2018

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Preface

Can Balkan researchers of Antiquity work together – and systematically – on a common topic?

The present volume is an expression of precisely this kind of scientific and organisational collaboration.

At the end of 2015 we put forward a suggestion to our neighbours with whom we share the geographic area of Thrace: to establish a series of academic conferences dedicated to Thrace's Roman and Late antique history. At that time, we did not expect such vast international interest. Eventually, it justified the choice of topic and gave meaning to our effort to be good hosts of the first edition of the conference in Plovdiv in the autumn of 2016.

Dear Chrysa (Karadima) and Mustafa (Sayar), thank you for believing in the idea and turning it into reality – as hosts, partners and friends!

Let us hope to be good Marathon-runners!

Sofia, 6th October 2018
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lyudmil Vagalinski
(Director of NAIM-BAS)

Cities and Landscapes

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In Search of Territories in Southwestern Thrace: The *Peraia* of Samothrace, the Strategy of Korpilike and the *Civitas* of Traianopolis

Maria Gabriella PARISSAKI

Abstract: The present communication focuses on the region lying between the Ismaros Mountain to the west and the lower course of the Hebrus River to the east. Knowledge of the region has importantly grown during the last decades, through excavations and field research but also through the publication of the epigraphic corpus of Aegean Thrace in 2005 (*IThrAeg*). Despite this growth of knowledge, however, some basic *desiderata* remain. Among them, the better understanding of the evolution and size of the three major administrative units attested in the region during the Roman times; namely, the *peraia* of Samothrace, attested since Hecataeus' and Herodorus' times, the strategy of Korpilike – attested only once in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy – and the *civitas* of Ulpia Traianopolis, founded by Trajan in the realm of his important administrative reorganisation of the Roman province of Thrace.

Key words: administrative organisation, Samothracian *peraia*, Corpili, strategies, Traianopolis.

Introduction

In the region lying between the Ismaros Mountain to the west and the lower course of the Hebrus River to the east – that is the region corresponding in broad lines to the "Hebrus Prefecture" of the modern Greek state – no major urban settlement developed until well into the Roman times. Here the Hebrus estuary defined the region's character and historical development by offering no effective protection from the north and no good harbour on the shore. Thus, from the 7th century BC till the early 2nd century AD – that is from the period of the Greek colonization of the north Aegean shore till the foundation of Traianopolis and Plotinopolis further to the north – ancient sources mention only the fort of Doriskos and a number of settlements attached to the island of Samothrace and forming its *peraia*[1].

The region's ancient development also determined to a certain extent the character and pace of modern research. Excavations, field surveys and publications mainly focused on the major Greek colonies lying to the west of the Ismaros Mountain, that is Maroneia (Psoma et al. 2008, with earlier bibliography), the settlement at the Molyvoti Peninsula, sometimes identified as ancient Stryme (Arrington et al. 2016, where the problem of the site's identification is also discussed), and Abdera (Chryssanthaki 2007). To the east of the Ismaros Mountain, excava-

[1] For this region see, in general, Isaac 1986, 125-140, Mottas 1989 and *IThrAeg*, p. 501-592. For bibliography on particular sites, see also below, section I.

tions focused mainly on two of the most important settlements of the Samothracian *peraia* – that is Zone[2] and Makri (Ευστρατίου / Καλλιντζή 1994) – and to a limited number of *tumuli*[3]. Of the two Roman foundations, only Plotinopolis, lying by the modern city of Didymoteichon, has been partially excavated[4]; but Traianopolis, safely identified with the archaeological site by the modern community of Loutra, remains unfortunately largely unexplored. In the field of publications, finally, the coinage of Plotinopolis is currently under preparation by Marina Tasaklaki (see her article in the present volume); and a stele of a gladiator, recently published by Athanasia Tsoka, seems to be the only important addition to the epigraphic corpus of Aegean Thrace published in 2005 (Τσόκα 2013-2014). Despite this slow but steady growth of knowledge, much, of course, remains open to further research; among them a better understanding of the exact location, size, evolution and inter-relation of the basic administrative units that are attested in the region during the Roman period; that is the Samothracian *peraia* – attested in our sources since the 5th century BC but still existing at least till the 3rd century AD – the strategy of Korpilike, only attested once during the 2nd century AD, and of course Traianopolis, founded by Trajan as its name clearly indicates. It has to be stressed that this paper is not about settling long standing problems by offering definitive answers, but more about presenting available data as currently understood.

The Samothracian *peraia*

Interest in the Samothracian *peraia* started basically in the beginning of the 20th century AD. An article devoted to the *peraia* was published by Perdrizet in the *REG* of 1909; a few years later, in 1918, Gawril Kazarow excavated a part of what was to be identified as Zone (Perdrizet 1909; Kazarow 1918). From then onwards, scholars have gathered and painstakingly analysed all literary and epigraphic evidence that span from the time of Herodotus to Late Antiquity, trying to locate the six *polismata* mentioned by name – that is Mesambria, Zone, Drys, Sale, Tempyra and Charakoma – and, of course, the Serrheion promontory. In 1989, François Mottas published a most important article that greatly contributed to the better understanding of the region's topography by presenting the most plausible identifications (Mottas 1989). But up to that date, all contributions on the Samothracian *peraia* resulted from an "a-chronological" approach, where the evidence offered by Hecataeus, Herodotus and Thucydides was added to that offered by Strabo and Titus Livius, disregarding the many upheavals that took place in this quite important – from a strategic point of view – zone. The most important contribution of the "post-Mottas" period lies exactly in this notion of evolution. Thus in an article published by Tsatsopoulou in the 10th Congress of Thracology held in 2005 a chart was published clearly tabulating this evolution (Tsatsopoulou 2007, 655, pl. 1; Tsatsopoulou 2009, 410, fig. 1). References to Zone and Drys, seem to follow more or less the same general pattern: Zone – identified today to the archaeological site of Şaplı-dere – was first mentioned by Hecataeus, as attested by Stephanus of Byzantium, by Herodotus at the beginning of the 5th century BC, and in inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, like a catalogue of cities from Delphi and a decree of Samothrace for Aristomachos[5]; Drys – whose exact identification still eludes us, but which is to be searched by Serrheion

[2] Zone was excavated by Andreas Vavritsas and later by Polyxeni Tsatsopoulou; for bibliography on excavation reports and for the site in general, see below note 5.

[3] For an overview on the *tumuli* of Aegean Thrace, see Τριαντάφυλλος / Τερζοπούλου 1996. Further to the north, the famous *tumulus* of Doxipara was unearthed and excavated in recent years; see Τερζοπούλου 2013.

[4] For the ongoing excavations at Plotinopolis (modern Didymoteichon), see Κουτσουμανής et al. 2009 with earlier bibliography; an impressive building of probably public character and a hydraulic structure are among the most important discoveries.

[5] In earlier times, scholars considered that Zone and the Serrheion promontory should be located at modern Makri; this identification was largely based on their belief that the only archaeological site available to the west of Makri was the one excavated by Kazarow at 1918 at the mouth of the Şaplı-dere stream, which they identified as Mesambria. This identification was seriously questioned by J. and L. Robert, who pointed out the strong presence of coins of Zone found at the site of Şaplı-dere (more than 2,000 coins), see indicatively *BullÉpigr* 1976, 464; 1978, 312; 1980, 319 and 1981, 326. The identification of Şaplı-dere with Zone became thereof widely accepted, see e.g. Mottas 1989, 88-89. For the literary and epigraphic evidence on Zone, see Isaac 1986, 130-131; *IThrAeg*, p. 505-511; Tsatsopoulou 2007 and 2009; Psoma 2008, 125-126; Zahrnt 2008.

and Zonaia mountains – was also mentioned by Hecataeus, as attested by Stephanus of Byzantium, in the catalogue of cities from Delphi mentioned just above, and in two decrees dated to the early 3rd century BC[6]. Thus references to these two settlements – that are to be located at the westernmost part of the coastal strip between the Ismaros and the Hebrus – seem to date exclusively to the Late Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. References to Sale, on the other hand, cover all periods from Late Archaic to Late Roman Times. The name occurs in Herodotus, in Livy and also in the *Itineraria* of the Roman period; to these *Itineraria* we owe the valuable information that *mutatio* Sale lay on the *via Egnatia*, 15 miles to the west of Traianopolis, thus suggesting a generally accepted identification with the archaeological site at the promontory of Makri[7]. On the easternmost end of this coastline, the two settlements of Tempyra and Charakoma, seem to occur only from the 3rd century BC onwards. Tempyra is generally identified today with the modern city and port of Alexandroupolis, where important finds of the Roman period are from time to time unearthed; among them we should mention an inscription, a *horos* of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace, found at the eastern part of the modern city. But Charakoma – only mentioned once by Strabo – still eludes a generally accepted identification (see Isaac 1986, 132-133; Psoma 2008, 126-127). Finally, an article published by Zahrnt one year later than the article of Tsatsopoulou, that is in 2008, offered one further contribution, by putting forward the idea that Mesambria – only occurring once in Herodotus – may be discarded as a name of a settlement and be rather interpreted as a direction mistakenly understood by later copyists (see Zarhnt 2008)[8].

Are we to see in this shift from west to east a simple shift to the urban development of the Samothracian *peraia* or are we to interpret it as a sign of a deeper change that also affected its size and character? The second alternative seems suggested by the fact that in 188 BC, at the end of the war against Antiochus III, Livy (38.41.8) mentions Sale as a *vicus Maronitarum*, thus clearly indicating that an important change has occurred in the meantime. But this process might have started earlier. An inscription, originating from the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace and published by McCredie (1968, 220-221), informs us that the island acquired a sacred land at the opposite shore during the reign of Philip and his son – either Philip II/III and Alexander III/IV respectively – that was later restituted by Lysimachus; this land is probably to be identified to the ἱερὰ χώρα mentioned above; and the Gallic invasions of 279/78 BC may also have had an impact on the region's development, as suggested by Selene Psoma (2008).

As things stand and on available evidence, therefore, the following development may be suggested: for the period spanning from approximately the 6th century BC and till the Early Hellenistic period, the *peraia* of Samothrace may have extended from the Serrheion promontory to that of Makri, where the settlement of Sale is to be identified. No indication exists that during this first period the *peraia* extended to the east of Makri[9]. But Macedonian expansion and the Hellenistic kingdoms' desire to effectively control the route running along the north Aegean shore, seem to have put a serious strain on Samothrace, which may have found it hard to constantly control the zone on the opposite coast. The founding of Orthagoreia at about the middle of the 4th century BC – to

[6] Drys was located just to the west of Zone, according to Skylax; Drys παρὰ Σέρρειον is mentioned in the Athenian tribute list of 422-421 BC, while Drys and Zone are mentioned in a catalogue of towns from Delphi, dating to the beginning of the 4th century BC; for the literary and epigraphic references on Drys, see Isaac 1986, 129-130; *IThrAeg*, p. 501-502; Psoma 2008, 125.

[7] On Sale, see Isaac 1986, 131; *IThrAeg*, p. 129; Psoma 2008, 125-126. According to Mottas (1989, 88) and on the evidence of distances given by the Roman *Itineraria*, Sale is to be identified with modern Makri.

[8] At about the same period, Tsatsopoulou suggested that Mesambria should be searched not on the coast but on the immediate hinterland of the Samothracian *peraia*, see Tsatsopoulou 2007, 656 and pl. 4.

[9] In this part of the coastal strip, the southern slopes of the Zonaia Mountains offered a relative protection from the north. Field surveys have revealed a number of forts in the mountainous regions of Ismaros and Zonaia that seem to have operated as a barrier zone, see Tsatsopoulou 2007, 651-652.

be placed somewhere between Maroneia and the Serrheion promontory – may have been a first blow[10]; Gallic invasions may have aggravated the situation and Maronitan pressure was felt too. That the island did possess a *peraia*, though, is clearly indicated by the Samothracian decrees for Hippomedon and Epinikos, which refer to an *ochyroma* and a *chorion* on the opposite shore (*IThrAeg* TE 63 and TE 64; Psoma 2008, 127, # 31). In Roman times, though, and on the evidence of Strabo's testimony, only the region around Tempyra (= Alexandroupolis) seems securely connected to the island. The *vicus* of Sale, still present in our sources, is never again explicitly associated to Samothrace[11]. Under this perspective, the usual definition of the Samothracian *peraia* as the coastal strip of land stretching from the Serrheion promontory to the Hebrus estuary may never have been the case; and it certainly does not apply for the Roman period, here under consideration.

The strategy of Korpilike

The Roman conquest of Macedonia and, even more so, the creation of the client-kingdom of Thrace at about the middle of the 1st century BC led to a new reality. From that date onwards all land lying outside the Greek settlements of the north Aegean shore went under the direct control of the client kingdom of Thrace and as such was probably organised into strategies; this system was maintained after the provincialisation of Thrace in AD 46 and functioned till the reign of Trajan at the beginning of the 2nd century AD[13]. Unfortunately, the name of the strategy or strategies that lay along the lower course of the Hebrus River has/have not survived in our sources for the period spanning from the middle of the 1st century BC to the end of the 1st AD. Then, Claudius Ptolemy includes in his work *Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις* a catalogue entitled "strategies of Thrace" (στρατηγίαι Θρᾴκης)[13]. In this catalogue strategies are organized in four distinct groups; in the second, covering the region along the border of Thrace with Macedonia and along the north Aegean shore, Ptolemy mentions the strategy of Maidike – clearly to be connected to the tribe of the Maedi and thus placed along the Strymon valley – the strategy of Drosike, the Koiletike, then the Sapaike – clearly connected to the Sapaei and thus placed in the mountainous region above Abdera and Maroneia – and then the strategy of Korpilike. From Claudius Ptolemy's catalogue, moreover, it becomes clear that the strategy of Korpilike bordered to the west with the Sapaike, to the east with the Kainike and to the north with either Samaïke or Bennike[14].

Setting aside this general arrangement, valuable information can also be derived from the name of the strategy, to be associated to the Thracian tribe of the Corpili. Most scholars agree today that the Corpili are first mentioned by Livy in his 38th book; there Livy describes the well-known and many times commented upon attack of Thracians against Manlius Vulso and his army just after the Roman victory over Antiochus III and the treaty of Apameia in 188 BC[15]. In a narrow pass, difficult to identify though certainly lying to the east of the Hebrus River, the army was attacked by the Coreli, Maduateni, Astae and Caeni. Two of these tribes – the Astae and Caeni – are certainly located to the east of the Hebrus, but the names of the other two – the Maduateni and Coreli – occur here for the first and only time. If we accept the emendation of Coreli to Corpili, this would date their emergence at the beginning of the 2nd century BC[16]. But the first cer-

[10] Orthagoreia is known through its silver and bronze coinage dating to the 4th century BC and by two literary references, namely Strabo (7a.1.48) and Pliny (*HN* 4.42-43); on available evidence, thus, it seems that Orthagoreia was a short-lived city, probably founded during the reign of Philip II. On the city and its coinage, see Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2004 and Psoma et al. 2008, 193-206.

[11] For a similar development regarding the *peraia* of Thasos, less extensive during the Roman period compared to the one of the archaic and classical times, see Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1990, esp. 506.

[12] On the strategies of Thrace and their evolution from the middle of the 1st century BC to Trajan's reign, see Parissaki 2009 and 2013, with earlier bibliography. Some new inscriptions recently published by Sharankov (Шаранков 2015 and Sharankov 2016) indicate that a revision is required for the third and final period of the history of this institution, that is the period spanning from the reign of Vespasian onwards; to this we will return in a later publication.

[13] Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.8-10 (Stückelberger and Graβhoff's edition of 2006): Στρατηγίαι δέ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς Μυσίαις καὶ περὶ τὸν Αἷμον τὸ ὄρος ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν Δανθηλητική, Σαρδική, Οὐσδικησική, Σελλητική. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πελάγει ὁμοίως στρατηγίαι Μαιδική, Δροσική, Κοιλητική, Σαπαϊκή, Κορπιλική, Καινική· καὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν τὴν Μαιδικὴν Βεσσική, ὑφ᾽ ἣν Βεννική, εἶτα Σαμαϊκή. Παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Περίνθου πόλεως μέχρις ᾽Απολλωνίας παράλιον ἡ ᾽Αστικὴ στρατηγία.

[14] For the Maedi and their localisation along the Strymon valley, in the region to the north of the Kresna Pass, see Parissaki 2015; for Drosike, Koiletike and Sapaike, see Делев 2014, 285 (for the first two) and 416-430 respectively.

[15] For a detailed description of the attack, see Livy 38.40-41; the tribes involved in the first attack before the Hebrus' crossing are mentioned in 38.40.7. Of the many commentaries on this passage, see especially Mottas 1989, 91-92.

[16] See e.g. Delev 2009, 246: "although the Corpili are not mentioned on this occasion by Livy, it could be suggested that the name Coreli in this list of allied Thracian tribes was a misnomer"; for this emendation in relation to manuscript tradition, see Briscoe 2008, 144-145. Some scholars have also suggested the identification of the Coreli with the Cepnati, also mentioned by Livy in (42.19.6; see Detschew 1976², s.v. Κορπῖλοι and Delev 2009, 246) and with the Coralli mentioned by Strabo (7.5.12; see Iliev 2015, 131, n. 20). These identifications seem less probable.

tain mention of the Corpili occurs in Strabo and the fact that Strabo's work dates to the turn of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD – that is precisely at the time when the client kingdom of Thrace acquires its importance – gives to this reference a special interest. In book 7, frg. 47 (48), the geographer mentions that "along the Hebrus dwell the Corpili, the Brenni still higher up above them, and lastly the Bessi", without specifying whether this indicates the east or the west side of the river, though mention of the Brenni and even more so of the Bessi further to the north could be interpreted as indicating a western direction[17]. In his entry on the Corpili, moreover, Stephanus of Byzantium adds the information that Ainos lay in the region of Korpilike, formerly called Apsinthis, and this certainly indicates that about a century before Ptolemy's catalogue the region of Korpilike – or, at least, a part of it – extended to the east of the Hebrus[18]. Then comes, the third and most precise information to be found in Appian; when describing the march of the Roman army of Cassius and Brutus just before the battle of Philippi in 42 BC – that is too in a date quite close to the emergence of the client kingdom of Thrace – Appian mentions the defiles of the Corpili, to the east of the Serrheion promontory and certainly to the west of the Hebrus River; these defiles are almost unanimously identified today as the pass of the Zonaia Mountains[19].

The ambiguity of ancient sources – east or west bank of the river – is also reflected in modern views; some scholars locate the tribe and the strategy on the east side (Tacheva, Delev), some on the west (Detschew, Fol) and only a few suggest that the river may not have been such a barrier after all[20]. That the strategy extended to the west side of the river is, I think, clearly indicated by the identification of the defiles that may have functioned as the western limit of the homonymous strategy. To the east, the Hebrus River does indeed offer the best possible natural boundary. But the possibility that a part at least of the strategy also extended to the east of the river should not be excluded; Strabo clearly equates Korpilike to Apsinthis and in ancient Thrace we also know of other tribes and cities extending on both sides of a river; the Maedi, e.g., dwelled on both sides of the Strymon, while the urban centre of Topeiros lay to the west bank of the Nestus while its *chora* extended to the east[21]. The strategy, though, should not have extended much further than the region of Ainos; for a more eastward location would have left too much space for the strategy of Sapaike and not enough for the strategy of Kainike, to be placed to the west of Astike and the *chora* of Perinthos[22]. To the south, the strategy probably touched the Aegean shore, leaving outside the Samothracian *peraia* of Roman times, as defined above. The most difficult limit to define is, of course, the northern one. The only scholar to have ever proposed a more concrete definition towards this direction was Alexander Fol, who considered that the strategy of Korpilike extended up to the line of Zlatograd-Didymoteichon (Фол 1975, 85-86, esp. 86). Though not substantiated, such an extent would have corresponded to the size of the other strategies mentioned in the catalogue of Claudius Ptolemy.

Traianopolis and its territory

The location and extent of the strategy of Korpilike brings us to the last part of our presentation, the definition of Traianopolis' territory. The city was founded by Trajan at the crossroads of the *Via Egnatia* with a

[17] Strabo 7, *frg.* 47 (48): Παροικοῦσι δὲ τὸν Ἕβρον Κορπῖλοι καὶ Βρέναι ἔτι ἀνωτέρω, εἶτ' ἔσχατοι Βέσσοι· μέχρι γὰρ δεῦρο ὁ ἀνάπλους. Ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη λῃστρικὰ ταῦτα, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Βέσσοι, οὓς λέγει γειτονεύειν Ὀδρύσαις καὶ Σαπαίοις.

[18] Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Κορπίλοι: Κορπίλοι, Θρᾳκῶν τινές. Στράβων ζ. ἡ χώρα Κορπιλική 'ἡ γὰρ Αἶνος κεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρότερον Ἀψυνθίδα, νῦν δὲ Κορπιλικὴν λεγομένην.

[19] This pass is mentioned by Appian in *BCiv.* 4.11.87: Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανὸς οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ᾽Αντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτὼ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς ῾Ρασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ᾗ μόνῃ διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς ᾽Ασίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. Also in 4.13.102: Ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. Καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον. And one last time in 4.13.105: ἔχει [*sc.* Philippi] δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτῳ δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ῾Ρασκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἕλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὰ στενὰ τῶν Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων εὔφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν. For the identification of the Pass of the Corpili with the region of Makri, see Παρισάκη 2000-2003, with earlier views and further bibliography.

[20] A localisation to the west/right bank of the Hebrus river has been suggested by Detschew and Fol, see Detschew 1976[2] *s.v.* Κορπῖλοι ("vom Bistonischen See bis zur Mündung des Hebrus") and Фол 1975, 86 ("на запад от долното течение на Марица докъм Бистонското езеро") respectively. A localisation to the east/left bank of the river and to the north of Ainos has been suggested by e.g. Mihailov, Jones and Tacheva, see Михайлов 1967, 39-40 ("по долна Марица над Енос"), Jones 1971[2], 13 and Тачева 2000, 42 ("на запад край долното течение на Хеброс и на изток до реката Мелас") and, recently, by Delev 2009, 246-247: "they [*sc. the Corpili*] must have occupied therefore the left bank of the Lower Hebrus between Aenus and Cypsela and the limited hinterland to the Melas gulf, or the lands previously ascribed to the

vertical artery running along the Hebrus River and leading to the *Via Diagonalis*[23]. The city proper developed on flat terrain to the west of a hill – St. George Hill – which offered not only a convenient location for the city's acropolis but also control of the surrounding area. The extent of the city's territory has been the subject of only short references, due to the lack of any direct relevant information (e.g. *IThrAeg*, p. 534). Available data – which amounts to a couple of inscriptions and coins and which still largely depends on the study of the region's geological formation – will be only briefly repeated here.

Two inscriptions found at Traianopolis (*IThrAeg* E433) and at modern Alexandroupolis (*IThrAeg* E447) respectively and dating from the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla refer to works of maintenance of the city's road network, allocated among the various *phylai*[24]. A reference to the road leading to the Hebrus river at l. 22-23 of inscription *IThrAeg* E433 (ἡ ὁδὸς μέχρι Ἕβρου ποταμοῦ), offers an indication that the city's territory may have extended at least till there; this conclusion seems further corroborated by coins depicting a reclining male figure, usually identified to the river god Hebrus[25]. To the west the defiles of Makri – identified to those mentioned by Appian as the defiles of the Corpili[26] – seem to set a reasonable limit; just to the west of these and, more precisely, by the site of modern Aetolophos a *milliarium* was set up by the city of Ulpia Topeiros (*IThrAeg* E395). The most difficult limit to define at the present state of our knowledge seems to be the northern one; we may conjecture – but at the present state of our knowledge, we have to stress that this is only a conjecture – that the city's northern limit may have lain at the region of modern Soufli, where the eastern slopes of the Rhodopes Mountain almost reach the west bank of the Hebrus river. This would have left enough space for the territory of Plotinopolis, a city also founded by Trajan at the confluence of the Hebrus and the Erythropotamos.

Thus defined, the territory of Korpilike and that of Traianopolis seem to have partially, if not substantially, overlapped. And this brings us to the last and most difficult question: that of the fate of Ptolemy's strategies after the foundation of Trajan's cities. The answer to this question, of course, evades the limits of the present communication. As things stand, we may perhaps suggest that either the strategy of Korpilike antedates the foundation of Traianopolis and was totally abolished with its creation, or that the strategy continued to exist for a certain period of time, restricted perhaps to the more remote and mountainous areas of the Rhodopes; but for the time being, other possibilities should not be excluded either. It is only to be hoped that excavations, a more careful study and a better understanding of the region's archaeological map and, most of all, comparisons with the other strategies and cities of Thrace, will lead us to a better understanding of the region's development during this period.

Paeti (Hdt. 7.110; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.4) and Melanditi (Xen. *Anab.* 7.2.32). It remains uncertain whether they also occupied the opposite right bank of the river, or its stream and the adjoining marshlands served as a natural western frontier for both the tribal territory of the Corpili and the homonymous strategy"; Delev (*op. cit.*) also identifies the Pass of the Corpili mentioned by Appian (see above note 19) with the one mentioned by Livy in the region of Cypsela during the attack against Manlius Vulso in 188 BC (see note 15). A scholar who seems to have adopted a localisation on both sides of the river is Σαμοθράκης 1963[2]; thus at 1963[2], 314, *s.v.* Κορπῖλοι he locates the Corpili to the south of the Rhodope Mountains, between the Hebrus river to the east and the Cicones to the west ("ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν ὑπωρειῶν τῆς Ῥοδόπης, μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἕβρου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τῶν Κικόνων πρὸς δυσμάς", while at 1963[2], 314, *s.v.* Κορπιλική he adds that during Strabo's time the term was also applied to the region of Apsinthis to the north of Aenus ("ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Στράβωνος Κορπιλικὴ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀψυνθὶς χώρα περὶ τὴν Αἶνον, ἐκτεινομένη μεταξὺ Ἕβρου καὶ Μέλανος κόλπου καὶ καταλήγουσα εἰς τὸ Σαρπηδόνιον ἀκρωτήριον (νῦν Γκρέμια)"; cf. also 1963[2], 84, *s.v.* Ἀψινθιάς, Ἀψινθίς ("οὕτω ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ περὶ τὴν Αἶνον παραλία, ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀνομασθεῖσα Κορπιλική").

[21] On the Maedi, see Strabo 7, fr. 36 and the relevant analysis of Gerov 1960, 242 (=68). The same may be maintained for the Bisaltae, located mostly to the west/left bank of the Strymon, but also to its east/right side as indicated by the discovery of an inscription locating Vergi at the site of Neos Skopos, see Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 2000. As for towns in Thrace with territories extending on both sides of a river, see Topeiros and the analysis of Πολυχρονίδου-Λουκοπούλου 1989; the same is suggested for Ainos in the passage of Livy describing the attack against Manlius Vulso, see above note 15.

[22] Despite uncertainties as to its borders, the region of Kainike is firmly located to the north of the Chersonese, as indicated by the association of these two areas in the famous Knidos inscription; on this text, see Hassall et al. 1974.

[23] On Trajan's foundations at Thrace in general, see Zahrnt 2002 and Boteva 2014, esp. 198. On Traianopolis, the city, its history and its cults, see *IThrAeg* p. 531-534 and Zournatzi 2003; for its coinage, see Schönert-Geiss 1991, 139-183.

[24] To the bibliography mentioned there, add Kunnert 2012, 62-63.

[25] For the coins (Septimius Severus), see *LIMC* IV, *s.v.* Hebrus, # 18 with depiction. For the depiction of River Gods on cities' coins and their use in defining territories, see Robert 1980, 88-89.

[26] See above note 19.

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The Roman City of Abdera and Its Territory

Constantina KALLINTZI

Abstract: In this paper[1] we shall discuss the presence of the city of Abdera in the Roman period, as known by historical sources and archaeological evidence. Many sectors of the Roman city and its cemeteries have been revealed through excavations, but unfortunately, due to the continuous habitation in the same area, the construction phases overlap. However, a satisfactory view of the urban plan and the arrangement of the cemeteries is available, while the ceramic and minor objects provide information about everyday life and the economic activities of the population, as well as their burial customs. Alongside the excavations, surface surveys have been conducted in the territory of Abdera, which have provided data for the settlements, the rural facilities and the *villae rusticae* around the city, as well as the adverse effects of the construction of *Via Egnatia*. Nevertheless, despite the existence of architectural remains of the city's buildings and a significant amount of other archaeological artifacts, the Roman period of Abdera has not been studied in depth. Thus, this paper aims to contribute to research towards this direction.

Key words: Abdera, Topeiros, *Via Egnatia*, *asty*, residences, road system, water supply, drainage, cemeteries, *chora*

Introduction

The Roman period was for Abdera (Kallintzi 2007; *IThrAeg*, 164-167) a time of progressive decline, which saw this once wealthy and populous Thracian coastal city descend into poverty and obscurity. It is also certain that this decline had started earlier. A number of factors, among which Roman invasion and the gradual conquest of the region predominate, slowly created the conditions for this negative development. For this reason, the discussion will include the Middle and Late Hellenistic period, during which the presence of Rome in the region was evident. Late Antiquity will also be discussed, whose early stages comprise the following situation, although without a clear borderline.

The available archaeological material used derives from the *asty*, its cemeteries, and the *chora*.

The examination of this material faces many problems, most important of which being the scarcity of evidence in ancient literature or inscriptions, something even more apparent in the later periods. The same accounts for the archaeological data. Excavations in layers of the periods under discussion have been conducted mainly in the city. Most of them are located in the western part of the southern enceinte (**figs. 3, 4, 5**), while the rest of the material originates from surface surveys. Moreover, although excavations have provided sufficient evidence regarding urban planning, they do not cover the research gaps. On the one hand, the available material has not been studied to the same extent as that belonging to previous eras. On the other hand, continuous habitation in the same area for about eight centuries has complicated

[1] This paper is very closely related to that of Domna Terzopoulou in the present volume ('Roman Thrace: Diplomacy and the Greek Cities of the Aegean Coast', see pp. 111-120), where she discusses the historical background of the era in question. The translation into English was done by Anastasia Dimoula.

the sequence of the building phases, while the heavily disturbed layers obscure the clarification of the situation.

However, in recent years there has been some progress. In 2011 a doctoral thesis on the archaeology and historical topography of the *chora* of Abdera was completed (Καλλιντζή 2011). In 2015 the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi inaugurated an intensive surface survey project throughout the city, its cemeteries and country sites (Καλλιντζή et al. 2015). Finally, Maria Chryssaphi, an archaeologist of the Ephorate, is working on her PhD thesis concerning Roman Abdera. It is expected that these studies will provide answers to many of the questions researchers are facing today.

Observations

Before proceeding, the following remarks should be made on issues that will recur in the paper:

Abdera was undoubtedly one of the most powerful cities founded on the Thracian coast during the second Greek colonization. Its economic growth was based on trade and agriculture, as a fertile country supported it.

Its historical course is characterised by strong contrasts, with periods of prosperity alternating with periods of decline. Of particular importance is the fact that after the middle of the 4th c. BC the city had to be transferred to the south (**fig. 3**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1085-1087, 1099-1100; Καλλιντζή 2012, 136).

The Romans appeared in the region in the late 3rd c. BC, firstly as economic factors and later as a political and military force. Roman interventions escalated in the 2nd c. BC and for Abdera these developments led to a long descending route that eventually resulted in a full decline and loss of identity.

The most catastrophic event for the city occurred in the summer of 170 BC (Diod. 30.6; Liv. 43.4.8) when it became a target of the combined forces of the Romans and the Pergamenes who conquered it. Abdera was occupied by the Roman *praetor* Lucius Hortensius, with the help of troops supplied by the King of Pergamon Eumenes II. The *asty* was taken over and was completely destroyed, while its leaders were killed and many residents were sold as slaves. After actions taken by the Abderitans and the Teians, the Senate of Rome tried to reverse the negative results, without any real success (Loukopoulou / Parissaki 2004, 308; *IThrAeg*, 191-197, E5; *IThrAeg*, 197-200, E6). This notorious incident marked the beginning of a long decline which continued in all the subsequent periods.

During the following centuries, Abdera was not included in the Roman territory until the 3rd c. AD, but was under the 'free city' political regime (Diod. 31.8. 8; Liv. 45.29.5-6; *IThrAeg*, 138, 165 [for 167 BC]; *IThrAeg*, 326 [for 148 BC]; Plin. *NH* 4.2.42-43 [for 46 AD]). However, despite this privileged political state, the city never fully recovered.

Another catastrophe that influenced the urban development and life of the inhabitants was the repeated flooding of the Nestos River after the 2nd c. AD (Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1988, 58). This caused considerable damages to the existing buildings, especially those located in the western enceinte area (**fig. 5**) and also filled the coastal zone with alluvial deposits. The floods also resulted in the gradual filling of the harbour, the rise of the ground level, the change of the *asty* plan and the formation of marshes.



Fig. 1. The Prefecture of Xanthi. In the south part, i.e. the plain, the *chora* of Abdera and the *chora* of Topeiros developed (courtesy of the Prefecture of Xanthi)

Archaeological data / discussion

Asty

Buildings

The plan of the *asty* during the Hellenistic period is well known: a four-sided enceinte surrounded building units arranged according to the Hippodamian system (**fig. 3**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1178). However, it is difficult to follow the chronological development of the buildings, as the number and the extent of the actual interventions on the buildings are not known. It would be expected that the 'demolition' of the *asty* in 170 BC would be visible or at least detectable. However, as mentioned above, the limited data prevent this.

Among the public spaces of the period, the *Agora* is known, mainly from the epigraphic evidence of the 3rd and 2nd c. BC (*IThrAeg*, 193, E5, l. 37; 198, E6, l. 22; 201, E7, l. 40). It has been proposed that it was located at a central point of the enceinte. However, it is easier to discuss the location of the commercial agora in an *insula* that included shops (**fig. 4, # 1**), where, apart from the numerous products, five fragments of stone measurement blocks for liquids (*sekomata*) have been found (Λαζαρίδης 1960, 72-81; Καλλιντζή 2011, 1100).

The theatre, mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd c. BC, has been located (**fig. 3, # 7**) and excavated, but it is destroyed to a great extent (Triantaphyllos 2004, 266; Καλλιντζή 2011, 1102-1104). The figurines

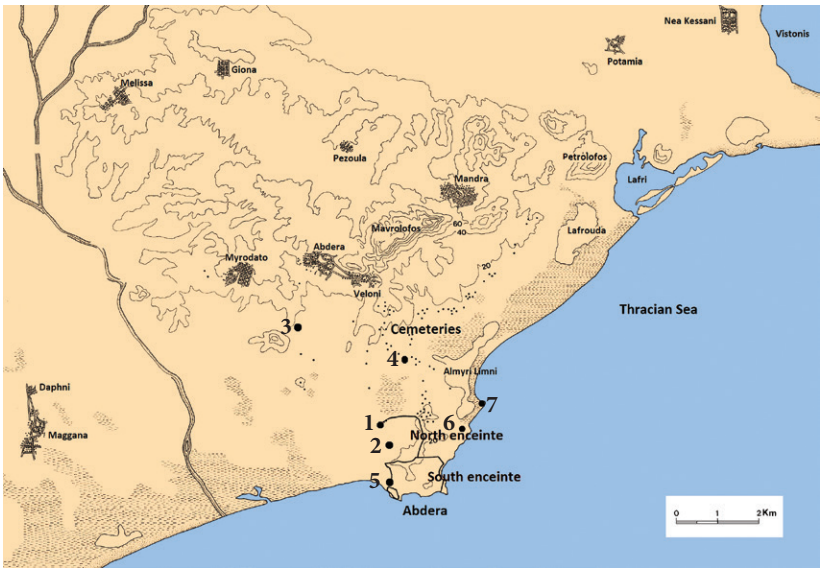


Fig. 2. The *asty* of Abdera and the area *extra muros*, where the extended cemeteries developed. The *tumuli* are indicated with dots. North of it part of the *chora* is distinguished (map after: the archives at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi, design by the author)

of actors, along with several other pieces of evidence, point to its operation in the Hellenistic period.

Our knowledge is also limited regarding the cults and the sanctuaries. The theater itself, but also other monuments indicate the cult of Dionysus, which continued until the 3rd c. AD, when a building for his worship was constructed by the head of a Dionysian association (*IThrAeg*, 218-219, E18, l. 6). During the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, the worship of other deities is documented archaeologically (Cybele, Hero Horseman, Zeus Eleutherios and Rome). The common priest of the last two had the position of the eponymous archon (*IThrAeg*, 221-222, E 21, E 22).

In the western part of the southern enceinte, excavations have revealed mostly residences (**figs. 3, 4, 5**). The most common type is characterised by a central courtyard, a peristyle, and surrounding rooms. The initial construction of those buildings in the 4th c. BC is followed by phases of repair and abandonment, while during the 2nd – 3rd c. AD several of them were reused. A typical example is House #6 in **fig. 4;** it was constructed in the 4th c. BC and was reused with some modifications in the late 2nd – early 3rd c. AD, and finally in the 4th c. AD. Similar are the cases of neighboring houses (**fig. 4, ## 5, 7; fig. 5, # 1**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1109-1112). The insula east of them (**fig. 4, # 2**) was inhabited from the late 1st c. BC to the end of the 3rd c. AD (Αθανασίου / Καλλιντζή 2009, 458). Building **# 3** in **fig. 4** dates to the Late Hellenistic – Imperial period (Αθανασίου / Καλλιντζή 2009, 458-459). During the 1st c. AD, due to the *Pax Romana*, the city wall (**fig. 4, # 10; fig. 5, # 4**) was used as a 'quarry' for building material. Then, buildings were constructed outside it and towards the seashore (**fig. 4, ## 11, 13, 14, 15; fig. 5, ## 5, 7**). The repeated floods covered all the buildings with a thick layer of sand and resulted in the relocation of the *asty* towards the west. In a stratigraphic trench (Καλλιντζή 1991, 460) in the interior of the wall (**fig. 5, # 3**), layers of a massive flood were detected. These layers that probably date to the 4th c. AD, covered all buildings in the area with a thick layer of sand.

A cluster of houses of different plans, built in a random arrangement to the west of the wall, was constructed in the 3rd– 4th c. (**fig. 4, ## 1, 5**). In this area, there is evidence for workshop activities during the Imperial period. The first is a layer with abundant marine shells, mainly murex, which points to the existence of a purple dye processing

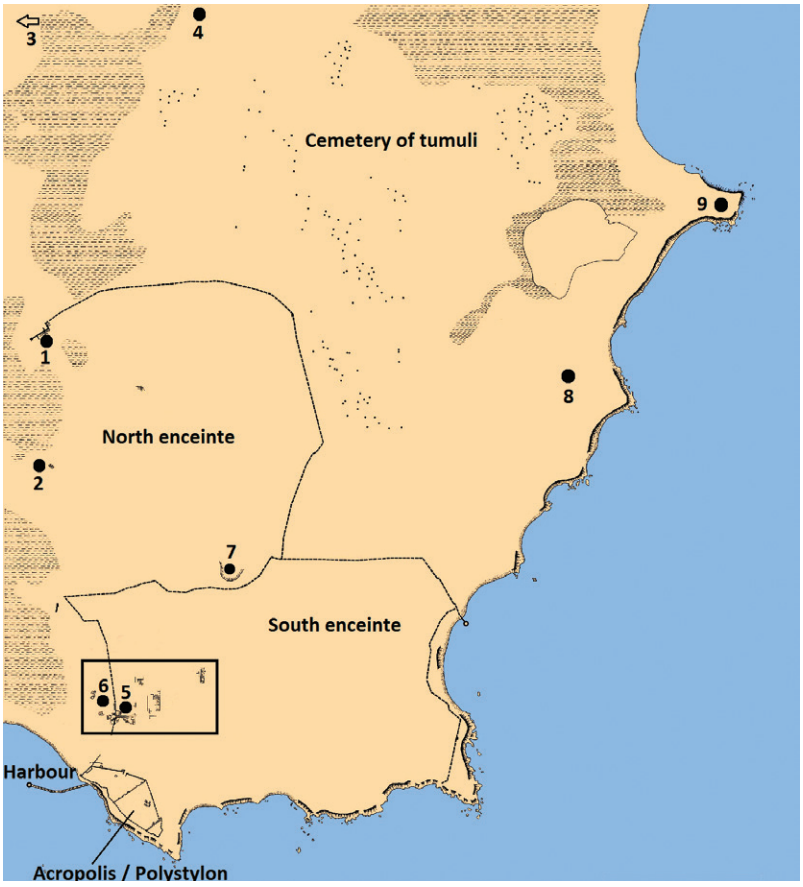


Fig. 3. Topographical diagram of Abdera: north and south enceinte, Acropolis / Polystylon and part of the cemeteries (map after: the archives at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi, design by the author)

workshop. The second involves a polygonal structure with a floor and walls covered with clay slabs, which was interpreted as a cistern or a workshop laundry. Other small-scale structures also comprise workshop evidence (Αθανασίου / Καλλιντζή 2009, 456-457).

Next to the wrecked ancient wall, a bath complex was constructed, with a long operation life spanning from the 1st to the 4th c. AD (**fig. 4, # 13; fig. 5, # 7**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1125).

Road system

The Hippodamian system was maintained in its original form until the 1st c. BC. In the early Imperial period, the roads became narrower, but their original pattern (**fig. 4, R; fig. 5, R**) was preserved. The system was abolished during the Late Imperial period (Καλλιντζή 1991, 460-461; Triantaphyllos 2004, 265-266; Καλλιντζή 2011, 1178-1187).

Frequent interventions were conducted in the urban network for its maintenance. Successive road layers of the Imperial period are observed at the crossroads between buildings **#5** and **#6** in **fig. 4**.

At some point during Late Antiquity, in the area of the gate, the road surface elevated and the width of the street was reduced by half (**fig. 5, R**). This probably happened to meet the new needs of the population concentration in this area, which required an extension of the structured space. These repairs also denote a state care for the maintenance of roads.

Water supply – drainage

The *asty* of Abdera did not have a central water supply system (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1155-1158). The water supply of the houses was conducted through wells placed in the courtyards.

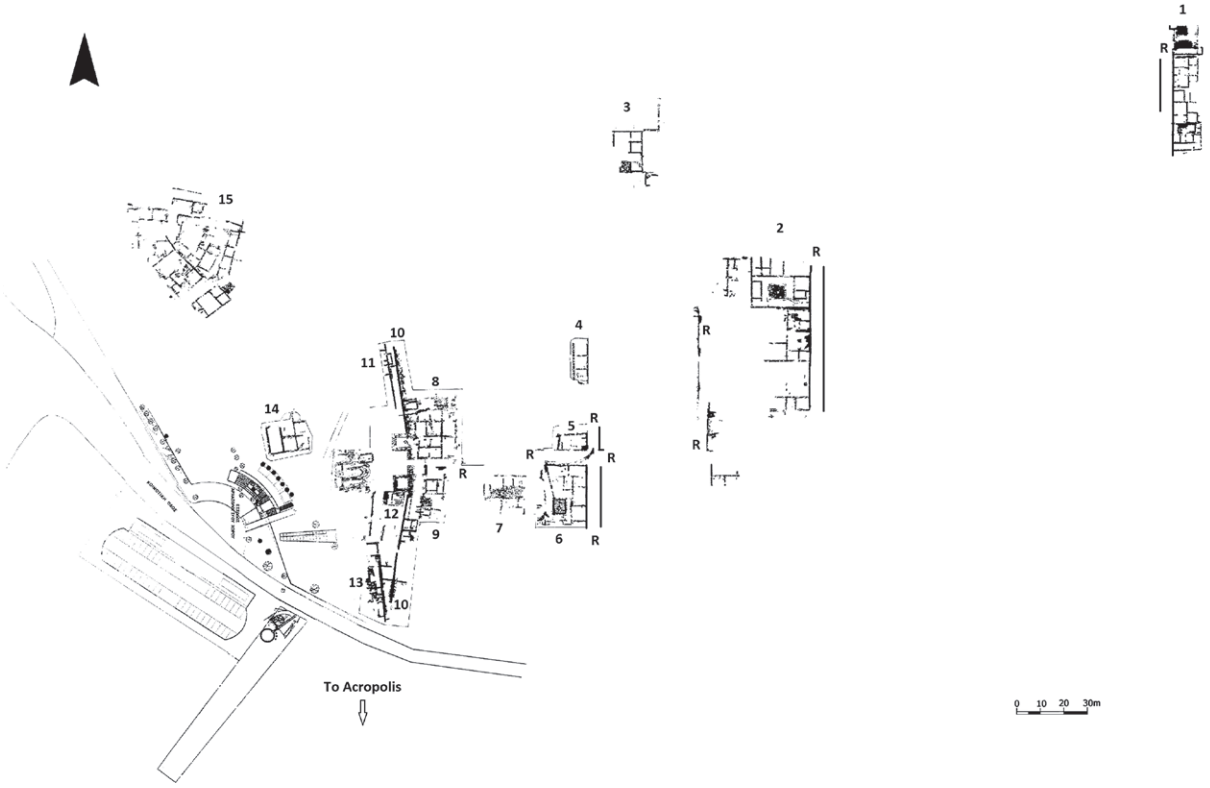


Fig. 4. Excavated buildings in the western part of the south enceinte. This area is placed inside the square of the previous image (map after: the archives at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi, design by the author)

Unlike water supply, there was an organised drainage system (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1159-1160) of rainwater and effluents. Most of the related data date in the Hellenistic and subsequent periods. The rainwater was drawn from the houses with open stone channels, which collected water from roofs. This was then driven out into the streets either directly or via covered pipelines. Throughout the streets, stone built pipes covered with stone slabs led the water off the city, to the sea. At the crossroads between buildings **#5** and **#6** in **fig. 4** one of these pipelines is distinguished.

Relocation

From the 3rd c. AD onwards population gradually moved towards the hill of the ancient *Acropolis* (**fig. 3**), where a walled settlement was eventually formed. This settlement later evolved into what is known as the Byzantine *Polystylon*.

Cemeteries

From the 6th to the early 3rd c. BC, the cemetery of *tumuli* was in use, covering an extended area in various directions outside the city walls (**figs. 2, 3**) (Kallintzi 2004; Kallintzi 2006; Καλλιντζή 2011, 1211-1219).

Late 3rd – second half of the 2nd c. BC

At the end of the 3rd c. BC the cemeteries were transferred to the west of the abandoned northern enceinte (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1219-1222). The first burial area was excavated in the northwest end (**fig. 2, # 1; fig. 3, # 1**). The practice of *tumuli* was abandoned and the tombs were constructed on the building remains (Samiou 2004). The second burial area was located further south (**fig. 2, # 2; fig. 3, # 2**) (Λαζαρίδης 1965, 459).



Fig. 5. The area on both sides of the western wall of the south enceinte of Abdera (photo by the author)

Two other burial sites have been located towards the northeast (**fig. 2, # 3**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 884-887) and the north (**fig. 2, # 4; fig. 3, # 4**). In the last site, a grave of the early 2nd c. BC was excavated (Καλλιντζή 1997, 864; Καλλιντζή 2004, 264-267), which is of particular interest, as it bears evidence for its association with the events of 170 BC. The fact that it belongs to a 25-year old military man, apparently noble and educated, crowned with a golden wreath, leads to the assumption of him being one of the city's defenders, possibly a leader, honored by the City.

1st c. BC – 2nd c. AD

Evidence concerning the location of the cemeteries in the late Hellenistic and the early Roman period is very scarce (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1223-1224). It is believed that the limited cemeteries of the period reflect a decrease in the population due to the destruction caused by Hortensius. The area in the northwest end of the northern enceinte (**fig. 2, # 1; fig. 3, # 1**) must have still been used, albeit sporadically, as indicated by the grave stelae dated to the 1st c. BC found there.

Around the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD significant changes occurred in the grave sites. Evidence suggests that the area to the west of the southern enceinte began to be used (**fig. 2, # 5; fig. 3, # 5**). Outside the western gate, a funerary monument (**fig. 4, # 12; fig. 5, # 6**) was erected (Λαζαρίδης 1965, 456) which had the form of a small temple on a built base, with four sarcophagi in its burial chamber.

For the period of the 2nd c. AD the evidence are even fewer and limited to grave stelae (*IThrAeg*, 227-228, E29; 246-247, E66; 247-248, E67).

3rd – 4th c. AD

During the 3rd – 4th c., after the disasters caused by the aforementioned flooding and relocation, the western part of the southern enceinte, in the gate area, and a large area to its west (**fig. 2, # 5; fig. 3, ## 5, 6; fig. 4**) were abandoned and converted into a cemetery. The tombs were placed densely among the ruins (**fig. 5**) (Καλλιντζή / Χρυσάφη 2010, 395). This cemetery was initially pagan, but later on became Christian.

Chora

Hellenistic times

The *chora* of Abdera was a narrow zone of land with a width of about

13-14 km surrounded by waterlogged lands, unsuitable for habitation (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1300-1318). Although its dimensions varied during various chronological periods (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1318-1340), its general boundaries were the River Kossynthos, Lake Vistonis, the Thracian Sea, the River Nestos and the Rhodope Mountains.

There is compelling archaeological evidence regarding the chora during the Hellenistic period (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1334-1337): settlements or small-scale residential installations, surviving from the Classical times, remained the same or were extended. In the early stages of the period, several farmsteads are met, which are reduced towards its end. There are also cemeteries, mostly *tumuli*. The dimensions of the *chora* do not seem to have changed in comparison to the previous period, although a sparse expansion to the northwest is detected, with indications that the Abderitans occupied an area in a distance of 21 km from the city. Two incidents of the 2nd c. BC, concerning the *chora*, the fact that it attracted the interest of the Odrysian King Kotys (Loukopoulou / Parissaki 2004, 308) and the requirement of Hortensius to pay 100,000 *denarii* and 80,000 *modii* of grain, suggest that the country was productive and its exploitation by the Abderitans was active and profitable.

Between 148 and 120 BC *Via Egnatia* was constructed (Παρισάκη 2002-2003, 354-357; Λώλος 2008), crossing the area along the foothills of the Rhodope Mountains. Along its axis, a dense network of stations and all kinds of facilities were installed, followed by a multitude of economic and other activities. Land transportation rose against maritime transport, and the city of Abdera could no longer participate in the new economic scene, resulting in its isolation. In this context comes the end of its autonomous coinage dated in the first half of the 1st c. BC, which confirms its economic and political decline (Chryssanthaki 2004, 317).

Roman era

During the Imperial period the landscape was dramatically reformed, as successive changes took place concerning the extent of the *chora* of Abdera. The foundation of Topeiros (**fig. 1**) and its upgrading by Trajan had immediate and multiple impacts on Abdera. Most importantly, Rome took from Abdera the northern part of the *chora* and gave it to Topeiros for the maintenance of *Via Egnatia* (Πολυχρονίδου-Λουκοπούλου 1989, 583; *IThrAeg* 255, 263; Καλλιντζή 2011, 1337). The territorial status was reinstated years later, under Hadrian, according to two boundary inscriptions (*IThrAeg*, 222-223, E23; 254-255, E78; 256, E79), which mark the northwestern border of the *chora* with Topeiros.

Observing the density of habitation in the north, the proposal of Louisa Loukopoulou for the formation of the *chora* of Topeiros towards the east of the *asty* and along the foothills of Rhodope can be verified (Πολυχρονίδου-Λουκοπούλου 1989, 577-599). It is also argued that it can be defined with some degree of certainty (Καλλιντζή 2011, 1337-1338). In this, seven settlements, seven minor installations, three possible stations of *Via Egnatia* and twenty-two burial sites are located. The *Egnatia* itself has not been traced, but its route can be reconstructed due to the presence of large burial mounds along the mountain range (**fig. 1, dots**).

The *chora* of Abdera includes three settlements, one of which, near Koutso (**fig. 1, # 4**), has been excavated (Τριαντάφυλλος 1973-1974, 810-813; Καλλιντζή 2011, 422-429), confirming the existence of a cemetery of the late 3rd – 4th c. AD. Moreover, there are twelve installa-

tions, the nature of which has not yet been determined.

The area to the north of the *asty* appears to have been very sparsely populated. This can be interpreted by the emergence and development of large farmsteads, as it is known that during the Imperial period the organisation of the *chora* changed and the class of landowners emerged. Besides, an important parameter of Roman policy was to concentrate the scattered rural populations in the major urban centers, like Topeiros. It is evident that, apart from the city and some settlements, the remaining population of the *chora* moved to Topeiros. After the reforms of Emperor Diocletian, the region of Abdera became part of the new province of Rhodope. Abdera was no longer a free city, and for that reason the concept of the *chora* ceased to exist.

The area during Late Antiquity

After the elimination of the *chora*'s existence, a new habitation period for the region begins. Changes in the administrative structure had an impact on the organisation of space. An increase in the number of small settlements is observed. Following the trend of urbanisation of the previous period, the opposite tendency appears, that of ruralisation of society. Changes in the natural environment, with the alluvial fillings in the areas of the estuaries of the Nestos and the Kossynthos (**fig. 1, circles**), offered new habitation territories, which the population exploited.

In the area of Abdera, the existence of at least two complexes of rural villas (Καλλιντζή / Χρυσάφη 2007) indicates the presence of large farmsteads (**fig. 2, ## 6, 7; fig. 3, ## 8, 9**).

In the northern part, near Kimmeria (**fig. 1, # 1**), a basilica, probably of the 6th c., has been located (Μακροπούλου 2010, 591; Καλλιντζή 2011, 277-284), indicating the presence of a settlement. The same accounts for the region of the River Kossynthos, near Vafeika (**fig. 1, # 3**), where a ceramic workshop was discovered (Καλλιντζή 2001-2004, 723; Καλλιντζή 2006; Καλλιντζή 2011, 349-354), Diomedia (**fig. 1, # 2**) (Καλλιντζή / Παπαδόπουλος 2007, 453), and Porto Lagos / Poroi (**fig. 1, # 5**) (Καλλιντζή 2011, 120-122).

When examining this period one should not lose sight of the fact that the foundation of Constantinople set a new order in the Aegean Thrace region: from the 4th c. AD it turns to the east, it receives direct light from its glamour and benefits from the roads that lead to it, while the structure of the urban network is now arranged with reference to the new capital.

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Settlements in the Territory of a New Capital in Late Antiquity. A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Land to the West of Constantinople in Late Antiquity*

Mustafa H. SAYAR

Abstract: There is no information yet on how the land surrounding Constantinople was administered; however, it is clear that the area was neither connected to the *praefectus urbi* in charge of the capital's administration, nor to the *vicarius* in Herakleia in charge of the Europa province.

Key words: administration, fortification, land, territory, urban centre, rural settlement.

A great part of Byzantion's city territory in the region of Thrace was organized as imperial and senatorial lands when Constantinople became the capital of the Roman Empire on May 11th 330[1]. As a consequence, garrisons where military forces were deployed, and magnificent summer resorts appeared in the area, along with villages. The fortification walls called The Long Wall (*Makra Teikhe*)[2] built during the reign of Anastasius between the Black Sea and the Marmara Sea to the west of Silivri, on the Silivri Karacaköy line, confined the land by making this new territory a closed area to the very west of the new capital (Proc. *De. Aed.* 4.9.2-8) (**Map**).

The land in between the Black Sea and the Marmara Sea, confined by the Bosphorus to the east, with three lagoons called Delkos (Derkos, Durusu), Küçükçekmece and Büyükçekmece, is an extremely fertile peninsula of great geostrategic importance. Two large settlements in the area, Athyra (Büyükçekmece) and Rhegion (Küçükçekmece), can be found in the *Synekdemos* lists of Hierocles, which indicates that they did not have an independent administration. Almost the entire territory surrounding Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece belonged to the emperor or the senators.

In this area, between Constaninople's Land walls which were built at the beginning of 5th century, and the Anastasian Wall built in the same century, two officers titled *vicarius* were in charge. The civilian of these administrators was the praetorian prefect of the East, and the military one was *magister militum praesentalis*. The area administered by these two *vicarii* was clearly a separate state. These two units of

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[1] On the transformation of Byzantion into the new capital of the Empire under the name of Constantinople see: Janin 1964, 4-6; Dagron 1974; Müller-Wiener 1977, 19 ff.; Mango 1985; Berger 1988; Lilie 2003, 44; Zahariade / Marcule 2015, 38; Koder 2016, 71; Berger 2011, 7; 2016, 664. For discussions on the process of the formation of new institutions in the capital Constantinople see Alföldi 2004.

[2] For the study of Anastasius' fortifications in the last century see: Croke 1982, 74-78; Crow / Ricci 1997, 235-262; Meier 2009, 146-147; Koder 2016, 72.

administration were combined and transformed into one single office called *praetor Iustinianus* in Thracia in 535. This administrator was in charge of the construction of public buildings and held military and civic power (Wiewiorowski 2011, 385-410). However, Hebdomon (Bakırköy) might not have been subject to the praetor's exercise of judicial power. If this assumption is right, it can be suggested that Hebdomon was part of the new capital Constantinople[3]. This estimation of Procopius may be evaluated as proof indicating that he wrote his books on the buildings while adhering to the geography of the central administration that was ruling the Roman State in Late Antiquity. The first book of Procopius was most probably written drawing on the prefect's archive of Constantinople, whereas his fourth book was created referring to the Illyricum and Thracia administrations. This should be the reason behind Procopius' discussion of Hebdomon and Rhegion in different books[4].

Rhegion was the first large settlement after Hebdomon, at the southeast corner of the Küçükçekmece Lake, on a hill located today at beginning of the road to the Cennet district. According to Procopius, emperor Justinianus had the road between Rhegion and Strongylon Castle (Kyklobion, Zeytinburnu) repaired. During the repair works, a bridge was built at the point where the sea and the lagoon unite and where a wooden bridge had passed since the first half of 4th century AD (Proc. *De Aed*. 4.8). On the hill where Rhegion resided, Arif Müfid Mansel conducted excavations in the 1940's and discovered the remains of the great imperial palace built in the 5th–6th century AD. Today, only a couple of granite columns and wall remains can be seen as part of these ruins[5].

In recent years, during the excavations of the northwest coast of the Küçükçekmece Lagoon, conducted by Assistant Professor Şengül Aydıngün of Kocaeli University's Archaeology Department, remains of a fortified structure expanding to a large area have been discovered[6]. Amongst the remains, there are ruins of a harbour, a cistern and well preserved water channels, as well as building remains with brick walls and *opus sectile* decorated floors, pointing to the possible presence of a palace built there in the Late Antiquity. This may be in fact the location of the Melantias Palace mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, where prominent troops of the East waited for a couple of weeks before Emperor Valens took off to Edirne[7] in AD 378 to campaign against the Goths moving to Thrace from the Balkans[8]. The remains of imperial palaces on both sides of the Küçükçekmece Lagoon support the possible existence of summer complexes and settlement buildings along the Küçükçekmece Lagoon and the north shore of the Marmara Sea.

Towards the west, similar settlement locations have been discovered on the coast of the Athyra (Büyükçekmece) Lagoon (Külzer 2008, 270-274). In recent years, in the summer and autumn months the water levels of the lagoon have decreased and unknown ancient and medieval settlement remains have been revealed[9]. Palladius mentions Athyra in his book about John Chrysostom's life as a fortified settlement (φρούριον), and Procopius writes that Athyra was a city (πόλις). Justinianus had built a cistern there and had the walls repaired[10]. In the later centuries, Athyra was described as a fortified settlement by the travellers[11]. Procopius also mentions a nearby settlement called Episkopeia, which was fortified by Justinianus (Proc. *De Aed.* 4.8.19).

[3] Procopius indirectly mentions this assumption in his first book on the buildings, Proc. *De Aed.* 1.11.16. However, he starts referring to the buildings to the west of Constantinople by describing the ones in Rhegion in his fourth book, Proc. *De Aed.* 4.9.15; on Hebdomon see Külzer 2008, 391-395; on Hebdomon as a military base: Berger 2011, 41, 148, 161; on the political role of Hebdomon in Late Antiquity: Pfeilschiffer 2013, 42, # 3; 334, 339, 440; on the palace of Hebdomon: *ibid*., 494; on the proclamation of some emperors and usurpers in Hebdomon: *ibid*., 506, 516, 538, 564.

[4] About Cyril Mango's view that Rhegion is the 14th district in Constantinople see: Mango 2002, 449-455.

[5] On Rhegion see: Eyice 1978, 2-10; Eyice 1977-1978, 57-123; Külzer 2008, 615-618. On the excavations in Rhegion see: Ogan / Mansel 1942; Mansel 1951, 255-260; Ćurčić 2010, 91-92.

[6] On these works see: Aydıngün / Öniz 2009, 8-21; Aydıngün 2010, 171-176.

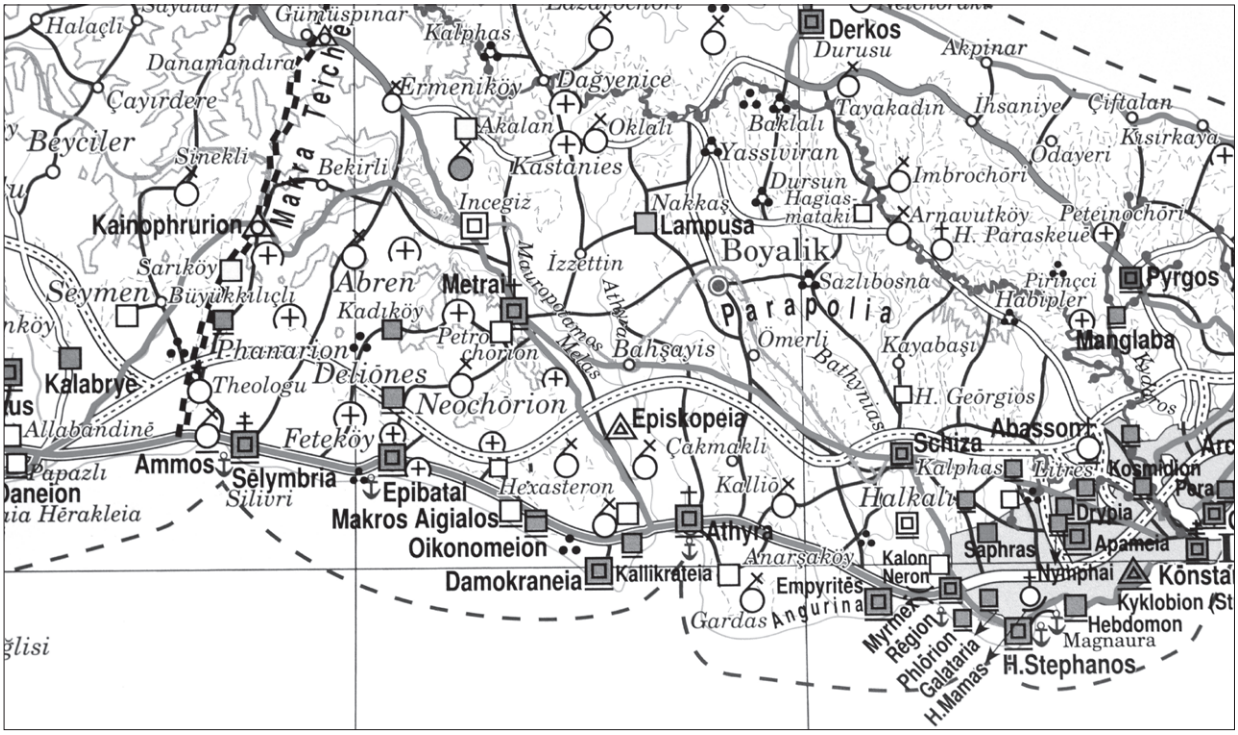
[7] On Valens' campaign in Edirne and his death see: Amm. Marcell. 13.12.14; Wanke 1990, 214-219.

[8] On Melantias see Amm. Marcell. 31.11; Jireček 1877, 53; Külzer 2008, 526-527. Külzer defines Melantias as a settlement near Istanbul on the road passing through the northern part of Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece Lakes and connecting the Balkans to Istanbul; however, its exact location is unknown. On the proposal of Melantias' localization between Küçükçekmece Lake and Ispartakule see Sayar 2015, 187-194.

[9] On the finds discovered in recent years along Büyükçekmece Lake see Aydıngün et al. 2015, 1-12.

[10] Pall. *Chrys.* 15; 16 (PG 47); Proc. *De Aed.* 4.8.

[11] See Jireček 1877, 54.



Map. The area west of Constantinople in Late Antiquity (after Külzer 2008).

This may be the remains of a castle on the hill of Ahmediye village, previously known as Papazburgaz, on the northwest shore of the Büyükçekmece Lagoon[12]. The fact that there was an ancient village or a farm on the hill of Ahmediye village has been proven through a Roman Imperial era gravestone[13].

Another suggestion about the location of Episkopeia might be Çatalca. Çatalca, located close to the Büyükçekmece Lagoon, is a Middle Age settlement area with well-preserved walls. Çatalca has been suggested as the location of the Metrai settlement by some researchers[14]. The fact that Procopius emphasized the high quality of Episkopeia's fortifications indicates that an area equipped with lots of military bases was being prepared and these military works reached the highest point with the construction of the Anastasian Wall (*Makra Teikhe*). The Long Wall of approximately 64 km was built at the end of 5th century AD. This structure indicates the importance given to the protection and development of this area between Constantinople and Selymbria (Silivri) that started off as a Thracian settlement and developed over time[15]. The significance of this region had been comprehended almost a century earlier by the strategic decision-making imperial institutions, hence the preservation works of Selymbria and Perinthos-Herakleia's fortifications at the beginning of 5th century AD during the reign of Thedosius II.

Derkos or Delkos is located 40 kilometres northwest and 20 kilometres to the east of Constantinople[16]. During the reign of Justinianus, some monophysite ecclesiastics were exiled here (Σταμούλης 1934, 218-221). Delkos is included in the 8th century AD Episcopate lists. The lake was the most important source of water fulfilling the need Constantinople. The fortified settlement of Delkos or Derkos is today called Durusu. There are some remains of fortifications to this day.

[12] On the suggestion of this castle as Episkopeia see Külzer 2008, 353-354; Sayar 2017, 283-287.

[13] On this and other gravestones found in the vicinity see: Sayar 1982, 291-295; SEG 32, 666; Lajtar 2000, 109, # 110. On Ahmediyye village see Külzer 2008, 239-240.

[14] Külzer localizes Metrai settlement in Çatalca, see Külzer 2008, 533-535.

[15] On Selymbria (Silivri) see: Külzer 2008, 635-643. On the inscriptions found in Selymbria and its vicinity see: Lajtar 2000, 265-298, ## S.1-S.66.

[16] On Derkos or Delkos see: Γαϊτάνου-Γιαννιού 1939, 161-209; Capizzi 1969, 204; Külzer 2008, 330-332.

The fact that there were villages[17] around the lake in Antiquity and the existence of local cults worshipped by their inhabitants are known through the dedications[18].

Five kilometres north of Derkos, on a rock outcrop, there is a harbour settlement called Philea. This was the first harbour after leaving the Bosphorus toward the west[19]. In this area, dedications to Heros Stomianos have been found, and these are thought to be made in order to prevent the ships from running aground while sailing on the coast of the Black Sea toward Constantinople and thinking that the north shores of the Derkos Lake would be the entrance of the Bosphorus[20].

During the crisis of the 3rd century AD, the Bosphorus, Southeast Thrace and the Marmara region came into prominence in terms of military strategies. The increase of east campaigns resulting in the increase of military dispatches and the intersection of land routes with sea routes in the Marmara region caused the empire's geopolitical priorities to move to this area. The cities along the route of *Via Egnatia*[21] and especially *Via militaris*[22] that provided safety and subsistence to the troops became more important. The fact that Byzantion was chosen as the capital and then became Constantinople, the most important centre of the empire, changed all the surrounding area's development process. The insignificant villages[23] in Byzantion's territory became the new centres to protect and provide for the new capital in the land of the newly founded Europa province. These settlements, previously little villages, started to be protected through the fortification works carried out by the imperial interventions and benefitted from other privileges provided by the empire. The best examples of this case are the settlements of Çatalca, Delkos, and Ahmediye, located around the Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece and Durusu Lakes, which were fortified in order to prevent them from plundering by the raiders coming from the west to the new capital of the empire[24]. Some of these settlements developed to a point where they could be even identified as cities, not only due to their acreage, but also with their growing population, and it is understood that they were the suburban settlements of the west of the new capital – Constantinople.

[17] On the inscriptions found around the Lake Terkos see: Lajtar 2000, 156, # 201 and 168, # 225.

[18] On these dedications see: Robert 1955, 38-45; Lajtar 2000, 52, vd. # 21 (Terkos); 53, vd. # 22; 56, # 23 (Terkos).

[19] On Phinea see: *Tabula Peutingeriana* VII, VIII; Külzer 2008, 585-587.

[20] On this cult see: Robert 1959, 195 (Robert 1989, 225); Lajtar 2000, 58-60, ## 25-29.

[21] The *Via Egnatia* see: Külzer 2008, 199-202; Sayar 2010, 43-45.

[22] For the publications on *Via militaris* see Külzer 2008, 194-197.

[23] On these rural settlements and inscriptions found there see: Robert 1955, 33-37; Lajtar 2000, 47, # 17, 60-70, ## 30-36 (Küçükçekmece / Rhegion), 51, # 20 (Boyalık / Çatalca), 109, # 111 (Yarımburgaz).

[24] The localization of these villages and the farms in their vicinities is still being researched and documented through the finds around Küçükçekmece and Büyükçekmece Lakes. On the development of this region and its relation with Constantinople see Külzer 2008, 68-96.

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Nicopolis ad Nestum and Its Place in the Ancient Road Infrastructure of Southwestern Thracia

Svetla PETROVA

Abstract: The road network of main and secondary roads for Nicopolis ad Nestum has not been studied comprehensively so far. Our research was carried out in the period 2010-2015. We have gathered the preserved parts of roads with bridges, together with the results of archaeological studies and data about the settlements alongside these roads. The Roman city of Nicopolis ad Nestum inherited road connections from pre-Roman times, which were further developed. Road construction in the area has been traced chronologically from the pre-Roman roads to the Roman primary and secondary ones for the ancient city. There were several newly built roadbeds that were important for the area and connected Nicopolis with *Via Diagonalis* and *Via Egnatia*. The elements of infrastructure have been established: primary and secondary roads, crossings, facilities and roadside stations. Also the locations of custom-houses have been found at the border between Parthicopolis and Nicopolis ad Nestum. We have identified a dense network of road infrastructure with relatively straight sections and a lot of local roads and bridges, connecting the settlements in the territory of Nicopolis ad Nestum.

Key words: road network, primary (main) and secondary roads, local roads, bridges, roadside stations (*tabernae* and *praetoria; stabulum; mutatio; mansio*).

The Roman and Early Byzantine city of Nicopolis ad Nestum (Mestum) is situated in the valley of the middle course of the Nestos river (present-day Mesta), 6 km northeast of the present town of Gotse Delchev. The name of the city is rarely met in the works of Roman historians and geographers: in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemaeus it is mentioned as a city in the province of Thracia (Ptol. *Geog*. 3.11.7) and in Hierocles as one among the seven cities in the province of Rhodope (Hierocl. *Synecd*. 635.1). None of the ancient authors mentions any roads to and from Nicopolis ad Nestum. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* does not provide data about them either. The only milestone found so far in the lands of the village of Kovachevitsa gives the slightest idea of the existing road net in the area (Геров 1961, 216; Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987, 24, 75, and the cited literature). No descriptions of the road network in the area of Nevrokop (today Gotse Delchev) can be found in travelers' descriptions of journeys across Thracia during the Ottoman period. At the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century appeared the first descriptions of some parts of the roads in the area of Nevrokop and the Rhodope Mountains[1]. It is a pity that in general, with few exceptions, authors provide only incomplete descriptions, without any drawings, plans, maps or photos.

The period of serious scientific research after the mid-20th century increased the number of studied aspects and linked more tightly

[1] One of the first descriptions of the road net in the area of Nevrokop belongs to Captain A. Benderev (Бендерев 1890, 461-470). V. Kanchov is the next to follow the ancient road across the Rhodopes, connecting Nicopolis ad Nestum with the valley of the Hebros river (Кънчов 1894, 235-247). The road from the Nestos river (at Nicopolis) to Dospat, the so-called Trans-Rhodopean road, is known thanks to Captain K. Nikolov (Николов 1911). In 1915 V. Dechev and St. Shishkov published a travel guide with the road from Plovdiv to the Aegean shores, following the roadbed of that time alongside the Chepelarska river (Дечев / Шишков 1915). They also published all known by them permanent roads existing since pre-Roman, Roman and Medieval times. Later St. Shishkov gave a description of the road across the Radyuva Mountain (part of the Eastern Trans-Rhrodopean road) called by the local inhabitants "Druma" (Шишков 1924, 154). In the 1920-es Hr. Karamandzhukov announced the road network connecting Nicopolis with the valley of the Hebros, as well as the roads and the settlements alongside the Krichim river and the Nestos; he also traced the old Roman roads, inherited later alongside the trough of the Krichim across Dospat to Nicopolis and through the town of Smolyan to the Aegean coast, making a short description of the ancient ruins (Караманджуков 1920, 141-146). Much more extensive is P. Deliradev when picturing all ten roads in the Rhodope Mountains, which are ancient in his opinion (Делирадев 1937, 56-59).

the road network of the area to that of the Rhodope Mountains and Thracia. M. Madzharov was the first scholar to offer a complex study of the Roman roads in Bulgaria and the development of Roman infrastructure in Moesia and Thracia. He also traced and analyzed a Roman road connected with Nicopolis. He traced the western Trans-Rhodopean road from the so-called *Via Diagonalis* to the south only to Dospat. The course between Dospat and Nicopolis was not studied by Madzharov. We have traced and established this section in person later. The classification of the Roman roads in Bulgaria made by Madzharov follows the generally accepted opinion[2]. According to him, the secondary Roman roads in Bulgaria are classified following the territorial and geographic principle into four sub-groups, that of Thracia and the Rhodope Mountains being two independent groups (Маджаров 2009, 62, 256-320, and the cited literature). In our opinion, the roads in the Rhodope Mountains, which he defines as a separate sub-group of the secondary roads, should be considered as one group, part of the road infrastructure of Thracia. For us the roads in the Rhodope Mountains, which Madzharov defines as Eastern, Central and Western Trans-Rhodopean roads, are parts of the road infrastructure of Thracia, connected with the main roads throughout the province and with many local roads linked to the settlements (**fig. 2/1**). The Rhodope Mountains are in the Roman province of Thracia and the border between Thracia and Macedonia lies in the Pirin Mountains.

The publication of M. Wendel is the only one to pay more attention to the road connections in Southwestern Bulgaria and especially to the ones between Thracia and Macedonia (Wendel 2005, 140-142, Karte 7-a), based on the settlements and the coin treasures, with a classification into five groups of Late Roman and Early Byzantine roads[3]. Our approach to the topic consisted of walking in person on and studying of all types of roads around Nicopolis ad Nestum, to the west towards Parthicopolis, to the south towards Koprivlen and the Bulgarian-Greek border, to the north alongside the Nestos valley and to the east and northeast into the Rhodope Mountains towards Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis. During the period 2010-2015 we traced the courses of the presented roads, with their preserved parts ranging from a few meters to a few kilometers in length; we discovered and documented for the first time many remnants of roads with their bridges; we used satellite maps in order to outline various short or long road parts, as well as the spots of the alleged roadside stations and customs. We also used inscriptions and the ancient settlements alongside the roads for the reconstruction of the road network, as well as coin treasures found in and around them, architectural remains of buildings, sculptural and architectural pieces, pottery fragments and other material. We explored notes by authors of the 19th and 20th centuries and the observations and knowledge of local inhabitants.

First, several preliminary notes should be outlined in terms of the geographic and topographic place of Nicopolis ad Nestum. It is a small high remote plain, situated deep in the valley of the Middle Nestos, close to the borders between Thracia and Macedonia provinces. It is surrounded entirely by mountains. The access to it even now is time-consuming and difficult because of the mountains and the narrow river valleys. That is why Nicopolis was connected with many roads, four of which passed through the Rhodope Mountains.

[2] The main roads traced by the Romans already with the conquest of Thracia are defined predominantly as primary ones (*militares*). The connections among the settlements, sometimes between two neighboring provinces, are determined as secondary roads, *viae publicae* and *viae vicinales*. All three kinds of roads in Thracia (later transformed into several smaller provinces) are grouped in six construction periods (Маджаров 2009, 60-65). According to M. Madzharov, the Roman roads were laid out mainly after the 2nd century with the foundation of the big urban centers (Маджаров 2009, 62). For us this conclusion is valid only for the Thracian plain, but not for the Rhodope Mountains network, because a great deal of the roads there were traced long before the 2nd century AD. This is confirmed by our personal observations when tracing the roads around Nicopolis ad Nestum and in the Rhodope Mountains.

[3] The groups are imperial roads, diocese roads, provincial ones, the additional roads, and finally the segments connecting the settlements with the other roads (Wendel 2005, 13-14). Other authors classify the roads by giving priority to geographic vertical (north-south) and horizontal (east-west) location (Петров 1997, 41-54).

The roads important for the city were those which connected it with *Via Egnatia* and *Via Diagonalis*; with Parthicopolis and Hadrianopolis; with Constantinopolis and Thessalonica. This location since pre-Roman times, and then during Roman and later periods has created over time many alternative local roads, branches and segments connecting Nicopolis with the more important roads. Only in few cases Nicopolis was directly connected with the important roads of the area, starting from the gates of the city. More often the roads coming out from the gates were less important and amounted to small segments which joined into the two important for the city and the area roads called Druma and Kaldarama. The Roman and Early Byzantine city Nicopolis ad Nestum had a developed road network because of its strategic location and existing roads which connected the city with the Aegean coast, inner Thracia and Macedonia (**fig. 1**).

I. The roads across the Rhodope Mountains

The trade connections of the Thracian settlements from the area of the Middle Nestos with the Aegean coast, the islands and the interior of Thracia, needed roads for the exchange of goods (Delev / Popov 2002, 55-60, and the cited literature). The roads were laid out according to the topography of the concrete terrain and traditionally passed alongside river valleys and mountain passes, such as the rivers Mesta, Kanina, and the passes in Stargach, Slavyanka, the Pirin and the Rhodope Mountains. The city of Nicopolis has a particularly strategic location: in a vast field, nestling in the skirts of the mentioned mountains; with many mineral cold and thermal waters, and two rivers, the Kanina and the Mesta, the latter navigable in Antiquity. There is evidence of transportation of goods by water from the Middle Nestos down to its mouth. At the village of Banichan, at the left bank and at the south enlargement of the river, about 2.2 km from Nicopolis, were found the remnants of a pier made of wooden spikes with hook-rings for raft mooring.

1. Pre-Roman and Roman roads alongside the Nestos to Belovo/Pistiros

Although poorly studied in scientific literature (Геров 1961, 216-217; Домарадски 1995, 35-37; Домарадски et al. 1999, 19; Delev / Popov 2002, 55 ff.), the road network in the area of the Middle course of the Nestos is the successor of Thracian and Hellenistic roads. But the construction technique of that period and that of the Roman age are different and the two roadbeds not always coincide. Two pre-Roman roads from the Classical and Hellenistic period can be traced on the base of the ruins and the historical data.

The first one is the pre-Roman and later Roman road Neapolis – Belovo/Pistiros which had been traced before the Roman expansion (**fig. 1**). It can be connected with the transition of Greeks in the 5th century BC and the foundation of the *emporion* Pistiros in Thrace[4]. The road begins from the Aegean coast and goes north-northeast, towards the mountain and Stena Nestou, the only suitable place to cross from the Lower course of the Mesta to its middle current. Herodotus (Hdt. 5.2.2; 10.1) gives some indirect data of a road when writing about the campaign of Megabazus against the Paeonians in 512 BC. According to G. Kazarow (Кацаров 1921, 44, note 15), the Paeonians

[4] The location of the *emporion* has strategic advantages: in close proximity to copper, iron and gold mines. The *emporion* is located in a place where a few main roads cross, next to Hebros River, which was navigable by small boats (Velkov / Domaradzka 1996, 210; Bouzek 1996, 221-222; Bouzek / Domaradzka 2007, 252, 262, fig. 3).

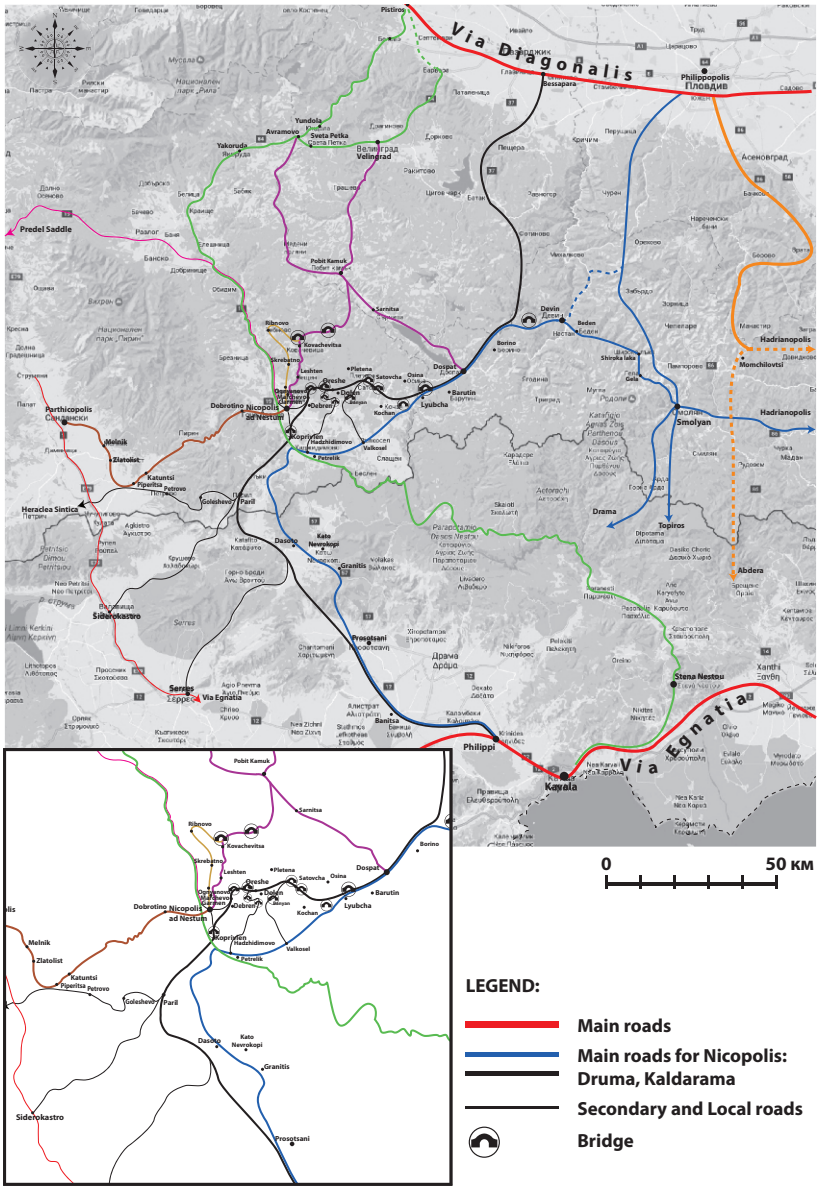


Fig. 1. Map of the ancient road infrastructure of Nicopolis ad Nestum. Main, secondary and local roads (author: S. Petrova)

had conquered the Akontisma Pass and the Persians, with the help of the Thracian guides, managed to pass through the "upper road". Geographic descriptions of ancient writers generally mention "upper" and "lower" roads, which means, respectively, roads through mountains and plains (Данов 1968, 166, note 21). According to G. Kazarow, the upper road was the one from the river Arda to Philippi with historical confirmation in Appian who mentions a mountain road from the river Harpezos to Philippi (App. *Bell. civ*. 4.103; Кацаров 1921, 44, note 16). But in the opinion of Sv. Yanakieva, the identification of the Arda with the Harpezos is not acceptable (Янакиева 2009, 33-35). A third hypothesis has been put forward by N. Dermendzhiev who supposes that the Harpezos is the Tisovska river, while the Nestos is the Hemros (Дерменджиев 2015, 37).

From the Aegean coast the road followed the river bed of the Nestos, through Stena Nestou and the mountain, and continued to the northwest towards the border with Bulgaria (**fig. 2/2**). Then it passed west of the town of Hadzhidimovo to the lowest northern parts of Stargach, towards the Thracian settlement of Koprivlen. It headed across the river Nestos

to the northwest alongside the left bank of the river towards Belovo and Pistiros; it passed in close proximity to the Thracian settlement and tribal religious center, and later to the Roman city of Nicopolis ad Nestum. In Antiquity this main line of communication probably was basic for the Thracian lands in the Rhodopes, the connection between the mountain and Aegean lands, and particularly the south slopes of the Pirin and Zmiynitsa Mountains. It was precisely there that another pre-Roman road existed, passing across the slopes of the southeastern Pirin and the Parilska Saddle (Геров 1961, 208-209). This "upper road" is in fact the most direct connection of the Thracian Aegean shore with the lands of Middle Nestos and up to the middle Strymon it traced the Predel Saddle.

The roadbed obviously was inherited from pre-Roman times, but the road itself was built in the Roman period and connected the settlements of the middle course of the river Nestos with those of the upper one. Through the hollow of Razlog, the present-day village of Banya and Yakoruda, the road was linked to the settlements of the Chepino valley and the valley of the river Hebros (Maritsa). At the beginning of the 20th century, according to the data given by K. Nikolov, one could still observe the remnants of this road in Momina klisura (Momina Gorge) on the left bank of the river, between the villages of Kremen and Bukovo (Николов 1911, 156-157).

After Yakoruda the road divided. *The first branch* passed after Yakoruda to the north towards the Cherna Mesta (Black Mesta) and trough the Yundola Gorge to Belovo, in order to connect with the settlements of the upper stream of the Hebros, including Pistiros to the northeast, and Serdica to the west. We believe that Belovo was preferred and that this detour was considered better for travelling in all seasons[5]. *The second one* was passing across Avramovi kolibi[6], to the northeast, across Sveta Petka, and Velingrad to the north of *Via Diagonalis* (of Bessapara?).

2. The Druma road

The second pre-Roman and Roman road passing across the Rhodope Mountains connects Nicopolis with Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis and the Western Black Sea coast (**fig. 1**). It is known among local inhabitants as 'Druma' ("the road"). In our opinion, its roadbed was also made in pre-Roman times similarly to the already traced road alongside the watercourse of the Nestos. Druma was built in pre-Roman times with stones of various colors and types, while the road along the Nestos, built in the Roman age, was made from white marble. Hypothetically, we could connect this route with Alexander the Great and his campaign in Thrace in 335 BC (Arr. *Anab.* 1.4.6-8)[7].

We have discovered sections of varying length on Druma, paved in a different way than the Roman roads in Bulgaria. In its northern part which connects *Via Diagonalis* across the Rhodope Mountains with *Via Egnatia*, Druma coincides with the direction of the Central Trans-Rhodopean road to Devin. After Devin we have established a branch road southeast of the village of Beden, a key settlement in Late Antiquity. The road continues from Beden southeast of present-day Shiroka laka, the village of Gela, and towards the town of Smolyan. After that, it turns sharply to the east towards the modern town of Kardzhali, thus reaching Hadrianopolis (Маджаров 2009, fig. 104). In such manner, this pre-Roman road crossed the courses of the Central

[5] Belovo (Belana?) is a settlement with a millennial history, from Neolithic times till Early Christianity (Велков 1942-43, 37-44; Миков 1955, 24), whose development was aided also by the thermal mineral water. The altitude is not too great and the road is much more convenient for convoys and people.

[6] Avramovi kolibi (now the village of Avramovo) is situated 1267 m above sea-level, while Belovo is located lower. The Avramova Saddle southwest of it is the orographic boundary between the Rila and the Rhodope Mountains; it is also the water shed of the basins of the Hebros and the Nestos.

[7] Unfortunately Arrian does not describe the road of Alexander, and for that reason, in scientific literature several possible roads have been proposed (Spiridonov 1977, 225-233; Фол / Спиридонов 1988, 85-87; Спиридонов 1992, 13ff.). For us the most acceptable proposal is that of Prof. Tacheva (Тачева 1986, 29), according to whom Alexander passed across the Parilska Saddle to the north.

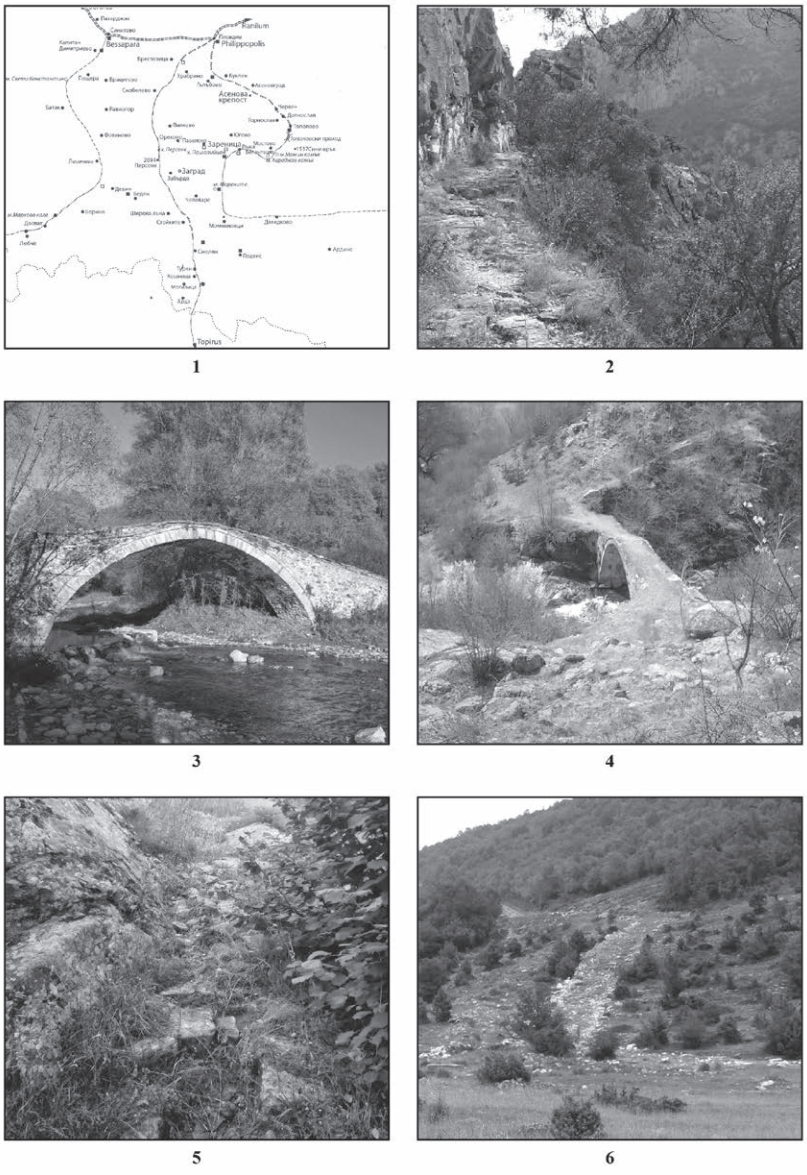


Fig. 2. 1 Map of the main Roman roads through the Rhodope Mountains (after Madzharov 2009, fig. 104);
2 remains of a pre-Roman and Roman road along the Mesta at Stena Nestou, Greece (photo: S. Petrova);
3 the bridge Kemer on the main roads Druma/Kaldarama (photo: S. Petrova);
4 the bridge above the Osinska river at Lyubcha village (photo: S. Petrova);
5 remains of the course from the main road Druma between the villages Osina and Lyubcha (photo: S. Petrova);
6 remains from the course of Druma, south of Kato Nevrokopi (photo: E. Anastasova)

and the Eastern Trans-Rhodopean roads. The closeness of both roads (the Eastern and the Central Trans-Rhodopean) gave the inhabitants of the Middle Nestos the possibility of choice and quick connections with the southeastern part of the Peninsula.

Druma came from the north and likewise coincided in pre-Roman times with parts of the Central Trans-Rhodopean road (defined by M. Madzharov as pre-Roman as well) (Маджаров 2009, 2), and in some places also sections of the Western Trans-Rhodopean road. The pavement of this Central road at the peak Izvorets and the village of Turyan (Маджаров 2009, fig. 109 and 111) is identical to Druma in terms of technique and the material used. In the locality Mitnitsata ("The custom-house") and before the peak of Persenk the Central Trans-Rhodopean road is crossed and from there it continues to the south, known to the people of the Gotse Delchev area as Druma. After this point the road goes southwest to Devin and the Potreba locality. There it connects with the Western Trans-Rhodopean road to Dospat, crosses the bridge of Kemera[8] at the Sarnena river and the village of Zmeitsa (**fig. 2/3**). After that, the road passes to the village of Lyubcha,

[8] In the area of Dzhenevra, 12 km to the north from the village of Borino, and to the west of the town of Devin.

crossing the field between the villages Osina and Lyubcha; alongside the ancient settlement with a bridge[9] across the river Osinska (**fig. 2/4-5**). There are some preserved sections of the road paved with plain stone in the field by the river Osinska. Then the road continues southwest towards the present-day Vaklinovo and from there, to the village of Kochan, where a bridge existed, now destroyed together with the road[10]. After Kochan, the road continues to the ancient fortress Kaleto in the Kalyota locality, situated about 3.5 km southwest from the present-day village of Valkosel; a big ancient settlement with a stone workshop (Petrova 2017). The foundations of a stone bridge built of big square blocks bound with mortar were found on the left bank of the Nestos. This bridge provided access to the mentioned fortress and was used in Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987, 51-52).

After the Nestos river, the road continues to the ancient settlement at the present-day town Hadzhidimovo and then passes at about 3 km northwest of it through the Beltata locality. A fortress was built there in Late Antiquity, in connection with this road at the place where the Matnitsa flows into the Nestos, on the Sveti Dimitar height. The fortress existed also in Middle Ages, like another unfortified settlement near Beltata, in the locality Kyup tarla, which had an active life in Medieval times, as shown by a coin treasure from the time of the Komnenoi (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987; Комитова 2008, 449-454). From there the road continues down south of Koprivlen and after the modern oil station on the Gotse Delchev – Drama road, there is a section of the ancient road preserved. After that, it crosses again the river Matnitsa and climbs up the heights of the Stargach Mountain, where it passes the present-day Bulgarian-Greek border and then descends towards Drama and *Via Egnatia*. The preserved part is about 5 km in the direction of Stargach. The road passes through Stargach in south-southeastern direction, north from Dasoto village and to the south of the modern town of Kato Nevrokopi (previously Zarnevo), progressing to the east of the town and going to the lower parts of the mountain (**fig. 2/6**). After Kato Nevrokopi, the road passes south of Granitis and continues to Prosotsani towards Philippi. The section between Prosotsani and Philippi is overlapped by two roads – Druma and Kaldarama.

The road is 3.50 m wide, and its middle part is higher for the purpose of draining. It was built of medium size boulders from different rocks of various colors, and there is no marble. The stone pieces were laid evenly, with small gaps among them. Despite its millennial existence, the road is in excellent operational condition (**fig. 3/1**). Its laying differs from the traditional technology of Roman road construction (compared to the Trans-Rhodopean road from the Hebros south to Nicopolis ad Nestum, made entirely of marble): there is no curb; the enhancement was made on the terrain itself and without the limitation of the curb. The track passes across the mountain heights and represents the shortest and direct tie with the Aegean shore, Drama, Topeiros (through Xanthi) and Philippi, as well as Serres. The road Philippi (Daton/Krenides) – Serres exists also in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

The construction manner, the technical parameters and characteristics are identical to some parts of the Central Trans-Rhrodopean road, also defined as pre-Roman. The road's existence, its technical

[9] There are unpublished Latin inscriptions incised on the bridge.

[10] The village of Vaklinovo is about 3 km northeast of Kochan. The road now connecting the village is impregnated with asphalt with sections of the ancient Roman road remaining under it, according to the accounts of local inhabitants.

features, as well as the report of Arrian, support the hypothesis of M. Tacheva that this was the road which Alexaner the Great took (Тачева 1986, 29). But in our opinion, this road had been built long before the campaign of Alexander, considering the existing trade contacts of the Middle Nestos with the Aegean coast (see Delev 2002, 25-27). The coin finds and treasures from that time can be traced in this respect, pointing to the most probable way of Alexander's army, namely alongside the river Nestos in the direction of the Trans-Rhodopean road (Илиев 2011, 276-284, with references), whose separate sections coincide with Druma towards the Hebros Valley.

The existence of the road and its connection with the Aegean shore predetermines the winding route of the army of Brutus before the battle of Philippi in October of 42 BC. We believe that the route of the army took place across some part of Druma to the south, towards Philippi. Moving to the north across the Central Trans-Rhodopean road, reaching to the south to Topeiros (see Маджаров 2009, 271, обр. 105), the army of Brutus and Cassius (Дерменджиев 2015, 29-44) crossed over the mountain in the direction northwest – west – southwest. After that, they passed over the Nestos and continued to the west, marching on Druma. From there the army turned south-southwest towards Philippi upon the road known as Druma.

The road Druma had an extraordinary importance for the development of Nicopolis ad Nestum and for the expansion of its connections and relations with the cities to the south, downstream the Nestos. It also connected the city with the ancient settlements at Koprivlen, Hadzhidimovo and Petrelik located before the mountain range consisting of Stargach, Slavyanka and the easternmost slopes of the Pirin. The mountain terrain encircles like a collar the valley of the Nestos and the only possibilities of road construction are provided by the passes and the low mountain parts. The road connected Nicopolis to the north with the settlements on *Via Diagonalis*, thus creating the possibility for a link to the north and west, also with the Black Sea coast. The section of Druma we traced from Devin through Dospat to the Aegean coast. By doing so, we established that Druma is the most direct connection of the settlements along the Middle Nestos with *Via Diagonalis*, Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis; and with the Aegean shore to the south. And if the road to Belovo/Pistiros alongside the Nestos course in some mountain parts was probably a "goat path", then we accept that Druma was the first road of pre-Roman times entirely constructed in all its length.

2. The course of the Western Trans-Rhodopean road after Dospat to *Via Egnatia* (the so-called Kaldarama, or "The cobble-stone way")

M. Madzharov has traced the course of the Western Trans-Rhodopean road from the *mutatio* Bessapara to Dospat (Маджаров 2009, 309-320), in some parts together with K. Kisyov (Маджаров 2009, 312). The section from Dospat to Nicopolis and to the Aegean shore to the south has been traced by us in the period 2012-2014. In that place we have discovered parts of the road, some of which were several kilometers long, heading in the direction of Nicopolis. After this city to the south we have also found similar long sections with deviations to the Strymon road – the valley of the Middle and Lower Strymon, across the Parilska Saddle, to Serres.

We consider that Kaldarama is the second most important road for the valley of the Middle Nestos and the ancient Nicopolis ad Nestum (**fig. 1**). The road connected *Via Egnatia* with *Via Diagonalis* at the *mutatio* Bessapara, identical with the *mutatio* Zyrme in *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Маджаров 2009, 310). Kaldarama overlaps Druma between the villages of Zmeitsa and Lyubcha. Then it turns to the northwest of the ancient settlement at the village of Satovcha, crossing a bridge over the gully of a river which nowadays is flowing through the center of the village. After that, the road heads to the northwest and crosses a bridge over the Pletenska Bistritsa river (**fig. 3/2**) under the village of Pletena. From that point the road passes through the low heights of Dabrash, then south of the village of Dolen, where we have established a local branch that connects the road with Druma. After Dolen and the branch of the local way in the locality Banyan (**fig. 3/3**), the Trans-Rhrodopean road passes from the lower heights of Dabrash to the higher ones, high above the modern village of Dolno Dryanovo. Then it continues to Nicopolis, passing high north of the ancient settlement and the sanctuary at Dolno Dryanovo, heading towards the present-day villages of Oreshe and Debren (**fig. 3/4**). Then it goes to the locality Barata via a bridge over the Varbitsa river south of Oreshe (**fig. 3/5**) and continues to the locality Ryakata, where it also crosses a bridge over the Varbitsa and divides again (**fig. 3/6**). The local road continues to Oreshe and Krushevo. The main course of the Western Trans-Rhodopean road continues to west-southwest and enters from the north the abandoned now village of Debren (called also Old Debren), turning to the south across the village itself (**fig. 4/1**).

Along the course of Kaldarama and particularly in its section immediately after Oreshe and before the *stabulum/mutatio* in Staro Debren, we have found many repairs for enlarging the roadbed and increasing its sturdiness (**fig. 4/2**). The road is known by elderly people in Debren as "The Roman way", "The Old way", "Kaldarama" and also called "Bir vakit way". About 1 km south of the old village and in close proximity to it, in the direction of the new village of Debren and Nicopolis, the ruins of a roadside station can be seen (*stabulum/mutatio*): the foundations of two big buildings and plenty of treasure hunting ditches (**fig. 4/3**). The boulder walls are circa 0.70-0.80 m thick and are bound together by mortar with small pieces of bricks**.** Leaving the old village, the road goes on to the locality Grobeto, where it divides again.

The local section of the Western Trans-Rhrodopean road Kaldarama takes to the west – northwest, to the Eastern Gate of Nicopolis ad Nestum. But before it gets there, the road passes the mound necropolis of the city, now in the eastern part of the village of Garmen. Only 12 mounds from both sides of the road have survived today: some in groups of 2-3 tumuli, and a part of a burial mound complex of 5 tumuli, preserved at the yard of the previous Community Farm. Then the road passes alongside an Early Christian necropolis, with several tombs and a cemetery basilica located about 800 m from the Eastern Gate of Nicopolis (Попова 2011, 263-294), and on the track of this local way and by crossing the moat, it reaches the gate.

After the locality Grobeto*, the main course of Kaldarama* passes near the ancient settlement and fortress Gradishteto at the present-day village of Dabnitsa. This settlement has a direct connection via a *local road*



Fig. 3. 1 Remains of the main road Druma, southeast of the village of Koprivlen; technique and technical condition of the road pavement – detail (photo: S. Petrova); **2** a bridge above the Pletenska Bistritsa river, underneath Pletena village, main road Kaldarama (photo: S. Petrova); **3** a bridge above the Pletenska Bistritsa river in the locality of Banyan. Local deviation from the main Roman road Kaldarama (photo: S. Petrova); **4** part of Kaldarama between the villages of Oreshe and Staro Debren (photo: S. Petrova); **5** a bridge above the Varbitsa river in the locality of Barata, the main Roman road Kaldarama (photo: S. Petrova); **6** a bridge above the Varbitsa river in the locality Ryakata. A deviation in the locality of Ryakata from the main road Kaldarama (photo: S. Petrova)

leading from the fortress to the sanctuary at Dolno Dryanovo. Passing southwest of the settlement at Dabnitsa, the road goes between the heights of the Golyamo and Malko Kurilo and exits to the plain south of Nicopolis, then continues to the southeast towards the left bank of the Nestos and the village of Koprivlen. Then, across a bridge, the course is known among local inhabitants simply as Kaldarama. On the right bank of the river, even today, one can see the additional repairs of the stone pavements, made with dark grey marble pieces. Those repairs, conducted for enlargement of the road bed in the vicinity of the bridge, were made in the Middle Ages and the Ottoman period, aiming at widening the space where the caravans and travelers were stopping, before they passed over to the other river bank and continued to the north in the direction of Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis. In our opinion, this was namely the place of division of the stream of travelers and goods, long before the Ottoman period. Probably a *mutatio* existed there as well, considering the topographic and strategic place of the ancient settlement at Koprivlen and the immediate proximity of the main (for the area) roads Druma, Kaldarama and the road along the Nestos (for Pistiros).

Although the *mutatio*'s existence is hypothetical, we believe that this is the most logical place for the construction of a road station – in the immediate proximity of the river and the bridge.

The road can be traced for many kilometers southwest of Koprivlen until the locality Sveti Petar i Pavel ("St. Peter and St. Paul"), alongside Pavliova padina ("Paul's hollow"). Here, although not differently built, it reveals some technical peculiarities that are not presented in its Rhrodopean part from Dospat to Koprivlen. After Koprivlen, west-southwest of the oil station and the course of Druma, the road can be traced in a section of circa 8 km, pointing to southwest-south. After Koprivlen, the road continues to the southwest towards Gaitaninovo and the rise of Sveti Petar i Pavel, where a local deviation for the ancient quarries of Nicopolis is established (Петрова 2015, 75-82). Another deviation we registered at the abandoned village of Lyalevo and parts of it can be found in the territory of the village of Teshovo in the direction of Goleshevo – Petrovo[11] – Katuntsi (**fig. 1**). After Katuntsi, already *in the road network of Parthicopolis*, we have found more branches to the northwest, upstream of the Strymon, leading to Parthicopolis and Serdica; to Stobi and Scupi etc. After Gaitaninovo, through the Parilska Saddle, several *local branches* can be traced on Kaldarama. The *first one* is at the village of Tarlis (Vathytopos) for Heraclea Sintica. According to Kanchov, this branch was preferred because of its more comfortable and lower course in contrast to the narrow and steep west road across the high parts of the Pirin (Кънчов 1896, 323). From the Parilska Saddle the road splits: to the west to Siderokastro, and to the south, across Dolno Brodi, and descends between the mountains Sharlya (Vrondu) and Zmiynitsa (Menoikion) directly to Serres. Paul Perdrizet informs about a preserved part of an old Roman road (?), about 300-400 m long and heading to the north from the village of Banitsa. The scientist received the data from a French engineer who was working on the Drama-Serres railroad track (Perdrizet 1900, 548-552).

All parts of Kaldarama, from Nicopolis to Dospat, and from Nicopolis to Drama, are paved with stone. They are 2.30 m wide, with curbs at both sides. Marble pieces of different sizes cover the road. The road is very well preserved. Perfectly prepared draining channels about 0.65-0.70 m wide are still visible at both sides (**fig. 4/4**). In the mountain of Pirin the road track is made in straight sections. Whenever the road passes through big rock formations, the rocks were cut and used for the pavement of the road (**fig 4/5**).

Three kilometers after Koprivlen to the east, or almost two Roman miles, a building can be observed on the terrain parallel to the road. The foundations reveal two rooms of big dimensions, not connected with each other. The first one is 10 x 4 m, its long side parallel to the road (**fig. 4/6**). We found few pottery fragments here. Together with the two rooms slightly outlining a large building, they are the reason to consider it as a Roman roadside station, situated 10 Roman miles from Nicopolis. Kaldarama connects *Via Diagonalis* with *Via Egnatia*.

The local branch roads of Kaldarama that connect with Druma

We have discovered one deviation (**fig. 1**), a *local road*, about 2 km southeast of the village of Dolen in the locality Banyan, connecting Druma with Kaldarama, with a detour to the sanctuary Prav kamin[12];

[11] In the ancient village at Petrovo there are quarries. Stone extractors and masons lived in the settlement which is located in the territory of Parthicopolis.

[12] Unpublished, unique megalithic monument, found in 2005 by the painter T. Uzunov from Satovcha, Chairman of the SATO Foundation.

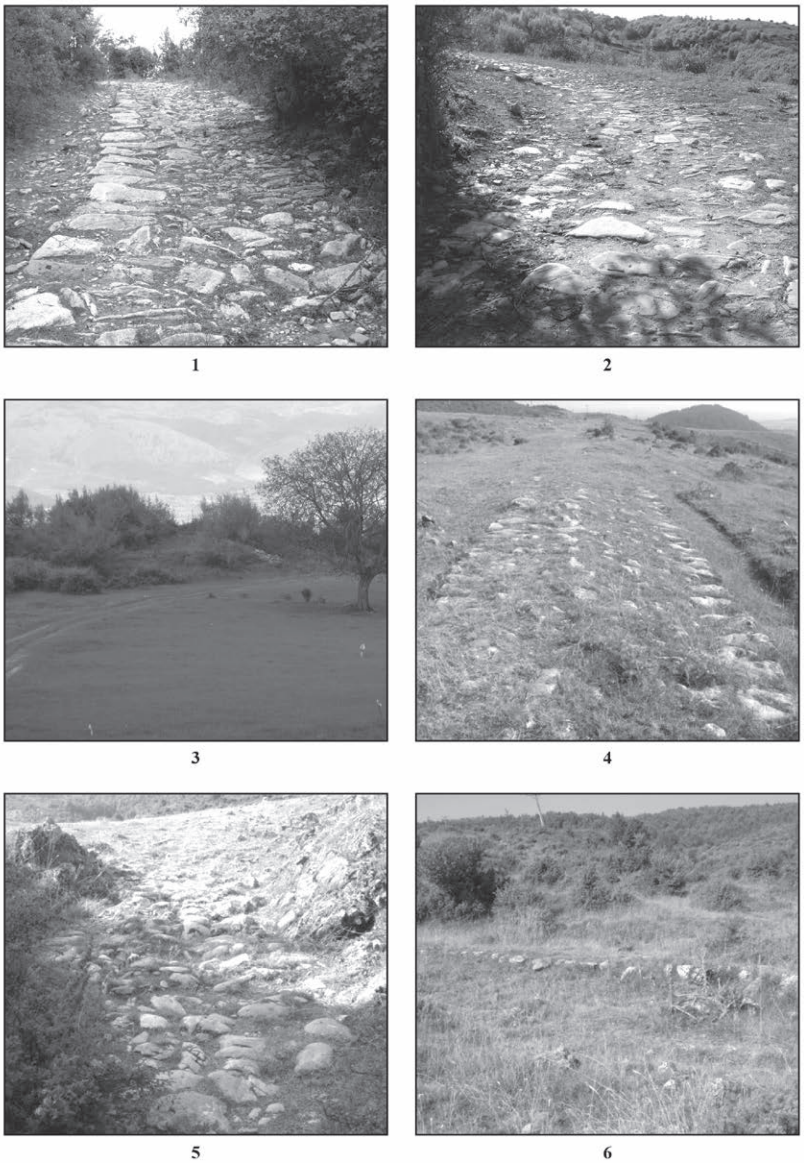


Fig. 4. 1 A part of Kaldarama, north of the village of Staro Debren (photo: S. Petrova); **2** the main road Kaldarama with traces of later repairs and enlarging of the turn (photo: S. Petrova); **3** remains of the main Roman road Kaldarama with remnants of the roadside station (*stabulum, mansio*), after the village of Staro Debren (photo: S. Petrova); **4** remains of the main Roman road Kaldarama – technical characteristics: raised central edge of the road; closely arranged marble boulders; shaped on both sides with curb stones and ditches, south of Nicopolis (photo: S. Petrova); **5** the main Roman road Kaldarama cutting through the marble massif south of Nicopolis; a detail (photo: S. Petrova); **6** remains of the roadside station (*stabulum, mansio*) of the main Roman road Kaldarama, south of Nicopolis (photo: S. Petrova)

for the Thracian sanctuary at the village of Kribul, called Kamaka ("The stone") at the peak Skribina[13]. It is established that settlements existed in the region, with workshops for stone and tomb steles. That is why the local road was of extraordinary importance for these settlements, because of the necessity to shift the stone and other materials connected with their work (Petrova 2017a). Its importance is also underlined by its connection with the Trans-Rhodopean road, with the precise making of the stone pavement and of the bridge, whose north end is curved in such a special way as to be included in the course of the main road (**fig. 3/3**).

The second local branch road of Kaldarama is located in the lower parts of the Dabrash heights, in the direction of the modern village of Dolno Dryanovo. This branch connects Kaldarama with Druma and with the ancient settlement and the sanctuary in the Gradishte locality at Dolno Dryanovo. Down in the lower parts, where the ancient settlement is situated, one more bridge is preserved, also on the river Bistritsa, and its roadbed is traceable.

The third local branch road of Kaldarama (**fig. 1**) is established in the locality Ryakata, with a bridge over the river Varbitsa. It is placed before the settlement at Debren in the direction of the ancient settle-

[13] This is the Skribina project for the sanctuary, prepared in the Southwestern University "Neophyte Rilski", by the University Scientific Research Center for Ancient Languages and Eastern Mediterranean Cultures (Марков 2007).

ment at Oreshe (**fig 3/6**). In the outskirts of the village are still visible the ruins of an ancient settlement with a vast and extremely rich necropolis, still incompletely studied. Only an Early Christian basilica is studied (Milčeva 2006, 527-535, 186-189). The course of the ancient road is passing south of the ancient settlement and continues to the settlement at the village of Krushevo – Dolno Dryanovo and the section of Druma.

4. The road Nicopolis ad Nestum – Kovachevitsa – *Via Diagonalis*

The road exits the North city gate of Nicopolis and leads north to *Via Diagonalis* and Philippopolis (**fig. 1**). To the north the route passes alongside the ancient settlement located to the east, at the height at the village of Marchevo. A *villa suburbana* remains west of it, situated in the country yards of the villagers, in immediate proximity to the left bank of the river Kanina, almost across the Nicopolis Hotel. After Marchevo and upon crossing the Kanina, the road climbs up to the height in the locality Gradets at the village of Ognyanovo, where there is a proven guard tower, and continues to the north to the settlement at the present-day village of Skrebatno. Here a Thracian and ancient settlement were discovered, with several coin treasures containing Thasos tetradrachms, as well as a sculpted head of a woman (Antonia Minor?) from the Caligula – Claudius period (Milčeva 2005, 18-19). Occasional finds have been registered in Skrebatno very frequently and this fact demonstrates that the settlement was one of the biggest, and a key-point for the region, most probably a roadside station, as it is about 9-10 miles from Nicopolis ad Nestum. After Skrebatno, the way continues north to the settlement at the village of Ribnovo, and then it descends to Kovachevitsa, crossing over the Kanina river via a bridge (**fig. 5/1**). This can be proved by the partly preserved tracks, and the largest section can be seen on the terrain of the present-day eco path Ribnovo – Kovachevitsa (**fig. 5/2**), immediately before exiting on the course at the right bank of the Kanina in the Malinaka locality. After the bridge over the Kanina, another road is joining in, whose course can be followed also from the east gate of Nicopolis towards Machevo on the left bank of the river towards Kovatchevitsa. This second route is more direct, made of bigger and in some places flag-stones, with determined repairs in the Middle Ages (**fig. 5/3**). The road on the left bank of the Kanina is the most direct one from Nicopolis to Kovachevitsa, where according to K. Jireček gold and silver were mined (Геров 1961, 216, note 3). After the merge of both roads (through Ribnovo and through the left bank of the Kanina), the road continues to the north of Kovachevitsa. Then it goes on to the east-northeast to the megalithic sanctuary Koziyat kamak ("The goat stone"[14]) located close to the locality Manastirishteto (Kara Orman). The only milestone originates from that locality (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987, 24, 75, and the cited literature), proving the importance of the road in the second quarter of the 4th century during the reign of Constantine I, Constantius I and Constans (333-337), and with a second inscription, made 46 years later in 383, for the emperors Valentinian II, Gratian, Theodosius I and Arcadius. P. Perdrizet was the first to write about the inscription. Captain Nikolov who saw the column brought to the courtyard of the church in Kovachevitsa mentions that a bridge existed at the place where it had been found (Николов 1911, 173-174). Ts. Dremsizova-Nelchinova sup-

[14] The sanctuary Koziyat kamak is located at the Forester Farm Beslet, between the villages Kovachevitsa and Sarnitsa, 14 km north of the first one, at coordinates N 41°43'53", E 23°53'39".

posed that the ruins at that place belonged to a small fortified road station. Although the time of construction of the road is unknown, it is obvious that this happened considerably long before its first repair in the first quarter of the 4th century. Regardless of the initial date of road construction, the inscription shows two repairs in the 4th century (Геров 1961, 216) and the ruins around the column – the presence of a road, bridge and a roadside station (*mansio* and *mutatio*) for rest and horse change.

After Manastirishteto and the Beslet peak, towards north, the road is descending and reaches from the northeast the locality Divite kozi ("The wild goats"). There, 1,500 m above sea-level, a fortified Thracian settlement was established, with walls preserved about 1.60 m high and more than 2 m thick. From there the road continues to the locality Selishte of the nowadays village Pobit kamak. Stepping on the Sarnitsa – Pobit kamak route, the Roman road splits in two. The first continues to the north to Pobit kamak (where the locality Selishteto with the old Thracian settlement and sanctuary is) and then to Velingrad (for *Via Diagonalis*) and Avramovi kolibi (for Belovo/Pistiros) (**fig. 1**). The remnants of the road are found in some places on the slope. The second branch of the road is to the southeast, to the village of Sarnitsa, where the road in southeastern direction connects with Dospat – with Druma and Kladarama. The road is 2.30 m wide, in some places widened in later times. Similarly to Kaldarama, it is made of marble pieces and is of an equal width. The construction technique this time does not differ from the one of Kaldarama, in accordance with the requirements of Roman architects and builders. Over the rammed ground a draining system was made, and then it was covered with fine rubble, and laid with marble pavement and big marble blocks for curbs.

II. The Roads across the Pirin (inter-provincial roads)

1. The road Nicopolis – the valley of the Strymon across the Predel Saddle

Nicopolis ad Nestum had connections with other settlements located north of it, along the Upper stream of Nestos (**fig. 1**). The plenty of fortified ancient settlements testify to the dense road network that existed also in the Middle Ages: at Gospodintsi (before 1934: Tsyropol) and at Momina kula (6 km southeast of the village Kremen), where the fortress controlled the road passing alongside the Nestos (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987, 77-78). The security of the road by the stream of the Hebros river across the Pirin towards the valley of the Strymon was provided as well by the fortress at Bansko (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1987, 42-43 and the lt.). The bed of Razlog was connected with the road across the Predel Saddle (Геров 1961, 216, notes 5-7). After that, the road continued to the west, towards the Strymon valley and the Strymon road: to the northwest and north to Pautalia and Serdica; to the south for Parthicopolis and then to Thessalonica, Tiveriopolis, Stobi and Heraclea Sintica. Sections of the road which were preserved up to the 1930s at the present-day village of Gradevo, provide evidence for its existence (Пирин 1929, 7). H. Karamandzhukov also mentions the Strymon road and its connection with the road coming from the Predel Saddle, as well as the parts preserved and visible in the last century (Караманджуков 1919/20, 143).

2. The road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis – the Strymon valley

Nicopolis and Parthicopolis whose urban territories were border territories, were connected with three more roads to the southwest. *The first one* exited Nicopolis on the course of Kaldarama, at Koprivlen, climbing up to the Parilska Saddle towards the ancient settlement at Valovishta (Demir hisar, Siderokastro) and connecting with the Strymon road, to the south with Serres and to the north with Heraclea Sintica and Parthicopolis. This road used the lower mountain parts (**fig. 1**). *The second road* crossed again the Parilska Saddle, but passed across the high parts of the Pirin, which made it more difficult in the cold seasons, although it was much shorter in terms of distance (Petrova 2012, 299-303). *The third road* started from the western gate of Nicopolis (**fig. 5/4**), crossed the Nestos river to the north of Gotse Delchev, after the ancient settlement at the village of Borovo, now quarter of Gotse Delchev, and advanced towards the Pirin mountain, to the ancient settlement between the present-day villages of Dobrotino and Sredna (near Popovi livadi / "Priest's meadows"). Here we have found a long section covered with marble pavement, as well as a road station-customs (**fig. 5/5-6**)[15]. The road is also 2.30 m wide and similarly to Kaldarama in some places the marble of the track was broken into pieces and the extracted material was put into the road pavement. The road continues through the relatively low mountain parts, going out at the ancient settlement near the present-day village of Gorno Spanchevo, then continuing parallel to the river towards Katuntsi, and there diverging in two directions. The first direction is to Melnik, alongside the stream of the Katunska Bistritsa and to Parthicopolis. The second branch continues to the southwest from the ancient settlement at Katuntsi, passing closely to the ancient settlement of Piperitsa, probably another large ancient center (Petrova 2017a). The remnants reveal that the settlement at Piperitsa was large, important and strategically situated on the course of the road to Dolno Spanchevo, thus connecting with the Strymonean road (for Heraclea Sintica), and to the south – with *Via Egnatia*.

Main, secondary and local roads for Nicopolis ad Nestum

Nicopolis demonstrates a developed road network consisting of main, secondary and local (for the city) roads. In our research we have established four first-rate Roman roads in the Rhodope Mountains which determine the road infrastructure of Nicopolis and its place in the road infrastructure of Southwestern Thracia. The oldest roads among them are the roads along the Nestos to Pistiros and Druma. Probably the road through Kovachevitsa was traced in the age of the Roman expansion, as a wide trade path. Its importance must have increased at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century with the urbanistic policy of emperor Trajan and the official proclamation of the settlement as *Ulpia Nicopolis ad Nestum*. The probable reason behind the construction of this road, except for being the shortest connection with *Via Diagonalis*, were the rich metal deposits in the Rhodope Mountains, including gold and silver at Kovachevitsa. The road stations and the occasional archaeological finds from the settlement alongside this road further emphasize its importance. The inscriptions on the milestone display that from the 4th century onwards the road obtained much more importance, having in mind the two successive repairs in

[15] This road station / customs was studied and documented as part of the road connections of Nicopolis ad Nestum for the first time by the author. The data provided by the local inhabitants helped for its identification as customs, based on the rooms and the big nominals of golden and silver Roman coins found in them, as well as lead stamps and fragments of vessels from the Roman period. The treasure hunters have left many ditches and destroyed the stone walls of the building.

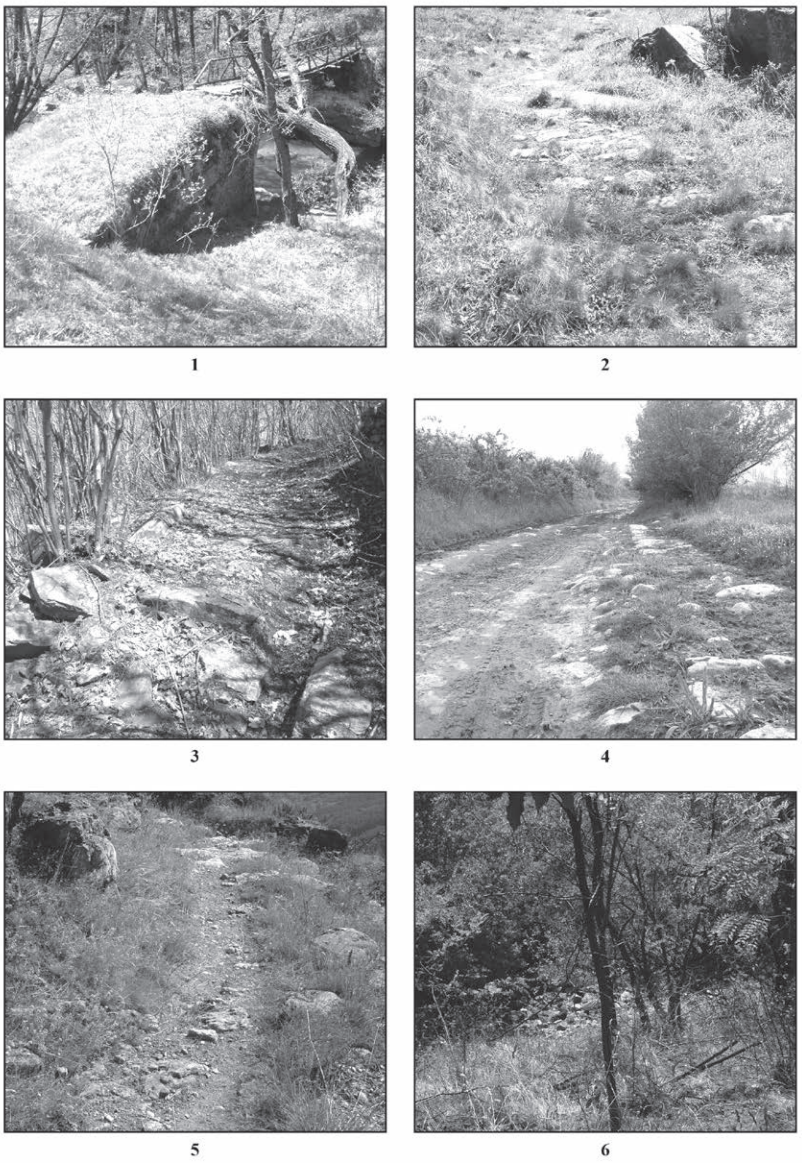


Fig. 5. 1 Remains of a bridge above the Kanina river on the road Ribnovo – Kovachevitsa (photo: S. Petrova); **2** remains of the Ribnovo – Kovachevitsa road (photo: S. Petrova); **3** remains of the main road Nicopolis – Kovachevitsa – *Via Diagonalis* (photo: S. Petrova); **4** the road which starts from the West gate of Nicopolis towards the roads: Nicopolis – Parthicopolis; Nicopolis – along the river Mesta towards Belovo/Pistiros and Nicopolis along the river Mesta towards the Predel Saddle and the Strymon road (photo: S. Petrova); **5** a section of the main Roman road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis (photo: E. Anastasova); **6** the roadside station (customs?) between the villages of Dobrotino and Sredna on a main Roman road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis (photo: E. Anastasova)

a relatively short period of about 50 years. Emperor Constantine the Great made the first repair works on the road. The road did not lose its significance toward the end of the century when emperor Theodosius commissioned its second repair. The road Kaldarama as an extension after Dospat for the western Trans-Rhodopean road, and together with Druma, played the greatest role for the infrastructure of Nicopolis and, according to the classification of the Roman roads, these two were primary (*militares*) for the area.

The road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis through Dobrotino was also of primary importance for the area. It was of the same width (2.30 m) and had marble pavement identical to that of Kaldarama and the road through Kovachevitsa. The road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis connected both cities of the neighboring provinces Thracia and Macedonia that had a very similar livelihood, namely agriculture, marble quarrying and marble working[16]. Although the road was built in the higher parts of the Pirin mountain, it was used in Roman times probably all year, having in mind the existing road station / customs (?). As secondary roads for Nicopolis we consider the ones through the Predel Saddle and the divergences from Kaldarama towards the Strymon road (the

[16] A votive inscription to the Salenian God dated to AD 221, found in Belyovo, located already in the territory of Parthicopolis, proves that the citizens of Nicopolis ad Nestum were using the road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis through Dobrotino via a detour at Gorno Spanchevo (Геров 1961, 184; *IGBulg* IV 2305).

Strymon Valley). They are alternative courses leading from Nicopolis to Parthicopolis, made within the deviations of Kaldarama to the valley of the Strymon. These secondary roads, some made in pre-Roman times, pass across the lower parts of the Pirin and Zmiynitsa Mountains and therefore could be used all year round, although the distances and the time of travel were much longer. We have found many alternative local routes and parts of the road infrastructure: pavements, curbs, draining channels, bridges, important crossings, roadside stations and a custom house.

One should pay special attention to the many bridges found mainly in the Rhodope Mountains, some of which related to the Medieval and Ottoman periods[17]. The Roman bridges over streams and rivers have a nearly half-circle curve, while the curves of the pre-Roman, Early Byzantine and Medieval bridges are pointed in the center (Tuleshkov 2016, 175-190). Two Roman bridges in the Rhodope Mountains, outside the infrastructure of Nicopolis, are also the ones at Drangovo village, Kirkovo municipality – one of them is in the center of the village across the river Drangovska, and the second one is across the upper stream of the river Peshterska. But in the Ottoman period both bridges, preserving their Roman foundations, were partly repaired. These facts reveal how the Roman road infrastructure continued to play an important role for the life and economy of later periods.

Conclusion

Chronologically speaking, some of the road network in the area (now Southwestern Bulgaria, in Antiquity – part of Thracia and Macedonia Prima) had already been created in pre-Roman times. Such were the courses of the road alongside the Nestos to Belovo/Pistiros, the Druma road, part of the Kaldarama, the road Nicopolis – Kovachevitsa – the Hebros Valley, also parts of the roads Nicopolis ad Nestum – Parthicopolis. The only preserved pavement from the existing pre-Roman road Druma is the earliest paved road in the area. After the conquest of Thracia by the Romans, probably already in the 1st century BC, the new courses were determined having in mind the border topography of Nicopolis in Thracia, next to the province of Macedonia[18]. First the Kaldarama road was paved with marble and then, because of its importance, the same happened to the road Nicopolis – Parthicopolis (through Dobrotino).

Looking at the map of the road network in the immediate vicinity of Nicopolis, one can notice that the city is situated strategically at its north end, while the two main roads, Druma and Kaldarama, with multiple local detours, pass through the center and the southern part of the plain, thus forming a very complex traffic circle, not far from the left bank of the Nestos. This fact allows the presumption that before Nicopolis, another Thracian and Hellenistic settlement central for the plain and the region had existed, apart from the large ancient settlement at Koprivlen at the right bank of the Nestos. But no archaeological research has yet been conducted in the crossing of the roads. Probably this is the reason these two main roads pass south of Nicopolis. The Roman city is founded at a strategical place in the plain, at the fusion of two rivers[19]. When Nicopolis was planned and built, it was additionally connected with the pre-Roman roads and

[17] The builders of the Ottoman period erected bridges with stone parapets on both sides, and they repaired and renovated the ones from Roman and Late Antique/Early Byzantine times. As an Ottoman monument can be considered Dyavolski most ("The Devil's bridge") which has stone parapets. It is over the river Arda and dates to the 16th century, with no remnants from earlier periods. Such are also the bridges built by the architect Sinan in the 16th century: the Mustafa Pasha bridge (1528-29) in Svilengrad, Bulgaria; in Mostar (1566); the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bridge (1571-72) in Višegrad, Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Sultan Suleyman bridge (1565-67) in the district Büyükçekmece in Istanbul, Turkey (Aksay 2009, 24-25; 36-37; 46-48; 144-145; 197-199; 156-159).

[18] It has been recently suggested that it got the name of Nicopolis ("The city of Victory") as early as the 30s of the 1st century BC, long before Trajan (Boteva 2007, 187-196; Petrova 2012, 305 ff.).

[19] Traces of other earlier settlements are found in the environs of the city. But they probably did not play the same important role as the one inside the circle crossing to the south.

new sections were made in order to join the Roman roads coming out of the gates of the city[20].

The two roadside stations and the one custom-house that have been located are about 9-10 Roman miles away from Nicopolis ad Nestum and this distance is quite adequate to the rules of their distribution in the mountain areas. The long main and local roads, the shorter local sections/deviations, the *mutationes*, the bridges and the customs constitute the road network and infrastructure for Southwestern Thracia, the northeastern part of Macedonia and particularly of Nicopolis. It is extremely dense not only in the plain around Nicopolis, but also in the mountain areas. The abundance of sections reveals that the city was built beside the traced and built pre-Roman roads: the so-called Druma ("The Road"), the one following the stream of the Nestos, and the one through the Predel Saddle. They took advantage of the natural river valleys and the lower parts of the mountains, with their many curves. The Roman roads were traced on higher hills, mountain plateaus and ridges and differed from the pre-Roman ones by their straighter courses, marble pavement, curbs, and the form of their bridges.

The newly found and the previously known ancient roads, together with the port at Banichan, were used predominantly for the transportation of people and goods, i.e. as caravan roads, while armies rarely passed. The state of the outworn stone pavement in general, and that of the marble in particular, proves that carts and luxury vehicles were not constantly used. Transportation along the studied roads was performed mainly by horse and camel caravans and also by using the stream of the Nestos river for the transfer of goods. The densest parts of the road network are found to the south of Nicopolis, in the Mesta valley, across the foothills and the Stargach, Slavyanka and Pirin Mountains, and were used for the transportation of people and goods to the province of Macedonia. Here, in Roman times, marble roads and short sections were traced to the significant for Nicopolis settlements south of Topeiros, Philippi, Neapolis, Thessalonica and Byzantion (later Constantinople). To the north, the roads connected Nicopolis with the core of Moesia and Thracia, namely with the banks of the Danube, Singidunum and Rome to the west, and with Hadrianopolis, the Black sea shores, and Constantinople to the east. In this way, in spite of the collar of high mountains deep in the core of Thracia, Nicopolis had a very well developed road network and infrastructure, connecting the city with all parts of the Roman and Early Byzantine world.

[20] The inter-provincial road Thracia–Macedonia, connecting Nicopolis with Parthicopolis (through Dobrotino) begins from the West gate. The road through Kovachevitsa to the valley of Hebros and *Via Diagonalis* begins from the North gate. The local sections going out from the East and South gates join Druma and Kaldarama.

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Influence of Landscape and Climate Conditions on the Urban Fabric of Philippopolis in Antiquity

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Abstract: The main task of the research project that I present here is to identify possible settlement areas of permanent residence in Antiquity in the vicinities of the Roman town Philippopolis. In order to achieve a more complete picture of the ancient hinterland, I have conducted a comparative study and additionally developed graphical reconstructions of the hinterland of two other Roman settlements – Serdica and Augusta Traiana. All three towns were situated in the Roman province of Thrace and are now located in the territory of Bulgaria. The research project results in 12 drawings – territorial schemes. Three of them show the identified areas, while the remaining 9 drawings correspond to three factors according to which the areas were located. These factors are altitude, soil fertility and river networks in the hinterland of Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana. The project's significance is in its methodology and the fact that it addresses broader theoretical questions on Roman territorial settlement structure. The discourse of the study is influenced by the works of the French historian Fernand Braudel, where he argues for the importance of continuity, for the sustainable conditions of environment: landscape, water and climate. Braudel prioritizes the *longue durée* changes, rejects periodization in history and thus opens space for an entirely new interpretation of the past.

Key words: urban planning, Antiquity, Serdica, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Roman province, Thrace, Roman towns, heritage of Bulgaria, Roman hinterland, landscape, climate.

Introduction

My research is positioned in the discourse of environmental history and urban planning where my professional expertise is. In the influential publications of the French historian Fernand Braudel and his discourse for a new historical interpretation there is little space for revolutions and epic moments. Instead, he is focused on the "anonymous history, working in the depths and most often in silence" (Braudel 1980, 7). What is fundamentally new in his ideas is based on the understanding of continuities in history over very long periods of times. He is opposed to event-based history, the one resulting from heroic individuals and sudden breaks for short time spans. As Harris puts it, "in much of his [Braudel's] work his preference for deep, long term temporality, the almost motionless quality of the *longue durée* is a way of writing against the grain of conventional periodization" (Harris 2004, 161). The importance of Braudel's philosophy is that it establishes the frame for new interpretations of already known archaeological discoveries. Thus, in my opinion, the importance of places where the Roman

towns of Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana were established, their geographical destiny as a crossroad of East and West, and of North and South, had existed before they were founded. This is due to the favorable combination of natural conditions – more specifically, landscape and climate. The sites bear sustainability that allowed these urban structures to survive and pass through the following historical epochs to nowadays when they are livable contemporary urban structures. The presented study aims to determine the characteristics of the urban hinterlands which made them sustainable. I attempt to find the answer to the issue how different altitudes, climate conditions, soil fertility, landscape of the territory influence the genesis and development of urban structures. The paper for the conference "Cities, Territories and Identities" includes graphic reconstructions of the ancient urban landscape of Philippopolis, a major urban structure in the province of Thrace, and its adjacent territory. The project realization was motivated by my intention to explore the relationship between climate and landscape on the one hand, and the cultural changes in the face of architecture on the other. The subject of research is the urban fabric of Antiquity, and more specifically, I seek to find out how landscape and climate conditions influenced urban size, building density and boundary lines.

The importance of environment in Roman urban planning when selecting a site for the foundation of a new town is reflected in the 1st century BC writings of the architect Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.4.1-8). He devotes text from Book 1 on the methods for inspecting the air, and comments on different features of place salubrity, for example: "firstly, the choice of the most healthy site. Now this will be high and free from clouds and hoar frost, with an aspect neither hot, nor cold, but temperate". Throughout all of his "Ten books on architecture" the Roman architect integrates, among other issues, advice on selecting a site with proximity to clean water, away from marshes, natural security, provided by heights, sea and rivers, and especially emphasizes on features like winds, humidity, sunlight and sunshades (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.4.11-12).

The town of Philippopolis from the 1st to the 3rd century AD overlaps with the central parts of the contemporary town of Plovdiv. It was an existing urban structure from the pre-Roman period (Topalilov 2012, 364), situated on the heights next to the navigable river Hebros, now Maritsa. Although the residential and religious areas were located ca. 300 m above sea level, when the Romans came, they added new urban structures on the empty and flat land of an average altitude of 130 m, situated to the South of the existing settlement. Thus the Roman town was formed and consisted of two nuclei. The boundaries were defined respectively: in the first nucleus, by the existing wall on the Three Hills, and in the second – by the end of the orthogonal street grid, and the northern urban boundary set by the Hebros River.

The second ancient town which I include in the research is Serdica, situated in the past in the province of Thrace and now located in the downtown area of Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. There is no archeological evidence of an urban structure before the Romans and even recent excavations date the oldest finds to the 1st – 2nd century AD. For the new town of Serdica an area which was on a terrain at an average altitude of 530 m was selected, bordered by heights to the East, with

an altitude of 560 m. A shallow river, now called the Vladayska, passed to the North and determined the north town area boundary. In the immediate vicinity there were mineral springs whose waters were not captured and, therefore, formed lakes. Serdica was located on the major provincial road – the so-called *Via Militaris*. The end of the street network, reconstructed graphically and published by the archaeologist V. Dinchev (Динчев 2011, 69), the mineral lakes to the North, and the heights to the East marked the urban nucleus boundaries of Serdica.

Augusta Traiana is the third urban structure and case study for this research. It was founded in a fertile land with an altitude of 196 meters above sea level. Just like the development of the Roman urban structures of Philippopolis and Serdica, the transformation of the town borders of Augusta Traiana passed firstly through natural boundaries like heights and rocks, until later, about 60 years after the town's foundation, fortress walls were constructed in the AD 170s (Kaltschev 1998, 72).

Methods

I have created and tested a research method by which I can identify the areas with the highest probability for permanent residence. The applied method is derived from contemporary methods for developing regional design maps and on the premise that human evolution over the last 10,000 years has been cultural and not biological. Human biology sets certain limits on permanent livable environment and therefore I have developed the maps on the data provided by three basic factors that are crucial for permanent dwelling, namely: altitude, proximity to water and soil fertility. The location of the determined areas might be used for other scholarly work concerning different historical eras, since they are based on biological features. The feasibility of the project is that it might identify possible areas of archaeological investigations of permanent dwellings in Antiquity.

Secondly, I have conducted a comparative analysis through which I aimed to overcome the disadvantages of the limited data on the landscape and climate conditions in Philippopolis' hinterland from the 1st to the 3rd century. Additionally, I have reconstructed graphically the urban structure of two other important urban structures in Antiquity – Serdica and Augusta Traiana, covering the same time span.

Since the information on landscape and climate around Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana in the 1st – 3rd century is very incomplete and fragmented, the only possibility to reconstruct graphically the ancient hinterland was to use all the evidence, maps, and images dating from other periods, mainly from the 19th and early 20th centuries, and even data from present days. I have developed graphical reconstructions that reflect and go through time and space, from which the sustainable values can be determined. "Geography in this context is no longer an end in itself but a means to an end. It helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term. Geography, like history, can answer many questions. Here it helps us to discover the almost imperceptible movement of history, if only we are prepared to follow its lessons and accept its categories and divisions" (Braudel 1975, iv).

The presented maps in **fig. 1**, **fig. 2** and **fig. 3** show the hinterlands of Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana. I have narrowed down

quantitatively the hinterland as an area around the town with a radius of 30 km because it corresponds to one day of walking or an oxen-driven cart's distance covered at an average speed of 4 km per hour.

My first task was to identify areas near Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana that have the highest probability for permanent habitation, which means the areas with the best combination of sustainable conditions. As already mentioned, there are biological limits to permanent livable environment. Thus, I have set some basic factors that are crucial for permanent dwelling. They are divided thematically and with the intention to illustrate how different altitudes, water availability, soil fertility, in combination with the landscape of the territory influence the genesis and development of urban structures. The first one is altitude (sea level). Now the majority of world population settles permanently in territories with an altitude up to 200 meters above sea level, which fact I have accepted as the most favorable altitude for humans. The second range is from 200 up to 500, and the next one from 500 to 900. Above 900 meters above sea level there are mountain areas very rarely inhabited by people. Therefore, the lower the altitude and the closer to sea level, the more likely it was inhabited by humans in Antiquity. The second criterion is soil fertility, which is related to agriculture. In anthropology there is a term, "carrying capacity", which means the maximum population size supported in a given environment. When food is more limited, the population breaks into smaller groups for feeding. So the most fertile soils cause the concentration of bigger groups of population; for example, in a very fertile land, it is very likely that production and consumption of wheat is higher than that of barley which provides a low-calorie diet. The content of diet reflects directly on the number of population (Sanders 1984, 253). For the research I selected 3 levels of best soil fertility in the hinterlands of Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana. The third criterion is water resources, which means the river networks in the vicinity of the three Roman towns. I have set a proximity of 2,500 m distance from the rivers, which means access to water on everyday basis. Proximity to river provides also close access to food (fish), as well as easy communication. The intersection of all these factors determines the area with the highest probability of permanent settlements.

The implemented data on climate, soil and river networks represent pre-modern maps from the end of the 19th century, where the state of the landscape and river networks was documented. I have gathered data from the first urban master plans of Sofia and Plovdiv from the end of the 19th century (Пищачев 1912; Шнитер 1896). Contemporary data that contain information about altitude were obtained from a Sofia Atlas (Атлас 1993) and geographical maps of soil types distribution in Bulgaria (Александров 2006, 10).

The territorial schemes in **figs. 1, 2** and **3** are arranged in one and the same pattern and show: in the upper left picture, the altitude schemes into 3 levels of altitude; in the upper right – the soil fertility maps present 3 levels of soil fertility; in lower left, the river maps show 2 levels of proximity to rivers. The areas with intersection of the most favorable conditions are presented in the final maps in the lower right illustration, and these are the graphical results of the first task: the three maps with the location of the area with highest probability of permanent dwelling in Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana.

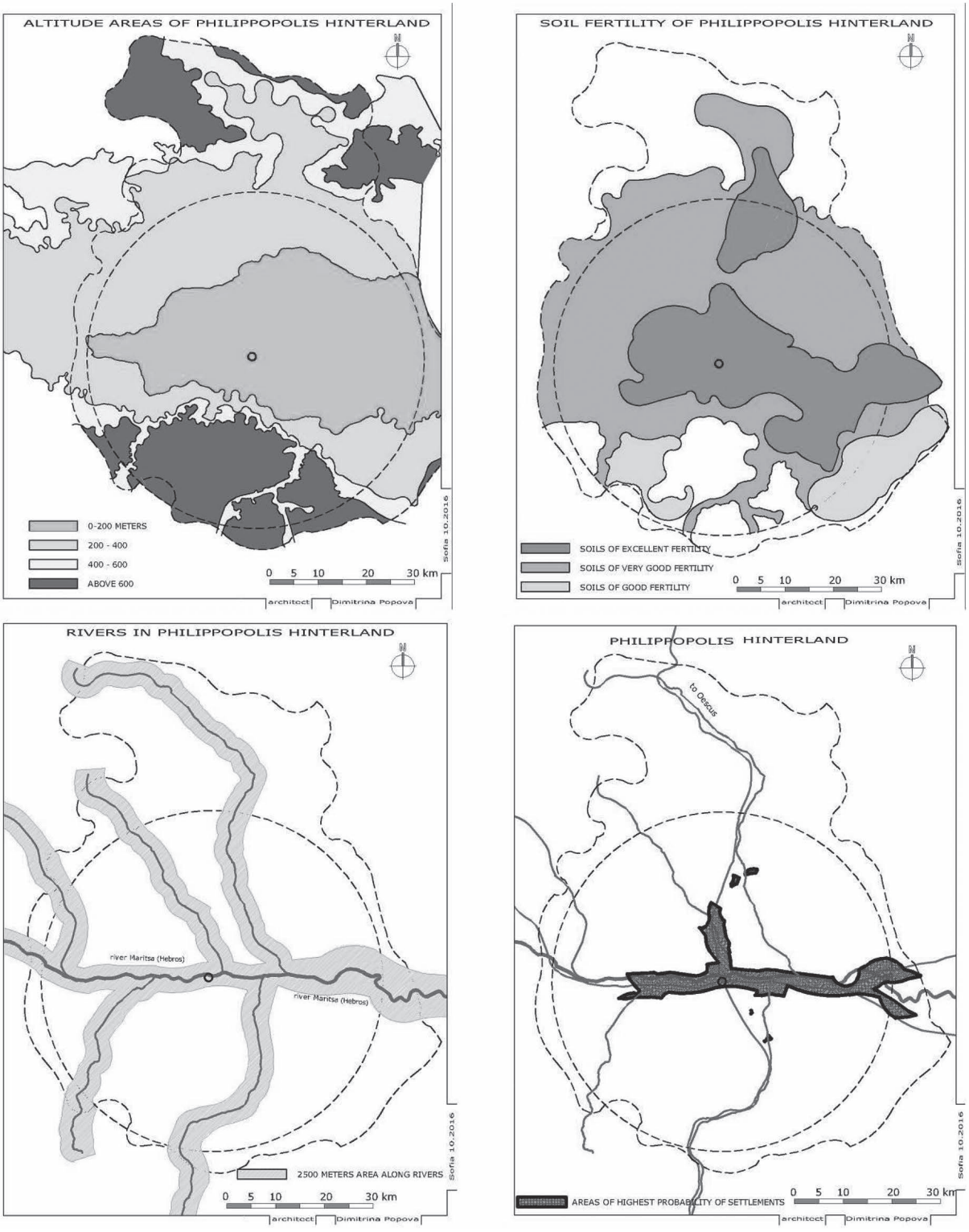


Fig. 1. Maps of Philippopolis' hinterland (author: D. Popova)

Results

The results obtained in this project, namely the graphical reconstructions of the hinterland in Antiquity and the identification of areas with the highest probability for the existence of settlements in the urban hinterland, show that around Philippopolis the area was spread along the Hebros (Maritsa) and is about 306 km^2; in the vicinity of Serdica

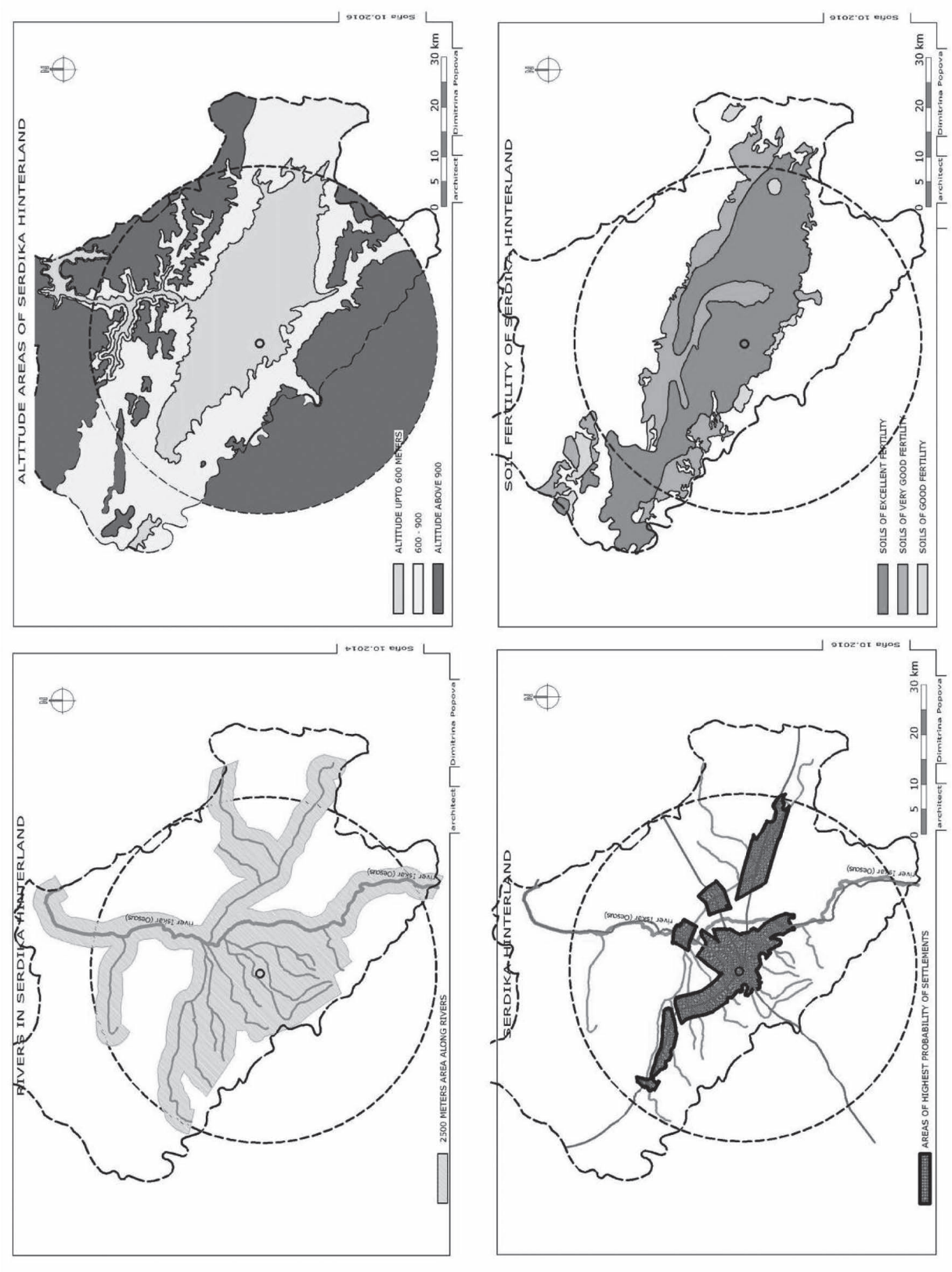


Fig. 2. Maps of Serdica's hinterland (author: D. Popova)

the area with the highest probability of Roman settlements is 356 km^2 and is located in one big spot and several tiny ones; around Augusta Traiana the area is fragmented and in total amounts to 106 km^2. Comparing both structures, the initial leading factors for Serdica's foundation were civilization factors, such as communication and com-

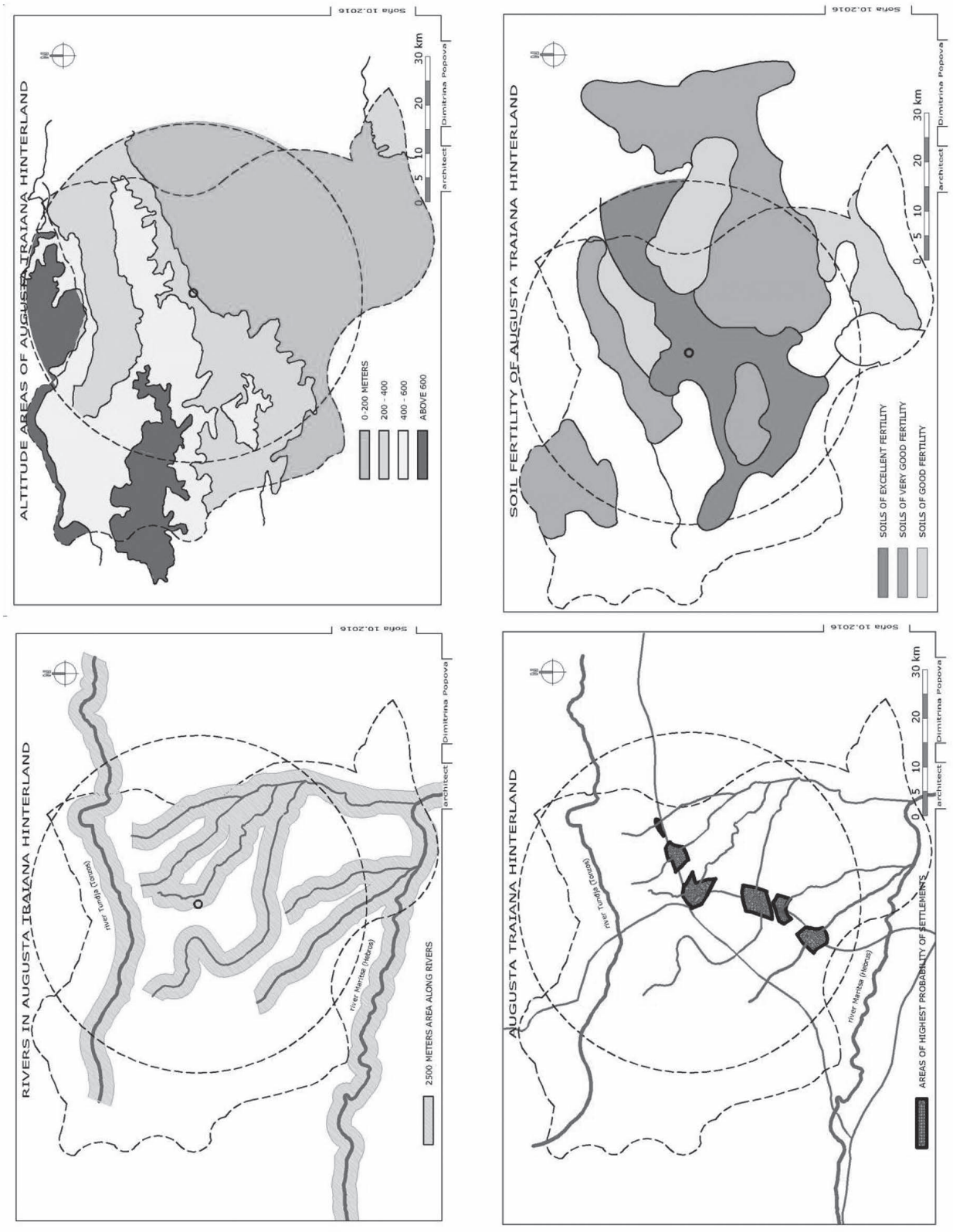


Fig. 3. Maps of Augusta Traiana's hinterland (author: D. Popova)

merce, while for Philippopolis they were natural ones, such as climate and landscape. The results led to some other questions for further research.

From this point on, we might continue the study by finding out the border line between the urban periphery and the hinterland, and how

its location influenced the urban structure. The distinctions between Roman town and its countryside were not definite. In her book, "The Roman city and its periphery", P. Goodman (2012, 27) states that the Roman town was rural and its adjacent countryside was urban, as the landscape was dominated by the villa estate culture. The *villa* and *vicus* were connected with the *municipium* which had merged into the countryside. In this context, some questions arise for the Roman urban planning of Serdica and Philippopolis. For example: to what extent was the location of markets and *horrea* in Serdica and Philippopolis determined by the more developed peri-urban agricultural territory? Why Serdica's urban structure grew to the North, since the South is more favorable in terms of geographical and climate conditions?

Through the identification of the boundary between the urban nucleus and its hinterland in the selected case studies, its changes can be followed in its dynamic. Spatial markers of town boundaries before town walls are: heights, cliffs, rivers and lakes; the end of orthogonal street network; *necropoleis* and tombs (Goodman 2012, 225).

Thrace became a Roman province in AD 46 during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius (Ботева 2017). In the first half of the 2nd century AD, Serdica's urban fabric was developed (Динчев 2010) and increased to the North, following the direction of the provincial road. The periphery absorbed the land around the mineral lakes. Probably at this time the mineral waters were captured, which initiated the urbanization of this area of Serdica.

Philippopolis grew especially during the reign of Emperor Domitian (AD 81-96). The *agora* was reorganized. The urban core on the Three Hills, which formed the *acropolis* following the Hellenistic urban model, did not change its borders. The second nucleus that belonged to the Roman quarters grew northward to the foot of the hill (Topalilov 2012, 364-390).

Between the years AD 100 and 150, the boundaries of Serdica and Philippopolis reached a level of development that proved their potential to play the role of urban centers. As a result of their successful development, Emperor Trajan raised their status (Boteva 2014, 196). They were cities which managed a given territory. In Serdica, mineral spring waters were captured and the land around them drained, which allowed construction. The urban nucleus was expanded northwards by the addition of new quarters. Philippopolis became larger in territory and population. The Roman theatre is dated to the reign of Emperor Trajan (AD 114-117), while the stadium was built during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (AD 117-138). The urban nucleus included the *acropolis* and the Roman town in the valley to the south. The river remained on the border.

Between the years AD 150 and 200, the urban development of Serdica (Kirova 2012, 210) and Philippopolis (Topalilov 2012, 370) was characterized mainly by the construction of the city walls. From the late 2nd century, in the period AD 176-180, the urban nucleus was outlined by town walls. Instead of natural barriers as borders, the Romans constructed 10 m high structures. Residential quarters, temples and a necropolis became part of the urban periphery. Philippopolis' city wall was built in AD 172 (Topalilov 2012, 396) and two or three rows of urban quarters – *insulae* remained outside

the town walls and formed its periphery. Excavations show that the newly built city wall passed through older residential quarters and part of them remained in the periphery.

The urban development outlined in the changes of the urban boundaries of Philippopolis, Serdica and Augusta Traiana shows a unique identity. My point is that although, to a great extent, towns were established according to the unified rules of Roman urban planning, the natural conditions, namely the landscape and climate, modelled the shape, road approaches, building density of the selected towns and thus they were the generators of building adaptations to the sites.

Discussion

To what extent the used pre-modern and contemporary data about climate and landscape of Philippopolis' hinterland are informative about Antiquity and how reliable are the results? In contrast to modern times, there is very little data about climate in Antiquity, and in the very rare cases when they exist, they are qualitative and descriptive, such as rainy year, dry year, cold winter, etc. For example, the ancient architect Vitruvius gives instruction to what climate and landscape conditions an area must correspond in order to be favorable land to found a town (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.4.1-8).

One of the arguments for the reliability of the results is the continuity and sustainability of climate and landscape in a given region over centuries. Local climatic changes are random, they are not dominant in a region for a long period of time. The geographer Holm confirms that: "co-variation of data on a temporal scale is very likely to be purely coincidental, so very long-term data series are important for the robustness of any observation that rests on observation of movements" (Holm 2015, 77). Another group of researchers (McCormic et al. 2012, 174) of climate in Antiquity concludes that "The climate is always changing, but the degree, frequency, and location of the changes vary significantly. Relative to the Late Holocene period, multiproxy indicators point to a low range of variability from 100 BC to 800 AD". The French historian Fernand Braudel's analysis on environment is derived from the geography of mountains, plains and waters of the Mediterranean, which did not change for centuries. Therefore, my opinion is that it becomes easy to see how factors of geology and climate might influence urban fabric. "In other words, climate history has moved into a sphere of relatively stable knowledge and historians should therefore consider such information as just as relevant to the *longue durée* as other physical phenomena" (Holm 2015, 75).

A key instrument in order to overcome fragmentary information is to apply a comparative approach to other urban hinterlands from antiquity. This is the reason why the case studies of the hinterlands of Serdica and Augusta Traiana were added to the research of Philippopolis' hinterland. Another method is through adding more climate factors into the reconstruction of Philippopolis' hinterland environment, which will add higher precision to the general picture, but it seems illogical that the overall pattern would change much.

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The Ancient Theatre of Philippopolis (Plovdiv, Bulgaria)

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Abstract: This article gives a short presentation of the results of the archaeological surveys of the theatre in Philippopolis as well as an outline of the information revealed from the epigraphic material found there. Built in its present form in the late 1st – early 2nd c. AD, the theatre was reconstructed several times and functioned until the end of the 4th c. AD. The rich epigraphic material consists of nine honorific inscriptions on statue-bases from two different periods – the late 1st to the early 2nd c., and the first half of the 3rd c.; at least four building inscriptions from the 2nd – 4th centuries; numerous inscriptions denoting seats for eminent citizens or groups of persons; builders' marks, graffiti, etc.

Key words: Roman Thrace, Philippopolis, Roman theatre, public spectacles.

The building[1]

The theatre of Philippopolis was surveyed in 1968-1978 by Liliya Botusharova. The northern entry was unearthed in 1982-1984. Additional archaeological surveys have been made by Maya Martinova-Kyutova in 2008-2009. The restoration of the theatre was carried out between 1979 and 1981 by a team headed by the architect Vera Kolarova.

The huge open-air theatre of Philippopolis (**fig. 1**) was built on the southern slope of the Three Hills, where it encompasses the whole area between the two southern hills, Dzhambaz tepe and Taxim tepe. The *theatron* has a semi-circular, tiered form. It takes advantage of the natural stone slope, turned to the south-east. The layout is larger than a semicircle and the outer diameter reaches 82 m.

The *cavea* consists of 28 concentric rows of seats, divided by a middle passage (*diazoma*) into two tiers. The two tiers are cut across by narrow radial stairways, which divide the *cavea* into wedge-shaped sectors (*cunei*). *Ima cavea* is divided into 6 *cunei* by seven stairways, three of which lead to the *orchestra*, while *media cavea* consisted of 12 *cunei*. The *cavea* is flanked by *analemmata* made of quadrae, with foundations on the bedrock of the sloping hillside. The rocky terrain constitutes the natural substructure of the *theatron*, the seats step on the rocks, which in places are chiselled or filled in with levelling courses (Коларова 2006, 87).

The *orchestra* has the shape of a horseshoe. The diameter of its semi-circular part measures 26.64 metres. The floor is of white mortar laid on the flattened rock.

The stage building (*scaena*) is an elongated three-level structure, with *parascaenia* to the east and to the west, having once held staircases, abutting the *cavea*. The stage floor (*proscaenium*) is 3.16 m high

[1] By M. Martinova-Kyutova.

and is decorated with an embedded Ionic colonnade. Three symmetrically positioned doors connect the *hyposcaenium* to the orchestra. The facades of the *parascaenia*, overlooking the *cavea*, consist of two two-storey, four-column porticos, treated in keeping with the Roman Ionic order and crowned with triangular pediments. *Scaenae frons* is constituted of two three-column porticos, of two levels, with the first level treated in the Roman Ionic order, and the second – in the Roman Corinthian order. The facade has three door openings, the middle door (*porta regia*) being the largest in size (Коларова 2006, 87-89).

The side entrances (*parodoi*) to the *orchestra*, initially not covered and vaulted later, connect the *cavea* to the *skene* building. In the centre of the *orchestra*, a steep underground passage starts, equipped with a vertical aperture (dimensions 4.90 x 3.50 m), vaulted when under the stage building and leading away from the building. This facility had draining functions as well as usage linked to the theatre performances and gladiatorial combats (Ботушарова 1980).

The entry from the north to the theatre is a stairway, connected to the *diazoma*. In the middle of it starts a vaulted underground passage, leading to the north uphill. The loggia for the dignitaries was built above the vault (Коларова 2006, 89).

Based on certain elements of the theatre of Philippopolis, it may be inferred that it was the venue for part of the *munera et venationes* (gladiatorial spectacles and wild beast hunts). The three stairways which reach the *orchestra* show traces of closing metal grids. The upper surface of the platform near the *orchestra* bears traces of built security equipment for the audience. After the two entries (πάροδοι) were vaulted, they were also secured (Bouley 1996, 114-115; Вагалински 2009, 76-78).

The last significant reconstructions of the theatre took place in the beginning of the 4th c. In the course of the archaeological surveys, carried in the area of the northern exit, masonry structures were unearthed (**fig. 1/1**), evidencing the construction of additional rows of seats resting on radial walls (*summa cavea*), enlarging the *cavea* (Мартинова-Кютова 2009). Near the eastern *parascaenium* and vaulted entry (πάροδος), there is a stairway (**fig. 1/3**) built of statue bases and architectural elements (Sharankov 2005b, 55; Кесякова 2006, 146; Мартинова-Кютова / Шаранков 2017). The latest building inscription from AD 305-311 (see below # 9) attests a reconstruction of the theatre, possibly including the architectural ornamentation of the stage building. It was probably out of security considerations that, in the beginning of the 4th c., a high wall has been erected to the east of the stage building, closing the eastern stairway and limiting the access to the building from the south (**fig. 1/5**). The wall is in the *opus mixtum* technique and it reaches up to the high bedrock and bears the character of period wall masonry of Philippopolis.

The building functioned until the end of the 4th c. AD, when it was destroyed, probably by an earthquake.

Inscriptions[2]

Since the results of the excavations remain unpublished, except for some short notes and preliminary reports[3], our knowledge about the building depends largely upon the numerous Greek inscriptions found there. They are of different types – honorific inscriptions on statue-bases, building inscriptions from different parts of the theatre, inscrip-

[2] By N. Sharankov.

[3] E.g., Ботушарова / Коларова 1971; Ботушарова 1980; Коларова 1980; Botoucharova / Kesjakova 1980, 131; Bouley 1996; Кесякова 1999, 61-65; Коларова 2006; Вагалински 2009, 76-79; Мартинова-Кютова 2009; Topalilov 2012, 391-398, # IV/3.2; Топалилов 2012, 131-137; Боспачиева / Коларова 2014, 173-180.

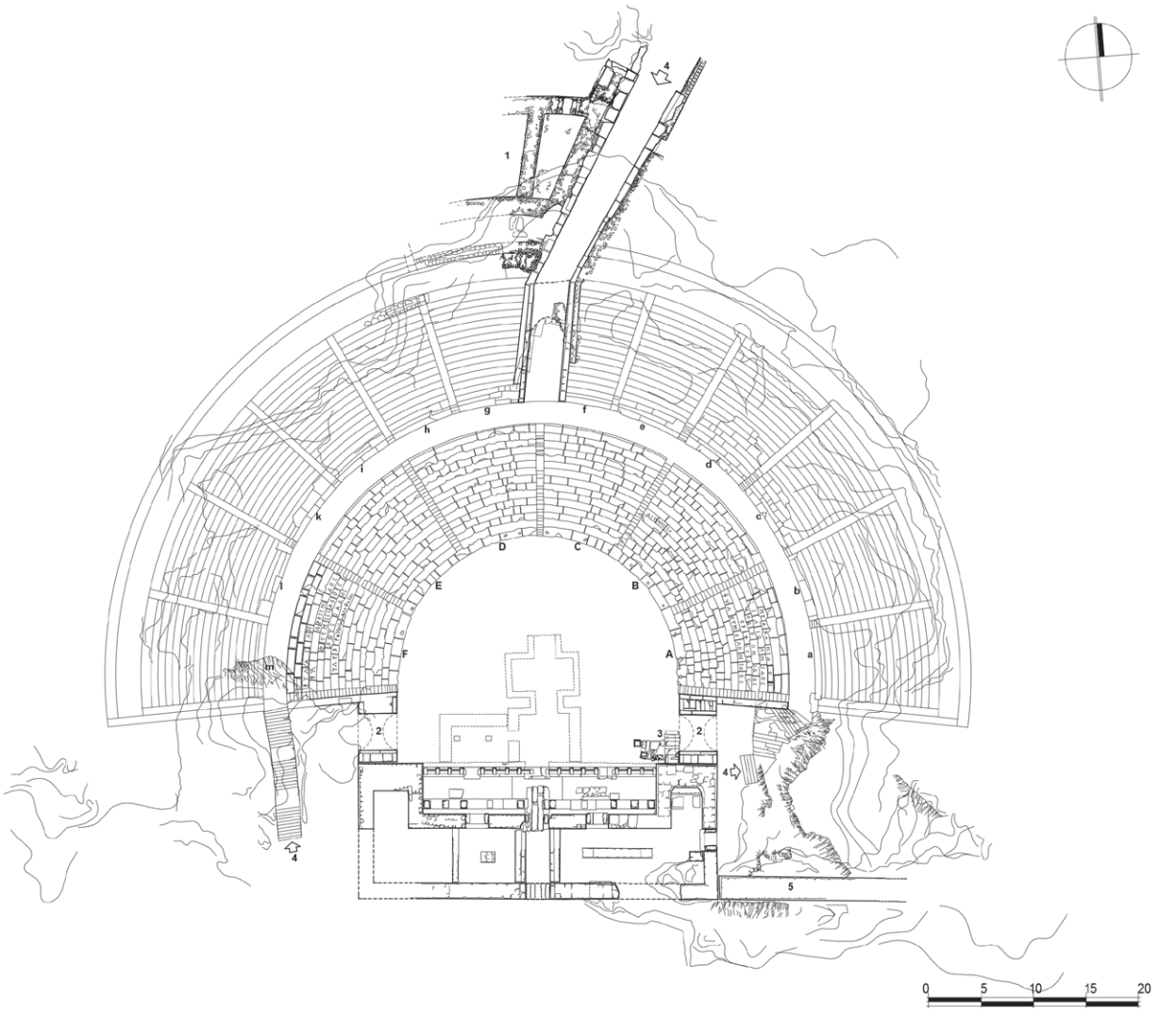


Fig. 1. Plan of the theatre in Philippopolis: **1** *summa cavea*; **2** *parodoi*; **3** fourth-century stairway; **4** entrances to the *diazoma*; **5** wall in *opus mixtum* (plan by M. Martinova-Kyutova and architect D. Mushtanova)

tions denoting seats for eminent citizens or groups of persons, builders' marks, graffiti, etc.[4]

Early honorific inscriptions (late first – early second century AD)

The earliest building inscription from the theatre (see below) is dated to the end of the rule of Emperor Trajan (AD 116-117); however, there is strong evidence that the building had existed at least a few decades before that date. Some remains of an earlier building with a larger *orchestra* have been found, but it was impossible to examine them thoroughly without damaging the well-preserved Trajanic building[5]. There are also several honorific inscriptions on statue-bases found in the theatre, which can be dated to the late first – early second century AD.

1. The statue-base for Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus (**fig. 2/1**) honours him as *procurator Augusti* (ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ) of Thrace, an equestrian office he must have held before his *adlectio inter praetorios* which took place ca. AD 96-98 (Sharankov 2005a, 235-237, # 1).

2. Another honorific inscription from the AD 90s is for an important local magistrate – T. Flavius Cotys, son of [Rhescu?]poris

[4] Most of the honorific and building inscriptions and part of the inscriptions on the seats have been published: see, e.g., *IGBulg* V 5410, 5412, 5468; Ботушарова 1984; Шаранков 2004a, 151-154; 2004b, 198-199, 206; Gerassimova-Tomova 2005, 282-283; Sharankov 2005a; 2005b, 55-64, 66-67; Шаранков 2006, 180-183, 186-189, 194, 200, 203; Sharankov 2007a, 1348-1350; 2007b, 518-521, ## 1-2a, 524-525, # 6; Шаранков 2014.

[5] Коларова 2006, 89; Боспачиева / Коларова 2014, 176; and also V. Kolarova (personal communication to N. Sharankov, June 2009).

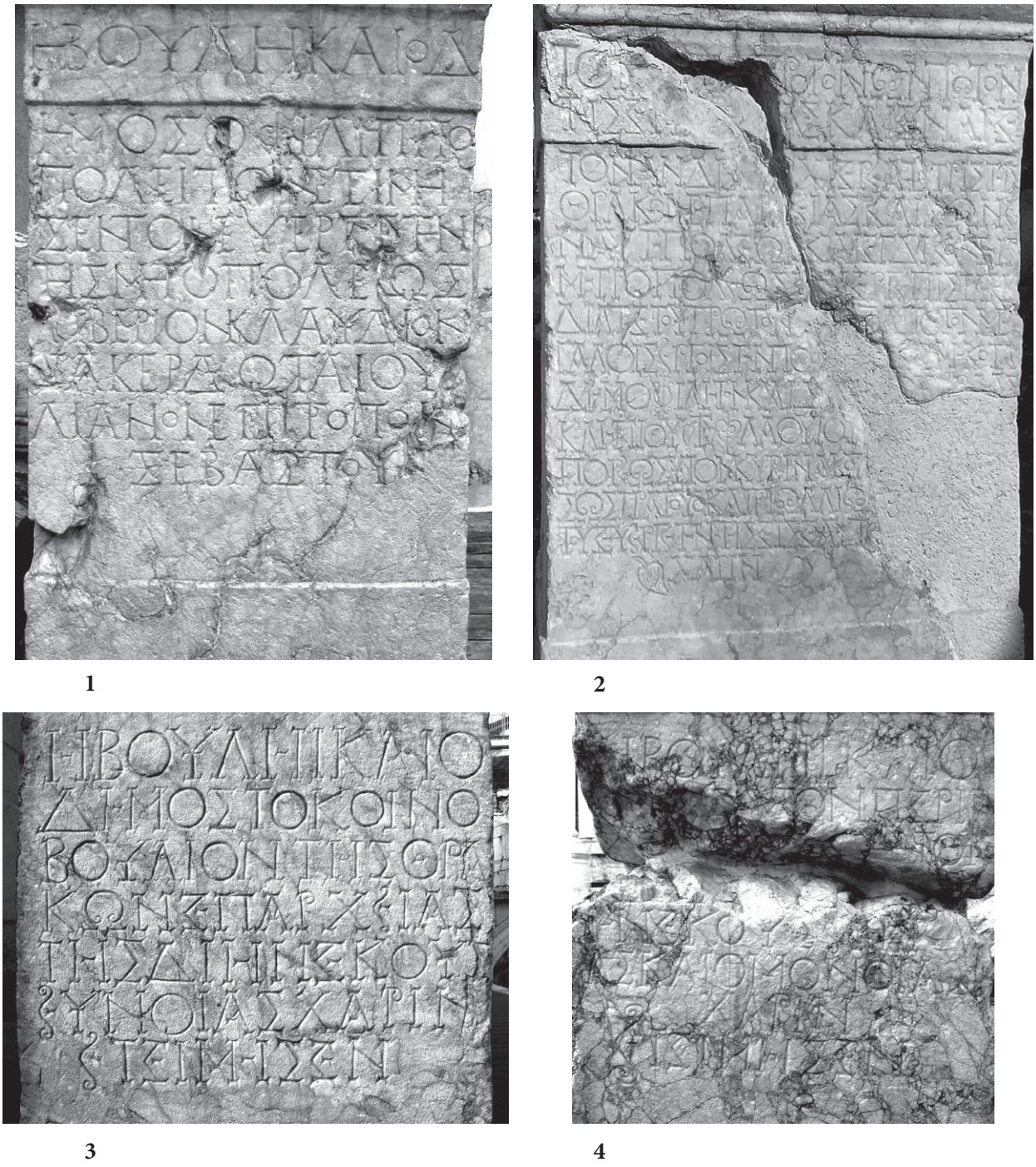


Fig. 2. Honorific inscriptions on statue-bases from the late first – early second century AD: **1** Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus; **2** T. Flavius Cotys; **3** Thracian Common Council; 4 Perinthian *demos* (photos: N. Sharankov)

(**fig. 2/2**)[6], seemingly a descendant of the last kings of Thrace, who held multiple offices in Philippopolis and the province:

Τὸν [ἀ]πὸ προγόνων πρῶτον | τῆς ἐπα[ρχεί]ας καὶ ἐνάρε|τον ἄνδρα, [ἀ]ρχιερέα τε τρὶς τῆς | Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας καὶ τῶν ἐ|ν αὐτῇ πόλεων καὶ ἔγδικον τῆς | μητροπόλεως καὶ ἐργεπιστάτην | διά τε τοῦ πρῶτον [ἄρ]ξαι τόπον με|γάλοις ἔργοις τὴν πόλ[ιν κε]κοσμηκότα, | δημοφίλητον καὶ δι[ὰ βί]ου ἱερ[έ]α Ἀσ|κληπιοῦ Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιον [Ρησκου?]|πορεως υἱὸν Κυρείνα Κοτ[υν], *etc.*

The statue was erected not by the city like the one for the procura-

[6] The upper right part of the inscription was published in 2005 (Sharankov 2005b, 55-58, # 1 = *AE* 2005, 1380 = *SEG* 55, 753); the other part of the statue-base was identified among the re-used stones in a Late antique staircase (Sharankov 2005b, 57), but the inscribed surface was not visible, so it was not until the extraction of the base from the staircase in 2016 (during excavations by M. Martinova-Kyutova) when its text became available (Шаранков 2017, 779-780, # 2).

tor, but by a private person whose name is partially lost – we see only his patronymic and *signum* – [*ὁ δεῖνα*] Σωστράτου ὁ καὶ Πολλίων. The expression μεγάλοις ἔργοις τὴν πόλ[ιν κε]κοσμηκότα, '(during his office as first archon) he adorned the city with magnificent buildings', as already suggested (Sharankov 2005b, 57), could imply that one of these buildings was the theatre itself, and therefore its construction had started under Domitian.

Both inscriptions already mention Philippopolis as *metropolis* – a title supposedly given to the city by Emperor Domitian and connected with its establishment as seat of κοινὸν Θρᾳκῶν, the Common Council of the province (Sharankov 2005a, 241-242).

3-4. Two other honorific inscriptions from the theatre, erected simultaneously and with similar texts – the one for the Council of the province of Thrace, here called τὸ κοινοβούλιον τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας (**fig. 2/3**), and the other for the *demos* of Perinthus (**fig. 2/4**) – belong to the same period (end of the first – beginning of the second century AD). Since the inscription for Perinthus mentions *homonoia*, it has been supposed that it marked the end of a conflict between the two cities, provoked by the foundation of the *koinon* and the emperor's decision to grant the title of *metropolis* to Philippopolis and not to the provincial capital Perinthus (Sharankov 2005b, 58-62, # 2; 2007b, 519-521, # 2, 2a; *AE* 2005, 1379, 1381; *SEG* 55, 754-755).

5. The inscription honouring L. Cassius Severus, prefect of *cohors IV Thracum*, procurator of Macedonia and Thrace and prefect of the Misene fleet (*IGBulg* V 5410 = *AE* 1993, 1382) has been dated to the time of Septimius Severus (Ботушарова 1985; Boteva 1993), but both the lettering and the text suggest that it is probably no later than the Trajanic or early Hadrianic period[7].

These honorific inscriptions reveal the theatre as an important – or even the most important – place of civic life in that period. However, since there are no inscriptions which could be connected with a date earlier than ca. AD 85, we can safely conclude that – even if an earlier building had existed there – the theatre of Philippopolis was built in its present form and appearance in the late first – early second century AD.

Building inscriptions

Four building inscriptions dated to different periods have been found in the theatre[8].

6. The earliest building inscription is dated to the end of Trajan's rule, AD 116-117 (Sharankov 2005a, 237-240, # 2 = *AE* 2005, 1375 = *SEG* 55, 763). It was engraved on the three marble blocks of the Ionic architrave-frieze which is now built in the first range of the reconstructed east *parascaenium* (**fig. 3**):

Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκρ̣ά[τορος Νέρουα Τρ]αιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμ]ανικ̣οῦ Δ̣α[κικοῦ Παρθικοῦ | Ἀ]ρίστου ὑγείας καὶ δ̣[ιαμονῆς καὶ Πλωτείνη]ς Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος α[ὐτῶν οἴκου ἱερᾶς τε συγκλήτου] κ̣αὶ | [δήμου Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τε καὶ δήμου Φιλιππ̣οπολειτῶν, ἡ]γ̣εμονεύοντος ἐπαρχείας Θρᾴκης Γν[αίου Μινικίου Φαυστείνου (?) πρεσβευτοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου, ὁ πρῶτος ἄρχων (*vel* ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς) τ]ῆς Θρᾳκῶν μητροπόλεος *(sic)* Ταρσας Βασσου κ̣αὶ [*ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος* ἡ γυνὴ (?) α]ὐτοῦ | κατεσκέυασαν τὸν πύργον δηναρίων [-].

[7] Note, e.g., the full name with filiation and tribe in the Latin manner: Λ(ούκιον) Κάσσιον Λ(ουκίου) υ(ἱὸν) Κυρ(είνα) Σεουῆρον; or the service in *cohors IV Thracum*, which is not mentioned later than the rule of Antoninus Pius (Spaul 2000, 378-379). The inscribed statue-base – like the other ones from this early period – is made of the same pinkish breccia which was used largely in the construction of the theatre; a statue-base for emperor Trajan dated to AD 103-114 (*IGBulg* III.1 880) is made of the same type of stone. On the problems caused by the unusual career of L. Cassius Severus, especially if the inscription is assigned to a late (Severan) date, cf. Demougin / Loriot 2005, 231-232.

[8] According to V. Kolarova and V. Tankova, who participated in the excavations, there was seemingly one more building inscription containing imperial titulature (personal communication to N. Sharankov, June 2009 and May 2011). Unfortunately, I was unable to find the stone or even a copy or photograph of the inscription.



Fig. 3. Middle part of the building inscription of AD 116-117 on the eastern *parascaenium* (photo: N. Minchev)

'For the health and permanent existence of Imperator Nerva Traianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus Optimus, Plotina Augusta, and all their family, the Roman Senate and People, and the Council and Demos of Philippopolis, under the governor of the province of Thrace Gnaeus Minicius Faustinus (?), *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Tarsas, son of Bassos, first archon (*or* archpriest) of the Thracian metropolis, and his wife (?) ... constructed this "tower" to the amount of ... denarii.'

The *cognomen* of Emperor Trajan Ἄριστος (*Optimus*) sets the date of the inscription after August-September AD 114; the space available to the end of the line allows us to restore also *Parthicus*, which provides even a more exact date between February 116 and August 117. On the basis of the placement of the inscription, it has been suggested that πύργος 'tower' here is to be understood as some part of the theatre, apparently the παρασκήνιον.

7. Two fragments of an architrave-frieze bearing the right end of an inscription (Sharankov 2005a, 240-241 = *AE* 2005, 1376; Шаранков 2014, 289, обр. 3a-b) have been found among the ruins of the west *parascaenium*; they are joining, but are now erroneously placed wide apart in the reconstructed *parascaenium*. The lettering is the same as that of the other inscription, and the text was apparently similar, although with somewhat different arrangement; therefore this inscription should be contemporaneous with the one of the east *parascaenium*. Only two words are preserved, διαμονῆς in l. 1 and [ἡγεμ]ονεύοντος in l. 2. We could restore the beginning of this text as follows:

[Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ *etc.* ὑγείας καὶ] διαμονῆς | [καὶ Πλωτείνης Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου *etc.,* ἡγεμ]ονεύοντος | [ἐπαρχείας Θρᾴκης *τοῦ δεῖνος etc.* - - -].

8. One building inscription can be dated to the first half of the third century. It is engraved on the side of one of the marble blocks which constituted the railing above the central entrance to the *diazoma*



Fig. 4. Inscription mentioning the 'Sacred *gerousia*' and its treasurer Aurelius Polygeros (photo: N. Sharankov)

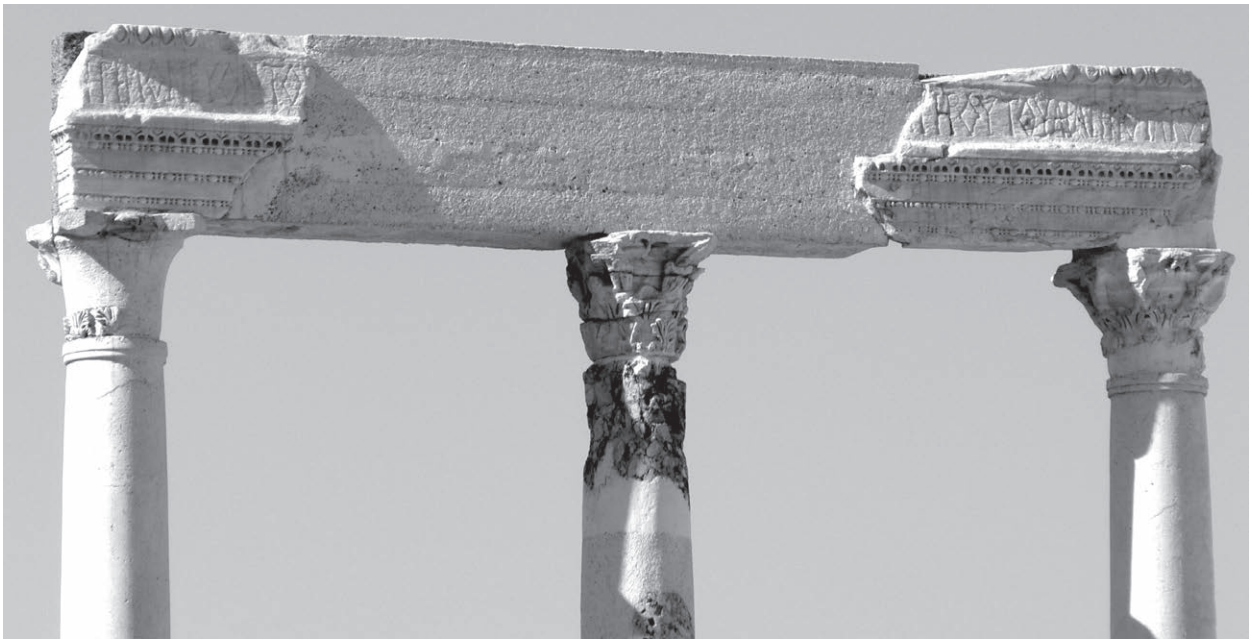


Fig. 5. Right part of the latest building inscription of AD 305-311 (photo: N. Sharankov)

(**fig. 4**). It attests that something (seemingly the box above the entrance) was built or decorated 'through the common funds of the "Sacred *gerousia*" of the city (ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς γερουσία<ς>), when its treasurer was Aurelius Polygeros, son of Alexander'[9] (Шаранков 2004b, 198-199, # 1 = *AE* 2005, 1385 = *SEG* 55, 765; Шаранков 2014, 277).

9. The latest building inscription – which is also the latest inscription found in the theatre – is dated to the period AD 305-311. It is on a group of architrave blocks from the upper part of the *scaenae frons* (**fig. 5**):

Ἐπ[ὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Γαλερ(ίου) Οὐαλερ(ίου) Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)] ̣τὸ πᾶν ἔρ[γον ἀνενεώθη (?)], || ἡγεμονεύοντος [τῆ]ς Θρ[ᾴκης] (*vel* Θρ[ᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας]) [- - -] Τ̣ηρου τοῦ διασημοτάτου, | λογιστεύον(τος) Σατορνείνου.

'In the time of [our Lord Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus], the entire building [was renewed], when - - - Teres, *vir perfectissimus*, was governor of (the province of) Thrace, and Saturninus was *logistes* (i.e. *curator civitatis*).'

The governor of Thrace has been identified with Teres, mentioned in the life of the martyrs from Marcianopolis Maximus, Asclepiodota and Theodotus, who suffered during the persecution of emperor Galerius Maximianus (Шаранков 2014; *AE* 2015, 1269 bis)[10].

Honorific inscriptions from the first half of the third century AD

A second group of honorific inscriptions is dated to the first half of the third century AD. It includes two inscriptions honouring agonothetes of the Pythian games in Philippopolis – Publius Virdius Iulianus and - - - Sebazianus, one posthumous inscription for the rhetor Publius Virdius Iulianus Junior (Sharankov 2005b, 62-64, ## 3, 3a; 66-67, # 3c = *IGBulg* V 5468; *AE* 2005, 1382-1384; *SEG* 55, 757-759), and one fragment containing the end of an inscription (unpublished). The statue-bases for the two agonothetes were found *in situ*, on the *orchestra*, in front of the western door of the stage building.

[9] The name of the same person was recently found in a list of people (most probably the members of the *gerousia*) inscribed on a large stele re-used in the Late antique episcopal basilica (Шаранков 2018, 731-732, # 2, fig. 2).

[10] Here I present a slightly revised reading, due to the re-discovery of one of the blocks, which was known to me only from an unclear photograph at the time when I first published the inscription.



Fig. 6. Right part of the inscription marking the place of φυλὴ Ὀρφεείς (*sic*), the *phyle* named after Orpheus, on row 4 of sector *E*, first half of the second century AD; traces of a previously erased inscription are seen underneath (photo: N. Sharankov)

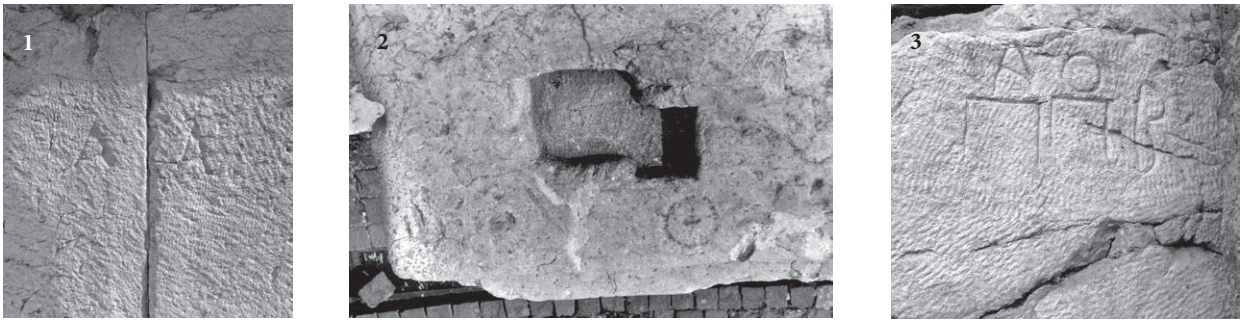


Fig. 7. Builders' marks on the stones of the theatre: **1** junction of two upright blocks on the front of the *ima cavea* facing the *orchestra*; **2** hole marked with the letter Θ; **3** one of the marks on the eastern *analemma*: two abbreviated words πα(ρ---?) πό(δες?) followed by the number B< = 2½ (photos: N. Sharankov)

Their placing there could be connected with a reconstruction of the theatre – probably the same which is attested by the building inscription from the box above the northern entrance (above # 8).

Inscriptions on the seats

There are numerous inscriptions on the seats denoting (honorary) places (**fig. 6**). For example, there are 17 inscriptions connected with the *phylai* of the city (Ботушарова 1984; *IGBulg* V 5412). It has been shown that they can be dated to two or three different periods with the number of the *phylai* increasing – from six in the early second century, allocated in the entire *ima cavea*, to ten in the third century, when each *phyle* had only one row of seats (apparently for its officials) in sector *A* or *F* of the *ima cavea* (Шаранков 2004a, 153-154, # 4, 158, fig. 8). An inscription on the front of sector *d* in the second range designates it as place 'of the *philokaisares*' (φιλοκαισάρων), seemingly persons connected with the imperial cult, e.g. members of the *gerousia* (Шаранков 2004b, 199, 206, фиг. 1 = *AE* 2005, 1386 = *SEG* 55, 769). One inscription mentions a *techne*, i.e. a professional association (sector *B*, row *1*; unpublished), and on the row above it (*B2*) we see another one, for the family of the Munatii (Μουνατίων: Шаранков 2006, 194, # II.1). There are also inscriptions for individual citizens like the *phylarches* Claudius Dorzinthes (*E1*, on the front; Шаранков 2004a, 151-152), the *agoranomos* (?) Theagenes (*D1*; Шаранков 2014, 279, note 10); Celer (*E2*; unpublished); Marcianus (*B5*; unpublished); Vi[- - -]nus (*e3*; unpublished); etc.

Builders' marks

Numerous marks are seen on the stone blocks of the theatre. For example, the joining sides of the upright blocks on the front of the *cavea* facing the *orchestra* have identic letters of the Greek alphabet: AA, BB, ΓΓ, etc. (**fig. 7/1**); the holes on the upper surface of the front

of the *ima cavea* – which apparently served for mounting movable railings when the theater was used for gladiatorial games and wild beast hunts – are marked with consecutive letters of the Greek alphabet: A, B, Γ, etc. (**fig. 7/2**); more complex marks, including fractional numbers, are found on the stone blocks of the *analemmata* (**fig. 7/3**), or on the plinths of the front of *media cavea* facing the *diazoma*.

Conclusion

The theatre of Philippopolis is one of the most significant public buildings of Roman Thrace, and its excellent state of preservation increases even more its importance for the study of architecture in the province. For three hundred years of existence, the theatre had undergone several renovations before its final destruction and abandonment at the end of the fourth century AD. Its numerous inscriptions present a rich source of information on the history and administration of Philippopolis and the province of Thrace from the Flavian period to the Tetrarchy. Bearing all this in mind, it is to be deeply regretted that the theatre, after having been excavated more than three decades ago, still awaits its proper publication. The present short notes can by no means compensate for this unfortunate fact, but it is hoped that they could at least provide some information and provoke interest in further and more thorough research of the theatre.

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An Attempt at Enriching the Information on the Fortification of Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium

Dilyana BOTEVA / Rumyana MILCHEVA

Abstract: The authors are trying to reason a possibility to date the construction of the first fortification wall of colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium, situated in the south-eastern part of the province of Thracia. Their study is focused on two types of monuments – Roman provincial coinage and a fragmentary marble sculpture of a turreted head of a young woman, found back in the 1930s but never properly published so far. The methodological basis of the present research is fixed by the understanding that the appearance of a turreted City-Goddess on city coins was possible only if the respective city was either fortified or in the process of being fortified, and by the conclusion that the depiction of city fortifications on coins appears only within issues that are synchronous with the very final stage of the construction works. The crucial point of this research is the precise description and dating of the sculpture, based on a thorough autopsy. As a result of the present study, the following conclusion came forth: the activities concerning the fortification of Deultum could have started ca. AD 165 and might have been finalized prior to AD 184-185.

Key words: Anchialos, Asellius Aemilianus, city fortification, *corona muralis*, Deultum, Fortuna-Tyche, Iulius Castus, Lucilla, Lucius Verus, Serdica, Thracia.

The importance of colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium for the infrastructure of Early Roman Thrace is beyond any doubt, and accordingly, the study of every detail of its development should be a welcomed priority. Despite the enormous work done so far in this direction, there are many questions concerning the colony that are so far without an answer firmly fixed by the existing literary, archaeological and numismatic evidence. Among these questions is the date of the construction of its first fortification wall.

The remains of a wall 1.80 m wide have been discovered during the archaeological excavations in the eastern part of the colony and it has been presumed that they belong to the very first fortification of Deultum (Балабанов / Петрова 2002, 239). It is further presumed that this fortification was constructed during the rule of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, similar to the other important cities in Thrace – Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, and Serdica (Балабанов / Петрова 2002, 239; Draganov 2007, 30). The reasoning of such a dating remains however just a hypothesis based so far solely on historical parallels.

Numismatic evidence

One of the causes for the vague picture of the issue is that the coins minted in the name of colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium do not include representations of the city fortification. On coins of the colony, however, a depiction of a turreted City-Goddess (Draganov 2007, 137,

Rev. 572) appears on coins of Severus Alexander (Draganov 2007, 228-229, ## 276-278a) and Julia Mamaea (Draganov 2007, 262-263, ## 520-521), minted probably within the period AD 222-224 (Draganov 2007, 67); later, a turreted Fortuna (Tyche) was depicted on coins of Gordian III (Draganov 2007, 330-331, ## 1033-1034) and Tranquillina (Draganov 2007, 390-391, # 1488), dated to the period of AD 241-243 (Draganov 2007, 85). This reverse motive is universally viewed as simply a conventional type without any concrete local information; accordingly, so far it has never been used in the context of a discussion on fortification walls. In our opinion, however, a detailed analysis of the available evidence from the province of Thracia implies otherwise, as will be shown here below.

In order to get a correct point of view, one needs a reliable case study. A suitable example here is probably the city of Byzantion, because of Cassius Dio's explicit statement that Emperor Septimius Severus *"demolished the walls of the city"* in AD 195 after a three-years-long siege. The ancient historian even witnessed *"the walls after they had fallen, looking as if they had been captured by some other people rather than by the Romans"* (Cass. Dio 75.14.4-5)[1]. Eloquently enough, on Byzantion coins issued after the severe punishment, the City-Goddess was never depicted with a fortification crown: so far she has been attested either with a *kalathos* (Schönert-Geiss 1972, ## 1529, 1537, 1598), or bareheaded (Schönert-Geiss 1972, ## 1742, 1858-1859). A different situation can be observed within the coinage of Perinthos – a city which, similarly to Byzantion, was already fortified in pre-Roman times, but unlike Byzantion, did not suffer a demolishing disaster. Accordingly, the mint of Perinthos issued coins with the City-Goddess wearing also a fortification crown (Schönert 1965, ## 222-223, 517, 918) and not just a *kalathos* (Schönert 1965, ## 516, 594-598, 653, 719, 861), or bareheaded (Schönert 1965, ## 474, 784). This could mean that the appearance of a turreted City-Goddess on city coins was possible only if the respective city was fortified (Biernacka-Lubánska 1984, 198).

Noteworthy, however, is the case of Serdica which was fortified during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus already as Augustus, i.e. within the timeframe mid-177 – 17th March 180 (Kienast 2011, 147), as explicitly attested by two building inscriptions (*IGBulg* IV 1902; *IGBulg* V 5668; Mihailov 1976; Станчева 1975). The important information these inscriptions provide concerns the provincial governor of Thrace at the moment they were set up, who happened to be Asellius Aemilianus. His tenure in the province is traditionally dated to AD 176-180 (Kubitschek 1911, 154; Thomasson 1984, col. 167, # 33), though some scholars prefer ca. mid-177-180 (Horster 2004, 251, 254). However, there are trustful indications that his stay in Thrace as a provincial governor came to an end in AD 178 (Horster 2004, 255), which gives us the possibility to date more precisely the finalizing of the construction of the city wall of Serdica in AD 177/178 (Boteva, forthcoming, with lit.). Much earlier, already during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, i.e. within the period of AD 161-169, the mint of Serdica issued coins which depict the City-Goddess with a fortification crown (Ботева 2012, 542-543 with lit.). It is obvious that this reverse type appeared at least ten to fifteen years prior to the building of the city wall, thus contradicting at first glance the observations concerning the presence and respectively the absence of the turreted City-

[1] Translation by Earnest Cary (Cary 1955, 195).

Goddess within the coinage of Perinthos and Byzantion. However, one should not neglect the fact that the construction of a city wall is a time-consuming undertaking in which the setting of a building inscription(s) points to its very last stage, while the decision of its construction is already a fateful and meaningful event for the citizens. Because of this, we are inclined to see the depiction of a turreted City-Goddess on the coins of Serdica not just as a conventional type, as the existing opinion insists, but as a reference to a recognizable local reality, albeit through a conventional depiction. This means that the appearance of such motifs within the coin complex of Serdica during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus was possible most probably due to the fact that the activities for the fortification of the city have already started and were in process at the time when these coins were minted.

Putting together the two observations allows us to suppose that *the appearance of a turreted City-Goddess on city coins was possible only if the respective city was either fortified, or in the process of being fortified*. If this supposition is correct, it would mean that Deultum's coins of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea mentioned above testify that by the time of AD 222-224 Deultum was already fortified, or at least was in the process of its fortification. In both cases, the question about the exact date of the fortification of the colony remains and it is precisely this question that inspired the present study.

The Fortuna / Tyche sculpture from Deultum

The keystone for this project is embodied by a find from Deultum – a turreted head of a young woman, made of white fine-grained marble, found in the 1930s and now kept at the Regional Historical Museum in Burgas (inv. # 61)[2]. This sculpture has been referred to in different contexts and by many researchers (Костова / Балабанов 2003, 44; Draganov 2007, 33; Попова 2012, 180, табл. III/5; Карайотов 2012); however, it has never been properly published and, in our opinion, its importance has not been fully revealed so far.

The preserved height of the monument is now 31 cm: the distance between the chin and the vertex is 20.5 cm, the fortification crown is ca. 8.5 cm high; from the neck only 2 cm are still preserved[3]. The head is slightly turned to the right; to the right is directed also the calm and contemplative gaze of the young woman **(fig. 1)**. The beautiful and very carefully molded face has a harmonious oval, perfectly modeled forehead, eyebrows and eyes; the cheeks are smooth, tight and tenderly brought to motion near the mouth and the nose. Her wavy hair is parted in the middle and styled in a flat roll, which is narrower in the front part and broader in the rear. The roll passes close to the temples, covers half of the left ear and almost the entire right one, and turns towards the nape. A tiny sickle-shaped lock is sliding on the cheek, separating from beneath the hair roll just in front of the ears **(figs. 2-3)**. Behind each ear there is a long and relatively thick lock going down. The very modeling of hair is rough and not very discernable: long wavy grooves made by a chisel structure thick bundles. This yields a noticeable contrast between the precise execution of the face and the rather generalized treatment of hairstyle. Both hairstyle and facial features follow the tradition of Classical-ideal art forms. Therefore, we are inclined to insist that the sculpture under discussion is not a portrait[4], but an ideal image representing either a Goddess or a personification.

[2] Here we would like to express our gratitude to the museum Director Milen Nikolov for his kind cooperation and for providing us with numerous photos of the monument. Thanks are due also to Lyudmil Vagalinski, Director of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences for his permanent support and strong insistence that the project should be fulfilled.

[3] For a more detailed analysis of the sculpture as a monument see Милчева 2018.

[4] For a different opinion see Попова (2012, 180), who inclines to identify the sculpture as a portrait of Faustina the Younger.

Initially the sculpture was loosely dated in the "2nd – 3rd century" (Draganov 2007, 33), or "2nd – early 3rd century" (Balabanov / Petrova 2002, 241), despite the clear features of the hairstyle indicating production within the Antonine period. The latter was correctly identified only recently and it has been stated that the sculpture *"reflects the iconographic type of the second half of the 2nd century AD, from Faustina the Younger to Crispina*" (Попова 2012, 180). It is beyond any doubt that the ideal "*Mittelscheitelfrisur*" of the young woman is strongly influenced by the Antonine hairstyle fashion. The smooth, soft molded surface of the face is also typical for the Antonine period.

Now, further preciseness became possible due to the detailed autopsy; it showed that in fact the frontal wavy hair is almost identical with that in the images of Lucilla from her first portrait type dated to AD 165 (?) and discussed in details by Klaus Fittschen (1982, 75-77, # 1-12, Taf. 44-47). A very close stylistic parallel, especially in terms of hairstyle, is to be found in the portrait of Lucilla from the forum of Smyrna (Izmir Museum, inv. # 3694 – see Fittschen 1982, 77 # 12, Taf. 47, 3-4)[5]. These details restrict, in our opinion, the time of the production of the sculpture under discussion to the third quarter of the second century and more specifically – in the late 160s or very early 170s.

Concerning the iconography of the sculpture, there are two very important elements that deserve more attention than they have received so far. On the rear part of the head there is a highly important iconographic element which has traditionally been interpreted as part of the hair, stated to have been styled in a bun. A close autopsy of the sculpture showed that this is not a correct interpretation, as what is in fact to be seen now is the arched edge of the back part of a throne on which the female figure was seated when produced by the ancient sculptor (**fig. 4**). The thickness of the preserved part of the throne is 4 cm. The second important element concerns the *corona muralis* (ca. 8.5 cm high). This iconographic feature has been always referred to in the literature when the sculpture was mentioned, however without any detailed description which could have brought to light essential peculiarities. The autopsy showed that the upper edge of the fortification crown is only very slightly damaged, and therefore it is clear that neither battlements, nor towers were depicted by the sculptor. The stone *quadrae* are duly marked, but instead of the expected gate of the city fortress, a circular-shaped stone is represented in the centre of the upper part of the *corona muralis*.

It is well-known that the fortification crown appears usually in connection with images of Tyche-Fortuna, Kybele, Aphrodite, Artemis and city personifications (Deonna 1940, 157-159), but also with portraits of members of the emperor's family and even with private persons (Alexandridis 2004, 88-89). The sculpture from Deultum fits in our opinion well within the ideal heads of the second century AD, assumed to represent Tyche. However, due to the lack of any attributes, except for the crown, its identification remains uncertain.



Fig. 1. Fragmentary sculpture from Deultum – frontal view (photo: courtesy of Regional Historical Museum Burgas)

Standing on quicksand

Here a historian would most probably pose a question on the historical aspect of this analysis of the discussed sculpture from Deultum. The answer would, of course, very much depend on the way one is reading the scanty evidence. Here we would try to offer another point of view, fully aware that we are standing on quicksand, firmly emphasizing that

[5] The female sculpture from Deultum shows close similarities with two portraits from Odessos, dated to the Antonine period (Milcheva 1988; Милчева 2013, 445-446, figs. 1/1-4).



Fig. 2. Fragmentary sculpture from Deultum – left side (photo: courtesy of Regional Historical Museum Burgas)



Fig. 3. Fragmentary sculpture from Deultum – right side (photo: courtesy of Regional Historical Museum Burgas)



Fig. 4. Fragmentary sculpture from Deultum – rear view (photo: courtesy of Regional Historical Museum Burgas)

this is just an attempt at enriching the information on the fortification of Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium:

1) If the conclusion (based on numismatic evidence about Byzantion, Perinthos and Serdica) that the depiction of a turreted City-Goddess could appear in the coinage only of cities that were fortified or being in the process of their fortification is correct, then one would have to look thoroughly in the turreted and obviously enthroned fragmentary female sculpture from Deultum;

2) If the dating of the sculpture with the *corona muralis* in the late 160s – early 170s is correct, then it would be fair to claim that at this time the fortification wall of Deultum was already either fully completed, or at least under construction;

3) If the depiction of the *corona muralis* of the enthroned Goddess of Deultum was intended to be meaningful, as we do believe, then it would be fair to claim that at the time when the sculpture was created, i.e. in the late 160s – early 170s, the fortification wall of the Flavian colony might have been at the very initial stage of its construction.

Back in 1923, Adrien Blanchet offered an intriguing observation concerning a city located in the same region as Deultum, namely the city of Anchialos: "*Il est certain qu'Anchialus avait déjà murs avant le règne de Commode; mais il est evident que la porte fortifiée, empreinte sur une pièce de cet empereur, conservait le souvenir de travaux qui venaient d'être executés*" (Blanchet 1923, 7-8). Blanchet's fundamental idea seems to have been widely accepted in the modern research as seen in an article of Johannes Nollé who puts forward the supposition that the representation of a city gate on a coin of Prusias ad Hypium, minted under emperor Gallienus, reminds of the completion of the city wall (Nollé 2006, 280). This point of view seems to allow some further conclusions concerning the fortification of Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium by fixing two chronological milestones which so far have never been discussed.

The identification of the similarities between the sculpture from Deultum with the *corona muralis* and the images of Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius' daughter, from her first portrait type dated to AD 165 (?), including the portrait of the same *Augusta* from the forum of Smyrna, point at a possible start of fortification works in Deultum shortly after the marriage of Lucius Verus to Lucilla, which marriage is dated to either AD 163 (Halfmann 1986, 210-211) or AD 164 (Birley 2000, 131). The event itself took place in Ephesus in a time when the Roman legions were fighting in Syria in the East and serious military tension was already experienced on the Danube *limes* in the North, as clearly stated by *HA* (*Marcus* 12.13): "*While the Parthian war was still in progress, the Marcomannic War broke out, after having been postponed for a long time by the diplomacy of the men who were in charge there, in order that the Marcomannic War might not be waged until Rome was done with the war in the East*"[6] (see also Cass. Dio 71.3.1-1[a]). Because of this, it would be expected that the Emperor's instructions for taking respective measures towards ensuring the safety of the provincial cities could have been issued, and namely such instructions opened the way for the start of the fortification of Serdica (as indicated by the city's coins discussed here above), Augusta Traiana (Boteva, forthcoming) and possibly Deultum. These cities, all of them belonging to the province of Thracia, could have profited from Lucius Verus' care in a moment when he was visiting the province of Asia, which was in fact neighboring Thracia – the two provinces shared the common sea border over the Hellespont and Propontis.

Regarding Anchialos, an important specification is needed, as the coins mentioned by A. Blanchet bear on the reverse the name of the provincial governor Iulius Castus (Strack 1912, 227, # 439), whose tenure in Thrace is epigraphically attested for AD 184-185 (Thomasson 1984, col. 168, # 37 with lit.). A further step would be possible here. If the conclusion (reasoned on another occasion, see Boteva, forthcoming) that the depiction of city fortifications on coins appears only within issues that are synchronous with the very final stage of the construction works is correct, then it would be fair to assume that the reconstruction of the city wall of Anchialos was completed ca. AD 184-185. As Anchialos was situated close to Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium, one could imagine that the fortification of the Roman colony might have had a priority and was accordingly finalized at least several months, if not several years, prior to that of Anchialos.

To sum up: the activities concerning the fortification of Deultum could have started ca. AD 165 and might have been finalized prior to AD 184-185. Defining the period in such a way sounds too ambitious and even more speculative, and we are fully aware of it. Hopefully, future archaeological excavations of Deultum would provide further evidence confirming our reasoning. However, any new archaeological information concerning the issue would be warmly welcomed, even if it proves that we are wrong in our conjecture presented here.

[6] Translation by David Magie (Magie 1991, 165-167).

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Chronology of the Late Antique Fortifications of Deultum (Archaeological Data)

Lyudmil VAGALINSKI

Abstract: New archaeological data provides information about the development of the Late Antique (4th – 6th c. AD) fortifications of the Roman colony of Deultum, situated in the southeast corner of Bulgaria.

Key words: Deultum, Roman colony, fortifications, chronology, Late Antiquity.

Introduction

The Roman colony of Deultum (*colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium*) is located by the village of Debelt, Sredets municipality, and 15 km to the southwest of the western Black Sea city of Burgas (Balabanov / Nenova-Merdjanova 2006). Deultum is the oldest Roman city in the territory of Bulgaria, founded in AD 70 (Драганов 2006, 27; Vagalinski 2008) as one of the two Roman colonies (together with Apri) of Thracia (**fig. 1**). Recent archaeological excavations revealed parts of Late Roman (**fig. 2 / sites 9-10, fig. 7**) and mostly of Early Byzantine (**fig. 2 / sites 1-3, 7-10**) fortifications. Up until now, four Early Byzantine gates have been uncovered, either entirely (**fig. 2 / sites 1, 2**; Вагалински 2006) or partially (**fig. 2 / sites 7, 8**; Вагалински 2013). The richest data concerning the chronology of the Late Antique fortifications of Deultum was obtained at sites 9, 10 (**fig. 2, fig. 3, fig. 7, fig. 9**; Вагалински 2016; 2018).

Chronology

The cultural layer of sites 9 and 10 is about 5 m thick (**fig. 4**, **fig. 10**):

1. The north Roman (?) curtain wall (**fig. 3/1**) and a brick (stone-brick at some places) building with arches and a hypocaust system (**fig. 3/2-2a**, **fig. 4/19-21**) were built at site 9. It is not clear which of the two is older. The first habitation on site 10 was burnt down soon after AD 161 (**fig. 10/15**). A clay water-main (north-south) is the only structure of this settlement period (**fig. 9**). A solid building (a bath?) was built (some parts in *opus mixtum*) after AD 161 and before AD 268 (**fig. 9/2**). It cut the water-main. Walls in the south end of the nearby site 9 were erected in the same way (**fig. 3/2-2a)**. All of them perhaps belonged to one and the same large architectural complex (*villa urbana*?) at the city's north end.

2. Destruction after AD 268 (**fig. 10/11**, **11a**) resulted in a Late Roman north curtain wall with a solid tower in the middle (**fig. 3/3**, **fig. 5**, **fig. 6**, **fig. 9/3**, **fig. 11**, **fig. 12**). Both were built before AD 383.


DACIA (APULENSIS)
DACIA INFERIOR
MOESIA INFERIOR
THRACIA
GETAE
SARMATAE ROXOLANI
TRIBALLI
MOESI
DENTHELETIAE
HAEMUS MONS
RHODOPE M.
MACEDONIA
ODRYSAE
ASTI
EGNATIA
VIA
Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa
Drobeta
Romula
Malva
Oescus
Ratiaria
Nicopolis ad Istrum
Marcianopolis
Odessus
Tomis
Histria
Callatis
Tirizis
Dionysopolis
Bizone
Salmydessus
Anchialus
Apollonia
Mesambria
Aquae Calidae
Aristaeum
Naulochus-Templum Iovis
Cabyle-Diospolis
Deultum
Beroe Augusta Traiana
Hadrianopolis
Bizye
Bergula, THYNI
Arcadiopolis
Druzipara
Burtudizum
Agrianes
Plotinopolis
Selymbria
Perinthus
Byza
Philippopolis
Nicopolis ad Nestum
Scaptopara
Serdica
Burgaracha
Sparata
Diocletianopolis
Egerica
Helice
Soneium
Bessapara
Burdapa
Pizus
Arzus
Burdipta
Porsula-Maximianopolis
Abdera
Topirus
Philippi
Drabescus
Gazorus
Scotussa
Euboria
Xylopolis
Callicon
Berge
Doberos
Axius
Europus
Gortynia
Idomenae
Pelagonia
Eurioton
Antigonea
Stobi
Astraeum
Bargala
Argos
Scupi
Pataulia
Germania
Melta
Discoduratera
Storgosia
Piretum
Abrittus
Sexaginta Prista
Appiaria
Transmarisca
Tegulicium
Durostorum
Tropaeum Traiani
Axiopolis
Capidava
Carsium
Troesmis
Beroe
Cius
Vicus Petra
Ad Salices
Halmyris
Aegyssus
Salsovia
Arrubium
Dinogetia
Barboși
Aliobrix
Novidunum
Pietroasele
Târgșor
Drajna de Sus
Mălăiești
Buridava
Jidava
Castra Traiana
Radăcinești
Bumbești-Vîrtop
Gaganae
Ad Pannonios
Praetorium
Cătunele
Pons Alutus
Purcăreni
Alboca
Căpâta de Jos
Filfani
Urluieni
Ghioaca
Rușidava
Acidava
Ad Mutrium
Răcari
Pelendava
Romulianum
Bononia
Castra Martis
Florentiana
Argentaria
Dorticum
Aquae
Clevora
Egeta
Hajdučka Vodenica
Ad Pontes
Transierna
Saldum
Gornea
Dierna
Ad Mediam
Pojejena
Grebenac
Berzobis
Agnavae
Lapae
Pons Augusti
Tibiscum
Caput Bubali
Centum Putei
Arcidava
Ad Aquas
Aquae Calidae
Ad Fines
Anausaro
Aquae (?)
Ad Novas
Timacum Minus
Timacum Maius
Remesiana
Ad Turres
Transitus
Ballanstra
Melda
Ulmo
Naissus
Mediana
Herculem
Iustiniana Prima
Horreum Margi
Gramzianae
Sarmatae
Idimum
Municipium
Ad Fines
Ad Novas
Ad Putea
Asamus
Augusta
Variana
Cebrus
Almus
Sucidava
Regianum
Tia Mare
Islaz
Racovița
Flămînda
Săcărîca
Dimum
Novae
Iatrus
Sexaginta Prista
Putineiu
Bănească
Rosiorii de Vede
Gresia
Slăveni
Tia Mare
Islaz
Iatrus
Danubius
Hebrus
Pizus
Arzus
Burdipta
Artiscus
Parvus
Naulochus-Templum Iovis
Aristaeum
Mesambria
Aquae Calidae
Anchialus
Apollonia
Deultum
Cabyle-Diospolis
Beroe Augusta Traiana
Porsula-Maximianopolis
Abdera
Topirus
Philippi
Drabescus
Gazorus
Scotussa
Euboria
Xylopolis
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Berge
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Idomenae
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Transmarisca
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Axiopolis
Capidava
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Ad Salices
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Salsovia
Arrubium
Dinogetia
Barboși
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Drajna de Sus
Mălăiești
Buridava
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Castra Traiana
Radăcinești
Bumbești-Vîrtop
Gaganae
Ad Pannonios
Praetorium
Cătunele
Pons Alutus
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Alboca
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Urluieni
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Ad Mutrium
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Pelendava
Romulianum
Bononia
Castra Martis
Florentiana
Argentaria
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Aquae
Clevora
Egeta
Hajdučka Vodenica
Ad Pontes
Transierna
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Gornea
Dierna
Ad Mediam
Pojejena
Grebenac
Berzobis
Agnavae
Lapae
Pons Augusti
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Caput Bubali
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Aquae (?)
Ad Novas
Timacum Minus
Timacum Maius
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Naissus
Mediana
Herculem
Iustiniana Prima
Horreum Margi
Gramzianae
Sarmatae
Idimum
Municipium

This curtain wall demolished and partly mounted the supposed *villa urbana* (**fig. 9/2, 3**).

3. Two consecutive enemy attacks followed – after AD 383 (**fig. 10/8**) and after AD 395 (**fig. 10/5**). The latter can correspond to a raid after AD 402/450 attested at site 9 (**fig. 4/16**).

The chronology upwards follows field results of sites 1, 8, 9 (**fig. 2**, **fig. 3**, **fig. 8**).

4. An Early Byzantine reinforcement (**fig. 3/4**, **fig. 4/2**, **14**, **fig. 9/4**) adjoined after AD 457/474 and before AD 491/518 the vulnerable north Late Roman curtain wall (**fig. 3/3**, **fig. 9/3**). The new Early Byzantine fortress narrowed vastly from east and west the protected city area of *colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium* (**fig. 2**). Thus, the colony still had control over a vulnerable terrace to the north and its river port to the south, which connected Deultum with the Black Sea via Mandrensko Lake. These two strategic reasons defined a much prolonged plan of the fortress (**fig. 2**) whose protected area covered about 46000 m^2 with a circumference of ca. 1100 m. This settlement period ended by fire soon after AD 491/518 (**fig. 4/11, 13**).

5. The last period of the Late Antique fortress of Deultum then began (**fig. 4/9c**). The north curtain wall was repaired and stone-adobe buildings with tile roofs adjoined it (**fig. 3/5, fig. 4/9b**). A conflagration eventually demolished the fortress of ancient Deultum soon after AD 574 (**fig. 4/9**). Perhaps Avars and Slavs were the invaders. Then a small fort was built on a hill ca. 1 km to the southwest. It defended local people until the beginning of 13th c. AD. Probably, it was the stronghold of Deultum that the Bulgarian ruler Krum captured in AD 812.

6. After a certain hiatus (**fig. 4/9a**) Early Medieval dwellings were constructed on and among the Late Antique ruins at site 9 (**fig. 4/5-7**). Later they were set on fire (**fig. 4/8**). Their preliminary date is 7th–8th c. AD according to the pottery only. Like the Late Antique residents (**fig. 4/11a, 12, fig. 10/10**), the Early Medieval inhabitants reused the previous constructions, thus disturbing (sometimes rather deeply) the stratigraphy of the site. The last lootings of the Late Antique walls date back to the 20th c. (**fig. 4/4, fig. 10/2**).

Conclusions

This short paper is aimed at presenting reliable information about the chronology of Deultum's Late Antique defenses based on precise stratigraphic results. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the colony's fortress throughout the centuries is definitely not sufficient for the following reasons:

1. Reliable archaeological data about the Roman fortifications of Deultum is not yet available;

2. The plan of the Late Roman fortress built between AD 268 and AD 383 is yet to be revealed;

3. The plan of the Early Byzantine (second half of the 5th c. – 6th c.) fortress of Deultum lacks completeness.

This is why the current paper is just a small step towards the long process of enriching our knowledge about the history of Deultum.

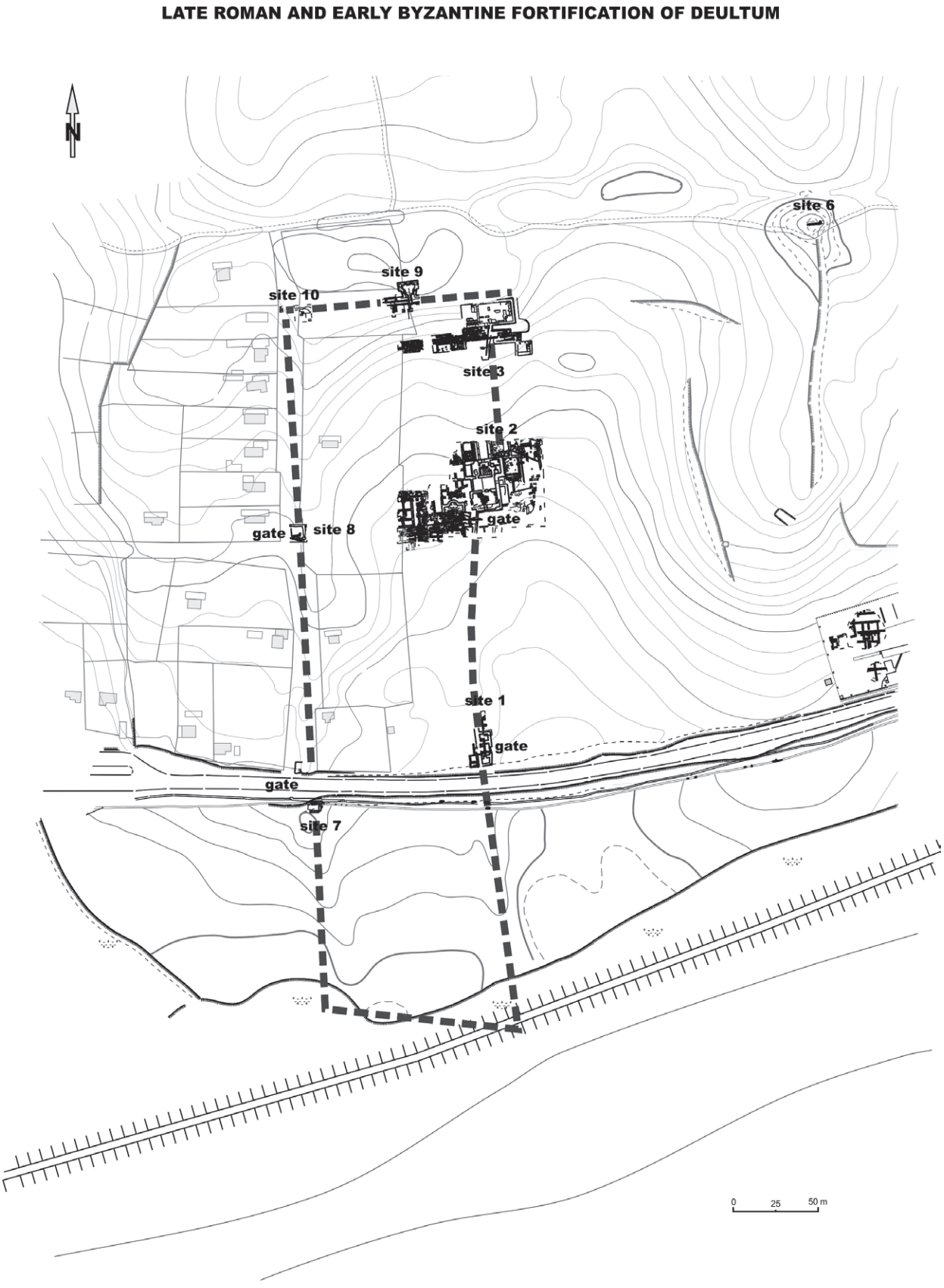


Fig. 2. Plan of the Early Byzantine fortress of Deultum: **site 1** – east Early Byzantine gate; **site 2** – Roman *thermae*; **site 3** – so-called / supposed Roman imperial cult temple; **site 7** – west Early Byzantine gate; **site 8** – west Early Byzantine gate; **site 9** – Late Roman curtain wall with a massive turret reinforced during the Early Byzantine period; **site 10** – Late Roman curtain wall with a corner (?) turret reinforced by an Early Byzantine wall with a staircase (by A. Kamenarov)

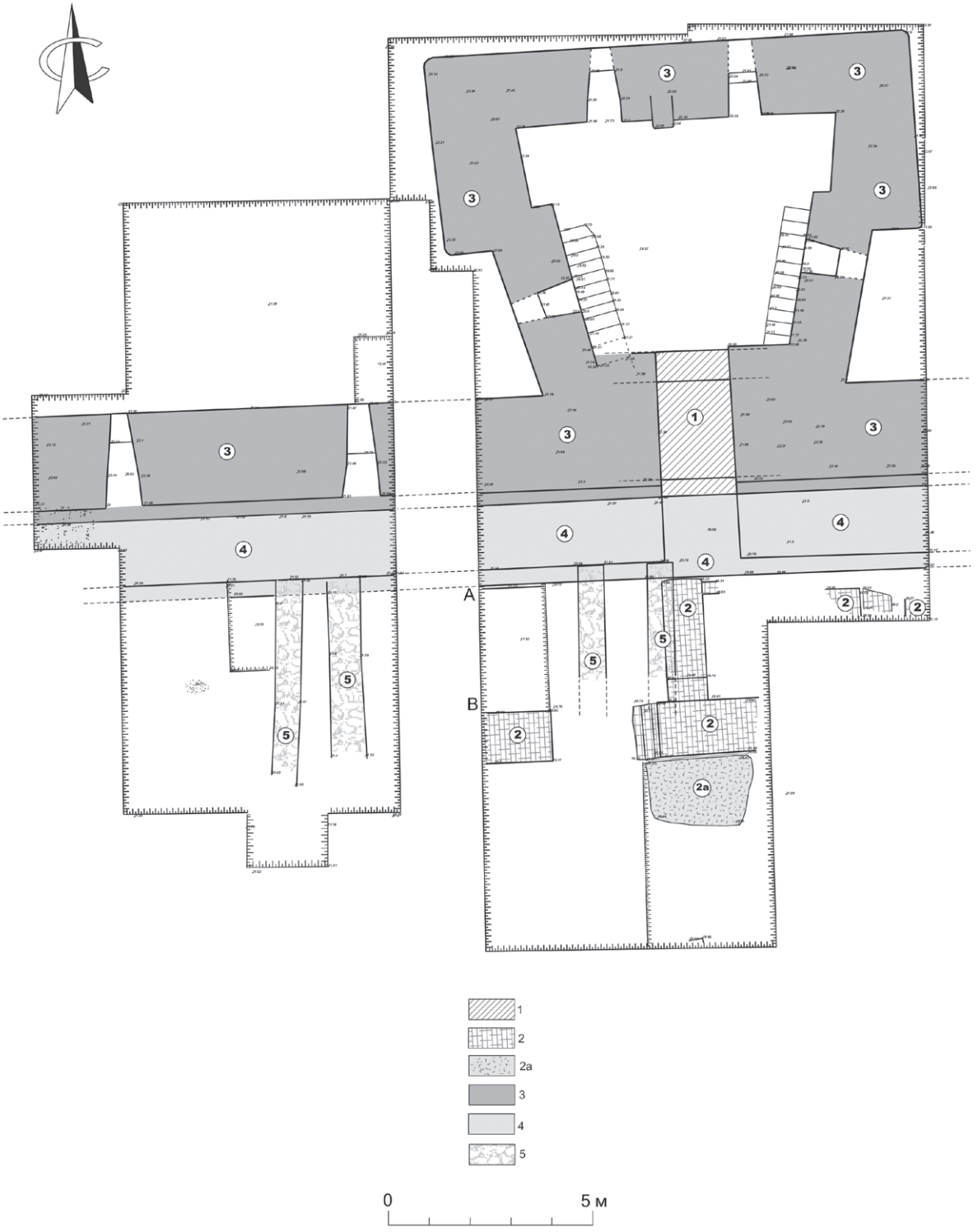


Fig. 3. Plan of site 9: **1** north Roman (?) curtain wall; **2** a brick building with arches and a hypocaust system **2a**; **3** north Late Roman curtain wall with a massive turret; **4** Early Byzantine wall that strengthened the Late Roman one; **5** buildings of the 6th c. (by A. Kamenarov / L. Vagalinski)

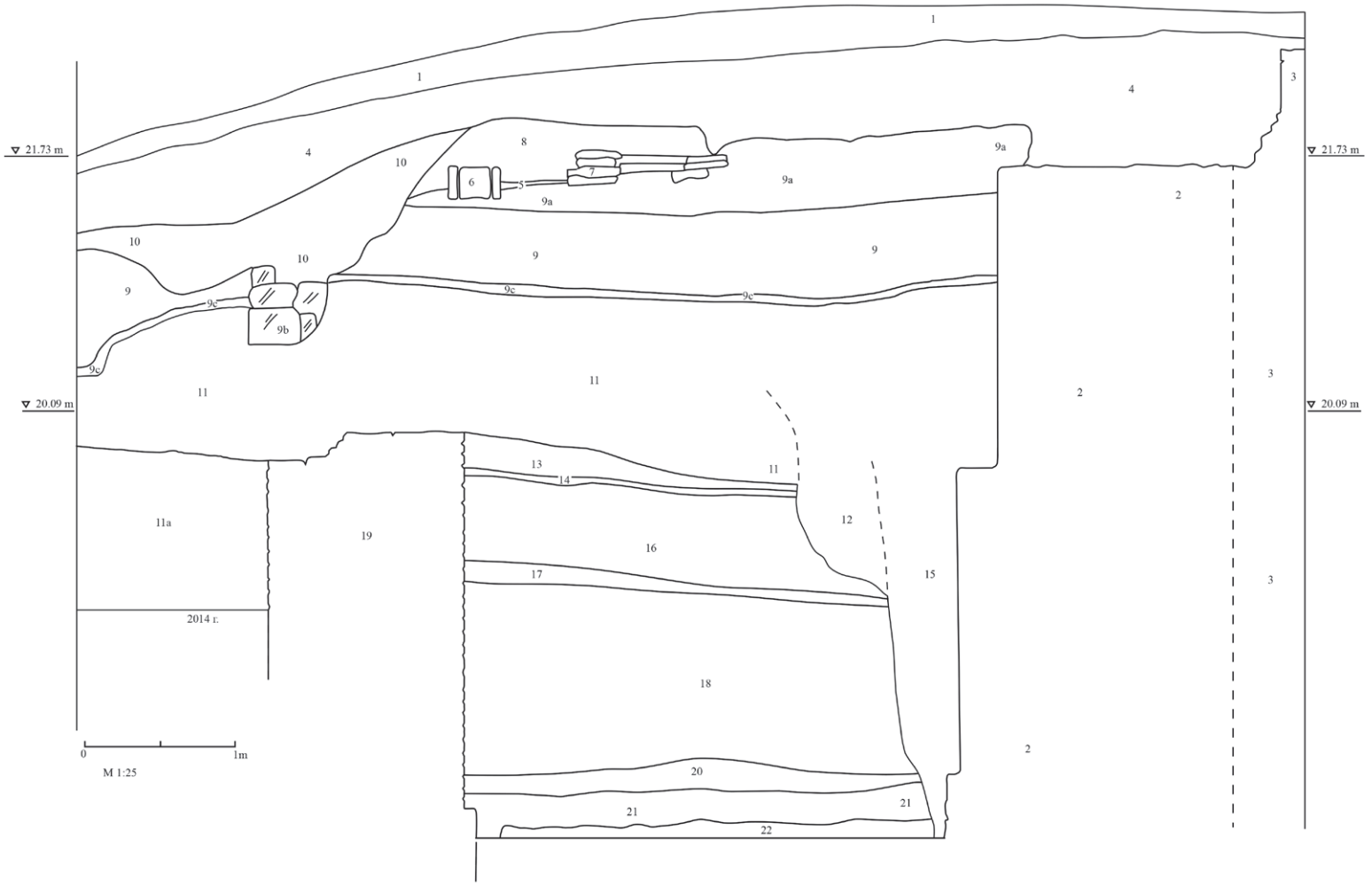


Fig. 4. Cross-section at site 9, see **fig. 3/A-B:** 1 soil with humus and scattered small broken stones; **2** Early Byzantine reinforcement adjoined **3**; **3** Late Roman north curtain wall with a solid tower; **4** dug over remains of the curtain wall; **5** Early Medieval burnt clay floor connected with **6** and **7**; **6** Early Medieval brick structure (a hearth?); **7** bricks arranged without mortar; **8** destruction by fire that belongs to **5-7**; **9** conflagration, AD 574 as *terminus post quem*; **9a** possible hiatus; **9b** wall of **9c**; **9c** clay floor; **10** pit for looting **9b**; **11** destruction by fire, AD 491/518 as *terminus post quem*; **11a** dug over destructions; **12** a pit; **13** a layer of charred grain and coals; **14** clay floor of 2; **15** building trench for the foundation of 2; **16** destruction by fire, AD 402/450 as *terminus post quem*; **17** clay floor; **18** conflagration of **19**, AD 383/408 as *terminus post quem*; **19** a wall; **20** - clay floor of **19**; **21** building waste of **19** construction (mortar and small shards of bricks; **22** pure dark brown clay (by L. Vagalinski)



Fig. 5. Late Roman massive turret, inside, looking south; see **fig. 3/3** (photo: L. Vagalinski)



Fig. 6. Late Roman massive turret, inside, northern front wall with two embrasures (photo: L. Vagalinski)

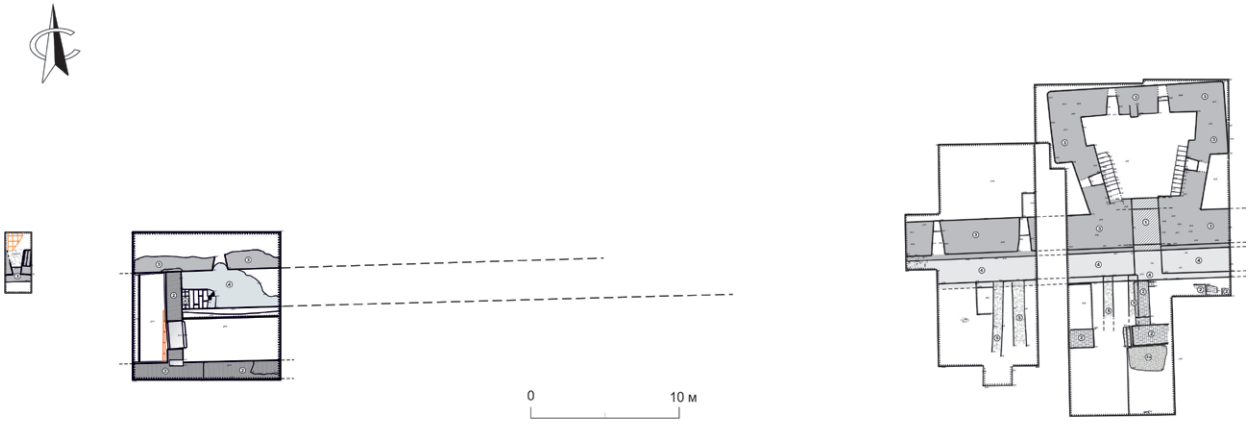


Fig. 7. Plan of sites 9 and 10 (by A. Kamenarov / L. Vagalinski); see **fig. 2**, **fig. 3**



Fig. 8. Plan of the east Early Byzantine gate at site 1 (by A. Kamenarov / L. Vagalinski); see **fig. 2**

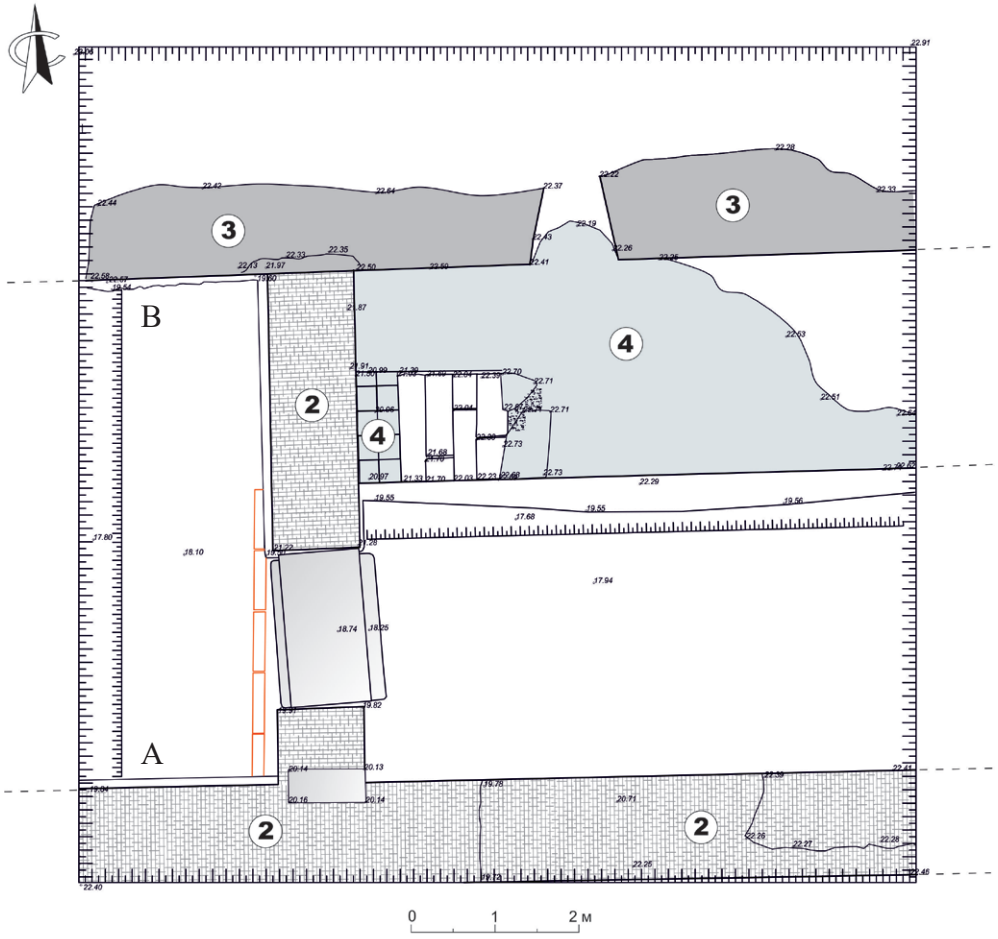
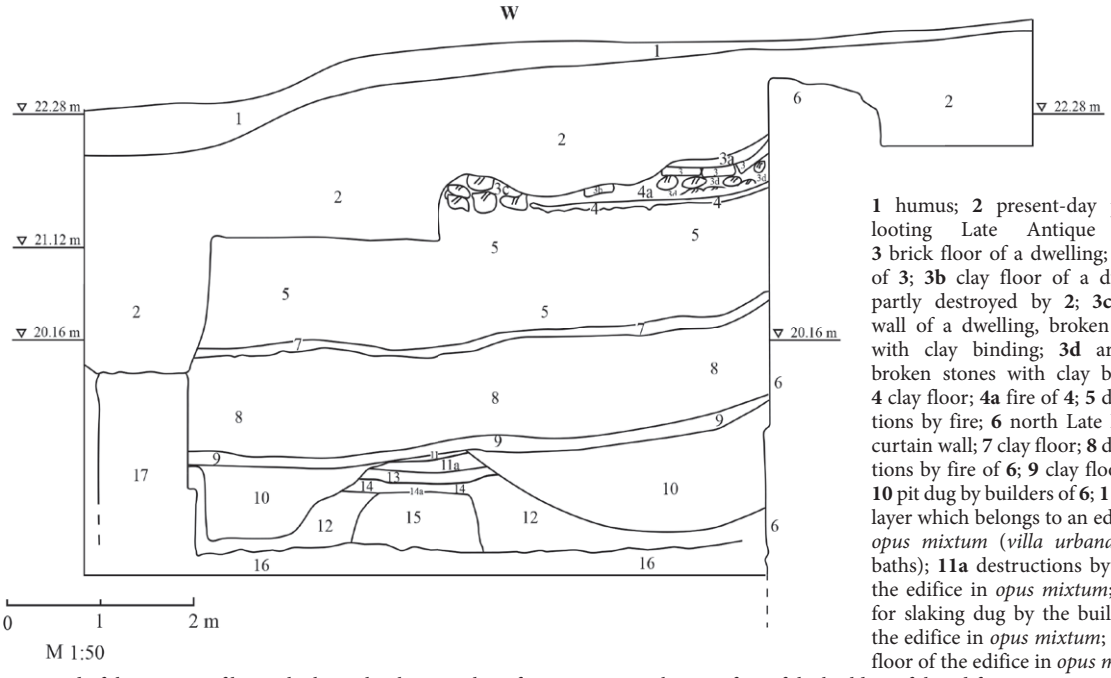


Fig. 9. Plan of site 10: **2** Roman building; **3** north Late Roman curtain wall with an embrasure; **4** Early Byzantine wall with a staircase (by A. Kamenarov / L. Vagalinski)



1 humus; **2** present-day pit for looting Late Antique walls; **3** brick floor of a dwelling; **3a** fire of **3**; **3b** clay floor of a dwelling partly destroyed by **2**; **3c** south wall of a dwelling, broken stones with clay binding; **3d** arranged broken stones with clay binding; **4** clay floor; **4a** fire of **4**; **5** destructions by fire; **6** north Late Roman curtain wall; **7** clay floor; **8** destructions by fire of **6**; **9** clay floor of **6**; **10** pit dug by builders of **6**; **11** burnt layer which belongs to an edifice in *opus mixtum* (*villa urbana?* with baths); **11a** destructions by fire of the edifice in *opus mixtum*; **12** pit for slaking dug by the builders of the edifice in *opus mixtum*; **13** clay floor of the edifice in *opus mixtum*; **14** layer consisted of three strips of lime which result taking out lime from **12**; **14a** working surface of the builders of the edifice in *opus mixtum*; **15** layer that was found by the builders of the edifice in *opus mixtum* who dug it over; a clay water-main cut by walls of this edifice is the only structure that corresponds this first layer; **16** pure dark brown clay; **17** wall of the edifice in *opus mixtum* (by L. Vagalinski)

Fig 10. Cross-section at site 10, see **fig. 9/A-B** (by L. Vagalinski)

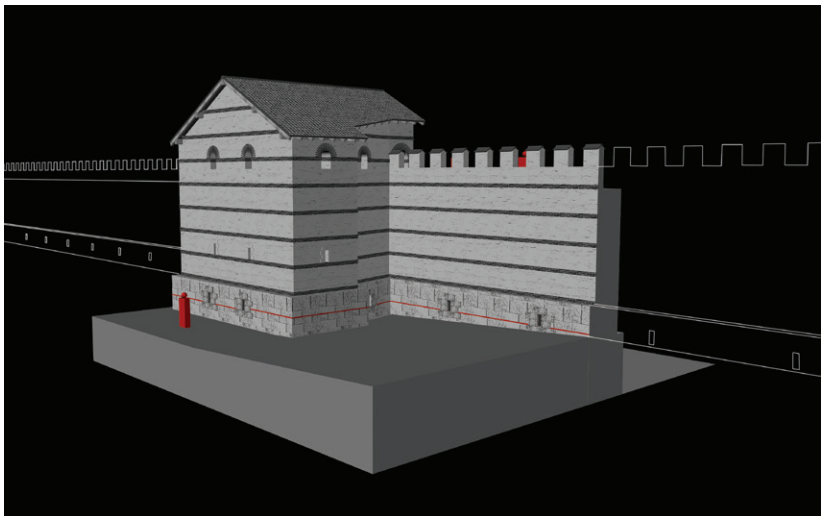


Fig. 11. Late Roman tower, 3D reconstruction, view from the outside (by S. Sabkova)

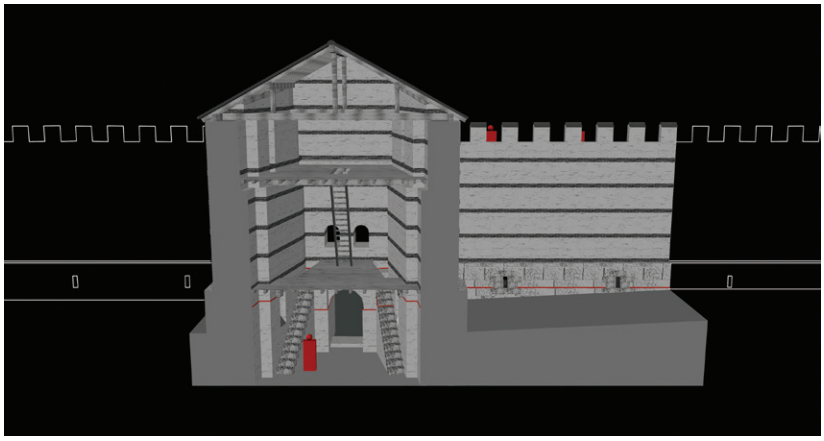


Fig. 12. Late Roman tower, 3D reconstruction, cross-section, view from the outside (by S. Sabkova)

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Administration and Diplomacy

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Notes on Governors of Roman Thrace

Nicolay SHARANKOV

Abstract: The paper presents new information on ten governors of the province of Thrace from the early second century AD to the Tetrarchic period. Examination of recently found inscriptions, revision of previous readings, and comparison of epigraphic and literary sources enable us to identify several unknown governors and to propose more precise chronology for others.

Key words: Roman Thrace, provincial governors, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Philip the Arab, Trebonianus Gallus, Tetrarchy.

The following brief notes present some preliminary results of the author's research on the Roman officials in the province of Thrace. Most of the new information comes from inscriptions, but there are also a few literary sources which have been forgotten or overlooked.

1. [- - -] Agrippa, ca. AD 131-132

The governor of Thrace Agrippa (Thomasson 1984, 163, # 22:17) was thought to have been attested only in a partially preserved inscription from Abdera concerning the new borders of the city's territory (*IThrAeg* 79, AD 131-132): [- - -] Ἀγρίππα πρεσβευτοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ | ἀντιστρατήγου].

However, his name is probably present in a literary source as well – the life of an Early Christian martyr, Saint Theodota, who suffered in Philippopolis under a governor named Agrippa. The life was originally written in Greek, but survives only in a Syriac translation[1] and is therefore largely unknown. Besides, some modern scholars mistakenly identified the city of the martyr with Philippi in Macedonia, being misled by the Syriac translation of the name Φιλιππόπολις as *pylypws mdynt'*, 'Philipos-city', and having overlooked the quite unambiguous (although somewhat pleonastic) variant *p'lpwlys mdynt'*, 'Philipolis-city', in one of the manuscripts. The governor – who organized a festival for Apollo[2] on the sixth day of September – is mentioned several times as *'grpws hgmwn'*, i.e. Ἀγρίππας ἡγεμών[3]. The only problem in this text is the year which is apparently wrong in both manuscripts – the *Sinaiticus* gives it as 742 (of the Seleucid era, i.e. AD 331), and the *Vaticanus* as 642 (i.e. AD 431). However, a persecution against Christians in Thrace is certainly impossible in AD 331 or 431. But if we suppose that the mistake had affected only the hundreds (which differ in the two manuscripts), then the year could be emendated to 442 (AD 131)[4], which perfectly coincides with the evidence about the governor Agrippa provided by the inscription from Abdera[5].

[1] *BHO* 1179; preserved in two manuscripts, *Sinaiticus Syriacus* 30 (AD 778) and *Vaticanus Syriacus* 160 (10th c. AD); for an edition of the text (with a Latin translation), see Assemanus 1748, 210-226.

[2] Note that the main deity of Roman Philippopolis was Apollo Kendrissos.

[3] For ἡγεμών as provincial governor, cf. the common formula for introducing the name of the governor in inscriptions ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας.

[4] Since the Syriac text indicates the year in a verbal format, the mistake rather originated in a Greek source, where it was written by using numeric notation: the letters denoting 400, 600 and 700 in Greek (Y, X, and Ψ) are somewhat similar and can easily be confused. Possibly, instead of ΥΜΒ (442), the year was incorrectly given as ΨΜΒ (742) in the source used for the Syriac translation, and indeed we see that year in the earlier *codex Sinaiticus*. As for the year 642 appearing in the later Vatican manuscript, one could hypothesize that a scribe realized the improbability of a persecution in the year 742 (AD 441) and decided to change it to a more plausible date.

[5] For further discussion on the year and the significance of this martyr's life for the history of Philippopolis, see Шаранков 2015.

2. Cavarius Fronto, AD 135-136

Several inscriptions of AD 135-136[6] had preserved the *cognomen* of this governor, who was involved in the reorganisation of the province by Emperor Hadrian, but his *nomen* remained unknown except for its final letters *-rius*. The name was tentatively restored as *[Vale]rius*, although many other restorations were equally possible, so this governor was usually referred to as Valerius Fronto (Thomasson 1984, 163, # 22:14; 2009, 63, # 22:014a). A recently published inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum (**fig. 1**), about a temple of *Theos Hypsistos*, dedicated by a settler from Prusias ad Hypium (Шаранков 2014a), finally revealed the true name of the governor – Cavarius Fronto:

Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Τρ̣αϊ|ανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) | νείκης κ̣αὶ ᾳ̣ἰωνίου διαμονῆς | κ̣αὶ Σαβείνης Σεβ(αστῆς) καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος | αὐτῶν οἴκου ἱερᾶς τε συνκλήτου, | δήμου Ῥωμαίων, Κ̣αουαρίου Φρόν|τωνος πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) | ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) ἐπαρχεί|ας Θ̣ρ̣ᾳκῶν, βουλῆς δήμου Οὐλ|πίας Νεικοπόλεως πρὸς Ἴστρωι, | Ἰάσον (*sic*) Απφου Προυσιεὺς ἀπὸ | Ὑπίου τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν.

It is worth noting that the complete *nomen* could have been restored 60 years ago, if an inscription had received proper attention instead of being largely forgotten. It is a fragment found in Hisarya, which was published without any attempt at restoration[7]. Actually, it is part of a boundary stone which reads: *[- - -] ̣terṃinụ[s - - - | - - -]atus a Cavạ[rio | Fro]ntone leg(ato) [Ạug(usti) | pr(o)] pr(aetore) inter Aụ[gust-? et - - -]*, '- - - boundary stone between Au--- and ---, (erected) by Cavarius Fronto, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*' (Шаранков 2014a, 42-44, # 4).

Some time after his office in Thrace, Cavarius Fronto was sent to Macedonia, where he is attested in a single inscription as *consularis*. Since it is not entirely preserved, the name was not correctly restored until recently (*EKM Βέροια* 13 = Müller 2001, 417-446, # 1 = *AE* 2001, 1759; cf. Шаранков 2014a, 44, # 5): ... καθὼς Καυά|[ριος Φρόντ]ων ὑπατικὸς | [ἐπέκ]ρεινεν.

3. Q. Egnatius Proculus, AD 208

This governor (Thomasson 1984, 176, # 22:73; 2009, 67, # 22:045a) has been attested in three inscriptions. Two of them – a dedication to Apollo by the tavern-keepers in Philippopolis (*IGBulg* III.1 917; cf. Sharankov 2016, 314) and an invitation for *venatio* from Deultum (*AE* 2009, 1232 = Sharankov 2017, 48-49, # B2) – are fragments without date. The third one is from Cabyle – a building inscription for a temple of Dolichenus (*AE* 1999, 1374a = *SEG* 42, 646[a]; revised edition in Шаранков 2017, 208-213). This inscription contains a consular date, but it was not recognized in the first publication, which proposed only a vague date between AD 198 and AD 209 according to the imperial names (Septimius Severus and Caracalla as *Augusti* and Geta as *Caesar*). The new reading of the end of the text as *Imp(eratore) Anṭ(onino) III ‖ eṭ P(ublio) Se[p]ṭị|miọ Gẹta Ị[I]‖ [co(n)-s(ulibus), a(nte) d(iem) --]I Kal(endas) Ferrari<a>s (!)* provides an exact date in the second half of January AD 208. This confirms the suggestion of D. Boteva who assigned this governor to the period AD 207-210 (Boteva 1998, 135-136).

[6] *IGBulg* IV 2057, Pautalia; *AE* 1991, 1403 = *AE* 1999, 1371, Cabyle; *AE* 1985, 769 = *AE* 1991, 1404 = *AE* 1999, 1372, Cabyle.

[7] Tsontchev 1958, 530, # 4, pl. X/4, who gives the text as follows: - - - *ER* - - - | - - - *atus ACAV* - - - | - - - *ITONELEG* - - - | - - - *r inter a* - - -.

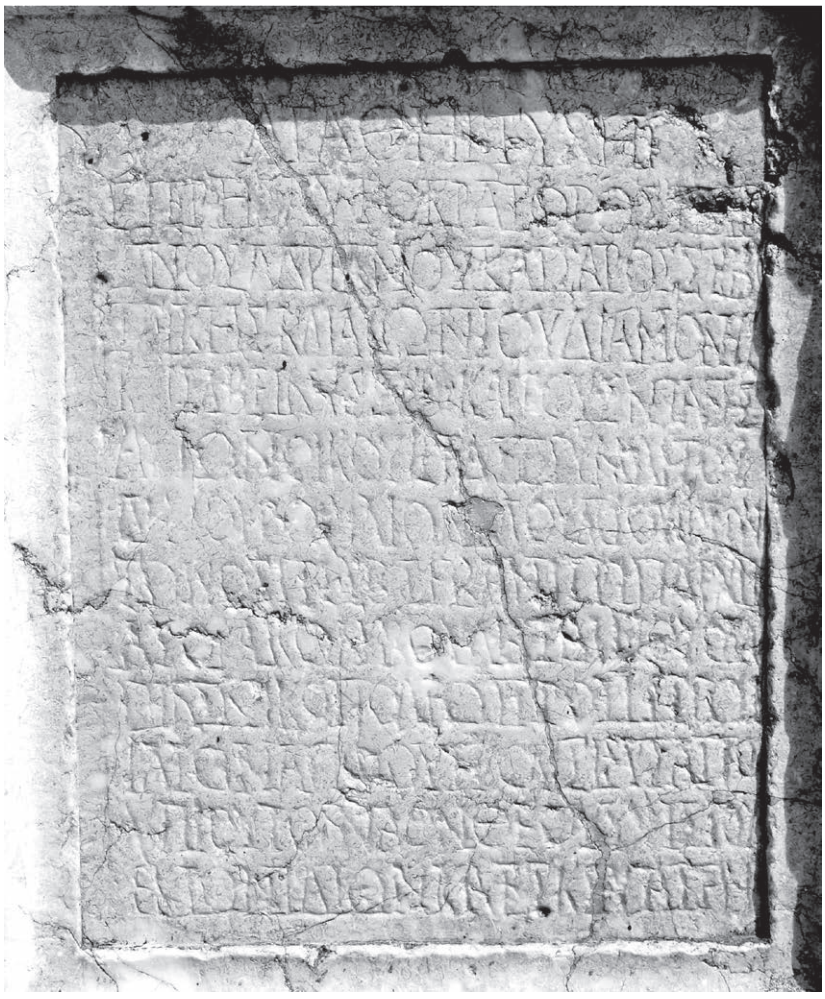


Fig. 1. Building inscription for a temple of *Theos Hypsistos*. Nicopolis ad Istrum, 135-136 AD (after Шаранков 2014a, 29, fig. 1/2)

4. [- - -] Severianus, AD 244 (?)

A partially preserved inscription from Philippopolis (**fig. 2**) contains only the *cognomen* of a governor of Thrace Severianus (*PIR²* S 623; Thomasson 1984, 176, # 22:74): ... ἡγεμονεύοντος | [τῆς Θρᾳ]κῶν ἐπαρχείας | [- - -]υ Σευηριανοῦ, πρεσβευ|[τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀν]τιστρατήγου. G. Mihailov (*IGBulg* III.1 882 = V 5398) was inclined to identify him with the *consul suffectus* and governor of Arabia from the reign of Septimius Severus P. Aelius Severianus, who was believed by some scholars to have been governor of Thrace as well[8], and therefore dated the inscription to ca. AD 195. However, both the lettering and the text undoubtedly point to a much later date, ca. AD 240-250, and find closest parallels in inscriptions from the time of Emperor Philip the Arab[9]. If the inscription is indeed from the reign of Philip, I suppose (cf. Sharankov 2016, 312-313) that the governor Severianus could be identical with the emperor's relative (κηδεστής) Severianus, apparently his father-in-law or brother-in-law, i.e. father or brother of Otacilia Severa, with probable full name (Marcius Otacilius?) Severianus (*PIR²* S 624; Körner 2002, 63-64, # 2.2.5, 354, # S37)[10]. According to the *History* of Zosimus, Severianus was put in charge of the armies in Moesia and Macedonia at the beginning of Philip's rule ('as soon as the emperor reached Rome'), while Philip's brother Iulius Priscus was given control over the eastern provinces (Zos. 1.19.2): Σεβηριανῷ δὲ τῷ κηδεστῇ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεις ἐπίστευσεν.

[8] According to an inscription from Perinthus (*IPerinthos* 22), honouring the son of P. Aelius Severianus (cf. Stein 1920, 39-40, # 40). However, this inscription does not mention him as governor of the province, and the *cursus honorum* would be highly problematic, as noted already by A. Stein (1920, 39) and E. Groag (*PIR²* A 260). B. Thomasson expressed serious doubts about P. Aelius Severianus as governor of Thrace (Thomasson 1984, 170-171, # 22:46) and did not identify him with the governor Severianus of the Philippopolis inscription, whom he listed among the *legati incerti aevi* (Thomasson 1984, 176, # 22:74).

[9] Cf. the official inscriptions of this period like *IGBulg* III.1 1337, 1375, 1510, 1511, and especially the statue-bases for Philip the Arab, Philip the Younger and Otacilia Severa erected under the governors Vibius Gallus and Iulius Priscus (discussed below, ## 5 and 6).

[10] The *lacuna* in the inscription from Philippopolis could have contained only the shorter Marcius: [Μαρκίο]υ Σευηριανοῦ.

Zosimus does not mention Thrace, but the expression 'Moesia and Macedonia' could imply this province, as in the case of another governor of Thrace, T. Iulius Priscus, whom the literary evidence connects with Macedonia (see below # 6). If the proposed identification is correct, we could place the governorship of Severianus in AD 244, and possibly for a short period, when the position of the new emperor was probably still uncertain and he wanted to have greater control over the Balkan provinces (cf. his visit there on his road to Rome in AD 244)[11].

5. C. Vibius Gallus, ca. AD 247-248

The name of this governor is to be seen on two similar and obviously simultaneously erected statue-bases for an emperor and his son, both with worn inscriptions and *damnatio memoriae*, and possibly also on one small fragment, all from Philippopolis (**fig. 3/1-3**). When I published the two statue-bases a decade ago, I was misled by the *nomen* Iulius and a few letters which I believed to be the end of the name Maximinus, and erroneously identified the emperors as C. Iulius Verus Maximinus (Maximinus the Thracian) and his son C. Iulius Verus Maximus (Шаранков 2006, 237-240, # 3-4 = Sharankov 2007, 526-530, # 9-10 = *AE* 2006, 1249-1250 = *SEG* 57, 628-629; cf. *PIR*^{2} V 549). However, after re-examining the stones under better conditions, I found that I was wrong and the inscriptions actually honoured M. Iulius Philippus (Philip the Arab) and his son of the same name[12].

In the first inscription (**fig. 3/1**)[13], the erasure of the emperor's names in one place goes above and below the line, therefore there was a letter which went beyond the line. Such letter could have been only Φ, the initial letter of the *cognomen* of Philip the Arab, and indeed the erasure in this place clearly has the shape of a Φ. The revised text of the inscription should read as follows:

Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θειό|τατον αὐτοκράτορα ⟦Μ̣(ᾶρκον) | Ἰού̣[λ(ιον) Φί[λιππον] ε̣ὐ̣σ̣(εβῆ)⟧ | ε̣ὐτυχῆ Σεβ(αστὸν) ἡ λαμπρο|τάτη Θρᾳκῶν ἐπάρχειος, | ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς | [Θ]ρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας Γ(αΐου) Οὐιβί[ου] | Γάλλου, πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεββ(αστῶν) ἀντι|στρατήγου, | ἐπιμελουμένου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εἰά|σονος Εἰάσονος θρᾳκάρχου. | Εὐτυχῶς.

In the second inscription (**fig. 3/2**)[14], the letters, which I initially read as part of the name [MA]ΞΙΜ̣Ε̣ΙΝ̣ΟΝ, are actually part of the title [NE]Ο̣Ν̣Η̣Δ̣ΙΟΝ, Νέον Ἥλιον, 'the Young Sun', which is known to have been given to Philip the Younger in Thrace (cf. *IGBulg* III.1 1511; revised reading in Sharankov 2016, 328)[15]. The text should therefore read as follows:

[Ἀγαθῆι] τ̣ύχ̣η̣ι. | Τὸν [μ]έγιστον καὶ θ̣ει[ότατον | α]ὐ̣τοκράτορα ⟦Μ̣(ᾶρκον) Ἰο̣ύ̣[λιον Φί|λιππον ν]έ̣⟧ο̣ν Ἥ̣λιον εὐσεβῆ ε[ὐ|τ]υχῆ Σεβ(αστὸν) ἡ λαμπροτάτη Θρ[ᾳ̣]|κῶν ἐπάρχειος, ἡγεμονεύοντ̣ο̣ς | τ̣ῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας Γ̣(αΐου) [Οὐ]ιβίο̣υ | Γάλλου, πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεββ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρα|τήγου, | ἐ̣π̣ιμελουμένο̣υ Μ̣(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ε̣ιάσονος | Εἰάσονος θρᾳκ̣άρχο̣υ. | Εὐτυχῶς.

The third inscription possibly mentioning this governor is a small fragment (**fig. 3/3**) from the *agora* of Philippopolis[16], which could have contained the name of C. Vibius Gallus in its present third line: [- - - - - -]επο[- - - - - - | - - - - - ἀνθ]ρώπο[ις (*vel* -ο[υς) (?) - - - - - - | ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς (Θρᾳκῶν) ἐπαρχεί]ας (?) Γ. Οὐ[ιβίου Γάλλου (?) - - -].

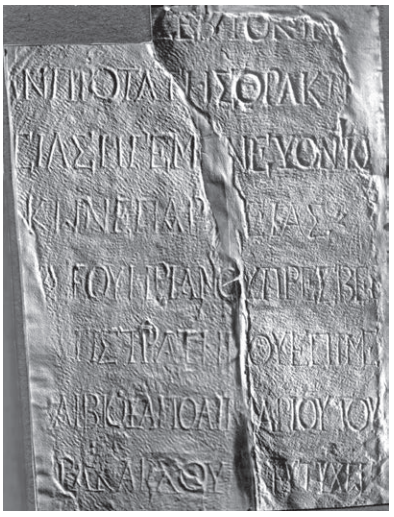


Fig. 2. Inscription with the name of the governor Severianus (*IGBulg* III.1 882). Philippopolis, ca. AD 244 (after *IGBulg* III.1, tab. 3)

[11] On Philip's attitude towards Lower Moesia and Thrace, see the recent study of L. Grozdanova (2017).

[12] As already mentioned in Sharankov 2016, 349, note 94.

[13] Шаранков 2006, 237-238, # 3 = Sharankov 2007, 526-527, # 9 = *AE* 2006, 1249 = *SEG* 57, 628.

[14] Шаранков 2006, 238-239, # 4 = Sharankov 2007, 527, # 10 = *AE* 2006, 1250 = *SEG* 57, 629.

[15] See the relevant part of the text in note 25 below. This epithet is known for other emperors, but has not been attested for Philip outside of Thrace. Besides praising the young emperor, it was probably used to distinguish him from his father (since both had identical names) in a more solemn manner than to just name the son M. Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος Νέος, 'the Younger'.

[16] I thank E. Kesyakova for providing information about the provenance of the fragment, which is now kept at the restoration workshop of the Regional Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv.



Fig. 3. Inscriptions with the name of the governor C. Vibius Gallus. Philippopolis, ca. AD 247-248. **1** Statue-base for Philip the Arab erected by the province of Thrace (i.e. by the provincial *koinon*); **2** statue-base for Philip the Younger erected by the province of Thrace; **3** fragment from the *agora* (photos: N. Sharankov)

I identify the governor C. Vibius Gallus with the future emperor C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus[17]. We know almost nothing about the early life and career of Trebonianus, before he became governor of (Lower?) Moesia in AD 250 (Thomasson 1984, 145, # 20:142), except that he must have had a more or less ordinary senatorial career and had been *consul suffectus* before AD 251 (*PIR²* V 579; Hanslik 1958, 1985-1986; Kienast et al. 2017, 200). Therefore a governorship in Thrace, when he was about 40 years old, apparently before the consulship, would not be unexpected. Since the two inscriptions from Philippopolis show C. Vibius Gallus as *legatus* of two *Augusti*, their date – and the date of his governorship in Thrace – cannot be earlier than July/August AD 247, when Philip the Younger became *Augustus*. As governor of Thrace, C. Vibius Gallus was probably immediate successor of Sex. Furnius Publianus, who is mentioned as governor in the only other inscription where Philip the Younger is honoured as Νέος Ἥλιος[18].

6. T. Iulius Priscus, AD 248/249-251

T. Iulius Priscus, attested as governor of Thrace under Decius (*PIR²* I 489; Thomasson 1984, 175, # 22:63; 2009, 69, # 22:063), and apparently identical with the usurper Priscus (*PIR²* P 971; Kienast et al. 2017, 199), is now shown to have been appointed to the office under the previous emperor Philip the Arab. A statue-base from Philippopolis for an empress

[17] I already suggested this identification, although more hesitantly and with the wrong date under Maximinus the Thracian, in Sharankov 2007, 528, note 23, and *AE* 2006, 1249. Note that the only other inscription mentioning Gallus before he became emperor, from his native Perusia (modern Perugia in Italy), also gives his name as Vibius Gallus (*CIL* XI 1927): *Vibi Galli c(larissimi) v(iri)*.

[18] *IGBulg* III.1 1511. Among the numerous inscriptions with the name of Furnius Publianus, this is the only one where Philip the Younger is mentioned as *Augustus*, while the others mention only Philip the father and Otacilia Severa, and Publianus is *legatus* of one *Augustus*. Therefore his office in Thrace started under Philip as sole emperor and probably ended soon after July/August 247.

whose name is erased, and with Iulius Priscus as governor of the province (**fig. 4**), was wrongly connected by previous editors, including myself, with Herennia Etruscilla, the wife of Decius Trajan (Gerassimova-Tomova 2005, 278-279 = Sharankov 2007, 530 = *AE* 2005, 1378 = *SEG* 55, 761). However, a closer examination of the traces on the stone clearly shows that the erased name was that of Otacilia Severa (**fig. 4/2**):

Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | Τὴν θεοφιλεστάτην | Αὐγοῦσταν ⟦Μ(αρκίαν) Ὠτ̣ακιλ|λίαν Σευῆραν Σ⟧εβαστὴν | τὸ κοινὸν τῆς λαμ|προτάτης Θρ̣ᾳκῶν | ἐπαρχείας, ἡγεμο|νεύοντος τῆς Θρ̣ᾳκῶν | ἐπαρχείας Ἰουλίου | Πρείσκου, πρεσβευτοῦ | Σεββ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρατήγου, | ἐπιμελουμένου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐστοχίου | Κέλερος θρ̣ᾳκάρχου.

Iulius Priscus therefore became governor of Thrace under Philip the Arab and remained on this post under the following emperor Decius. This would make more plausible the suggestion that the governor T. Iulius Priscus was relative of the emperor M. Iulius Philippus[19], whose brother was named (C.?) Iulius Priscus (*PIR*^{2} I 488; Körner 2002, 54-63, # 2.2.4, 366-367, # P18). It is not impossible that the governor was even the same person as the emperor's brother, since the latter's *praenomen* Gaius is far from certain: it is believed that it is attested in a single inscription from the Arabian Philippopolis (modern Shahba), where, according to some editions, a letter *C*, written above (!) the main text (which starts with *Iul(io) Prisco*), is considered an abbreviation for *C(aio)*[20].

According to Dexippus, Priscus was put in charge of more than one province (Thrace and Macedonia)[21]; if he was indeed Philip's relative, this could find a good parallel in the events described by Zosimus (1.19.2) about Philip's early rule, when the emperor's father- or brother-in-law Severianus was sent to oversee the armies in Moesia and Macedonia (see above # 4), and his brother Priscus was appointed to control the East[22]. Or, as Zosimus sums it up, '[Philip] thought it advisable to give the most important posts to his closest relatives'[23].

The appointment of Priscus as governor by Philip the Arab (and his possible relation to that emperor) could explain why the name of Otacilia Severa – which is usually not subjected to *damnatio memoriae* – was so carefully erased in the inscription on the statue-base (while the name of Priscus himself was left intact): one could suppose that Priscus, who at that period resided in Philippopolis, might have ordered the erasure himself, in order to assert his loyalty to the new emperor and to clear himself of any connections with the previous ruler. Priscus' kinship with a former emperor could also provide one of the possible reasons for his claims to the throne in the turbulent times of the Gothic invasions which led to the utter destruction and devastation of Philippopolis.

After assigning three new governors to the reign of Philip the Arab, it appears useful to make an attempt to clarify the chronology of all five governors of Thrace under this emperor:

[Marcius?] Severianus – AD 244;

Coresnius Marcellus – ca. AD 244/245;

Sex. Furnius Publianus – ca. AD 245 – (shortly) after July/August AD 247;

C. Vibius Gallus – ca. late AD 247 – 248;

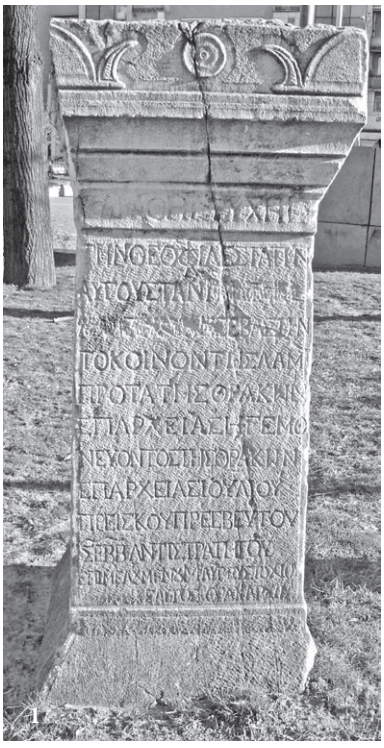
[19] Cf. the comments of G. Mihailov to *IGBulg* IV 2009 (p. 83).

[20] *CIL* III 14149^5. Possibly, the introduction of the *praenomen* was largely due to the authority of A. von Domaszewski, who was one of the first to comment upon the inscription, which he knew from a not so good copy (von Domaszewski 1899). However, a later – and better – edition of the same inscription by W. K. Prentice (1908, 308-309, # 393), who personally examined the stone, reads the name as *IVLPRISCO*, *Iul(io) Prisco*, without a *praenomen*. It is worth noting that the other inscriptions mentioning Philip's brother (Prentice 1908, 312-313, # 400 = *AE* 1908, 274: Ἰούλιον [Πρεῖσκ]ον; *IGRR* III 1033 + *CIS* II.3 3932: Ἰουλίου ⟦Πρείσκου⟧ / *ywlys* ⟦*prysqws*⟧; *IGRR* III 1201: [Ἰουλ]ίου Πρείσ[κου]), and even a papyrus of AD 245 with a petition to him as governor of Mesopotamia and containing a subscription by Priscus himself (Feissel / Gascou 1995, 67-84, # 1: Ἰουλίῳ Πρείσκῳ; ὑπογραφὴ Ἰουλίου Πρείσκου), do not give a *praenomen*. The only literary source, the *History* of Zosimus (1.19.2; 1.20.2), uses only the *cognomen* Priscus.

[21] Dexippus, frg. 26 Jacoby = 23 Martin: Πρίσκῳ, ὃς δὴ ἁρμοστὴς τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ Θρᾳκικῶν πόλεων ἦν ('to Priscus, who was governor of the Macedonian and Thracian cities'). Cf. also Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 29.2: *Lucio (i.e. <I>u<l>io?) Prisco, qui Macedonas praesidatu regebat*. On the practice of appointing supra-provincial governors or military commanders, cf. Körner 2002, 60-61; Vervaet 2007; Mecella 2012.

[22] For the latter, cf Priscus' title *rector Orientis* in the inscription from Philippopolis mentioned in note 20 (*CIL* III 14149^5 = Prentice 1908, 308-309, # 393: *rect(o)riq(ue) Orientis*). According to Zosimus, Priscus' rule in the East was not accepted well and provoked the revolt of Iotapianus (Zos. 1.20.2); later, Iotapianus was defeated, as was Marinus (Pacatianus) in Moesia/Pannonia, but Philip was still afraid, because 'he was aware of the soldiers' hatred towards the commanders and governors in those regions', so he put Decius in charge of the armies in Moesia and Pannonia (Zos. 1.21.2). Although there is no explicit mention of the eastern provinces, this could imply that Priscus had been released from his posts in the East.

[23] Transl. by R. T. Ridley (Zosimus 1982, 7).



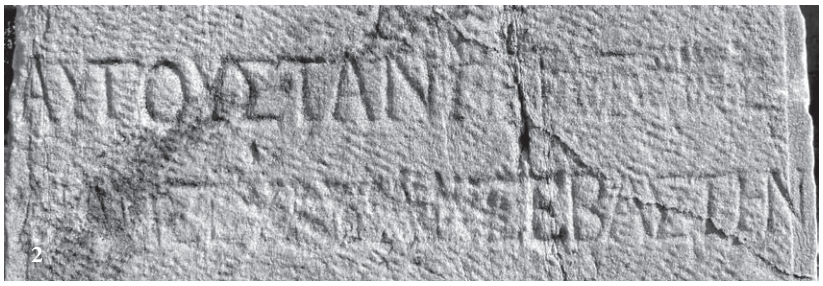


Fig. 4. Statue-base for Otacilia Severa with the name of the governor Iulius Priscus. Philippopolis, AD 248-249. **1** General view; **2** detail with the erased name of the empress (photos: N. Sharankov)

T. Iulius Priscus – AD 248/249 – 251.

[**Marcius?**] **Severianus**, if identical with Otacilia's father or brother of the same name, must be placed at the beginning of Philip's reign, since Zosimus explicitly says that he was put in charge of the armies in Moesia and Macedonia immediately after Philip reached Rome (possibly in the early summer of AD 244, cf. Kienast et al. 2017, 190).

Coresnius Marcellus should also be assigned to the early reign of Philip the Arab, since his name appears in an inscription (*IGBulg* V 5257) where Philip is named *Parthicus Adiabenicus*. This honorary surname has not been attested elsewhere, but can be compared to the equally non-official *Parthicus maximus* which was used only in Philip's early inscriptions (Kienast et al. 2017, 190)[24]. However, it remains unclear if Coresnius Marcellus succeeded or preceded Severianus.

Sextus Furnius Publianus probably had the longest term among the governors of Thrace under Philip the Arab, or at least he was the most active among them, for his inscriptions are by far the most numerous. Many of them are on milestones, and a reconstruction of the roads would have required a more peaceful time and a longer period. As I already said (cf. note 18 above), only one of Publianus' inscriptions mentions Philip the Younger as *Augustus* (and gives him the surname *Neos Helios*)[25], so he was certainly still governor of the province in July/August AD 247, when Philip the Younger became *Augustus*. However, since we have two more governors for the two-year period when Philip the Younger was *Augustus*, we can suggest that Publianus' governorship ended shortly after July/August AD 247[26].

C. Vibius Gallus must have been successor of Furnius Publianus, because he was governor after Philip the Younger became *Augustus*, and one of the inscriptions with his name gives the young emperor the epithet *Neos Helios* which is attested only in one more inscription from the time of Publianus (see note 25 above). The term of Vibius Gallus in Thrace was probably short, since there are only two or three inscriptions with his name, and, moreover, two of them were erected simultaneously. Gallus could have been transferred to some other place in order to be used as a military commander, or even sent to Rome to become *consul suffectus* (the consulship should have taken place in the period AD 248-250, after his stay in Thrace, but before the governorship in Moesia).

The last governor of Thrace in Philip's reign was undoubtedly **T. Iulius Priscus**, who kept his post under the following emperor Decius Trajan.

The last four governors discussed here belong to the time of the Tetrarchy. After the reorganization of the Roman Empire in the late third – early fourth century AD, the former province of Thrace was divided into several smaller provinces, and, together with territories of the

[24] It was probably not used after AD 245, and was certainly dropped before July/August AD 247, since all inscriptions which attest this surname mention Philip the Younger only as *Caesar*, and not as *Augustus*.

[25] *IGBulg* III.1 1511, with corrections by N. Sharankov (2016, 328): ⟦Μ(ᾶρκον) Ἰού[λ]ιον [Φίλιπ]πον γ⟧έον Ἥλιον εὐσεβῆ εὐτυχῆ Σεβ(αστόν).

[26] As correctly noted by L. Grozdanova (2017, 261), the commonly proposed date for the office of Furnius Publianus in Thrace in AD 247-249 is not convincing at all.

former Lower Moesia, formed the new diocese of Thrace. However, the exact date when all this happened is rather unclear[27]. Moreover, the inscriptions continued to use the traditional and rather vague terminology for provincial governors (*praeses* and ἡγεμών), so we are often unable to understand if an official was governor of a smaller province or ruled the entire diocese[28]. Another problem is the date of the actual division of the former Thrace into four small provinces, because the names of some of these provinces, although present in the Verona List, do not appear in inscriptions or literary sources before the reign of Constantine or even the mid-fourth century AD. However, since these problems go far beyond the scope of the present notes and cannot be solved easily (or even at all), I will abstain from further discussion on this topic.

7. Domitius Domninus, *vir perfectissimus*, AD 297

Domitius Domninus (*PLRE* I, 266: Domninus 6) was hitherto known from four statue-bases for the members of the First Tetrarchy, found in the theatre of Perinthus-Herakleia (*IPerinthos* 14-17: ἡγεμονεύοντος τοῦ διασημοτάτου Δομιτίου Δομνείνου). I was able to recognize his name in a badly preserved inscription from Cabyle, which was only partially read by previous editors and erroneously assigned to the first half of the third century AD (*SEG* 42, 645; now published in Шаранков 2017, 228-231). Its full text, besides the name of Domninus, contains a consular date and thus enables us to give a precise date for his governorship:

[- - - - - - κυρί|οις] ἡμῶν [Μ]α[ξ]ιμιανῷ Σ[εβ(αστῷ)] | τὸ ε′ καὶ Μα[ξι]μιανῷ Καί|σαρι τὸ β′, ἡγεμονεύον(τος) | τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου) Δομ(ιτίου) Δομ|νείνου, ἐπιστατοῦντος κα|[τὰ κέ]λευσιν αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίου) | [Οὐ]λπιανοῦ ὠρδινάτου, | [ἐτ]ειχίσθη ἡ π[όλις].

The inscription informs us about the building of fortification walls for the city during the consulship of Maximianus Augustus for the fifth time and (Galerius) Maximianus Caesar for the second time, i.e. in AD 297[29]. However, there arises another question. When we knew only about the four statue-bases from Perinthus-Herakleia, Domninus was thought to have been governor of the province of Europa; now he appears at Cabyle, which could not have belonged to that province, but was part either of Haemimontus or Thracia. Several solutions could be proposed for this problem. The first one – which seems the least probable – is to think that Domninus consecutively governed two different provinces. The second one would be to regard him as governing the entire diocese, but it is rather uncertain if the dioceses existed at such an early date. The third possible solution is that the division of the older province of Thrace into four smaller provinces (Europa, Rhodope, Thracia, Haemimontus) did not occur until a later time, and, at least during the first years or even decades after the reforms of Diocletian, the territory still could be governed by one person. The name of this larger entity could have been *Europa et Thracia*, as suggested by two inscriptions from Rome honouring L. Aradius Valerius Proculus as *consularis provinciae Europae et Thraciae* (*CIL* VI 1690-1691). I should note that one of these inscriptions (*CIL* VI 1690) lists each of his posts on a separate line, which seems to confirm that the governorship of Europa and Thracia was considered a single position. There is also an inscription from Augusta Traiana, mentioning one M. Aurelius Fronto as 'thracarch and europarch' (Bujukliev 2000 = *AE* 2001, 1743 = *SEG*

[27] The new administrative division is attested in the so-called Verona List or *Laterculus Veronensis*, seemingly compiled in the early decades of the fourth century AD. The part describing the eastern provinces is usually attributed to the period AD 314-324 (Barnes 1982, 201-208). The scholarly opinion is divided, especially concerning the date of the establishment of dioceses: some scholars opt for an early date under Diocletian (e.g., Jones 1964, 46-47, 373-374; Barnes 1982, 224-225: AD 293; Lo Cascio 2005, 180-181: AD 297), while others are more inclined towards the time of Constantine (Noethlichs 1982; Zuckerman 2002, 620-624, 636-637: AD 313/314).

[28] The term *vicarius* – most probably introduced as an abbreviation for *agens vices praefectorum praetorio* (Arnheim 1970) – does not appear before AD 313/314 (Noethlichs 1982, 75-76). For Thrace, the earliest attestations are of much later date (Wiewiorowski 2011). The earliest governor who seemingly had jurisdiction over a territory larger than the province of Thrace appears to be Teres (below # 9; not mentioned in Wiewiorowski 2011), but he is styled *vicarius* only in medieval hagiographic texts, while the contemporary sources use the traditional ἡγεμών/ἡγεμονεύων.

[29] Cabyle was apparently raised to a *polis* soon before that date, cf. τὰ κάστρα Καβύλης in an earlier inscription honouring emperor Aurelian (*IGBulg* V 5637, AD 270-275). The building of the fortification walls in AD 297 could have been one of the first activities marking the new status of the settlement.

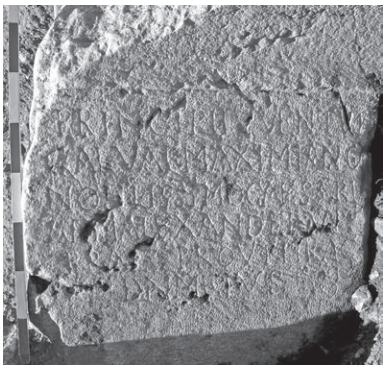


Fig. 5. Statue-base for *Caesar* Galerius Maximianus erected by the governor Aemilius Alexander. Augusta Traiana-Beroe, AD 293-305 (photo: N. Sharankov)

51, 916: Μ. Αὐρ. Φρόντωνος τοῦ θρᾳκάρχου καὶ εὐρωπάρχου), and it appears rather improbable to think of him as president of two different provincial councils[30].

8. Aemilius Alexander, *vir perfectissimus*, AD 303

Aemilius Alexander (*PIR*^{2} A 332; Stein 1920, 71-72, # 49; Thomasson 1984, 175, # 22:68) was hitherto attested in a single incomplete inscription and was dated vaguely to the second half or the end of the third century AD. The excavations of a temple of the imperial cult in Augusta Traiana-Beroe in 2015 (Камишева / Атанасов 2016; Шаранков 2016, 971-972, # I) revealed two statue-bases, erected in honour of the two *Caesares* of the First Tetrarchy (Constantius and Galerius) and placed at the front corners of the temple. The inscription for Constantius is only partially preserved[31], but the one for Galerius (**fig. 5**) shows that the statues were dedicated by the governor Aemilius Alexander:

Principi iuventutiṣ | Gal(erio) Val(erio) Maximiano | noḅilissimo Caesari | Aem(ilius) Alexander v(ir) p(erfectissimus) ⟦p⟧ | praes(es) prov(inciae) Thrac(iae) | d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) eius.

This inscription places Alexander's governorship in the period of the First Tetrarchy, between AD 293 and AD 305. It also allows us to propose a better restoration for the other inscription attesting him as *praeses* of Thrace (*CIL* III 14408, from Gorni Voden)[32]:

*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C. Val(erio) Diocletiano (*vel *M. Aur(elio) Val(erio) Maximiano)] | P(io) F(elici) Invict[o Aug(usto)] | Aemilius Alexander [v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p]raes(es) | prov(inciae) Thraciae | d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)<q>(ue) eius. | Feliciter.*

A more exact date for Aemilius Alexander's governorship in Thrace can be proposed, if we identify him with Alexander, apparently a provincial governor (*PLRE* I, 39: Alexander 1), addressee of a rescript by Diocletian and Maximian written at Durostorum on 8 June AD 303 (*Cod. Just*. 5.73.4).

9. [- - -] Teres, *vir perfectissimus*, ca. AD 305-311

Teres was governor of Thrace under Galerius (possibly at the beginning of his rule), and his Thracian name clearly indicates that he belonged to the local aristocracy. Our main source for his activity in Thrace is the *Passio* of three martyrs from Marcianopolis – Maximus, Asclepiodota and Theodotus (*BHG* II, 108, # 1239-1240b). He appears to have had jurisdiction over a territory larger than the (Late Roman) province of Thrace, because the texts show him active in Marcianopolis, Hadrianopolis and Philippopolis – cities which belonged to three different provinces (Moesia inferior, Haemimontus, Thracia), and some of the later versions of the martyrs' life (*BHG* 1239 and 1240b), as already mentioned above (note 28), explicitly name him *vicarius* (βικάριος). One of the unpublished versions of the text (*BHG* 1240a) apparently assigns the events to the beginning of Galerius' rule, so the governorship of Teres could be dated ca. AD 305-306[33]. Some scholars wrongly considered this life of the martyrs too unreliable, and therefore Teres was often excluded from the list of the governors of Thrace[34]. However, the life contains numerous details, of which only a contemporary living in Thrace could have been aware, so its reliability is beyond any doubt (Velkov 1980; Шаранков 2014b, 282-283, 285-286)[35]. It is worth mentioning one such piece of

[30] If he was a thracarch before the division of the older Thrace into smaller provinces, it is possible that his title was changed in order to conform to the new reality. For further discussion on this topic, see Шаранков 2014b, 280-281.

[31] *Principi iuventut[is] | Fl(avio) Val(erio) Const[a]nt[io] | nobilisṣ[imo Caesari - - -].*

[32] The inscription is not on a column/milestone, as incorrectly stated in the publications, but on a statue-base. In 2018, another inscription on a statue-base for Diocletian erected by Aemilius Alexander was found in Philippopolis.

[33] The martyrs are said to have been executed on 19 February, so the earliest possible date for this event is 19 February AD 306 (Galerius became *Augustus* in May AD 305). Cf. also # 10 below, about another governor attested in AD 309-310.

[34] For example, he is not even mentioned in *PLRE* I, although other governors attested in hagiographic sources (often of dubious reliability) have been included.

[35] The earliest version of the *Passio* (*BHG* 1240 = *AASS* 1755, 31-36) was apparently written not later than the second decade of the fourth century AD, since the text ends with a prayer that the persecutions against Christians should stop: 'O Thou God of gods, Lord and King of Powers... Thou seest how we suffer... O Thou Compassionate, stop the terror...' (*AASS* 1755, 36: Σὺ δέ μοι Θεὲ θεῶν, Κύριε καὶ Βασιλεῦ τῶν δυνάμεων... ὁρᾷς οἷα πάσχομεν... στῆσον, εὔσπλαγχνε, τὸ δεινόν...).

information preserved in the earliest version of the text. After describing the death of Teres (which occurred soon after the execution of the martyrs), the author comments upon the large burial mound over his grave, which was made as high as a mountain (εἰς ὄρους μέγεθος τὸ χῶμα ἀπεκορύφωσαν). He adds that this 'mountain' should serve as an eternal monument to remind present and future generations of God's wrath against the 'tyrant' (*AASS* 1755, 36). A large *tumulus* was certainly suitable for a nobleman of Thracian origin like Teres, and this seems to be the latest literary source to describe this practice[36].

Recently, the reliability of the information about Teres as governor of Thrace was utterly confirmed by a building inscription in the theatre of Philippopolis (**fig. 6**). It concerns a restoration of the entire building, which took place during his governorship:

Ἐπ[ὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Γαλερ(ίου) Οὐαλερ(ίου) Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)] τὸ πᾶν ἔρ[γον ἀνενεώθη (?)], || ἡγεμονεύοντος [τῆ]ς Θρ[ᾴκης] (*vel* Θρ[ᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας]?) [- - -] Τηρου τοῦ διασημοτάτου, | λογιστεύον(τος) Σατορνείνου.

Teres is *vir perfectissimus* (διασημότατος) and his position is indicated with the phrase ἡγεμονεύων τῆς Θρᾴκης, which is standard in Greek inscriptions from Thrace (and corresponds to the title ἡγεμών given to Teres in the literary sources)[37].

10. Tadius Al[exander?], AD 309-310

This governor of Thrace from the period of the Fourth Tetrarchy is attested in a building inscription from Cabyle (*SEG* 42, 646 [b] = *SEG* 54, 638; completely revised text in Шаранков 2017, 231-237)[38]. It refers to the construction of a *gynaeceum* (state textile workshop) by the governor, a *vir perfectissimus*, whose name is only partially preserved:

Ἀγαθῇ τύχηι. | Ὑπὲρ ὑγίας κα[ὶ νείκ]ης καὶ ἐωνίου δ[ιαμο]-νῆς | τῶν δ̣ε̣σ̣π̣[οτῶν ἡ]μῶν Γ̣α̣λ(ερίου) Οὐαλ(ερίου) Μα[ξιμια]-ν̣ο̣ῦ̣ | καὶ Λικ[ιννια]ν̣(οῦ) Λ̣ι̣[κι]ννίου [Σεβ(αστῶν) καὶ Γαλ(ερίου) Ο]ὐαλ(ερίου) | Μαξιμ[ίνου] Καίσαρος [καὶ Φλαβ(ίου) Οὐα]λ̣(ερίου) | [Κων]σ̣τ̣αν̣τίνου υἱῶ<ν> βασιλέ̣ω̣ν κ[αὶ τῆς δε]σ|[ποί]νης ἡμῶν Γαλερίας Οὐα[λερίας Σεβ(αστῆς) | ὁ δ]ιασ̣η̣μότατος ἡ[γ]εμὼν Τ̣ά̣δ(ιος) Ἀλ[έξανδρος?] | [τὸ] γ̣υ̣νε̣[κῖο]ν κατεσκεύα[σε κα]ὶ ἀνενε[ώσατο] | τ̣ῇ̣ λαν[πρᾷ] Καβυληνῶ̣ν̣ [πόλει, λο]γ̣[ι]σ̣τ̣[εύον(τος)] | Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐγ[ε]νίου, ἐπιμε[λ]ο̣υμ[ένων Αὐρ(ηλίων) Ἰου?]|λιανοῦ καὶ Ι̣Ι[ολυ]α̣ίνου δεκαπ[ρώτων καὶ Ἀρι]|σ̣τ̣[άρ]χ[ο]υ̣ (?) [καὶ Ἰ]ωβιανοῦ καὶ Πύρ̣ο̣[υ καὶ - - - (?)]. | Ε̣ὐ̣[τ]υχῶς.

The date should be set between the early months of AD 309 and May AD 310 according to the title of Maximinus (Daia) and Constantine υἱοὶ βασιλέων = *filii Augustorum* (Kienast et al. 2017, 276, 287). This is the first hitherto known inscription about the construction of a *gynaeceum* and provides us with a strong argument supporting the suggestion that state textile workshops were introduced under the Tetrarchy[39]. The *gynaeceum* in Cabyle could have been founded earlier, by Diocletian, cf. the not so clear expression κατεσκεύα[σε κα]ὶ ἀνενε[ώσατο], 'built and renewed'. On the other hand, a passage in Lactantius indirectly shows Galerius' concern about *gynaecea* (Lact. *Mort. pers.* 21.3-4; cf. Wild 1976, 54), and the verb 'renewed' could simply mean that some already existing building(s) were reconstructed in order to house the textile workshop. The *gynaeceum*, an enterprise connected with military supply, was built under the direct control of the governor. Of his name,

[36] I should note that later versions of the life, probably written by non-local authors who were not aware of this burial custom (and of the presence of large *tumuli* throughout Thrace), have either misunderstood or simply omitted this detail.

[37] For further comments on this inscription, see Шаранков 2014b.

[38] The text is engraved on the back side of the re-used building inscription of AD 208 mentioned above at # 3.

[39] This would be the second known *gynaeceum* for the diocese of Thrace after the one in Perinthus-Herakleia, which is attested in a funerary inscription (*IPerinthos* 179). Note that the *fabricae* in Thrace were also two – in Hadrianopolis and Marcianopolis (*Not. dign. Or.* XI).



Fig. 6. Right end of a building inscription mentioning the governor Teres. Philippopolis, AD 305-311 (photo: N. Sharankov)

we see the abbreviated *nomen* Tadius, and the beginning of the *cognomen* Al-, probably Alexander (but other names as e.g. Albinus, Alypius, etc., are also possible). His exact position – governor only of the small province to which Cabyle belonged (Haemimontus, if the latter already existed, or Thracia), or of a larger territory (*Thracia et Europa*, or the entire diocese) – remains unknown, but the latter possibility seems more probable, if we concern that the *gynaeceum* was a building of state importance. If he had the same position as Teres, he could well have been his immediate successor.

The new evidence about the four Tetrarchic governors of Thrace may be summed up as follows:

Domitius Domninus, *vir perfectissimus*, 'ἡγεμονεύων', attested in Perinthus-Herakleia and Cabyle – AD 297;

Aemilius Alexander, *vir perfectissimus*, '*praeses provinciae Thraciae*', active in Philippopolis (territory) and Augusta Traiana-Beroe – AD 303;

[- - -] **Teres**, *vir perfectissimus*, 'ἡγεμών/ἡγεμονεύων τῆς Θρᾴκης', active in Marcianopolis, Hadrianopolis, Philippopolis – ca. AD 305-306 (?);

Tadius Al[exander?], *vir perfectissimus*, 'ἡγεμών', active in Cabyle – AD 309-310.

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Roman Thrace: Diplomacy and the Greek Cities of the Aegean Coast

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Abstract: Roman diplomatic arrangements in Aegean Thrace are usually reconstructed through literary sources and epigraphic documents. Sometimes coins corroborate the evidence, but archaeological data can rarely be of any help. The main focus of this paper is to combine the existing literary, epigraphic, numismatic and material testimonies related to the diplomatic means used by Abdera and Maroneia, the leading Greek cities of the Aegean coast, from the 2nd century BC until the reign of Hadrian, in order to establish their position in the Roman world (**fig. 1**).

Key words: Abdera, Maroneia, diplomacy, Aegean Thrace.

Introduction

Rome was active in the area of Aegean Thrace already in the 2nd century BC, trying to extend its hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula and to protect its interests in the Eastern Mediterranean basin against the great Hellenistic monarchies (Danov 1979; Sullivan 1979; Walbank 1981; Kallet-Marx 1995, 196-199; 223-227; Loukopoulou 2011, 471-476; Delev 2015; Lozanov 2015, 75-78; Iliev 2015). Apart from warfare and military interventions, the construction of *Via Egnatia* during the third quarter of the 2nd century BC constituted a development of immense importance for southern Thrace, as the area became part of the transportation network that connected the Adriatic Sea with Byzantium (Lolos 2007).

Despite the overwhelming military power of Rome, diplomacy never ceased to constitute a very 'delicate' parallel mechanism that secured stability and peace. Various strategies were implemented by the Romans in the Eastern Mediterranean basin in accordance with the geopolitical reality, the loyalty of the involved ruler or city to Rome, and the concept of *amicitia*, which formed a characteristic pattern of Roman politics from the 3rd century BC onwards (Gruen 1984, 54-93).

It is interesting to note the differentiated practices applied by Rome during the Republic when dealing with the Thracian tribes of the interior or with the Greek cities of the coast. The constant armed conflicts with the Thracian tribes, the military recruitment, the granting of Roman citizenship and the gradual transformation of the Thracian rulers into friendly kings ended up with the annexation of Thrace in the Roman Empire in AD 46 (Braund 1984; Parissaki 2013c; Baltrusch / Wilker 2015). On the other hand, the policy of the Romans towards the cities of the Aegean coast is better understood within the frame of the strategy developed by them in the Greek East (Gruen 1984; Kallet-Marx 1995; Derow 2003; Eckstein 2006; Gruen 2006).



Fig. 1. Map of Aegean Thrace (Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodope – Ch. Sismanidis)

Literary sources and material evidence

At the dawn of the 2nd century BC, the rivalry between Philip V, Antiochus III, Eumenes II and the Romans determined the fate of the Aegean littoral Thrace. After the battle at Kynoskephalai in 197 BC, the Greek cities of Thrace were declared free by the Romans (Polyb. 18.48.2; Liv. 33.30-31). Soon afterwards (195/194 BC), Maroneia and neighbouring Ainos passed under the rule of the Seleucids, but the interventions of Philip V in the area did not come to an end. In 183/2 BC the town of Maroneia was seriously damaged by Philip V of Macedon (Liv. 39.34; Polyb. 22.13-14). During the Third Macedonian War, Maroneia, Ainos and Abdera were on the side of the Romans. Although the first two cities managed to avoid the attack of the Roman fleet, Abdera was plundered by the Roman *praetor* Lucius Hortensius in the summer of 170 BC (Liv. 43.4.8-13; Diod. Sic. 30.6.1).

The battle of Pydna in 168 BC and the end of the Antigonid dynasty was followed by the division of the Macedonian Kingdom into four administrative districts (*merides*). The area between the rivers Nestos and Hebros was annexed to the first, the easternmost *meris*, but the large Greek cities of the coast Abdera, Maroneia and Ainos retained their state of freedom (Diod. Sic. 31.8.8; Liv. 45.29.5-7; Loukopoulou 1987, 63-64).

Archaeological research in Abdera and Maroneia has not managed so far to produce sufficient evidence on the changes that occurred in the urban development of the two cities during the Roman period. Late Hellenistic and Roman pottery, coins, public buildings, houses inside the walls and agricultural establishments in the *chora*, as well as excavated parts of the cemeteries, form a rather blurry picture about the life in the two cities, as they have not been thoroughly studied. In Abdera, a colony that was founded near the river Nestos by the Clazomenians in the 7th century BC and was re-established in the 6th century BC by the Teians, excavations have revealed the Roman phases of the residential city blocks, roads and parts of the city's Roman cemeteries, but the public buildings and the town planning of the period

are scarcely known (see Kallintzi's article in the present volume). In the case of Maroneia, the situation is rather different. Maroneia was founded by Chians, probably in the 7th century BC, opposite the island of Samothrace. Although excavations inside the walls of the city are very limited, there is some archaeological proof for the events of a very troubled period, i.e. the 2nd century BC. A complex of public buildings, which surrounded the temple of Dionysos, was constructed during the 4th century BC and was abandoned in the beginning or at least, before the middle of the 2nd century BC (Αναγνωστοπούλου-Χατζηπολυχρόνη 2012). Archaeological research conducted in other buildings of the wider area of the theatre and in Hellenistic houses of the city confirms this date of abandonment (Karadima 2008, lxi). The theatre, on the other hand, built in the late 4th century BC, seems to remain constantly in use until the Late Roman era (Karadima et al. 2015). Apart from the above, a monumental gate (*propylon*) with three openings near the harbour has been identified as the entrance of the city's Forum. Close to the *propylon* a large storage building with two rectangular rooms (probably a *horreum* of the 2nd–3rd century AD) and parts of a paved road to the north of it have been excavated (Κοκκοτάκη 2003).

Research on the *onomasticon* of the Roman period in Aegean Thrace recorded 428 persons (Parissaki 2007, 267). The names can be assigned to three groups: The first one consists of the ones that testify to the Roman citizenship and the Italic origin of their possessors. The names of Roman citizens with a non-Italic origin are included in the second group, and those of persons without Roman citizenship are in the third. The majority of the names of Italic origin dates to the early stages of the Roman presence in the area and is concentrated in Abdera and Maroneia. Their existence is examined within the broader context of the financial activities performed by immigrants from the Italian peninsula in the Greek East. The limited number of imperial *nomina* attested in Aegean Thrace until the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212 indicates that the Romans were either reluctant or indifferent in using the diplomatic tool of granting Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of Aegean Thrace (Parissaki 2007, 282-288). This conclusion is strengthened by the synthetic study on the names of male Roman citizens that resided in Thrace, excluding the city of Byzantium and the islands of Thasos and Samothrace (Camia 2013). The 401 Roman *cives* identified inhabited Thrace from the 2nd century BC until the 3rd century AD. The highest percentage of them dates in the 1st and the 2nd century AD and is concentrated in Philippopolis, Perinthos and Augusta Traiana. Apart from the *negotiatores*, active in Aegean Thrace and the Thracian Chersonessos (Camia 2015), most of the Roman citizens present in Thrace during the Republic and the early Principate were members of Thracian aristocratic families. The diffusion of Roman citizenship increased from the middle of the 1st century onwards, but the total number of Roman citizens in Thrace until the 3rd century AD remained limited.

A major change occurred in the numismatic history of Maroneia during the late 2nd century BC, when the city started for the first time to mint silver tetradrachms on attic standards. They depicted the head of Dionysos on the obverse and a standing Dionysos on the reverse. At the same period Thasos, the other 'great power' of the Northern

Aegean coast, minted also tetradrachms according to Attic standards (Prokopov 2006). The extensive circulation of these two coin series in the interior of Thrace, especially in the first decades of the 1st century BC, may be related to the needs of the Roman army, which was present in the area on many occasions due to the aggressiveness of the Thracian tribes and the battles against Mithridates VI Eupator (Psoma 2013, 289-294). The city of Abdera was unable to follow the same dynamic monetary policy. Only bronze coins were minted during the last period of the city's civic coinage (after 167 BC until the first half of the 1st century BC) with the head of Poseidon on the obverse and a griffin on the reverse (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 305-319).

One small stone altar of the 2nd century BC, dedicated to Zeus and Roma (*IThrAeg* E 187) indicates that the Maronitans were eager to use any existing method in order to flatter Rome. The early introduction of the worship of the Goddess Roma was nothing more than a disguised diplomatic act (Mellor 1975; Fayer 1976; Mellor 1981; Gruen 1984, 177-180; Raycheva 2015). It is interesting to note that later, during the imperial era, the combined worship of Dea Roma, Zeus, Dionysos and Maron, the mythical founder of the city, was very popular in Maroneia (*IThrAeg* E 188-198). The combined cult of the Goddess and Zeus is attested also in Ainos (Martínez Fernández 1999, 66-67) and in Abdera. In the latter, Zeus bears the epithet Eleutherios (*IThrAeg* E 21-22).

A set of epigraphic documents comprises by far the most enlightening source of information about the course of diplomatic and military events in Aegean Thrace during the Roman period.

A decree of Abdera honouring the *demos* of Teos in Asia Minor was found in the sanctuary of Dionysos in Teos (Marek 1997; *IThrAeg* E 6). According to the text, the Teians, who are called by the Abderitans *fathers of the city*, supported their colony in a very critical situation which is not clearly stated. Christian Marek, the first editor of the inscription, dated it to the 2nd century BC (166-160 BC) and proposed that it should be interpreted within the context of the destruction of the city in 170 BC. According to Livy, in 170 BC, when the Third Macedonian War was close to its end, Abdera, an ally of the Macedonians, was plundered by the Roman *praetor* Lucius Hortensius with the help of Eumenes II. The leading citizens of the city were executed and many Abderitans were sold as slaves. According to Livy's description (43.4.8-13), the city of Abdera tried to prevent the Roman attack using diplomatic means and for this reason a deputation was sent to Rome. The Roman Senate decided to sentence Hortensius for this unjust war, proclaimed the freedom of the city and ordered that the Abderitans who had been sold as slaves should obtain again their freedom. Although Livy's account does not mention the intervention of Teian ambassadors in this particular case, the interpretation proposed by Christian Marek seems well documented, if the century-long close bond that existed between Abdera and the mother city of Teos is taken under consideration (Hermann 1981; Graham 1992; Βεληγιάννη-Τερζή 1997; Loukopoulou / Parissaki 2004).

A second honorary decree of the city of Abdera was also found in Teos (Pottier / Hauvette-Besnault 1880; *Syll*^{3} 656; Robert 1935; Herrmann 1971; Erskine 1994; Ager 1996, # 169; *IThrAeg* E 5; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 313-316; Camia 2009, 160-163). In this particular inscription, two

Teians are honoured because they went as ambassadors to Rome and defended Abdera when their ancestral territory was threatened by the Thracian King Kotys, a former ally of Perseus. The envoys from Teos faced in Rome a demanding challenge and succeeded to convince their Roman patrons to support Abdera. The inscription has been traditionally dated to immediately after the Third Macedonian War (168 or 166 BC) but the historical context is not clear and the date of the events has been greatly disputed. The later dating that has been proposed places the conflict of the Thracian king and Abdera between 93 and 87 BC (Chiranky 1982; Манов 2002). According to some scholars, the Latin loanwords *patronus* and *atrium*, which appear transliterated in the text, attest to a later dating, as they are not common in the 2nd century BC (Eilers 2002, 114-118, 238-239; Bloy 2012).

An important epigraphic text of Maroneia is revealing concerning the methods used by Rome when dealing with the Greek cities of the Thracian coast in terms of *amicitia*. In the year 167 BC Maroneia and Ainos, made a treaty of alliance (*foedus*) with Rome (**fig. 2**) (Τριαντάφυλλος 1983; Gruen 1984, v. 2, 738-740; Loukopoulou 1987, 100-110; Stern 1987; Derow 1988, 269-270; Canali de Rossi 1999; *IThrAeg* E 168; Clinton 2003, 408-410; Gladhill 2016, 62-63). According to the text, the demos of Maroneia and the demos of Ainos signed an agreement with the demos of Rome that prevented the war between Rome and the Greek cities and ensured that between them *there shall be friendship and good alliance by land and by sea for all time. There shall not be war* (lines 10-12, translation: Bagnall / Derow 2004, # 49).

From 120 BC until his death in Pantikapaion in 63 BC, the King of Pontos Mithridates VI Eupator, threatened the Roman supremacy in the East. Knowledge about the fate of the Greek cities of the Thracian coast during the period that the troops of Mithridates crossed this area in 88 BC is limited (Gaggero 1978; *IThrAeg E* 166, 327; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 316-317). One letter of the governor of Macedonia Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella addressed to the Thasians (80 BC) (Dunant / Pouilloux 1958, # 175; *RDGE,* # 21; *IThrAeg* E 166; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 316; Clinton 2003, 385-388; Sherk 1984, # 64) informs that the Roman Senate renewed friendship and alliance with the island and granted privileges to the Thasians because they had resisted to the enemies of Rome. In the fragmentary text, envoys from Abdera are also mentioned, probably because the city was also an ally of Rome[1]. During the same period Maroneia must had suffered a terrible destruction by the troops of Mithridates. This is deduced by the text of a decree of Maroneia found in the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace (Clinton 2003; Clinton 2004; Wörrle 2004; *IThrAeg* E 180; Wörrle 2005; Thornton 2007)[2]. When Claudius was inaugurated Emperor in AD 41, or later in AD 46, when Thrace became a province, the Maronitans tried to defend their rights and sent an embassy to the Emperor. The inscription refers that in the past, *immediately upon introduction of their (sc. the Romans) hegemony in this region* (line 8), a treaty was concluded between the two parts, confirming in this way the dating of the treaty of alliance between Maroneia and Rome (167 BC), proposed by its first editor Diamantis Triantaphyllos. It also offers three very interesting pieces of information: first of all that the decision to send ambassadors to Rome was taken not only by the leading citizens, but also by the Roman residents and all other citizens. Secondly, it mentions a complete

[1] Granius Licinianus (35.70) mentions that Abdera was sieged by the troops of Mithridates in 86 BC.

[2] According to Clinton, the remaining two inscribed fragments should be attributed to two decrees. On the contrary, the editors of *IThrAeg* estimate that the two inscribed stones are parts of the same decree.



Fig. 2. The *foedus* of Maroneia (Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodope; photographer: S. Stournaras)

destruction that the city suffered in the past because Maroneia was a friend and an ally to Rome. Kevin Clinton, the first editor of the inscription, believes that this destruction should be related to the troops of the Pontic King Mithridates being in Aegean Thrace around 88-87 BC. Thirdly, the inscription explains in detail the mechanism through which the embassies would be sent to Rome in the future.

Two honorary inscriptions with the names of Thracian kings, one probably from Abdera (*IThrAeg* E 83 honouring Rhoemetalkes III, AD 38-46) and one from Maroneia (*IThrAeg* E 207 honouring probably Kotys, son of of Rheskouporis, 42-31 BC)[3] date from the 1st century BC to the first half of the 1st century AD and prove that the cities of Aegean Thrace tried to secure stability in their area by achieving a balanced relationship with the Romans and with their neighbours in in-

[3] Compare also *IThrAeg* E 458 (from Plotinopolis, votive inscription to Hercules Saviour probably mentioning Kotys, son of Rhaeskouporis (42-31 BC) and an inscription from Perinthos, Sayar 1998, # 5 mentioning Rhoemetalkes II (AD 19-38). See also: Μπακαλάκης 1935 for a votive monument to Zeus Hypsistos honouring Rhoemetalkes III from Eastern Macedonia. On the relations between the Greek cities of the coast and the Thracian client kings see: Loukopoulou 1987, 86-91; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 379-380; Parissaki 2013c, 110-111.

ner Thrace. The fact that a significant amount of coins of the Thracian King Rhoemetalkes I (11 BC-AD 12) was found in Abdera is also suggestive for the contacts between the city and the client kingdom of Thrace (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 379).

After the annexation of Thrace in the Roman Empire in AD 46, Claudius followed a different policy towards the territories controlled by the Thracians and the Greek cities of the Aegean, the Propontis and the Black Sea. He left the administration of the inner territories to the *strategoi*, preserving an older administrative system (Gerov 1970; Parissaki 2009; Delev 2009; Parissaki 2013b), but he declared the Greek cities free (Danov 1979; Αβραμέα 1994; Wilkes 1996; Kolendo 1998; Bechert 1999, 73-76; Ivanov / von Bülow 2008; Parissaki 2013a; Lozanov 2015; Iliev 2015).

An edict of Emperor Hadrian (**fig. 3**) illustrates the continuing efforts of Maroneia and Abdera to gain the favour of Rome. When Hadrian passed through the area in the year AD 132, Maronitans and Abderitans appealed to him because Roman officials demanded unjust financial privileges concerning their sea travel to Samothrace and the imperial transport system (*vehiculatio*). As it is clearly stated in the Edict, the Emperor supported the Greek cities against the arbitrary actions of the Roman officials (*IThrAeg* E 185; Jones 2011). Two inscriptions from Abdera (*IThrAeg* E 78-79) demonstrate that Hadrian also resolved the boundary disputes of the city (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 352; Boatwright 2000, 105). The fact that in both inscriptions the term Ἀδριανέων is added to the name of the city is indicative of the gratitude expressed to the Emperor. The same term is found in some of the

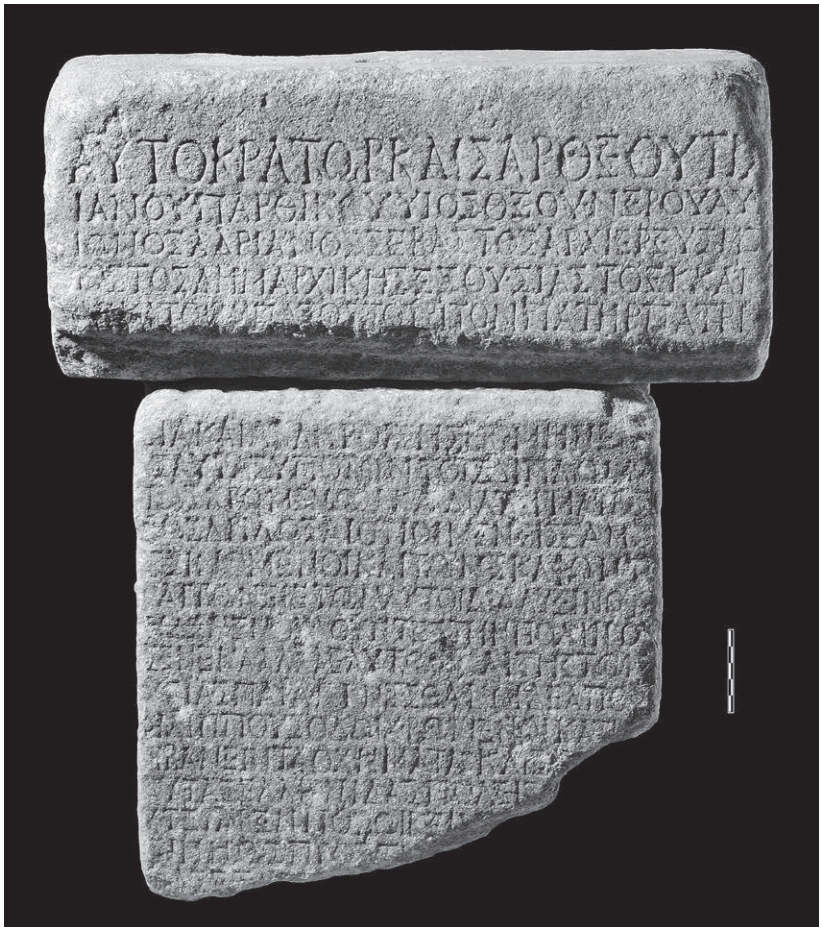


Fig. 3. Edict of Emperor Hadrian (Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodope; photographer: S. Stournaras)

coins struck in Abdera during the reign of Hadrian (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 352). Emperor Hadrian is named *soter* in an honorary inscription found in Maroneia, probably because of the help he provided to the city at the time of his visit (*IThrAeg* E 210). During the reign of Hadrian, Maroneia started again to mint coins after an interval of fifty years (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 87). Even the construction of the marble *propylon* that led to the city's forum (Κοκκοτάκη 2003) may be related to the visit of the Emperor, for whom the fostering of the cities was always a priority.

Conclusion

The Greek cities of the Aegean coast retained their state of freedom and the privileges derived from it throughout the Republic and the Imperial Period, although the historical conditions were not in their favour any more. The epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological testimonies document the existence of all the patterns usually encountered in the eastern part of the Roman world: diplomatic acts, imperial cult, festivals, gladiatorial games and the issue of provincial coinage[4]. Topeiros, Traianopolis and Plotinopolis, the new cities founded in the area by Trajan, were situated on the axis of *Via Egnatia* or close to the road that led to inner Thrace and began their Roman life with many advantages. Unlike that, the Greek cities of the coast never again experienced their older 'days of glory'.

[4] The provincial coinage of Maroneia, usually with Dionysos on the reverse, started under Nero and continued until Volusian (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 85-88). Abdera started to strike bronze coinage under Tiberius, and continued until the reign of Antoninus Pius, abandoning the griffin as the city's emblem (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 325-382). In Maroneia the imperial cult must have started very early as it is deduced by the fact that in the decree mentioned above (*IThrAeg* E 180) Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius are addressed as Gods (Clinton 2003, 402-403). The theater of Maroneia was turned into an arena during the early Imperial period (Karadima et al. 2015, 261-263). The city honoured with inscriptions Vespasian and Titus (*IThrAeg* E 208), and Trajan (*IThrAeg* E 209).

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C. Iulius Rhaskos, Son of Rhoimetalkes, at Samothrace

Kevin CLINTON / Nora DIMITROVA

Abstract: A list of *mystai* found in the Samothracian Sanctuary of the Great Gods and published by Nora Dimitrova (2008, 115-119, # 46) presents in first place, in large lettering, a hitherto unknown member of the Sapaean royal line, C. Iulius Rhaskos son of Rhoimetalkes, followed by Antonia Tryphaina, the Queen of Pontus. Placement of him in the most appropriate position in the Sapaean stemma in the first century A.D. requires choosing between the stemma published in *PIR*² IV, *ad* p. 264 (= VI, stemma 22a, *ad* p. 232) and the revised stemma in *PIR*² VI, stemma 22b, *ad* p. 232 (= VII, stemma 8, *ad* p. 58). The revised stemma is based significantly on the reading of the filiation of Pythodoris in *IGBulg* I² 399 (= 5140), lines 8-12 as Πυθο[δω]|[ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς] | [Ροιμητ]αλκου |[10] [βασιλέ]ως Πολ[έ]|[μωνος δ]ὲ θυγατ[ρι]|[δῆς, implying that Pythodoris might be the daughter of Rhoimetalkes II (*PIR*² I 517) and granddaughter of Polemo 1 (*PIR*² P 531). The critical reading is the initial epsilon in line 11, which has been regarded as certain by previous editors. However, personal autopsy of the stone in the National Historical Museum shows that the letter is certainly sigma, thereby confirming the text printed by H. Dessau (1913, 695, based on Kalinka's edition): Πυθο[δω]|[ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς] | [Ροιμητ]αλκου [καὶ] |[10] [βασιλέ]ως Πολ[έ]|[μωνο]ς θυγατ[ρι]|[δῆς]. Dessau's text confirms the validity of the stemma published in *PIR*² IV, in accordance with which Rhaskos, initiated probably ca. A.D. 40-45, should be the son of Rhoimetalkes II (*PIR*² I 517).

Key words: Thrace, Sapaean, C. Iulius Rhaskos, Rhoimetalkes, Rheskouporis, Antonia Tryphaina, Kotys, Pontus, Sadalas, Samothracian, initiate, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula.

In 1971 a new list of initiates, discovered in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace, provided our first evidence of participation by members of the Thracian royal line in the Samothracian Mysteria. In 2008 Nora Dimitrova (2008, 115-119, # 46) published the text, description of the stone, and epigraphical commentary. Several years earlier, Kevin Clinton prepared, for a publication that did not appear, an *editio princeps* with commentary on the Thracian royalty; our joint revised commentary appeared in the recent Festschrift dedicated to the memory of Georgi Mihailov (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 85-100). There, in our discussion of the prosopography of the Thracian initiate C. Iulius Rhaskos, we had to choose between conflicting stemmata of the family that were published in *PIR*², and we presented in various footnotes arguments supporting our choice. Here, for the sake of clarity on this important issue, the primary focus will be an analysis of the two conflicting stemmata.

Dimitrova 2008, # 46
Ca. A.D. 40-45?
ἐπὶ βασιλέως Ἀγησάρχου τοῦ Ἀγη[σάρχου?]
Γ α ῖ ο ς Ἰ ο ύ λ ι ο ς Ῥ ᾴ σ [κ ο ς]

Ῥ ο ι μ η̃ [τ ά λ] κ ο υ [. . . .[8]. . . .]
[Ἀ]ντων[ία Τρύφαι]ν̣α β̣α̣[σιλέως Πο]-
λ̣έμωνος [θυγάτ]η̃ρ κα[ὶ βασιλίσσης]
[Πυ]θοδωρίδ[ος] vv μύ̣[στ]α̣ι
vacat spatium unius versus

I	II
[Κοίν]τ̣ος Ὀκτάβ̣ιος Ἀπε.[- - - - - - - - - - - -]	[- - - - - - - - -]
[. . . .]ος Μ̣α̣ικίλιος Τίτου υ̣[ἱ]ὸς [- - nomen - -]	[- - - - - - - - -]
	[- - - - -]δο̣υ̣
[. . . .] Καιρέλλιος Γάλλος vvv [	- - - - - -]πος
[Κ]ο̣[ί]ντος Ῥαπίλλιος Κοίντου υ̣[ἱ]ὸς [nomen	- - - - -]λ̣ε̣υς
	[- - - -]Ε̣Σ̣[.]ΟΣ
[Θεο]δόσιος ⟦Μενοικέως Ἀβυδηνό[ς]⟧	
	[- - - - - - - - -]ς
[. . . . .]υ̣ Ἀγα̣θ̣ήνορος Ὀδησσείτ̣ης	
	[- - - - - - -]
Ποσ̣ιδώνιος Τειμοκράτου[ς Ὀ]δησσείτ[ης]	[- - - -]ος vv της
	[- - - -]ευς κυβερνή-
ἀπε̣λ̣εύθεροι vv	[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[Μ]α̣̂ρκος Ἀντώνιος [- - - - - - - - - - - - -	Σ]τ̣έφανος
[Ὀ]πτα̣̂τα PAN[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[Ἀ]υ̣τωνία [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]	
[Ἀ]υ̣τωυ̣ία [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]	
[Ἀ]υ̣τωυ̣[ι- -]	
[-]	

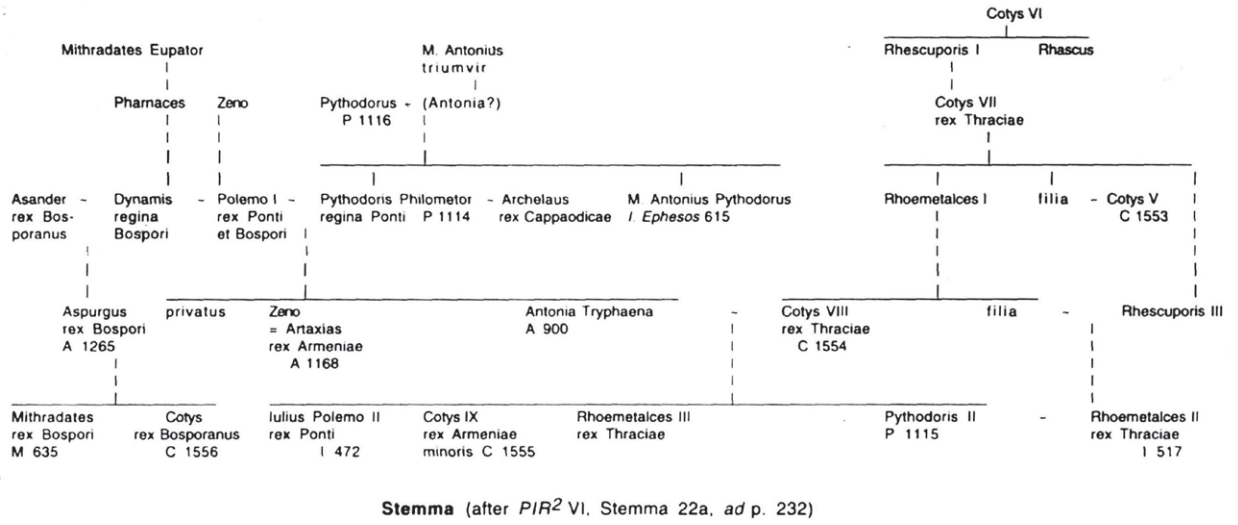
vacat
ἐπὶ βασιλέως Θεοδώρ̣[ου? τοῦ]
Μητρώνακτος μύσται v εὐσεβε[ῖς]
Γαῖος Αὐρήλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Ἰφ[ι - - - - - -]
Ἀγαθώνυμος Σωσιδάμου v Ὀδη̣[σσείτης]
συνμύστης.

The precedence of Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Ῥά̣σ[κος], a hitherto unknown member of the Thracian royal line, is given major emphasis by the size and spacing of the letters of his name. Following him, Antonia Tryphaina, daughter of King Polemon I of Pontus and Queen Pythodoris, receives much smaller lettering.

Antonia Tryphaina (*PIR*² A 900) provides the approximate date. She was the great-granddaughter (apparently) of Mark Antony (cf. Sullivan 1979, 203-204). Daughter of Polemon I (*PIR*² P 531), King of Pontus, she married Kotys VIII (*PIR*² C 1554), co-regent of Thrace, and produced several children. In A.D. 19 Rheskouporis III (*PIR*² R 60 = *PIR* R 42; cf. Sullivan 1979, 200-204), the other co-regent, took Kotys prisoner and killed him[1]. Her three sons stayed with her in Rome and became "household mates and companions" (σύντροφοι καὶ ἑταῖροι) of Caligula (*SIG*³ 798). After the death of their father, Tiberius assigned the rule of Thrace to the three sons in the care of a guardian (they were under age) and to their father's cousin, Rhoimetalkes II (*PIR*² I 517), the son of Rheskouporis III, the man who killed their father. Rhoimetalkes II reigned over, roughly speaking, northern Thrace, first as "dynast," later with the title of king, certainly until A.D. 26, probably at least until the end of the reign of Tiberius (*PIR*² I 517; Sullivan 1979, 204-207).

Fig. 1 follows the stemma first published in *Prosopographia*

[1] As a result of Tryphaina's testimony the Senate banished Rheskouporis to Alexandria and a short time later he died there (Tac. *Ann.* 2.64-67).



Stemma (after *PIR*^{2} VI, Stemma 22a, *ad* p. 232)

Fig. 1. Stemma of the Thracian Royalty (after *PIR*^{2} VI, stemma 22a, *ad* p. 232)

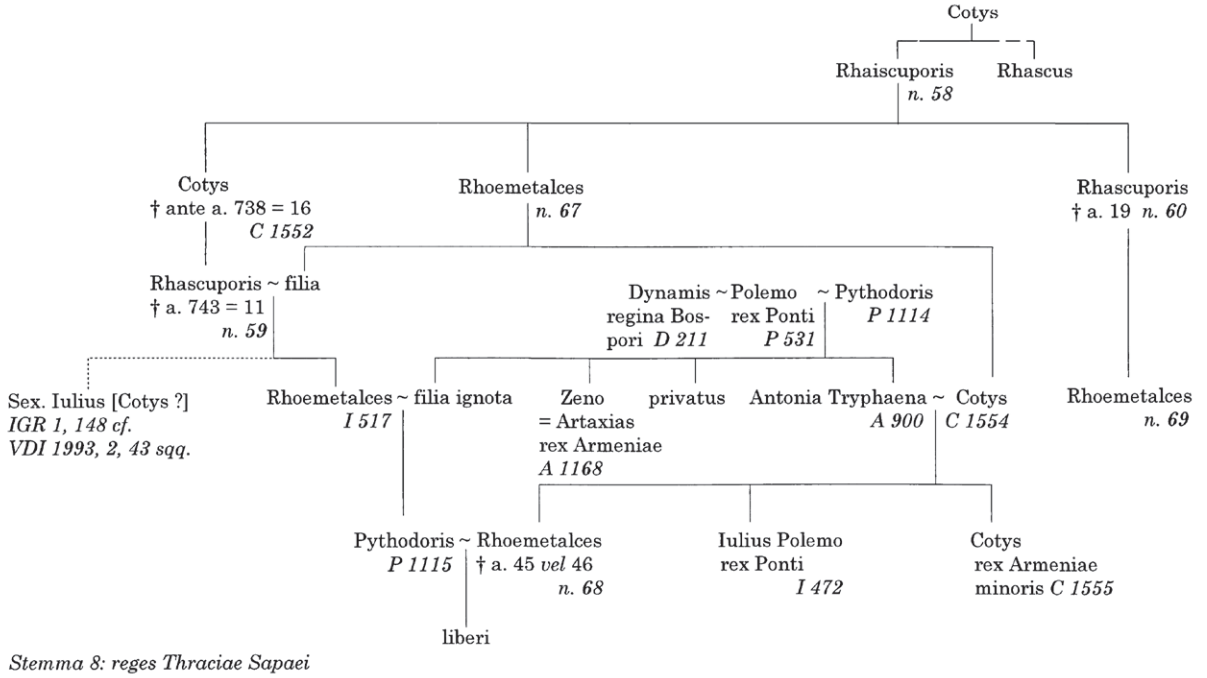


Fig. 2. Stemma of the Thracian Royalty (*PIR*^{2} VII, stemma 8, *ad* p. 58)

Imperii Romani in 1966 (*PIR*^{2} IV, *ad* p. 264 = *PIR*^{2} VI, stemma 22a, *ad* p. 232), later elaborated by Sullivan (1979, 200-204, stemma *ad* 192)[2]. Identification of the filiation of our C. Iulius Rhaskos, obviously a member of this family, is complicated by the existence of an alternative stemma, published in the 1998 and 2000 volumes of *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (**fig. 2**)[3]. According to the latter stemma Kotys VII (*PIR*^{2} C 1552) was the brother of Rhoimetalkes I, who reigned from ca. 31 BC to ca. A.D. 12 (*PIR*^{2} R 67), and Rheskouporis III, who died ca. A.D. 19 (*PIR*^{2} R 60); the father of the three brothers was Rheskouporis I (*PIR*^{2} R 58). The first stemma (**fig. 1**), from 1966, on the other hand, assigns to Rheskouporis I only a single son, Kotys VII (*PIR*^{2} C 1552). The critical document that is used in support of the second stemma (**fig. 2**) is *IGBulg* I^2 399 (= 5140) (**fig. 3**):

[2] The stemma in **fig. 1** follows that of Sullivan (ancestors of Kotys VII have been added, and Sullivan's numbering for Kotys and Rheskouporis is used; references are to *PIR*^{2}).

[3] Stemma 22b *ad PIR*^{2} P 531 = stemma 8 *ad PIR*^{2} R 58.

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Ἰητρ[ῶι]
[ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς Ροιμ[η]-
[ταλκου] βασι[λέ]-
[ως Κοτ]υος κα[ὶ]
[βασιλ]έως Ρο[ι]-
[μητα]λκου υἱ[ω]-
[νοῦ κ]αὶ Πυθο[δω]-
[ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς]
[Ροιμητ]αλκου,
[βασιλέ]ως Πολ[έ]-
[μωνος δ]ὲ θυγατ[ρι]-
[δῆς ὑγ]ίας καὶ σ[ω]-
[τηρία]ς *κτλ*.

As interpreted in the more recent volumes of *PIR*[2] (P 531, R 67), Rhoimetalkes of lines 2-3, the husband of Pythodoris, is the son of King Kotys VIII (*PIR*[2] C 1554) and grandson of King Rhoimetalkes I (*PIR*[2] R 67). This is reflected in the second stemma (**fig. 2**). His wife Pythodoris (lines 4-5) is taken to be daughter of King Rhoimetalkes II (*PIR*[2] I 517; cf. R 69) and granddaughter of King Polemon (*PIR*[2] P 531). This too is reflected in the second stemma (**fig. 2**, lower left). However, these filiations cannot be correct. They are based on a false reading in line 11 ([μωνος δ]ὲ θυγατ[ρι]), as we noticed upon inspection of the stone in the National Historical Museum (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 93, note 36). The first preserved letter is not epsilon as in *IGBulg* I[2] 399, but sigma (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 92; **fig. 3**, photographs of the stone and a squeeze)[4]. Thus the first preserved letter in line 11, sigma, requires the restoration of the last two syllables of [Πολέ|μωνο]ς in line 11 (in fact four letters better fit the space), and, in parallel with her husband's filiation in line 7, restoration of [καί] at the end of line 9, as in Dessau's edition of this document (1913, 695), following Kalinka:

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Ἰητρ[ῶι]
[ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς Ροιμ[η]-
[ταλκου] βασι[λέ]-
[ως Κοτ]υος κα[ὶ]
[βασιλ]έως Ρο[ι]-
[μητα]λκου υἱ[ω]-
[νοῦ κ]αὶ Πυθο[δω]-
[ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς]
[Ροιμητ]αλκου [καὶ]
[βασιλέ]ως Πολ[έ]-
[μωνο]ς θυγατ[ρι]-
[δῆς ὑγ]ίας καὶ σ[ω]-
[τηρία]ς *κτλ*.

In this corrected edition of *IGBulg* I[2] 399 (actually Dessau's edition) the parallel formulation of the filiations is striking: only names of grandfathers are given, not the fathers. Pythodoris is the granddaughter of King Rhoimetalkes and King Polemon, a fact not satisfied by the recent stemma (**fig. 2**). In parallel phrasing, the correct text of *IGBulg* I[2] 399 tells us that her husband Rhoimetalkes is the grandson of King Kotys and King Rhoimetalkes; this too is not satisfied by the second stemma (**fig. 2**). The first stemma (**fig. 1**), first published by *PIR*[2] in 1966, satisfies all the requirements of *IGBulg* I[2] 399: Rhoimetalkes II (**fig. 1**, lower right corner) is the grandson of

[4] Mihailov in *IGBulg* I[2] declared the epsilon to be "*certissimum*", but this is certainly not the case; the stone may not have been cleaned very well when he reviewed it.



Fig. 3. *IGBulg* I² 399: **a** photograph

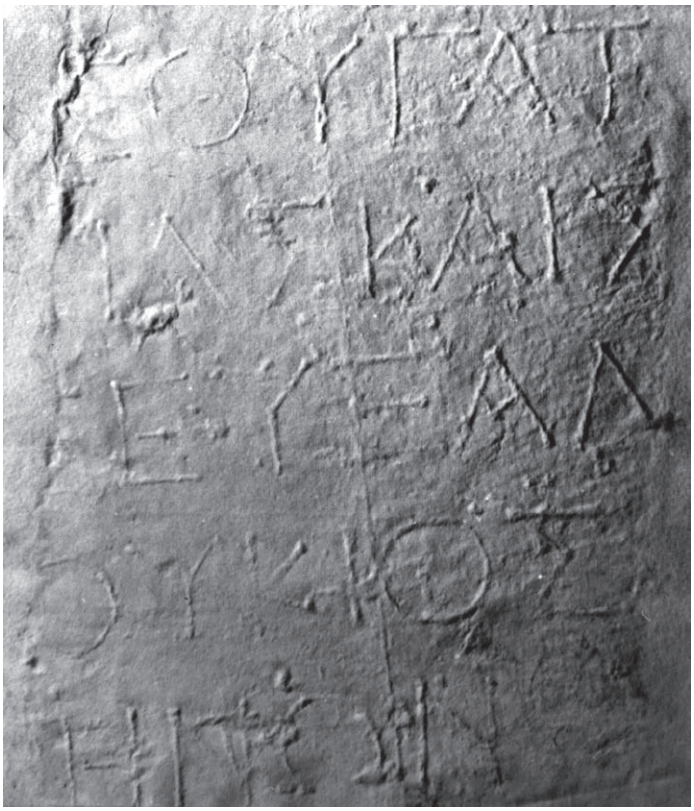


Fig. 3. *IGBulg* I² 399: **b** squeeze, detail of lines 11-15. Courtesy of Nicolay Sharankov

Kotys VII and Rhoimetalkes I; Rhoimetalkes II's wife Pythodoris is the granddaughter of Rhoimetalkes I and Polemon I. Three other documents specify that Rhoimetalkes II is the paternal grandson of Kotys and the maternal grandson of Rhoimetalkes:

IGBulg II 743

βασιλεύοντος Θρᾳκῶ[ν Ροιμηταλκου]
βασιλέως Κοτυος υἱωνοῦ [καὶ βασιλέως]
Ροιμηταλκου θυγατριδοῦ, [Ρησκουπορε]-
ως δὲ Θρᾳκῶν δυνάστο[υ υἱοῦ]
Ἀπολλώνιος Επταικενθο[υ Βιζυηνὸς]
στρατηγὸς Ἀνχιάλου κα[ὶ Σελλητι]-
κῆς καὶ Ρυσικῆς τὸν βω[μὸν ἀνέθηκεν].

Dessau (1913, 696)[5]

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Πα-
[κτυ]ηνῷ ἀνέ-
[θηκε]ν Ἀπολλώνι-
[ος Ε]πταικενθου
[Βιζη]νὸς στρατη-
[γὸς τ]ῶν περὶ Ἀνχ-
[ιάλη]ν τόπων ἐπ-
[ὶ Ροι]μηταλκου Θρᾳ-
[κῶ]ν δυνάστου
[βα]σιλέως Κοτ[υ]-
[ος] υἱωνοῦ κα[ὶ]
[β]ασιλέως
Ροιμηταλκου
θυγατριδοῦ

[5] *Editio princeps*: Dawkins / Hasluk 1905/6.

15 Ρησκουπορε-
ως δὲ Θρᾳκῶν
δυνάστου υἱ-
οῦ.

Karayotov (2000, 223-234; 2007, 297-299)[6]

Βασιλεύοντος Θρᾳκ[ῶ]ν [P]ο̣ιμηταλκου, Ρησκουπορεως δυνάστου υἱοῦ, βασιλέως δὲ Κοτυος υἱωνοῦ καὶ βασιλέως Ροιμηταλκου θυγατριδοῦ, ἔτους ιγ', Ἰάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλώνιος Επταικενθου Βιζυηνὸς στρατηγὸς ⟦ᵛπερὶ Ἀνχίαλονᵛᵛτὸν ἀνδριάνταᵛΔιονύσωι.⟧ 2nd text

Here the filiations in *IGBulg* I² 399 are confirmed by these filiations specifying precisely which grandfather is paternal and which is maternal[7]. One remarkable feature of *IGBulg* I² 399 is that the *patronymics* of Rhoimetalkes and his wife Pythodoris are not given: only their royal grandfathers are named. The reason for the omission of their fathers is not hard to divine, especially in a document that honors Pythodoris. Rhoimetalkes' father, Rheskouporis III, was a murderer and an exile; he murdered Kotys VIII, the father of Pythodoris; both fathers died inglorious deaths (cf. Sullivan 1979, 205). (Documents concerning Rhoimetalkes II alone, in which Pythodoris does not appear, do mention his father Rheskouporis, as in these last three examples.) A dedicatory inscription on a slab of an altar to Demeter at Aquae Calidae, discovered in 2015 (Шаранков 2015, 65-66; 2016, 968), also omits the patronymic of Rhoimetalkes, but it includes both the patronymic and avonymic of Pythodoris ("daughter of the son of King Rhoimetalkes, Kotys"):

Δήμη[τρι] τὸν βωμὸν
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κυρίων
σωτηρίας ⟨β⟩⟦ασιλέως Ροι- 2nd text
μηταλκου καὶ Πυθοδω-
5 ρίδος βασιλέως Ροιμη-
ταλκου υἱοῦ Κοτυος θ-
υγατρὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνω-
ν αὐτῶν Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐ-
⟨π⟩ταικενθου ὁ περὶ Ἀνχί-
10 [α]λ̣ον στρατηγός.⟧

As Sharankov noted, the second text, written over the erased original text, was most likely inscribed shortly after Rhoimetalkes II received the title of king in A.D. 26[8]. It is the only document that refers to children of Rhoimetalkes and Pythodoris.

In the correct stemma (**fig. 1**, upper right) the position of Kotys V (*PIR*² C 1553) is noteworthy[9]. We wrote in the recent volume in memory of G. Mihailov (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 87, note 5): "A critical filiation concerns the Rheskouperis who died at the hands of the Bessi in 11 B.C. (Cass. Dio 54.34.5). He was the son of Kotys V and nephew of Rhoimetalkes I. Kotys was no longer alive in 16 B.C. when Marcus Lollius, coming to the aid of 'Rhoimetalkes, the uncle and guardian of the sons of Kotys' subjugated the Bessi (Cass. Dio 54.20.3). There is no evidence that the Rheskouperis who died in 11 B.C. was a Sapaean king; it seems most likely that he was the son of the Odrysian Kotys V (*PIR*² C 1553) who married a daughter of the Sapaean Kotys VII (*PIR*² C 1552) and died by 16 B.C.; no children of the Rheskouperis who died in 11 B.C. are attested. Consequently, Rhoimetalkes II, son of Rheskouperis III (the king of Thrace who died in A.D. 19), would have been the Rhoimetalkes who married a daughter of Antonia Tryphaina,

[6] For the present text see Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 89-90.

[7] The nouns υἱωνός and θυγατριδῆ can mean simply "grandson" and "granddaughter," but υἱωνός contrasted with θυγατριδοῦς differentiates the paternal and maternal lines.

[8] The beginning of the original text, according to Sharankov, read: P⟦ο[ιμητα]-λ|[κου Θ]ρ[α]κ[ῶν δυνάστου. On the date of his kingship cf. Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 89-90.

[9] For his filiations see Sullivan 1979, stemma *ad* 192; *PIR*² IV, stemma *ad* 264.

by the name of Pythodoris. Cf. Bowersock 1965, 152-156 for a succinct and persuasive account of this intermarriage of the Odrysian and Sapaean clans and its reflection in the stemma."[10] Delev (2016) points out weaknesses in this widely accepted account of the evidence, starting with the discrepancy between the passages of Cass. Dio 47.25.1-2 and App. *B. Civ.* 4.10.75 and dissociating *IGRR* I 775 of Bizye (βασιλεὺς Κότυς βασιλέα Σαδάλα[ν]| καὶ βασίλισσαν Πολεμοκράτειαν, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς) from Kotys V (*PIR*^{2} C 1553), who he suggests was a son of Kotys VII (*PIR*^{2} C 1552), not of Sadalas. This is a thoughtful and useful discussion, which does not affect the central argument of our paper and cannot be discussed at length here, except merely to note that none of his points seem to be decisive against the widely accepted interpretation.

The most appropriate place in the stemma for C. Iulius Rhaskos would be as son of Rhoimetalkes II and Pythodoris II, as we explained in detail recently (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016).

Our analysis of the prosopography of the royal family led to the conclusion that ʿΡᾴσ[κος], a person of considerable importance, as his spectacular precedence in the Samothracian list indicated, was presumably the son of a ruler, most likely the son of either Rhoimetalkes II or Rhoimetalkes III (**fig. 1**), in either case, the grandson of Antonia Tryphaina[11], who follows him in the list of initiates. The prosopography of Rhoimetalkes III shows, as we explained (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 90), that when he was archon at Athens in 36/7, he was presumably just at or slightly above the minimum age of thirty years for the office[12], and at this time he was already king[13]. He became king in this year, apparently the last king of Thrace, inheriting the domain of southern Thrace from his father Kotys VIII, and he ruled presumably until ca. A.D. 46, when Thrace became a Roman province[14].

We concluded (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 91-92): "In the two Athenian documents in which the archonship of Rhoimetalkes III is given, he has in each case the epithet νε(ώτερος), to distinguish him from Rhoimetalkes II, which should mean that Rhoimetalkes II was still alive[15]. The honor given to ʿΡᾴσ[κος] in the Samothracian list – precedence over Antonia Tryphaina – implies that he was not a boy, and consistent with this is the fact that as an initiate he should be at least a young adult (as at Eleusis, there is no evidence for initiation of children in the Samothracian Mysteries)[16]. We therefore have to assume that he was at least eighteen years old. If he were a son of Rhoimetalkes III, who was ca. 30 years old in A.D. 36, presumably married shortly thereafter, this son would not have reached the proper age for initiation before A.D. 46, the year in which Thrace became a province."

ʿΡᾴσ[κος] as the name of a son of Rhoimetalkes III seems at first glance inappropriate; we should expect Rhoimetalkes to have named his first-born son after his father Kotys VIII. Similarly, the first-born son of Rhoimetalkes II should have been named after Rhoimetalkes' father, Rheskouporis III. But Rheskouporis III was a murderer and an exile, his victim Kotys VIII, the father of his wife. We have seen in public documents, from evidently early in the reign of Rhoimetalkes II, a reluctance on the part of the royal couple to mention their fathers, who died inglorious deaths (*IGBulg* I^2 399). Especially significant is the absence of the name of Rheskouporis in documents in which the name

[10] Cf. also Sullivan 1979, 193-194.

[11] Kirov 2011 argued for identifying Rhaskos with a son of Rhoimetalkes III, not with a son of C. Iulius Rhoimetalkes II (*PIR*^{2} I 517), because the latter "était un parent assez éloigné pour qu'il figure sur la stèle (217)." But as the correct stemma (**fig. 1**) shows, Rhoimetalkes II was Antonia Tryphaina's son-in-law, and his son, if Rhaskos, was her grandson, just like a son of Rhoimetalkes III. So the question of distance of relationship is not a decisive criterion.

[12] *IG* II^2 2292, lines 27-29: ἐπὶ Ῥοιμητάλκα νε(ωτέρου) ⟦Γάιος⟧ Καῖσαρ αὐ[τ]οκράτωρ ἀνεδεί[χθη]. The correct date (as opposed to 37/8) was recognized by Graindor 1922, 69-70, # 39.

[13] *IG* II^2 1967, lines 1-3: οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐν τῷ ἐπ[ὶ] βασιλέως Ῥοιμητάλκα ν ε ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῶι.

[14] The date for the creation of the province of Thrace is given in Eus. *Chron.* 262F (Helm).

[15] So Neubauer 1876, whose date of 37/8 was corrected by Graindor (1922, 69-70); Mommsen (1875, 258) acknowledged that it is not impossible that the Rhoimetalkes who died ca. A.D. 46 was Rhoimetalkes II. Collart (1937, 256, note 1) also recognized that Rhoimetalkes II was still alive in A.D. 37, when Rhoimetalkes III became king. Sullivan (1979, 207) regarded νε(ώτερος) as unreliable evidence, without giving a reason.

[16] At Eleusis the child hearth-initiate was the only exception; cf. Clinton 1974, 10-12.

of Pythodoris occurs, and so it would be natural to assume that the same reluctance would motivate them to look for another name in the Sapaean royal line for their son; the result was that the king chose the name of a famous ancestor, Rhaskos, the brother of his great-grandfather Rheskouporis I. This Rhaskos was joint ruler with Rheskouporis I in 42 B.C. and supporter of Antony in the campaign leading up to Philippi (App. *B. Civ.* 4.11.87, 13.104, 17.136)[17]. ʿΡᾴσ[κος] could have been born ca. A.D. 21 (his parents' marriage took place around this time), when his mother was ca. 16 years old (Clinton / Dimitrova 2016, 89). The present document could, then, be dated ca. A.D. 40-45, when such a son of Rhoimetalkes II would be old enough to participate in the Samothracian Mysteries.

[17] Cf. Sullivan 1979, 194-196.

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Identities and Influences

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Language and Ethnic Identity of the Thracians during the Roman Age and Late Antiquity

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Abstract: The paper examines two interrelated issues: the Thracian language during the Roman Age and Late Antiquity, and the link between the language and the ethnic identity of the Thracians. The two theories in the literature on the Thracian language are discussed, notably: its preservation until the end of Antiquity, and its extinction and replacement by Latin or Greek already during the Roman Age. The theory about the preservation of the Thracian language until the end of Antiquity and the settling of the Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula is supported by research on the available data: evidence provided by Greek and Roman authors, the data from inscriptions and onomastic material – anthroponyms, toponyms, oronyms and hydronyms.
On the second issue the author presents her views on the role of language for the preservation of the Thracian ethnic identity within the same chronological boundaries.

Key words: Thracian language preservation, ancient authors, inscriptions, onomastic material, ethnic identity.

The first researchers of the Thracian language and ethnos write about total Romanisation of the Thracians (*Иречек* 1978[3], 87-88; Tomaschek 1893, 10; Zilliacus 1935, 21, 129), which meant in linguistic terms the extinction of the Thracian language during the Roman Age and transition to the Latin linguistic practice. Thus, according to W. Tomaschek, the Thracian language had long disappeared in the 5th – 6th century (Tomaschek 1893, 77), and all peoples accepted in the Roman province were transformed into Latin-speaking provincial inhabitants (Tomaschek 1893, 110). This conviction seems to be due to the existence of a contemporary Romance language originating from Latin in the northern territories of the ancient Thracian linguistic space. Tomaschek even claims that the Christianised Bessi already spoke "*limba Rumanêsca*" (Tomaschek 1893, 77).

Progress in the research on Thracian history, culture and language raised doubts in the earlier theory on the total linguistic Romanisation of the Thracians, and revealed that the available data are not sufficiently convincing for maintaining it (Бешевлиев 1955, 300-302; Beševliev 1964; Геров 1971, 36).

The second half of the 20th century was a time of controversial opinions on the fate of the Thracian language during the Roman Age. A. Vraciu, who is researching the substrate elements in the Romanian language, accepts O. Densușianu's view on the strong Romanisation of most of the Balkan Peninsula, prompted by the transition of the

indigenous population to new, more civilised traditions, and the wish of the inhabitants to assume public positions, which resulted in the need to master the Latin language better. Consequently, the "autochthonous population was completely Romanised," whereby the process was slower among the lower strata and in the smaller towns and villages (Врачу 1966, 100-101). No concrete evidence by ancient authors or onomastic data are cited or interpreted.

Sometimes it is indeed difficult to understand what some authors think. Thus, I. Russu writes in some places that the Thracian language was alive until the end of the 6th century (Russu 1969, 194), and elsewhere he writes about a "powerful denationalising process" that resulted in the gradual ousting of the Thracian language and the adoption of Greek and Latin (Russu 1969, 193).

R. Schmitt also doubts the existence of the Thracian language during the Roman Age. He claims that the absence of texts in the Thracian language in the many inscriptions in Greek and Latin in the region suggests that the Thracians had not preserved their language and ethnicity for a long time. According to him, at any rate the literate people were certainly strongly Hellenised and Romanised. He also cites evidence pointing to the contrary, but believes that evidence not to be absolutely reliable and finally comes to the rather obscure conclusion that the "theory of the preservation of the Thracian language and ethnos until the end of the Antiquity comes as little close to reality as the alternative of the complete Hellenisation, or Romanisation accordingly" (Schmitt 1983, 564-565).

V. Georgiev, the most renowned Bulgarian authority in the sphere of Thracian linguistics from the second half of the 20th century, rarely expressed a view on the fate of the Thracian language during Late Antiquity. According to an earlier statement of his, the Thracians, the Moesians and the Getae started using more and more Greek words and grammatical forms, until finally their language became almost completely Hellenised – with only a certain number of substrate elements remaining. On the other hand, the beginning of the new era marked the start of gradual Romanisation of Moesia and Dacia (Georgiev 1966, 22-23). However, that opinion is in contrast with the theory supported by him of the Thracian (Dacian-Moesian, according to his terminology) origin of the Albanian language (Георгиев 1977, 212-215), which presupposes preservation of the Thracian language until the end of Antiquity.

Still, most of these scholars admit that the linguistic Romanisation basically affected the upper social stratum of the urban population, whereas the rural population demonstrated poor affiliation to the Latin language. For example, according to V. Velkov, the Hellenised and Romanised Thracians in Thrace and Moesia Inferior left clear traces in the epigraphic monuments in the 2nd – 3rd century, the predominant urban population in the Thracian lands was Hellenised and Romanised in the 4th – 5th century, but – in his opinion – the rural population preserved its customs, cults and language until the end of Antiquity (Велков 1979, 326-327, 414-415).

It may be assumed that I. Duridanov accepts the theory of the preservation of the Thracian language until the end of Antiquity. His study on the Slavonicisation of Thracian toponyms contains numerous examples from the entire Thracian linguistic territory

(Дуриданов 1968), which presupposes direct contact between the bearers of the two languages.

In recent years, there are rare studies on the issue of the linguistic Romanisation and on the fate of the Thracian language during the Roman Age, with a tendency towards accepting its preservation (Янакиева 2009, 192-196; Paliga 2015, 39-41). According to G. Mihailov, too, in the second edition of his book, in spite of the increasingly wider use of Greek and Latin, "the Thracian population in its majority, especially in the rural areas, preserved its native language and the ancient bequeathed tradition" (Михаилов 2015, 460).

These controversial views are due to the fact that they were expressed on the basis of general impressions, without detailed study of the entire linguistic material and the data in the literature, although different researchers cite separate pieces of evidence by ancient authors and categories of names.

After Rome conquered the Balkan lands and transformed Moesia, Thrace – and later Dacia as well – into Roman provinces, the penetration of Latin into the Thracian linguistic space does not evoke doubts. The problem is to identify the symptoms on the basis of which that process could be referred to as linguistic Romanisation in the sense of complete ousting of the Thracian language and mass transition of the Thracian population to Latin linguistic practice. In view of the absence of written monuments in the Thracian language from the Roman Age, this needs to be done on the basis of the available evidence by the ancient authors, Greek and Latin inscriptions and the data of onomastics: personal, settlement and river names.

Inscriptions

The spreading of the Latin language in the northern Balkan provinces predominantly and of Greek to the south of the Haemus Mountain is beyond any doubt. There are more than 3,000 Greek inscriptions only from the contemporary Bulgarian lands, whereby in the interior of the country they were from the Roman Age – with few exceptions. The use of Greek administrative, military and religious terminology becomes apparent from them, there is evidence of teachers in Greek, about reading of and familiarity with ancient Greek literature, Greek personal names gradually permeated anthroponymy. Apparently, in addition to the actual Greek settlers and of settlers from the Eastern Hellenistic world, there were also Thracians who knew Greek and were literate, who lived in the cities in Roman times. That was natural, in view of the fact that Greek was the official administrative language in Thracia. At least the representatives of the upper social strata, who were aspiring to a career in the administration, as well as to integration with Greek culture, knew Greek. Nevertheless, the claim that the Hellenisation process affected all social strata, whereby Greek replaced Thracian even as a spoken language (Sharankov 2011, 139), does not seem sufficiently substantiated. N. Sharankov himself indicates the existence of numerous inscriptions set up by Thracians, which testify to their illiteracy and semi-literacy, even among the representatives of the elite (Sharankov 2011, 137-138). One of the examples cited refers to a person who gave a text to be translated into Greek, in which he was even unable to identify separate letters and respectively the words composed of them, i.e., he did not know the words at all in the text that

had been translated to him. Probably many people used translators for setting inscriptions in Greek. At the same time, even the good knowledge of the language did not mean necessarily that the native language had been totally abandoned.

The spreading of Latin in the Northern Balkan provinces passed through several stages. Initially (until Hadrian's time), it was connected exclusively with the Roman troops and the Danubian *limes*, and was restricted to the military camps and the settlements near the camps, the bearers of the language being predominantly of Italic origin. During that period, the Thracian population did not participate in the cultural life of the Roman settlements near the camps and was totally absent from the Latin inscriptions (Геров 1949, 68-69). During the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the territory of Latin gradually spread in the territory between the Danube and the Balkan Range along the Danube tributaries from Timok to Dobroudja, and beyond the Danube – in Dacia that was conquered by the Romans. During that time Latin was already used by Thracians as well, mostly soldiers and veterans. According to B. Gerov, the upper stratum of the urban population can be considered to have been Romanised. However, in the rural areas along the upper courses of the tributaries and along the northern foothills of the Haemus, the absence or the very rare occurrence of Latin inscriptions in the 3rd century as well suggests that Latin was completely unknown or slightly known among the Thracian population there (Геров 1952/1953, 226-330, 347-350; Gerov 1980, 24-27, 33; Геров 1971, 36). The small number of Latin inscriptions south of the Haemus, mainly of official nature, suggests even poorer knowledge of Latin in Thracia.

In Dacia more than 3,000 inscriptions testify to the spreading of Latin (Mihăescu 1960, 281). Roman rule in that province lasted a little more than a century and a half, and after the Romans left under Emperor Aurelian, Roman population was transferred across the Danube into the newly-created part of Dacia Ripensis in the lands of Moesia Superior. After the Romans abandoned Dacia, setting Latin inscriptions on its territory was sharply discontinued, which means that if some bearers of the Latin language had remained, their number would have been minimal.

D. Boyadjiev's study on the late Latin inscriptions in Bulgaria is of particular interest in connection with the issue of the linguistic Romanisation. He has found that the number of Latin epigraphic monuments is very limited, their geographic dissemination followed the urban centres, and the persons related to them were veterans, Christians and representatives of the official rule, with evidence that the compilers were bilingual in some cases. On the whole, the findings present Latin during that time as a language spoken by a small population, which had undergone considerable phonetic and morphosyntactic changes (Бояджиев 1990, 24-30).

The general impression of the ancient Greek and Latin inscriptions in the territory of the Thracian linguistic space is that they were the product of a definite literate and educated layer of the population, comprising – in addition to the Greek and Roman settlers, accordingly – also a limited part of the indigenous Thracian population, predominantly in the cities, i.e., they were not proof of mass mastering of the two languages by the Thracians.

Ancient authors

Information about the Thracian language is very rare in the works of Greek and Roman authors. In the beginning of the Roman Age, such information is found in two authors. Strabo narrates that the Getae spoke the same language as the Thracians, and that the Dacians spoke the same language as the Getae (Str. 7.3.10; 7.3.13; see also Janakieva 2002), while Ovid, living in exile in Tomis, mentions in a letter that he wrote a poem in the Thracian language, referring to it as Getic by the name of the local tribe (Ovid. *Ex Ponto* 4.13.19).

During the last centuries of the Empire, John Chrysostom's known evidence about translation of the Bible into Thracian (probably the New Testament) (Ioann. Chrysost. *Hom*. 8.1) was most impressive and repeatedly commented upon in various studies (Кацаров 1924, 46-47; Велков 1958, 739; Бешевлиев 1965, 55, 84; Михаилов 1972, 284-285; Тодоров 1984; Янакиева 2010; Sharankov 2011, 138). The existence of liturgical books in Thracian is also confirmed in the *Vita of St. Theodosius*, compiled by Theodore of Petra in 536 AD: "the clan of the Bessi addressed their prayers to the Almighty in their native language" (*Vita S. Theodosii*; see also Бешевлиев 1965, 62 for other data as well). The need to make such a translation for the conversion of the Thracians to Christianity in the 4th century clearly suggests that Greek and Latin were not understood by the vast majority of them.

In spite of the lack of texts in the Thracian language, the great available quantity of onomastic material and its careful analysis can give an idea about the linguistic situation in the Thracian linguistic space during the Roman Age and Late Antiquity.

Personal names

The data from the inscriptions indicate a large number of Greek and Latin personal names from the Thracian lands. Greek names occurred initially in the Greek colonies along the two sea coasts, and at the dawn of the Roman Age Latin names were brought by Italic settlers. Gradually both increased in numbers, and after Caracalla's edict Latin names became a mass phenomenon with the conferring of Roman citizenship, but they were a sign precisely of citizenship and could not serve as indication of a change in language. Moreover, the three names are not always Latin when citizenship is conferred: the preservation of the Thracian name as cognomen was a frequent occurrence. After the adoption of Christianity, Greek names were predominantly a sign of religious affiliation.

It should be borne in mind that the data from anthroponymy present the disparity between the situations of the urban and rural population, because the epigraphic monuments from the cities are incomparably more numerous. As regards the situation in Thracian villages, the inscription from the beginning of the 3rd century of the marketplace Pizus by the peasants from nine villages in the region is very indicative. Only several of about 160 founders had Greek names and several had Latin names. The remaining 140-150 people had Thracian names (*IGBulg* III.2 1690).

Settlement names

V. Beševliev has proven convincingly that the numerous Latin settlement names in Moesia and Thrace cannot be considered as evidence

of Romanisation of the Thracian population (obviously, perceived by him precisely as affiliation of the Thracians to the Latin language). They were exclusively names of sites built or exploited by the Romans, or roadside taverns that served all, irrespective of the language they spoke (Бешевлиев 1955, 300-302; Beševliev 1964). The data on the settlement names present Dacia Ripensis as the linguistically most Romanised area in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula (Gerov 1971, 165). The same and the neighbouring northern parts of Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea were the place of origin of the highest number of Latin and Latinised settlement names mentioned in the Roman itineraries, inscriptions and later in the lists of castella in Procopius: Ratiaria, Variana, Valeriana, Ad Malum, Remetodia, Pomodiana, Regianum, Augustae, Montana, Vorovum minor, Florentiana, Romuliana, Castra Martis, Combustica, Mediana, Radices, Ulmo, Remesiana, Latina, Turres, Translitis, Ballanstra, etc. (*TP*; *IA* 135, 219; *IH* 566; Proc. *De aed*. 4.4; and other sources).

The picture is even more vivid with the Greek settlement names, whereby only individual settlements, mostly newly-established, had Greek names (Михаилов 1971, 30). On the whole, the principal mass of settlement names (about 1,000) remained Thracian.

Hydronymy

Hydronymy could be a serious indicator of a change in language on account of the fact that it implies names of natural sites and the process of their naming could not be influenced by social and political factors (service in the army, acquiring citizenship), or some kind of fashion as for personal and to a certain extent for settlement names (naming by foreigners, imitation).

Out of a total of about 150 hydronyms in the Thracian linguistic space there is evidence of only about ten Greek and Latin names. Greek river names occur only along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts, i.e., close to the Greek colonies: Ἐχέδωρος and Ῥήχιος, rivers in the Thessaloniki region, Ζυγάκτης, river name in the area of Philippi, Μέλας, a river flowing into Melas Bay, today Saros Bay (the older Thracian name of the river was Ἄψινθος), Χάβρις, river on the Chalkidiki Peninsula. Three of the Istros Delta distributaries have Greek names: Ἱερὸν στόμα, Ψευδόστομον and στόμα Καλόν. One distributary has two names: Θιαγόλα (Thracian) and Ψιλόν (Greek).

What does this small number of Greek hydronyms suggest? Mass influx of river names from a new language in a certain territory would be reliable evidence either of mass settlement of bearers of that language, or of transition of the indigenous population to the new language, abandoning the old one. Such was the case with Asia Minor – a linguistically strongly Hellenised area, where 200–210 out of about 350 known hydronyms were Greek and only about 140 were of local, Asia Minor origin (Tischler 1977). It can be seen that the situation was radically different in Thrace.

In the territory of the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula there is information about only two Latin river names: *Picusculus* and *Turgicu[lus]* in the inscription determining the territory of Histria in the early 2nd century (*ISM* I 68). In Late Antique and Early Medieval authors (Cassiodorus, Marcellinus Comes, Jordanes, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Hierocles), there were some river names of

Germanic and Hun origin (*Erac*, *Gilpil*, *Nedao*, *Var*) in the Thracian linguistic territory, but no Latin names.

Such a small number of Greek and Latin hydronyms in the Thracian lands, whose geographic location obviously linked them to Greek and Roman settlers, as well as the total absence in the interior of the country, are yet another clearer sign than the data on personal and settlement names that Greek and Latin in Thrace were not spoken on a mass scale by the Thracian population (Янакиева 2009, 185-196).

Bilingualism probably existed in certain strata of the urban Thracian population during the Roman age, namely among the more educated, among officials at different levels in the administration, among the priests, as well as among the descendants of mixed marriages. There is no doubt that in Thrace, where Greek was the language of the administration, that bilingualism was most frequently manifested as speaking Thracian and Greek, to the north of the Haemus – of Thracian and Latin, and certain individuals probably spoke all three languages. Bilingualism in Thrace existed in certain groups of the urban population, it did not spread to affect the rural population and hence did not result in the ousting of the Thracian language by Greek or Latin.

The data on the province of Dacia Ripensis can probably be interpreted as evidence of lasting linguistic Romanisation, i.e., abandoning of Thracian and transition to Latin spoken practice. The preservation of a Romance element in some places in Trajan's Dacia even after the Romans left cannot be ruled out, but there is no evidence that it was on a mass scale. Quite to the contrary, the phonetic form of some Thracian hydronyms preserved in the contemporary Romanian language suggests that they had been adopted through Slavonic intermediation: *Alutas* > *Olt*, *Marisos* > *Mureş*, *Samus* > *Someş* (Янакиева 2009, 196).

It may be assumed that during Late Antiquity (4th–6th century), after the barbarian incursions, the Thracian linguistic space was already fragmented, which created prerequisites for the extinction of the Thracian language and the assimilation of the Thracians when the Slavs settled on the Balkan Peninsula.

Language and ethnic identity

Modern social sciences, which are oriented predominantly towards studying personal identities, impose the constructivist view in ethnology that the ethnic communities were not formed due to concrete characteristics, but were artificially constructed based on subjective faith (myth) of common origin (Max Weber, Fredrik Barth, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, and others). Nevertheless, a number of cultural anthropologists admit the existence of principal elements of ethnicity (Nash 1996, 25) or cultural markers. According to A. Smith, the ethnic links in a certain group are revealed by external observers based on one or more cultural markers: community of language, customs and religion, although the actual members of the group may not have a myth of common origin (Smith 2009, 27).

This is a very long discussion that cannot be covered here. At any rate, I believe that the so-called principal elements or cultural markers are actually real ethnic characteristics. There is a lot of scope for contemplating and arguing on what, how many and to what extent the

particular characteristics are mandatory for identifying the ethnos. At the same time, the ethnic communities exist in dynamic processes that were subordinated to different factors. In that scheme, language is at the same time a characteristic of the ethnos and a factor of the ethnic processes. The former had been formulated as early as Herodotus in his famous definition of the Greeks (i.e., of the Hellenic *ethnos*) as a community having common blood, a common language, common sanctuaries of their deities and sacrificial rites, and common customs (Hdt. 8.144). Again Herodotus cites an example of the latter as well, in his narrative about the pre-Greek population of Hellas, the Pelasgians: "... the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes"[1] (Hdt. 1.57). Translated into modern academic language, this means that the Pelasgians were finally assimilated by the Hellenes when they stopped speaking their own language (Yanakieva 2015, 178-179).

In the light of the data analysed here on the Thracian language it can be said that no linguistic assimilation of the indigenous population (Hellenisation or Romanisation) took place in the Thracian linguistic space, possibly with the exception of some of its groups. This means that the Thracian language was preserved during the Roman Age as one of the principal characteristics of the Thracian ethnos and as a factor for the preservation of the ethnic identity of the Thracians until the end of Late Antiquity.

[1] English translation by A. D. Godley. The Greek word used is *ethnos*.

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Thrakische und moesische Regionen in Weih- und Grabinschriften stadtrömischer Soldaten (1.-3. Jh. n. Chr.)*

Chiara CENATI

Abstract: Funerary and votive inscriptions from Rome are the main sources for the analysis of the multifaceted theme of soldiers' *origo*. The aim of this paper is to examine the indication of the region among these monuments. For this purpose, the inscriptions from Rome have been compared with the other sources attesting the provenance (administrative documents, military diplomas and *laterculi*) as well as with the inscriptions outside Rome, which carry this kind of information, in order to find similar evidence. As the phenomenon seems to be a peculiarity of private votive inscriptions erected in Rome by soldiers from Thrace and Moesia during the 3rd century, its causes and meaning have been investigated.

Key words: regions, territory, soldiers, Rome, Roman religion.

Einleitung

Die Herkunft von römischen Soldaten wird in Grab- und Weihinschriften meistens mit den Begriffen *natio* / *provincia* und *civitas* / *domus* angegeben; zu diesen treten oft weitere Ortsangaben (*pagus*, *vicus*, *regio*) in zahlreichen Kombinationen hinzu, oder sie werden durch diese ersetzt[1].

In diesem Beitrag wird die Angabe der *regio* in der Bezeichnung der *origo* von stadtrömischen Soldaten aus Moesien und Thrakien untersucht.

Es wird zuerst gefragt, in welchen Texten der Ausdruck *regio* vorkommt und was damit gemeint ist. Im Anschluss hieran werden folgende Fragen behandelt: Warum wird auf den Inschriften überhaupt die Herkunft aus einer bestimmten *regio* genannt? Wann beginnt das Phänomen? Wie lange dauert es an? Erfolgt die Angabe in einer standardisierten Form? Welche Funktion hat dieser Begriff jeweils?

Das Material

Die Hauptquellen, in denen die *origo* der Soldaten bezeugt ist, gliedern sich in vier Gruppen: die sog. *laterculi praetorianorum*, die Stammrollen aus den Büros der Militärverwaltung, die Militärdiplomen sowie die Grab- und Weihinschriften.

Die *laterculi praetorianorum*, Entlassungslisten von stadtrömischen Soldaten[2], sind Monumente, deren genaue Funktion noch zu erforschen ist[3]. Sie hatten wahrscheinlich keine Dokumente der Militärverwaltung zur Vorlage, sondern waren eine von den Soldaten selbst kreierte Form der Selbstbezeichnung, um den Kaiser zu ver-

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[1] Zum Thema vgl. Ricci 1993, 175-208; Mirković 2007, 327-343; Cenati 2017.

[2] Für Entlassungslisten von Legionären vgl. *CIL* III 6178, 6580, 8110, 14507; *CIL* VIII 18067-18068; *AE* 1955, 238 und Mirković 2004.

[3] Für die aktuelle Literatur über die *laterculi* vgl. Benefiel 2001; De Martini 2012; Gex 2013.

ehren. Auf den *laterculi* findet man die *origo* in einer besonderen Regelmäßigkeit, weil sie den abgekürzten Namen der Heimatstadt und die *tribus* nennen. Die *laterculi* halten sich an eine im 2. Jh. standardisierte Form, in der die Soldaten mit Namen, Filiation und Herkunft nach dem Rekrutierungsjahr und der Einheit aufgelistet wurden. Dieses in einer Epoche, als noch alle Soldaten in Italien rekrutiert wurden, geschaffene Muster blieb auch dann erhalten, als die Rekrutierung in den Provinzen üblich wurde. In dieser Zeit stammten allerdings nicht alle Rekruten aus städtischen Zentren (wie die Inschriften bestätigen), und es besaßen auch nicht alle Prätorianer das römische Bürgerrecht, obwohl diese eigentlich unter den römischen Bürgern hätten rekrutiert werden sollen. Dieses Phänomen hat zur Zuteilung von *origines* und *tribus fictae* an die Soldaten geführt[4]. Nicht bei allen Herkunftsangaben aus einer Stadt muss man also eine tatsächliche Herkunft aus den jeweiligen *municipia* und *coloniae* voraussetzen; es ist auch möglich, dass die Soldaten aus den *vici* des Territoriums der genannten Städte oder aus *civitates peregrinae* in deren Umgebung stammten[5].

Die *origo* wurde selbstverständlich auch in die Stammrollen eingetragen (Fink 1971), in denen alle Soldaten bei der Rekrutierung registriert wurden. Die Zeugnisse, die wir bisher kennen, tragen allerdings wenig zum Verständnis der Registrierungsmodalitäten bei. Die bisher wichtigste papyrologische Quelle ist das berühmte Papyrusfragment *BGU* VII 1689 = *ChLA* X 422 (s. Graßl 2015 und Speidel 2007, 281-295 für die Neuedition des Textes), das zwischen 122 und 145 datiert wird. Der lückenhafte Text enthält nämlich den Ausdruck *digesti per consules et nationes et [---]*, der in verschiedenen Weisen interpretiert wurde. Es ist jedoch sicher, dass der Begriff *natio* hier die Herkunftsprovinz meint[6]: Aus diesem Grund wäre die Ergänzung von *provincia*, wie in der Edition von Marichal geschehen, eine Wiederholung und daher auszuschließen: Was in der Lücke fehlt, ist die Angabe der Heimatstadt[7] in der Form *patria* (Speidel 2007) oder *civitas* (Mitthof 2012, 68-69)[8]. Der Papyrus, der erst in der Edition von Marichal als Dokument der römischen Militärverwaltung erkannt wurde, ist laut Speidel als Zusammenfassung der in diesem Jahrgang rekrutierten Soldaten zu deuten, die in Ägypten stationiert waren und nach *provincia* und Herkunftsstadt aufgelistet werden[9].

Auf den Militärdiplomen (vgl. Roxan 1985-2006) findet man mit einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit die Herkunftsstadt, entweder alleine oder mit der Erweiterung durch *ex+provincia*. Es gibt aber einige interessante Ausnahmen, die sich auf bestimmte Epochen und Gruppen beschränken: Während die *origines* von thrakischen Soldaten sich am Ende des 1. Jh. n.Chr. noch auf die Namen der thrakischen Strategien beziehen[10], werden bis zum 2. Jh. in Diplomen von Pannoniern *civitates peregrinae*[11] genannt. Ab dem 3. Jh. werden andererseits auf den Flottendiplomen oft (Weiß 2000, 283[12]) auch die *provincia* und ein *vicus* neben der Stadt angegeben[13]. Diese Dokumente entsprachen – von kleineren Änderungen und Verkürzungen, die von den Kopisten ausgingen, abgesehen (Eck 2007, 98-99) – den offiziellen Konstitutionen in Form von Bronzetafeln *in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam* in Rom, von denen allerdings kein einziges Zeugnis überlebt hat[14].

[4] Die Abkürzungen der Namen der „neuen" Städte waren zudem nicht immer eindeutig, was zur heutigen Diskussion über die Interpretation mancher *origines* geführt hat (vgl. Topalilov 2013; Redaelli 2017).

[5] Siehe dazu *Dig.*, L.1.1.30: *qui ex vico ortus est, eam patriam intellegitur habere, cui rei publicae vicus ille respondet.*

[6] Über die Begriffe *natio / provincia* vgl. Mitthof 2012.

[7] S. Z. 3-5: *[-ca.?- N]oricę \[[ ]]/ · Ɛnone[ ]. . . \[[s]]/ i [[s . . . .]][. .]. [-ca.?-] |¬ [-ca.?-] Ṣ[y]ria · Capitol · i̯i [-ca.?-] |.*

[8] Der Ausdruck *domus*, wie bei vielen Grabinschriften von Soldaten in Rom, wäre meines Erachtens auch nicht auszuschließen.

[9] Die *origo* der Soldaten lediglich mit der Angabe der Stadt wird auch in anderen Papyri verzeichnet: *ChLA* X 426 (Anfang 1 Jh. n. Chr.), *ChLA* V 283 (193-197 Jh. n.Chr.); *ChLA* XI 481 (Mitte 3. Jh. n.Chr.).

[10] *CIL* XVI 12, 33 und vgl. Parissaki 2009, 351.

[11] S. z. B. *RMD* 1, 21; *RMD* 2, 103; *RMD* 3, 152; *RMD* 4, 234; *RMD* 5, 401.

[12] Alle diese Zeugnisse sind in die ersten Jahrzehnte nach der *Constitutio Antoniniana* zu datieren.

[13] Nur auf einem Diplom ist ein *pagus* bezeugt (*RMD* 4, 312).

[14] Für die Unterschiede zwischen Konstitutionen und Diplomen vgl. Weiß 2007.

Bei den Verwaltungsurkunden und ihnen verwandten Dokumenten muss man also, abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmefällen, mit einer Bezeichnung der *origo* durch die Angabe der Herkunftsstadt – mit oder ohne den Namen der *provincia* – rechnen, während die *regio* nie genannt wird.

Die Grab- und Weihinschriften sind diejenige Gruppe unter unseren Quellen mit der höchsten Varietät in der Bezeichnung der *origo*. Den üblichen Begriffen von *natio / provincia* und Herkunftsstadt werden oft *civitas*, *domus*, *vicus*, *pagus*, *castellum* und *regio* in unterschiedlichen Kombinationen hinzugefügt (Cenati 2017).

Wegen der Heterogenität der *origo*-Angaben in privaten Kontexten ist es auszuschließen, dass diese Monumente direkt die Diktion der offiziellen Verwaltungsurkunden widerspiegeln, denn es fehlt auf den Grab- und Weihinschriften die Regelmäßigkeit, die man sich von offiziellen Dokumenten erwarten würde. Außerdem sind in den Texten der Inschriften gelegentlich eindeutige Verwechslungen der Ortsbegriffe festzustellen, die eine Unsicherheit der Bevölkerung und der Steinmetzen beim Gebrauch der verschiedenen Kategorien schon in der Antike erkennen lassen (s. z.B. *natione Savaria*[15] oder *regione Thracia*[16]). Darüber hinaus scheint es, dass die Angaben auf Grab- und Weihinschriften teilweise die unterschiedlichen Verwaltungssysteme der Provinzen widerspiegeln, die aus den vorrömischen Strukturen hervorgegangen sind und von den naturräumlichen Strukturen des Territoriums beeinflusst werden. Eine solche Praxis wäre in den militärischen Verwaltungsdokumenten, die überall im Reich standardisiert gewesen sein dürften, kaum zu erwarten.

Auf den Inschriften von *milites* aus Pannonien sind folglich die *civitates peregrinae* zu finden, während die *regiones* nur für thrakische und moesische Soldaten bezeugt sind. Das könnte darauf hindeuten, dass diese *regiones* mit den ländlichen Territorien zu identifizieren sind, die im Zuge der Abschaffung der Strategien[17] unter Trajan und dem Aufblühen der Städte im 2. Jh.[18] geschaffen wurden[19]. Nach einer genaueren Analyse scheint sich allerdings ein anderes Szenario als Ergebnis zu bieten.

Es ist zuerst wichtig zu klären, was man unter dem Begriff *regio* versteht. Das Wort ist tatsächlich sehr allgemein und kann sowohl als Substitut für unterschiedliche technische Begriffe als auch als Synonym von „Territorium" verwendet werden[20], genau mit demselben semantischen Feld vieler moderner Sprachen. Der Ausdruck kommt in der Epigraphik ungefähr 400 Mal mit unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen vor. Mit dem Begriff können die *regiones* Roms, die augusteischen *regiones* Italiens, kaiserliche Domänenkomplexe und Bergwerke[21], das Territorium einer Stadt[22] oder eines ausgedehnten militärischen *vicus* und nicht zuletzt auch die Unterteilung eines städtischen Territoriums in ländliche Bezirke gemeint sein[23].

Aus Rom kommen insgesamt 11 Inschriften von Soldaten (6 Grabinschriften[24] und 5 Weihinschriften[25]), die die *regio* als Herkunft nennen[26].

In der ersten, ins Ende des 3. Jh. n. Chr. datierten Grabinschrift (*CIL* VI 2605 = *EDR*105626[27]) ist eine *origo* aus der *regio Serdic(a)/ Serdic(ensis)* in der von Aurelian neu organisierten *provincia Dacia* genannt. Die thrakischen Territorien wurden wahrscheinlich mit einem System von Phylen und Komen verwaltet, welches auch einen

[15] Speidel 1994, 258, # 415.

[16] *CIL* VI 32546.

[17] Vgl. Ptol. III.11.8-10 und Pl. *NH* 4.40-47. Plinius nennt die Strategien teilweise auch *regiones*, die allerdings gar nichts mit den *regiones* dieses Beitrages zu tun haben. Das zeigt aber, wie allgemein die Bedeutung des lateinischen Wortes ist.

[18] Über das Strategiensystem s. Mihailov 1967, Gerov 1980a und 1980b, Delev 2009, Parissaki 2009 und 2013.

[19] Für die Bezeichnung des Territoriums der Stadt als *pagus* vgl. Gerov 1988, 117, *CIL* III 14427, 1: *[r(ipae) Th]r(aciae) pag(i) Ni/[copol(itani)]* und *AE* 1928, 156: *pago / Sardi(ca) (!).*

[20] Die Bedeutung von *regio* und die Rolle des *centurio regionarius* werden in Piso / Cupcea 2014, 118-119 und Cupcea 2016 diskutiert.

[21] Vgl. z. B. *CIL* VIII 11048, 11105, 16542 und die zahlreichen Beispiele für *regio Montanensium* (*CIL* III 12385; *AE* 1957, 341; *AE* 1969/70, 577 usw.). Über Montana s. Rankov 1983 und Bâltâc 2011, 98-100. Laut Piso / Cupcea könnten die *regiones* im 3. Jh. teilweise einem Abschnitt des Limes mit seinem Hinterland entsprochen haben.

[22] Siculus Flaccus (Lachmann 135) zufolge befanden sich die *regiones* unter der Rechtsprechung der Munizipalmagistrate: *regiones autem dicimus intra quarum fines singularum coloniarum aut municipiorum magistratibus ius dicendi coercendique est libera potestas.*

[23] S. *infra*.

[24] *CIL* VI 2605, 2638, 2730, 32660; *CIL* X 1754; *ICUR* VII 20202.

[25] *CIL* VI 30685, 32549, 32567, 32583, 36846.

[26] Für die Abbildungen dieser Inschriften s. die *EDR*-Zitate (edr-edr.it).

[27] *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Victopino (!) / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae), nati/one Dacisca, regione / Serdic(a) n(ato), vixit an(nis) XXX, / mil(itavit) in legione an(nis) VI, / in pr(aetorio) an(nis) IIII {fec(it)} me/moria(m) Valerius Augus/tus mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) fratri / bene merenti {fec(it)}*. Über Scodra s. auch Hoxha 2003.

rechtlichen Unterschied zwischen dem städtischen Gebiet (χώρα) und den ländlichen *regiones* vorsah (vgl. Gerov 1972, Gerov 1980b, Gerov 1980c und Bâltâc 2011). Mit dem Wort *regio* ist allerdings hier wahrscheinlich einfach das Territorium der Stadt Serdica im Allgemeinen gemeint, die am Ende des 3. Jh. zur Hauptstadt der neuen Provinz avancierte[28]. Die *regio Serdica* wird ein zweites Mal in *CIL* X 1754 erwähnt[29], einer stadtrömischen Inschrift des 3. Jh., die in Ravello gefunden wurde (Mennella 1991). Auf diesem Monument sind *natio*, *regio* und *vicus* genannt: *nat(ione) Bessus na/tus reg(ione) Serdica vi/co Magari*. Eine ähnliche Formulierung ist auf einer Grabstele (*CIL* VI 2730 = *EDR*077207)[30] anzutreffen, die wahrscheinlich in die Zeit von Philippus Arabs zu datieren ist: *nat(ione) Mysia* (!) *superiorę / reg(ione) Ratiarese, vico C[a]/nisco*. Diese Inschrift ist auch aus dem Grund besonders wichtig, weil sie den einzigen Hinweis auf die Unterteilung des Territoriums von Ratiaria in *vici* enthält (Giorgetti 1995). Mit dem Wort *natio* sind in den letzten zwei Inschriften jeweils ein Stammesnamen (*Bessus*[31]) und die *provincia* gemeint, während die *regio* das Territorium der Städte Serdica und Ratiaria anzeigt, wo sich die Herkunftsdörfer der *milites*, die *vici Magari* und *C[a]niscus*, befinden.

In zwei weiteren Grabinschriften (*ICUR* VII 20202 = *EDR*006545 und *CIL* VI 2638 = *EDR*104519) ist das Wort *regio* nur ergänzt. In beiden Fällen dürfte es mit einem Adjektiv kombiniert sein, welches das Territorium der Stadt bezeichnet (*Serdicensis*). Während die Zuverlässigkeit der von Mommsen vorgeschlagenen Lesung von *CIL* VI 2638[32] wegen der Unsicherheit der Deutung anderer Stellen im Text (*in re huiu[s] / Dietci Serdicensis <r>(egionis?)* sehr fraglich ist, ist die Ergänzung von Panciera (2006, 1505-1507) für *ICUR* VII 20202 überzeugender, da die Nennung der *regio* in adjektivischer Form vor dem *vicus* auch anderweitig bezeugt ist[33]. Dagegen findet die Sequenz *civitas+regio+vicus* keine genaue Parallele, obwohl sie sich auf eine ähnliche Formulierung stützen kann[34].

Die *regio Pautaliensis* sowie der *vicus Bitalcost(a?)*, der in dieser *regio* lag, sind nur aus *CIL* VI 32660 (= *EDR*105857)[35] bekannt. Obwohl vermutet wird, dass das Territorium von Pautalia gleich dem anderer thrakischer Städte in eine städtische und mehrere ländliche *regiones* geteilt war[36], scheint der Begriff *regio* sich hier auf das gesamte Territorium zu beziehen[37].

Ansonsten kommt die *regio* als Herkunftsangabe nur in wenigen anderen Grabmonumenten vor: auf zwei stadtrömischen Grabsteinen von Zivilisten, die sich kaum von den Inschriften der Soldaten unterscheiden (*CIL* VI 2933[38] und *AE* 1993, 332[39]), und auf zwei Monumenten von Soldaten aus *Mogontiacum* (*CIL* XIII 6823[40]) und aus *Aquileia* (*CIL* V 892[41]).

Was die fünf Weihinschriften betrifft, so sind diese aus zwei Gründen von großem Interesse. Erstens, weil sie die Hälfte der Inschriften mit der Erwähnung einer *regio* als *origo* in Rom darstellen (die hier daher im Durchschnitt wesentlich öfter als in Grabinschriften vorkommt) und zweitens, weil alle von demselben Fundort, Piazza Manfredo Fanti, stammen. Dabei handelt es sich um Gruppenstiftungen von aus derselben Region stammenden Prätorianern unterschiedlichen Alters, die sich trotz ihrer unterschiedlichen Aufgaben in verschiedenen Kohorten in besonderen

[28] Vgl. Bâltâc 2011, 127-128 über die Verwaltung des Territoriums.

[29] *CIL* X 1754: *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Abitus, mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), / (centuria) Verani, vix(it) an(nis) XL, mil(itavit) / an(nis) XIIII, nat(ione) Bessus, na/tus reg(ione) Serdica, vi/co Magari. Aur(elius) Vict/or atfinis(!) et Aur(elius) Ma/ximus et Aur(elius) Zantiala / et Aur(elius) Gaianus / hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(u)r(averunt).*

[30] *D(is) M(anibus). / Antonius Paterio (!) mil(es) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), (centuria) Artemonis, / vix(it) an(nis) XXXV, mil(itavit) an(nis) XI, / nat(ione) Mysia (!) superiore, / reg(ione) Ratiarese, vico C[a]/nisco. Aurelia Vener[ia] / co(n)iux co(n)iugi karissimo, (h)e/res b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

[31] Das Ethnonym *Bessus* ist in Rom oft zusammen mit dem Begriff *natio* bezeugt (*CIL* VI 2486, 2699, 3097, 3103, 3107, 3128, 3142, 3145, 3163, 3177, 3205, 3303, 3447, 7466, 32768, 33040, *AE* 1931, 89; *AE* 1946, 145; *AE* 1973, 51; Ferrua 1951, # 109; Speidel 1994, # 243).

[32] *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Zinama, libra(rius) trib(uni), [mi]/lex (!) cohor(tis) VII pr(a)eto(riae), q(ui) [v(ixit) a(nnis) ---], / memor(iam) ponu(nt) Aub(elius) (!) Vale[rianu]/s et Aur(elius) Zogenes et Aub(elius) (!) M[---]/us conm(a)nupu(lari) (!) et cont[ubern(ali) b]/ono iux(ta) leg(atum) Roma(e) et O[e]/sci Paper(ia) (!) et in re huiu[s] / Dietci Serdicensis <r>(egionis?) [---] / Ni[---].*

[33] Vgl. *CIL* VI 2730; *CIL* VI 32567.

[34] Vgl. *CIL* VI 32542 = *EDR*121800 (s. *infra*).

[35] *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). Aur(elio) Mestro / ex evok(ato) (!), qui mil(itavit) in l(egione) / an(nis) VI, in cast(ris) praet(oriis) an(nis) / XXI, nat(us) vico Bitalcost(a?) / reg(ione) Pautaliense, / q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) XXXVI m(ensibus) II, h(oram) I. / Aur(elius) Vitupaus vet(eranus) fratri / b(ene) m(erenti) fecit.*

[36] Vgl. Bâltâc 2011, 123-124.

[37] S. auch Gerov 1988, 171.

[38] Die Inschrift wurde von einem Soldaten gestiftet: *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Diza necotia(nti) (!) et / Putin(a)e coniugi, natus ex / provincia Maesia (!) inferiore, / regione Nicopolitane (!), vico / Saprisara, vixit annos XXXX / et co(n)iux vix(it) annos XXX. / Aur(elius) Herculanus mil(es) coh(ortis) XIIII / urb(anae) bene merentib(us) posuit.*

[39] *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]S cives Bes/[sus regione Serdic]ese vico Trifon(---) Maxim/[ianus? ---].* Die *regione* ist hier allerdings nur ergänzt.

[40] *D(is) M(anibus) / et bon(a)e memoriae / quid stas et [---] / [------] / [------] / [------] / [------] / [------] / situs, / mil(itavit) ann(is) XXIIII, probi/tus (!) hic in legione VII Cl(audia), / lectus in praetor[io], / factus eq(ues), promot[us (centurio)], / ex b(ene)f(iciario) praefectorum, natus provincia M[oe]/sia superiore, reg[io]/ne Scupi[ni]a(?). Da(r)dan[ia] / me genuit, tenuit G[erma]/nia colonum C(aius) O[---] / Ser(gia) Valens primus [he]/res et consobrinus / ------.* Der Verstorbene hat einige Zeit im *praetorium* in Rom gedient.

[41] *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Clariano / Aur(elius) Maximianus m(iles) leg(ionis) Primes(!) / Atiu[tricis! p]os(uit) / fra[tri caris]simo(?), / nat[o in Moes(ia) i]n[f]e/rio[re, reg(ione)] Mar(cianopolitana), / vic[o ---]diano / an[n(orum) ---]XVIII.* Die Ergänzung der *regio* ist hier auch wegen der adjektivischen Form und die Reihenfolge *provincia+regio +vicus* sehr überzeugend.

Kultstätten trafen, um ihre heimatlichen Kulte gemeinsam zu pflegen. Ein erstes Beispiel dafür ist *CIL* VI 32549 (= *EDR*071604)[42], eine Statuenbasis, auf der die Herkunft mit *provincia* und *regio* (*provinc(ia) Mysi[a]* (!) *infer(iore) e reg(ione) Dimesi*) angegeben wird. *Dimum*, eine militärische *statio* in *Moesia inferior*, die nie zum *municipium* erhoben wurde (Bâltâc 2011, 91), ist ein Beispiel für ein kleineres, nicht munizipales Zentrum mit einem eigenen Territorium. Die Herkunftsangabe ganz oben am Rand außerhalb des Schriftfelds bezieht sich auf die 17 Prätorianer, die unten aufgelistet werden und die anscheinend nur die Herkunft aus dem Territorium von *Dimum* gemeinsam hatten. Die Erwähnung eines Territoriums ohne städtisches Zentrum ist auch auf zwei weiteren stadtrömischen Monumenten zu beobachten: eine Grabinschrift und eine Weihinschrift. Das Monument an *Heros Briganitius* (*CIL* VI 32582 = *EDR*121298[43]) wird von vier Prätorianern aus drei verschiedenen Kohorten gestiftet. Die Soldaten definieren sich als *cives Usdicenses vico Agatapara*. Es ist nicht klar, ob mit *cives* eine *civitas peregrina* oder eine andere Struktur gemeint ist, aber *Usdicensis* weist bestimmt auf die vortrajanische Strategie hin, die laut Gerov (1980a, 235-236)[44] unter Trajan in eine ländliche *regio* umgewandelt wurde. Mit derselben Kombination (*civitas+vicus*) wird auf einer Grabtafel (*CIL* VI 2736= *EDR*105612[45]) ein *vicus* im Territorium der *mansio Melta* genannt (Bâltâc 2011, 98)[46].

Auf einem kleinen, von Soldaten aus der *regio Marcianopolitana* geweihten Relief (*CIL* VI 32583 = *EDR*033581[47]) ist mit dem Ausdruck *ex regione Marcianopolitana* nicht – oder nicht nur – der Kult der Juno gemeint, der im ganzen Reichsgebiet verbreitet war, sondern die Gruppe der Soldaten, die aus der Umgebung der Stadt *Marcianopolis*[48] stammen. Die Inversion der Wortfolge wurde mit Absicht vorgenommen, um die *origo* in eine zentrale und damit auffälligere Position zu stellen.

Ein ähnlicher Ausdruck, *Numini sancti dei Aescul[api] / Sindrinae reg(ionis) Philippopolita/nae* (*CIL* VI 30685 = *EDR*121889[49]), ist auf einer Weihung an *Asclepius Zimidrenus* zu finden. Auch hier ist klar, dass die *origo* (*regionis Philippopolitanae*) sich eher auf die Soldaten als auf die Gottheit bezieht. Der Ausdruck sollte außerdem nicht als Hinweis auf eine *regio*, die sich von der χώρα unterscheidet, betrachtet werden (wie z.B. Bâltâc 2011, 125), sondern als generelle Bezeichnung des Territoriums der Stadt *Philippopolis*.

Der Name der Gottheit ist noch in einer privaten Weihinschrift (*CIL* VI 36846 = *EDR*121710[50]) mit der Herkunft des Stifters verbunden (*Apollini Cicanos regionis Tracia, vico Statuis*). Die Verwendung des Begriffs *regio* in Bezug auf eine Provinz, wie sie hier ausnahmsweise vorliegt, könnte als Versehen des Urhebers der Inschrift gedeutet werden; es besteht aber auch die Möglichkeit, dass der Terminus hier ganz bewusst verwendet wurde, was seinen unspezifischen Charakter nochmals bestätigen würde. Eine weitere Widmung an *Asclepius Zimidrenus* von der Piazza Manfredo Fanti (*CIL* VI 2799 = *EDR*121711) wird von 20 Prätorianern gestiftet. Die Soldaten definieren ihre Herkunft nicht mit der *regio Philippopolitana,* wie die Prätorianer in *CIL* VI 30685, aber geben sich mit einer ähnlichen Formulierung als *cives Philippopolitani*, die aus 16 verschiedenen *vici* des Territoriums stammen, zu erkennen[51].

[42] *Provinc(ia) Mysi[a] (!) infer(iore) e reg(ione) Dimesi // Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Gordian[o A]ug(usto) II [et Pom]peiano / consu[libus], / coh(ortis) VI p[r(aetoriae)] Aur(elius) Maṛ[--- sti]p(endiorum) XXX, / coh(ortis) V Sulp(icius) V[--- s]tip(endiorum) VIII, / coh(ortis) III Aur(elius) [--- s]tip(endiorum) XVI, / coh(ortis) VII Aur(elius) M[--- s]tip(endiorum) XV, / coh(ortis) V Aur(elius) P[--- s]tip(endiorum) XV, / coh(ortis) [--- p]r(aetoriae) Iul(ius) [---] stip(endiorum) XIIII, / co[h(ortis) --- p]r(aetoriae) Aur[---] stip[endiorum] XIIII ...*

[43] *Deo Sancto / Eroni (!) Briganitio. / Flabius (!) Proclianus (!), / mil(es) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), / Claudi(us) Mucianus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), / Aureli(us) Valerianus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), / Valeri(us) Maximus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) / cives Usdicensis (!), / vico Agatapara, / v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt).*

[44] Gerov zufolge wurden nach der trajanischen Urbanisierung manche Strategien in Gebirgslandschaften, wie die Οὐσδικησική, in ländliche Territorien umgewandelt. Laut Parissaki (2013, 81-83) handelt es sich hingegen um eine *civitas peregrina* in Moesien. Die *cives Usdicenses* könnten mit den Einwohnern der *civitas Ausdecensium* von *CIL* III 14437, 2 identifiziert werden (Bâltâc 2011, 86 und Parissaki *ibid.*)

[45] *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Aur(eli) Mucconi, mi(litis) / ch(ortis) (!) X prae(toriae), / (centuria) Gaiani, qui vi(xit) / ann(is) XXXVI, digno meren/ti marito Gratilla fecit / virginia sua, natione Mesa/cus (!), civis Meletinus, vico / Perepro, b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

[46] Das Wort *civis* heisst hier nicht unbedingt, wie in der vorherigen Inschrift, dass es sich um eine *civitas peregrina* handelt.

[47] *Dehe (!) sancte (!) Iunoni ex / reg(ione) Marcianopolita/[na] cives posuerunt.*

[48] Vgl. auch Gerov 1988, 125. Über die Unterteilung des Territoriums der Stadt in χώρα und *regio* s. Bâltâc 2011, 96-98.

[49] *Numini sancti dei Aescul[api] / Sindrinae reg(ionis) Philippopolita/nae, Aur(elius) Mucianus sacerdos, mi/l(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis) Gordianae (centuria) Seve/[r]us, votum quod [s]usceperat liben/s solvit cum civibus et commil/[i]tonibus suis ...*

[50] *Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Gor/diano Aug(usto) et / Aviola co(n)s(ulibus) / Apollini Cic/anos region/is Tracia (!), vico / Statuis, / Aur(elius) Marcus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) I / pret(oriae) (!) P(iae) V(indicis) Gor/dianae (centuria) Vit/alis, / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

[51] Zwei dieser *vici* sind aus weiteren Inschrift bekannt: Für den *vicus Pomp. Burdap(a)* vgl. *IGBulg* III.1 1338-1341; für den *vicus Ardilenus* vgl. *IGBulg* III.1 1206. Der *vicus Lissenon* ist vermutlich identisch mit dem Toponym *Lissas* im *Itin. Ant.* 136.2

In einer letzten Weihung (*CIL* VI 32567 = *EDR*121308[52]) löst ein *sacerdos* ein Gelübde ein, und zwar für sich und die Gruppe der Einwohner eines *vicus* im Territorium der Stadt *Serdica* (*cives prov(inciae) Trac/ie* (!)*, reg(ione) Serdicens(e), / Midne Potelense*), die über die Formel *provincia+regio+vicus* näher definiert werden.

Mit dieser Gruppe von Inschriften kann auch eine kollektive Weihinschrift (*CIL* VI 32542 = *EDR*121800) verglichen werden, die ebenfalls von der Piazza Manfredo Fanti kommt und in die Mitte des 3. Jh. zu datieren ist. Das Monument wurde von Prätorianern aus der pannonischen *civitas Cotinorum*, und zwar aus den *vici* der Territorien von *Cibala* und *Mursa*, gestiftet.

Ergebnisse

Die *regio*-Angabe als *origo* findet man hauptsächlich in privaten Inschriften von in Rom stationierten *milites* aus Moesien und Thrakien, wobei die Soldaten auch die Verfasser der Texte sind. Sie fehlt dagegen in allen offiziellen oder semi-offiziellen Quellen (*laterculi praetorianorum* und Militärurkunden), wo eine solche Information nicht notwendig war.

Obwohl die *origines* in den stadtrömischen Inschriften die Verwaltungsstrukturen der Herkunftsprovinzen widerspiegeln können, ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass mit *regio* die zum betreffenden Zeitpunkt gegebene administrative Organisation bezeichnet wird.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, ist das Wort *regio* ein sehr allgemeines und daher eher vages Konzept und kann unterschiedliche Bedeutungen sogar innerhalb desselben Kontextes aufweisen, besonders in Thrakien und Moesien, wo verschiedene Verwaltungsstrukturen als *regiones* bezeichnet werden. Während mit dem Ausdruck *regio Montanensium* eine kaiserliche Domäne gemeint ist[53], sollte die *regio Histria* die administrative Einheit außerhalb der *civitas* anzeigen (Bâltâc 2011, 95)[54]. In vier Inschriften der antoninischen Zeit wird mit *regio* die Unterteilung der Territorien von Deultum (*AE* 1927, 49: *per fin(es) col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Deult(ensium)*), Serdica (*ILBulg* 211: *per fines civitatis / Serd(ic)ensium regione Dyptens(ium?)*), Marcianopolis (*AE* 2000, 1268: *per fines civitat[is Mar]/cianopolitano[rum re]/gion[e] Gelegetio[rum]*) und Augusta Traiana (Бююклиев / Гетов 1964, 29: *per fines [civitatis Tra]ianensium regio[ne ---]*) umschrieben (Gerov 1978, 475 = 1980, 273).

Zumindest für das Territorium von Serdica und Marcianopolis wären also mit *regio* sowohl das ländliche Territorium insgesamt als auch seine Unterteilungen bezeichnet. Wegen dieser Ungenauigkeit kann kaum behauptet werden, dass die *origo*-Angaben der stadtrömischen Inschriften die Verwaltungsstrukturen der betreffenden Provinzen abbilden.

Genau dieses Phänomen, das in Rom beobachtet wird, findet außerdem keine Parallele in den Provinzen[55]: Es taucht erst im 3. Jh. auf, während ein Jahrhundert zuvor, als das neue Verwaltungssystem eingeführt wurde, noch keine Spuren von seiner Existenz festzustellen sind. Die Erwähnung der *regiones* wird in Rom in einer Zeit gebraucht, als die Präsenz von moesischen und thrakischen Soldaten besonders stark war und nachdem die Einwohner der ländlichen Territorien infolge der *Constitutio Antoniniana* das römische Bürgerrecht erhalten hatten und ihre echte Herkunft frei ausdrücken konnten (s. auch

[52] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [---] ạnccieti / Aur(elius) Bitus / sacerdos votum /[qu]od vovimus / cives prov(inciae) Trac/ie (!), reg(ione) Serdicens(e), / Midne Potelense / salvo c[ol]l(egio) Martis / et Herculis / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito), d(omino) n(ostro) Calleno (!) Aug(usto) VII et Sabinillo / conss(ulibus).*

[53] S. *supra* und adn. 21.

[54] Das Territorium von Histria wäre in zwei administrativen Einheite, χώρα und *regio*, unterteilt. Vgl. *CIL* III 12489: *natus / Fabia Anquira, / constit(it) r(egione) Hist(ri); ISM* I, 329; *ISM* V 123: *civit(atis) / et reg(ionis) His(triae); ISM* V 124: *a[r?]/contes r(egionis) His(triae).*

[55] *ISM* II 142 (*ortus in provincia Dardania, regione Ulpiana [vico?] Dasa*) ist der einzige Vergleich, aber die Inschrift ist erst ins 4. Jh. zu datieren.

Gerov 1980c, 343). Da es in dieser Zeit keinen rechtlichen Unterschied zwischen städtischen und ländlichen Territorien mehr gab, hätte es auch wenig Sinn gehabt, eine Herkunft aus der städtischen χώρα oder aus einem ländlichen Gebiet auf einem in der Stadt Rom errichteten Monument zu betonen. Es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Begriff *regio* in diesen Denkmälern im weiteren Sinn als Synonym von Territorium interpretiert werden muss[56]. Darüber hinaus sollte man, wie das Beispiel von *CIL* VI 36846 zeigt, vorsichtig sein, weitergehende Schlussfolgerungen aus stadtrömischen Inschriften aus privaten Kontexten zu ziehen, vor allem weil nach wie vor zu wenige Dokumente als Vergleichsmaterial zur Verfügung stehen.

Schlussfolgerungen

Bei der *regio*-Angabe als *origo* handelt sich um ein stadtrömisches Phänomen.

Es ist eine starke Prävalenz der *regio*-Angabe in den Weihinschriften festzustellen, in denen die Soldaten oder ihre Erben frei waren, ihre Identität selbst zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Vor allem die Versammlung von Soldaten unterschiedlichen Alters, die in verschiedenen Einheiten dienten (ein seltenes Phänomen in der militärischen Epigraphik), lässt daran denken, dass die Bezeichnung der *regiones* im 3. Jh. nicht die römischen Verwaltungsstrukturen abbildet, sondern eine Zugehörigkeit zu Gemeinschaften, die nur in privaten Monumenten definiert wurden. Wegen des großen Anteils an kollektiven Weihinschriften könnte darüber hinaus vermutet werden, dass die Einwohner einiger Stadtterritorien im 3. Jh. ihre gemeinsame Identität auch in regionalen Heiligtümern fanden, wie im Fall der *cives Philippopolitani* und der *cives ex regione Marcianopolitana*, die sich mit Bezug auf ihre gemeinsamen Kulte vor dem stadtrömischen Publikum repräsentierten.

Der einzigartige stadtrömische Kontext der *castra praetoria*, wo sich im 3. Jh. hauptsächlich Soldaten aus dem Donauraum trafen, hat zur Bildung von stark ausdifferenzierten regionalen Herkunftsgemeinschaften geführt. Die Prätorianer haben dabei ihre Zugehörigkeit zu solchen Gemeinschaften durch den *regio*-Begriff ausgedrückt, der für alle verständlich war und aufgrund seiner Allgemeinheit auf verschiedene lokale Zustände angewendet werden konnte.

Die Genese von regionalen Identitäten ist in der Antike wie heute ein sozialer Prozess, welcher bei Personen, die sich fern der Heimat aufhalten, oftmals zu beobachten ist. Diese regionalen Identitäten sind eine Form der kollektiven Selbstdarstellung, die sich nicht unbedingt auf tatsächliche Verwaltungsstrukturen der Herkunftsländer beziehen muss[57].

[56] Man kann das auch in anderen Inschriften beobachten (*regio Montanensium / territorium Montanensium*).

[57] Über regionale Identitäten und Ethnizität vgl. Epstein 1978; Paasi 2002 und Pooley 2007.

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Thracian Veterans and the Pseudo-Tribes[1]

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Abstract: The present paper deals with the problem of the pseudo-tribes adopted by the Thracian veterans on their discharge as Praetorian Guards. In most cases the administrative rules are strictly followed and the veterans obtained the imperial epithet in the city-title of their home city, *viz. Ulpia*. In other not numerous cases, however, some discrepancies to this rule appeared and the veterans received *Iulia, Flavia, Aelia* etc. The grounds for these cases are discussed here.

Key words: pseudo-tribe, Thracians, Praetorians, nomenclature, *Quirina.*

It is well known that near the middle of the 2nd century the original system of Roman tribes, an essential part of *lex Iulia*[2], declined on political grounds and new system would have been created – that of the pseudo-tribes[3]. In a sense, this was not something new, since as early as the time of Caesar new Roman citizens were not enrolled into the original tribes, but in a newly created one named *Iulia* (Cass. Dio 44.5.2; 51.20.1). It does not mean, however, that the traditional tribe system was abandoned. Thus, from the time of Augustus till the time of Claudius, new citizens were enrolled initially into *Iulia*, and since the time of Claudius – into *Claudia*, but also in *Quirina*[4]. It is not clear yet on what grounds the new citizens were divided when enrolling, but it seems that the provincial elite or at least most of it was enrolled into the original tribes, as compared to the rest – veterans mostly, who were enrolled into the 'imperial' tribe. The case of the Thracian elite is very symptomatic for this, as all the individuals were enrolled into the *Quirina* tribe[5].

Despite its decline, the Roman tribe remained a crucial part of the nomenclature of the Praetorians and *urbaniciani*[6], i. e. those stationed in Rome with origins in Italy where traditional status distinctions were stronger than in the provinces. Thracian veterans, who were initially enrolled into the auxiliary and Horse Guard, and later – in the legions, seem to have not been affected by this, and, as far as I know, no Thracian veteran was enrolled in an original Roman tribe.

All this changed abruptly after AD 193, when the victorious Septimius Severus disbanded the Praetorian Guards and replaced them with soldiers from the loyal legions, *viz.* those who proclaimed him emperor and supported him through the Civil war. This is the time when Thracians entered the upper ranks of the military hierarchy in the empire and became one of the biggest groups among the Praetorians. As their ancestors who had gained Roman citizenship and names on discharge (and by this provided their descendants with the opportunity to enter the Praetorian Guard), they were not enrolled

[1] My sincere thanks go to Adam Kemezis for his comments on the draft of this paper.

[2] *Q(uei) c(ives) R(omanei) erunt censum / ag[i]to eorumque nomina praenomina patres aut patronos tribus cognomina* (*CIL* I 593).

[3] The term 'pseudo-tribes' is put forward by G. Forni, but before him the term varied from 'imperial tribes' to simply 'tribe'– see Forni 1985, 3.

[4] For the tribes used within this span of time – see Forni 1985, 45.

[5] See for this Тачева 2007, 6-7.

[6] For example, these troops are the only ones with tribe assignation according to the nomenclature used in the military diplomas (Mócsy 1986, 438).

into the original Roman tribes; the Roman administration used the pseudo-tribes instead. It should be mentioned that it was not only the Thracian Praetorians who were treated in that way, but all who originated from the provinces. Certainly, those soldiers whose original citizen-ancestors had been enrolled into the Roman tribes preserved their affiliation, but the rest were assigned to new tribes. As G. Forni clearly shows, the new tribes mostly derive from the official title of the home city – *viz.* its imperial epithets (Forni 1985). Thus, a veteran from *colonia Ulpia Oescensium,* if not enrolled into the tribe of *Papiria*, would accept *Ulpia* rather than something else. This system is applicable to veterans from Roman colonies and municipalities, and also peregrine cities with imperial epithets in their official title. The latter is quite clear when studying the Thracian veterans, as will be seen in the next paragraph.

A recent study on the city-title of the cities in Roman Thrace reveals that not all cities whose veterans used *Ulpia* as pseudo-tribe had the Trajanic *gentilicium* in their title. In fact, *Ulpia* was used in local coin issues and official inscriptions for only six cities, respectively – Pautalia, Serdica, Nicopolis ad Nestum, Anchialos, Topeiros, and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Topalilov 2015a). It is therefore logical to accept that the veterans with *origo* from the aforementioned cities would have chosen *Ulpia* in their nomenclature. And this is so for Praetorians from Anchialos, Serdica, Nicopolis ad Istrum, and Pautalia.

The *laterculi* also reveal that Praetorians from other cities such as Marcianopolis, Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis, Perinthos etc. also used *Ulpia* (Forni 1985, 91-101). And if it is more or less reasonable for such cities as Marcianopolis, i. e. those closely linked to the *Optimus Princeps*, it is quite unlikely for cases like Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis, Perinthos, surely not connected with the so-called 'Trajanic' urbanization of Thrace. It may be assumed that, in fact, a considerable diversity of pseudo-tribes such as *Aelia, Flavia, Iulia* and *Claudia* was used by the Thracian Praetorians from the peregrine cities with imperial epithets in their title, as well as from Roman colonies. It seems that in these cases the official rules were not strictly followed. We can only speculate why it happened, but in some cases the sources provide clues for the reasons. It is therefore the intention here to study as much as possible the grounds on which a certain pseudo-tribe was chosen and some cases that might reveal some reasons will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

1. The pseudo-tribe and the personal name

This link has already been proposed in scholarship when studying the case of *T. Aelius Titianus* from Pautalia who chose *Aelia*. This instance has been discussed, as mentioned above, as an act of a personal initiative revealing that the rule studied by G. Forni may have not been strictly followed, as revealed by many other cases (Topalilov 2015). The specifics of the name, which is the imperial name of Antoninus Pius after his adoption by Hadrian[7], allow us to assume that the ancestor of *T. Aelius Titianus* was in fact a *peregrinus* enrolled into *equites singulares Augusti*[8], and obviously not enrolled into the imperial tribe of *Voltinia*, or *Quirina*. Therefore, it is obvious that his descendant chose the imperial *gentilicium* for a pseudo-tribe, as was the practice there. It does not mean, however, that Pautalia gained *Aelia* in its official city-title.

[7] See the imperial names in Kienast 2011, 134.

[8] For the naming system of the *equites singulares Augusti* – see Speidel 1965, 2-3.

Instances like this one are rare and probably for this reason B. Gerov (Геров 1960, 106, note 2) suggested that in fact the appearance of *Aelia* was an error made by the stonecutter. The case of *T. Aelius Titianus*, however, is not unique. Thus, we are aware of another Thracian veteran, where the same method of naming was applied – *[C.?] [-I]ulius C. f. Iul. Maximus Bize* (*CIL* VI 32640, l.31) who differs from the remaining known Praetorians of that town even in this very *laterculus*[9]. This case will be discussed again below, since it is quoted as an example of *Iulia* being an epithet in the city-title, but the link between the pseudo-tribe and the imperial *gentilicium* in the veteran's name is more plausible[10]. As for the Praetorian himself, he also seems to have been a descendant of a *peregrinus* who obtained Roman citizenship on discharge; the name is typical for soldiers who got Roman names when entering the Praetorian fleet[11]. As for the *gentilicium Iulius*, it may be due also to the name of the Thracian provincial governor, such as for instance *Iulius Crassipes*, who was probably governor around AD 138 (Thomasson 2011, 22:019), or *C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus* ca. AD 155 (Thomasson 2011, 22:025). As O. Salomies (1996, 167-186) reveals, one of the ways to get a new name in the fleet was according to the name of the provincial governor. The active policy of the latter in Thrace makes it more likely.

Following this logic, a plausible explanation also could be proposed for *L. Aur(elius) L f. Ael(ia) Diza Sen{r}dica*, *mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) Antoninianae P(iae) V(indicis)* (*AE* 1983, 10), who originated from *Ulpia Serdica*. It is most probable that his ancestor was named after Lucius Verus, whose name after 7 March AD 161 was *L. Aurelius Verus Augustus* (Kienast 2011, 143), or Commodus in the period between AD 177-180, when his name was *Imp. Caes. L. Aurelius Commodus Aug.* (Kienast 2011, 147). In both cases imperial freedmen's nomenclature includes *L. Aurelius* (see Weaver 1972, 26-27).

Probably similar is the case with *P. Ael(ius) P. f. Aelia Pacatus*, a *compidoctor* from *coh. I. pr.* who originated from *Scupi* (*CIL* VI 533 = *ILS* 2088). It is known that the *colonia* was established by Vespasian named as *colonia Flavia Felix Dardanorum Scupi*[12]. In fact, this case has been studied in scholarship and so far three explanations are proposed: an occasion when the colony was fortified with a curtain wall; colonization in Hadrian's time; or an imperial visit[13]. Philippopolis was also visited by Hadrian in AD 131[14], and fortified in AD 172 (*IGBulg* III.1 878), but no *Aelia* or *Aurelia* is attested as a pseudo-tribe. As for veterans' deduction, it might be possible, but only when the deduction occurs along with the establishment of a *municipium* or a *colonia,* when the community received civic status or was promoted to higher one respectively. The diversity of opinions reveals that no certain evidence is available as to why *P. Ael(ius) Pacatus* chose *Aelia* instead of *Flavia*, if he was not enrolled into *Quirina*.

Probably, some of the individuals with names *T., L.* or *P. Aelius* who are enrolled in the pseudo-tribe *Aelia*[15] and whose *origo* is not preserved also belong to the group just discussed.

These examples, albeit not numerous, allow the suggestion that in fact when nomenclature was devised for Praetorian veterans, the tribal part of the name seems to have been open to personal initiative not only in the cases of veterans from peregrine cities without clear imperial *gentilicium* in their city-title, but also for those from cities with

[9] They used *Ulpia* only – *CIL* VI 32640.

[10] No *Iulia* is attested in the city-title of Bizye in the official inscriptions or coin issues.

[11] On the Thracians in the fleet – see Тачева 2000, 156, 161-169.

[12] See Birley 1986, 209-216; most recently Mrozewicz 2015, 153.

[13] They are summarized in Ферјанчић 2002, 77.

[14] See recently Шаранков 2015.

[15] See the list in Forni 1985, 75-76.

such epithets and even Roman colonies. It is certain that this could only take place in the instances where the veterans and their ancestors were not enrolled into the original Roman tribes.

2. The *Flavia* and *Quirina* veterans

The Praetorian *laterculi* reveal the names of numerous veterans from Philippopolis with the pseudo-tribe *Flavia*. They were either veterans from *Trimon(tio)* or from *Philip(popoli)*, and with one exception all of them were *M. Aurelii*. The exception is *C. Val(erius) C. f. Valens.*

The *laterculi*, however, provide information for other veterans from Philippopolis enrolled in the *Quirina* tribe: in *CIL* VI 32640, l. 7, a certain *[M.] Aurel(ius) M. f. Qui(rina) Orestes* from *Trim(ontium)*, and probably *T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) [An]tiochus IRIMU*, if *IRIMU* is developed as *<T>rimu(ntio)* (sic!)[16], rather than *(S)ir<mio=IMU>* as proposed in Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby *(EDCS)*[17]. It is without doubt, however, that at least one veteran from Philippopolis, and there may be more, was enrolled into the Roman tribe *Quirina*. As the epigraphic sources reveal, many *Flavii* and *T. Flavii* are attested in inscriptions from the 2nd century, some of them holding magistracies[18], and one fragmented inscription also reveals the settlement of three *T. Flavii* with *Quirina* tribe southward the city *(IGBulg* III.1 1411). B. Gerov (Геров 1980, 50) believed that the latter case concerned veterans or a family of a veteran from the *auxilia*. It is not quite certain that we are dealing with auxiliary veterans, as the rest of the Thracian veterans kept their original names at that time. If the veterans were auxiliary, which I doubt, having in mind also the *mensa*, found just nearby and set up by *C. Minutius Laetus*, a veteran from *legio VII C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)* in AD 76 (*IGBulg* III.1 1410), they would not be of Thracian origin. Nonetheless, their descendants obviously kept the *Quirina* tribe through the second century and cases like *[M.] Aurel(ius) M. f. Qui(rina) Orestes* would appear in AD 209/210[19] or after *Constitutio Antoniniana*[20] among the other Praetorians from Philippopolis (Топалилов 2011, 257-268).

In fact, these are not the only Thracians enrolled in the tribe of *Quirina* in the time of Claudius or Vespasian. Several inscriptions reveal that some members of the Thracian aristocratic elite gained not only Roman imperial names – *Ti. Claudius* or *T. Flavius*, but also original Roman tribes[21]. The enrollment of these people into the original tribe of *Quirina* was proudly stated by the new Roman citizens and became a symbol of high civic status: the elite of the society. Although the tribe system was not common in Thrace, each member of a Roman tribe eagerly declared his affiliation. It is therefore not surprising to find the case of *Ti. Claudius Martialis* of the *Palatina* tribe, proudly stated on a bilingual funerary inscription found in the eastern necropolis of Philippopolis[22].

Here arises the question of the reasons why the Praetorians from Philippopolis used *Flavia,* as no such epithet is attested in the official title of the city?

The use of *Flavia* in the nomenclature of the Praetorian veterans from Philippopolis has already been discussed, although quite briefly, in scholarship. Thus, B. Gerov (Геров 1980, 51) was inclined to accept that it is due to the official settlement of veterans in the administrative territory of Philippopolis, near the city where a community was estab-

[16] Mateescu 1923, 126, 268 with the development as *[T]R<I>MVntio*; see also Passerini 1939, 177.

[17] Cf. http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_ergebnis.php (checked on 25.01.2017).

[18] See for instance *IGBulg* III.1 902, 903, 913 etc.; see for the analysis – Геров 1980, 51, note 117.

[19] See Forni 1985, 36, 71.

[20] On the criteria of dating the Praetorian *laterculi* with the introduction of the pseudo-tribes and M. Aurelius name – see Benefiel 2001, 223-224.

[21] They are discussed in Тачева 2007, 6-7.

[22] *IGBulg* III.1 1006. The Palatine tribe is the tribe of freedmen.

lished, not referring to the civic status of Philippopolis. A comment is needed here, since Philippopolis is not the only place where veterans were settled, but no *Flavia*, however, is attested in the nomenclature of veterans who originated from there[23].

Another hypothesis was advanced by E. Kessjakova (Кесякова 1999, 14), seeing *Flavia* as a mark of intense urban activity in the time of Vespasian. In this case, the author followed the perception of a close link between the pseudo-tribe and massive urbanistic initiative according to the model – pseudo-tribe = imperial epithet in the city-title[24], a convention accepted in Bulgarian scholarship[25]. It is not my intention here to discuss the urbanistic changes of Philippopolis in the time of the *Flavii*, and especially in the time of Domitian when the city gained its most important ensembles[26], but it seems to me highly improbable that this would be the main reason. If so, we should also infer the same urbanistic activity in the time of Trajan as we are aware of many veterans who belonged to the *Ulpia* pseudo-tribe. But this would present us with the problem of why the names of emperors who, unlike Trajan, have had some securely established urbanistic activity, such as Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, or even Septimius Severus, are not among the pseudo-tribes used in this manner either? In the time when *CIL* VI 32624 and *CIL* VI 32543 were set up in Rome, dated in ca. AD 204/214[27] and AD 227, in Philippopolis an architectural 'renovation' of the city and its main complexes was linked to Septimius Severus and the imperial visit of Caracalla and Elagabalus[28]. It would be logical that these Praetorians would use *Septimia* or *Aelia*, as Hadrian's visit in AD 131 made a great impact on the life of the city and the imperial cult, including the choice of a new patron-deity (see for this Топалилов 2017).

The Praetorian inscriptions may also reveal a temporary use of *Flavia* when considering for instance the use of *Ulpia*. Both inscriptions seem to be isolated events and they appeared at a time when *Quirina* veterans from Philippopolis appeared in the inscriptions in Rome, i. e. AD 209/210. Bearing all this in mind, I would not hesitate to suppose that the appearance of *Flavia* in the nomenclature of numerous Praetorians from Philippopolis and the villages nearby was in fact inspired by the group of Praetorians from the city with *Quirina* tribe. The rest proudly stated this as also *Lucius Cassius Severus* in Philippopolis (Ботушарова 1985, 13-23; *IGBulg* V 5410), and it became a symbol of the elite in civic society in Philippopolis. Every link with them, even indirect, would be a bonus.

There is also another possibility with the *Flavia* Praetorians being descendants of auxiliary veterans closely linked to the time of the *Flavii*. The use of a pseudo-tribe instead of *Quirina* is another argument for the assumption that in fact the Thracian auxiliary veterans were not enrolled into the original Roman tribes as a whole.

3. The *Ulpia* veterans

As already mentioned, a large number of the Praetorian veterans from Thrace used the pseudo-tribe *Ulpia* in their official nomenclature. And this is not surprising, as some of the major cities in Thrace providing soldiers were named with the Trajanic *gentilicium* including names derived from the Trajanic imperial family, such as Traianopolis, Marcianopolis, Augusta Traiana and Plotinopolis. There are also other veterans originating from cities with no *Ulpia* in the city-title. For

[23] On the Flavian colonization – see Геров 1980, 40-53.

[24] Thus, she believes that the pseudo-tribe *Iulia* refers to important urbanistic events in the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty – Кесякова 1999, 13.

[25] See Геров 1980, 40-41.

[26] See most recently Топалилов 2012.

[27] The numerous *M. Aurelii* in *CIL* VI 32624 may reveal that it should be dated after *Constitutio Antoniniana* – see Benefiel 2001; G. Forni and C. Ricci, however, date the inscription in ca. AD 204 – see Forni 1985, 80; Ricci 1993, 178, note 18.

[28] On the architectural refurbishment in the time of *Severi* – see recently Димитров 2009, 85-114.

the purpose of this study we should study the cases of veterans from Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis, Perinthos, and *colonia Claudia Aprensis*.

The pseudo-tribe *Ulpia* may be found in the nomenclature of Praetorians from Philippopolis in a limited number of *laterculi* and military diplomas. It is not as widespread as, for example, in the nomenclature of Praetorians from Serdica, Anchialos, Pautalia or Nicopolis ad Istrum, and this is not surprising, as no imperial name is attested as an epithet in the city-title. This is also clearly revealed in the military diplomas where a combination of *tribus* and *origo* is observed and quite often the pseudo-tribe is added to the name of the city. The *diploma* of *M. Aurelius M. f. Pyrr(h)us / Ulp(ia) Serdic(a)* makes this clear (*RMD* IV 308). In sharp contrast, *Ulpia* was never added to Philippopolis in this manner.

Following the widespread view in Bulgarian scholarship that there is a close connection between the pseudo-tribe *Ulpia* and intensive urbanistic construction activity as in the cases of *Flavia* and *Iulia* discussed above, one would naturally expect such activity in Philippopolis too.

Archaeological excavations have been carried out in Plovdiv for more than a century. Although almost one-third of the Roman city, including the main architectural complexes, such as the Agora, Stadium, Theater, *thermae* etc. have been discovered, there is not a single piece of evidence for any link between the city and Trajan (see Топалилов 2012). Instead, such evidence exists for the links Domitian-Philippopolis, Hadrian-Philippopolis, Marcus Aurelius-Philippopolis, etc. It is therefore highly improbable that Trajan played a defining role in the urbanization of Philippopolis and for this city the meaning of *Ulpia* should be sought elsewhere.

Among the Praetorians with an *Ulpia* tribal designation there is no other name but *M. Aurelius.* The earliest inscription containing such nomenclature of which I am aware is dated to AD 204 (*CIL* VI 37184), and the man concerned was probably enrolled into the army in AD 184. This means that he probably received the imperial name after the emperor Marcus Aurelius when the original Roman tribe system was no longer used. In cases like these after the middle of the 2nd century the problem would be solved easily in cases involving Roman colonies and *municipia* when the new citizen just got the imperial *gentilicium* as a pseudo-tribe of the emperor-founder; such cases as veterans from *Oescus* with *Ulpia* may be explained in this way. It is most likely the same for peregrine cities with imperial epithets in the city-title. In the remaining cases, however, it seems that the pseudo-tribe was optional as it was with the veterans from Trimontium (Philippopolis); no name such as *M. Ulpius* exists that would allow a natural link with Trajan.

Probably the same is the case also with *[C.?] [-I]ulius C. f. Ulp. Mucatra Perin(tho)*[29]*,* since despite the administrative reform that was carried out in Thrace in the time of Trajan, which ended with the replacement of *procurator Augusti* by *legatus Augusti pro praetore*[30]*,* the change did not affect the provincial capital itself. Besides, the name of the Praetorian definitely does not refer to *M. Ulpius Traianus*, but to an ordinary sailor. One would not be surprised if *[C.?] [-I]ulius C. f. Ulp. Mucatra* was in fact a descendant of a marine stationed in Perinthos. As is well known, the provincial capital of Thrace was home of a military unit of the Roman fleet.

[29] *CIL* VI 32640, 24.

[30] On this reform – see Stein 1920, 10 ff.; Poulter 1995, 10.

Of especial interest is the case of the veterans from Hadrianopolis. All of the Praetorians originating from there are *M. Aurelii* and they are found in inscriptions dated to AD 204 or 212. Nonetheless, their names are not attributable to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* which in fact was introduced practically in AD 214[31]. We are informed that Hadrianopolis was named after its founder Hadrian[32]. It is quite clear that *Ulpia Tonzos* was in fact a different village from the predecessor of Hadrianopolis[33]. No Trajanic urbanistic or other connection of any sort can be traced in this city, but rather we see Hadrianic associations, with an imperial visit, reestablishment of the city and a new imperial name. Surprisingly, this was not enough for the veterans from the city to accept *Aelia,* as was done by their colleagues from Marcianopolis taking *Ulpia*.

More striking is the case with *M. Aurel. M. f. Ulp. Theon Apris*[34] who originated from *colonia Claudia Aprensis*. Unlike the rest of the soldiers and veterans from this colony who were assigned to the tribe of *Claudia*[35], this one belonged to *Ulpia*. It is not unusual that veterans chose another tribe instead of the formal one of the colony, or the imperial epithet in the city-title, like *P. Aelius Pacatus* did, as discussed above. The name of the Praetorian veteran shows that he was most probably a descendant of a *peregrinus* who received Roman names and citizenship after a successful military service. The date of the inscription reveals that this happened most probably in the time of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus[36]. And here arises the question why the name of Trajan was chosen in this particular moment: due to the widespread practice among the Thracian Praetorians to use *Ulpia*, or to something else?

When we compare the dates of the inscriptions in which these veterans are attested, it appears that they were discharged over a very short span of time, of about 1-2 years ca. AD 204. This, along with the fact that they are found in only three inscriptions, may show the limitation of the process through the years. To my mind this is of crucial importance for solving the problem. The only thing to do is to see if there is something in the political life of Rome at that time that would make Trajan's memory particularly significant.

It is assumed that in late September of AD 197 Septimius Severus started his campaign against the Parthian kingdom. Unlike Lucius Verus, his plan was to lead the attack in person to the capital Ctesiphon. For this purpose he descended down by the Tigris by a newly constructed fleet and reached the Parthian capital whose king abandoned the Royal city. Ctesiphon was sacked and plundered. On 28 January AD 198 Septimius Severus celebrated his *Victoria Parthica* in Rome and took the title *Parthicus Maximus*, being the first emperor since Trajan to do so. According to A. Birley (1999, 130), the date was not chosen by chance: it was the exact centenary of Trajan's accession, but also 80 years after Trajan was commemorated as *Divus Traianus Parthicus*[37]. In order to establish a proper connection with Trajan, Septimius Severus claimed to be his great-great-grandson. Thus, he became equal to the 'best of emperors'. On the way back, his glory and authority faded among the troops after murdering *Iulius Laetus*, probably a *comes* who joined him from the very beginning of his march to the throne. Through his campaign, Septimius revived the Trajanic province of Roman Mesopotamia, and reorganized the Eastern fron-

[31] See for this Gilliam 1965, 83-90.

[32] Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἀδριανὸς ἔκτισε πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, ἣν ἐπεκάλεσεν Ἀδριανούπολιν καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ἔκτισε πόλιν (Ioan. Malal. *Chronogr.* 11, 20; see also Lamprid. *Vita Heliog.* 7. 4 ff.).

[33] See Topalilov 2015b, 91-100.

[34] *CIL* VI 32624, c17.

[35] See for example *P(ublio) Ael(io) Basso arm(orum) cust(odi) / eq(uiti) sing(ulari) Aug(usti) tur(ma) Aeli Crispi / nat(ione) Bessus Claudia Apris – CIL* VI 3177.

[36] Commodus used the names of Marcus Aurelius in the period from AD 180 till AD 191 – see Kienast 2011, 147-148.

[37] It was in the summer of AD 118 – see Kienast 2011, 123.

tier. The Trajanic road was reorganized too through setting up new milestones.

The triumph was also commemorated by the construction of various monuments, such as the arch of Septimius and the Septizodium. On the arch the deeds of the *triumphator* were presented in the manner of historical relief, introduced on Trajan's column. It looks like the *Optimus Princeps* gained a high degree of popularity in Rome again after the proclamation of Septimius Severus as his great-great-grandson. Considering this, and the popularity of *Ulpia* in Rome at that time, I would not hesitate to suggest that every link to Trajan was sought not only by the *Augustus*, but also by the Roman cities and Romans themselves. It is therefore logical to suppose that the Thracian veterans from the above mentioned cities would also try to express their connection to the *Optimus Princeps*, no matter how tenuous it was, and the only possibility was by the pseudo-tribe *Ulpia*.

The examples studied here would not provide all the answers to the questions about the spread of the pseudo-tribes in the nomenclature of the Thracian veterans, but it is my belief that they may provoke further study about other veterans as well. Still, some cases, such as for instance that of *[-] Aurel. M. f. Cl. Martialis Nicop(oli)*[38], probably Nicopolis ad Nestum, and *M. Aurel. M. f. Iul. Claudian(us), Serd(ica)*[39], are awaiting their answers. It is my hope that this proposed study would be regarded as a basic step in order to understand the nature of the so-called 'pseudo-tribes' and their importance for the military elite of the Roman empire, namely the Praetorian Guards.

[38] *CIL* VI 32640, 3.
[39] *CIL* VI 32523, b13.

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On Some Personal Names of Thrace

Argyro TATAKI

Abstract: The observations exposed in this paper are based on the material collected in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* v. 4 (2005), edited by Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews, which includes all the names written in Greek from Macedonia, Thrace and the northern regions of the Black Sea (Cimmerian Bosporus and Scythia among them). Some affinities in the *onomasticon* of the two large neighbouring areas, Macedonia and Thrace, can be traced on the basis of the Macedonian *onomasticon* that consists mostly of local and Panhellenic names. In Thrace there are also local, meaning Thracian, and Panhellenic names. Some Macedonian names included in the *onomasticon* of Thrace have a comparable frequency in both areas. Since Thrace is a rather extended area, it is not possible to sketch the distribution of Greek and Macedonian names in it and also the ratio of Thracian names in its *onomasticon*. I will just expose some observations on it, by isolating some names and commenting on their frequency or rarity, which I consider very important factors for the understanding of each *onomasticon*. Special attention is given to the names in the colonies of the Western coast of the Black Sea.

Key words: Macedonian names, Thracian names, Panhellenic names, frequent names, rare names, unique names, distribution of names.

Before proceeding to my presentation on some personal names of Thrace, I would like to express my thanks to the organizers of this Conference for giving me the opportunity to visit this beautiful, historical city for the third time and also to meet again with old friends. My first visit, of which I have very good memories, was during my participation in the 9th International Congress for Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Sofia, September 1987), organized very successfully by the unforgettable Georgi Mihailov.

The observations exposed in this paper are based on the material collected in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (*LGPN*) v. IV, edited by Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews (2005), which includes all the names written in Greek from Macedonia, Thrace and the northern regions of the Black Sea (Cimmerian Bosporos, and Scythia among them). Macedonia forms the largest part of it with 13402 named persons, followed by Thrace with 9767 persons.

Some affinities in the *onomasticon* of these two large neighbouring areas can be traced on the basis of the Macedonian *onomasticon* that consists mostly of local and Panhellenic names. In Thrace there are also local, meaning Thracian, and Panhellenic names; in both areas there are also many Roman names. I am not going to include in this presentation any comments on Thracian names which have been studied by generations of eminent scholars and recently have all been included in an imposing volume: Dan Dana's *Onomasticon Thracicum*

(2014). I am only mentioning that the most frequent Thracian name in the volume under discussion is *Bithys*, with 211 attestations; 54 of them are from Macedonia, mostly from the eastern part of it. I am also not going to include in this examination observations on theophoric names that are the most frequent in all the volumes of the *LGPN*, the leader in the one under discussion being *Dionysios* with 660 attestations; it is interestingly followed by *Alexandros* with 444 attestations, *Philippos* is in the fifth place, according to frequency, with 246 attestations; both these originally Macedonian names were very early assimilated to the Panhellenic *onomasticon*.

The richness of the *onomasticon* of Thrace can be firstly seen in the detailed indexes of Mihailov's monumental work *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* volumes I-V, published between 1956 and 1997, under the auspices of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The author has listed separately the various categories of names included in each volume and in some of them it is obvious that Greek names outnumber the Thracian ones. On this work was based D. Samsaris' dissertation in Greek under the title: *The Hellenization of Thrace during the Greek and Roman antiquity*, published in Thessaloniki in 1980 (Σαμσάρης 1980). He argued that mixed marriages were the most effective means for the Hellenization of the Thracian anthroponyms and the cultural assimilation of the Thracians. A brief summary of this work, 17 pages, has appeared in French under the title *Les thraces dans l'Empire romain d'Orient* in the periodical *Noi Tracii* 204 of October 1991 (Samsaris 1991).

A profound contribution to the study of the names of Thrace was the work of Louisa Loukopoulou, *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace Propontique* (1989); she gave the prosopography and the *onomasticon* of each of the cities of the area examined and created figures showing the percentages of the different categories of names. I will add to the above two more recent contributions to our knowledge of the names of Thrace without exhausting the subject; they are Mustafa Sayar's *Perinthos-Herakleia* (1998) and Maria-Gabriella Parissaki's *Prosopography and Onomasticon of Aegean Thrace* (2007).

Since Thrace is a very extensive area, it is not possible to sketch the distribution of Greek and Macedonian names in it, and also the ratio of Thracian names in its *onomasticon*. I will just expose some observations on it by isolating some names and commenting on their frequency or rarity, which I consider very important factors for the understanding of each *onomasticon*.

Some Macedonian names included in the *onomasticon* of Thrace have a comparable frequency in both areas, such as, for example the entries for the dynastic names *Antipatros*, occurring 34 times in Macedonia, from the early 4th c. BC on, and 18 times in Thrace, from the 3rd c. BC on; *Archelaos* 18 times in Macedonia, from the 5th c. BC on, 8 in Thrace from the 4th c. BC on, *Attalos* 15 times in Macedonia, from the 4th c. BC on, 9 in Thrace from the 3rd c. BC on; 8 of them are attested in Odessos. *Parmenion*, the name of a leading general and friend of Philip II, is one of the names that became very popular under Macedonian influence and spread in the Hellenistic and imperial periods; there are 35 attestations of it in Macedonia, from the early 4th c. BC on, 13 in Thrace from the 4th c. BC on, 7 of them are from Odessos.

Since Philippopolis, Θρᾳκῶν μητρόπολις Φιλιππόπολις, was one of the military colonies that Philip II settled in this area, I thought that I would isolate some Macedonian names in the very rich epigraphic material of the city and its territory included in *IGBulg* volumes III.1 and III.2. To my surprise, I isolated in it only one *Antiochos*, one *Attalos* and two *Kleopatrai*; *Attalos* is attested 8 more times in Thrace, as mentioned earlier, *Kleopatra* 7 more, dispersed in various places. To these can be added *Pyrrhos*, attested twice – a Panhellenic name, but very popular in Macedonia, occurring there 30 times.

Some well known historical Macedonian names, but rather rare ones, as *Peritas*, are attested 11 times in Macedonia from the 3rd c. BC on and once in Thrace in the 2nd c. BC (in Apollonia); it is worth mentioning here that it is also attested 23 times in Caria, in volume VB of the *LGPN*, 18 of which times occur in Aphrodisias[1]. Also *Perseus*, the name of the last Macedonian king, attested 2 times in Macedonia from the 3rd c. BC, is featured 3 times in Thrace in imperial times. Rather rare are also the names *Hadista*, attested twice in Macedonia from the 4th c. BC on, once in Thrace (in Mesambria) in the 2nd c. BC, and *Attinas*, the name of 8 Macedonians from the 4th c. BC on and 3 Thracians from the 3rd c. BC on.

It is interesting that the names of two Macedonian months, unattested in Macedonia as personal names, are used as such for Thracians: *Daisios* once, borne by a Thracian soldier in Ptolemaic Egypt, and *Dios* – 5 times, one of which is from Philippopolis, dated to the imperial period; also interesting is the fact that the last one is borne as a personal name a total of 36 times altogether in Caria, Cilicia, Lycia and Pamphylia.

Bromeros is a very rare Macedonian name; it is the patronymic of Arrabaios I, king of the Lynkestians during the Peloponnesian war, according to Thucydides (Thuc. 4.83): ἐπὶ Ἀρραβαῖον τὸν Βρομεροῦ, Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα. Bechtel connects it with the word βρόμος that means any loud noise, an epithet of Dionysos (Bechel 1917, 479). It is interesting that this rare name was borne by two Thracians in Egypt in the 3rd c. BC.

Noticeable is the absence from Thrace of some very frequent and historical Macedonian names, such as the dynastic ones *Amyntas* and *Kassandros*, as well as *Asandros*, *Krateuas*, *Pantauchos*, etc.

Comparable are the numbers of occurrences of some frequent Panhellenic names as *Glaukias*, attested 16 times in Macedonia, 21 in Thrace; *Zopyros* – 29 times in Macedonia, 22 in Thrace; *Satyros* – 9 times in Macedonia, 9 in Thrace; *Straton* – 45 times in Macedonia, 23 in Thrace; as well as many others.

We have mentioned already some attestations of Macedonian names in Odessos (modern Varna), one of the oldest and most prosperous Greek colonies on the western Black Sea coast; a Milesian colony, established during the Second colonization wave. As expected, a large proportion of its *onomasticon* originates from Miletos, a big and influential city on the coast of Asia Minor; its very rich onomastic material is included in volume VB of the *LGPN* and consists of 7227 persons bearing 2177 names. Very frequent there is the name *Hestiaios*, occurring 27 times in the metropolis and 26 in Odessos (from a total of 35 times in Thrace) from 2nd c. BC to 3rd c. AD, and only once in Macedonia.

Some more Panhellenic names are more frequent in Thrace than in Macedonia. I mention first *Athenaios*, connected with the worship

[1] From this point on, when referring to the frequency of the names, we are based on their attestations in the other volumes of the *LGPN* (I-IIB, VA-VB).

of Athena, although I stated earlier that I am not going to deal with theophoric names; it occurs 3 times in Macedonia, 12 times in Thrace; it is very frequent in Miletos with 35 occurrences. *Metrodoros* occurs 15 times in Macedonia, in Thrace 38, 8 of which come from Odessos; it is very frequent in Miletos with 33 attestations; it is connected with the worship of the Mother of the gods. *Xenon* is a name fairly widespread; it appears 13 times in Macedonia, 24 in Thrace, 18 of which are from Odessos. *Potamon*, derived from the word ποταμός, that means "river", belongs to a group of names found throughout Greece from the Hellenistic period onwards; it appears to have been very popular in Thrace, maybe because of the existence of many large rivers there, as it was assumed by G. Parissaki (Parissaki 2007, 234); it occurs 11 times in Thrace, 7 times in Macedonia. On the contrary, *Agathenor* that occurs 42 times in Odessos, in Macedonia is attested only twice as *Agathanor*; with the same formation it occurs once in Chios, Rhodes, Samos, Sparta, twice in Boeotia, 8 times in Thessaly et al., but is absent from Miletos.

I will continue with some more interesting names. The name *Hellen* (meaning Greek), the name of the son of *Deukalion*, does not exist in Macedonia and it is rather rare elsewhere; in Thrace there are 32 occurrences, 30 of them are from Odessos, 2 from Mesambria. L. Robert was the first to notice its appearance in his review of the first volume of G. Mihailov's *IGBulg*, explaining it as the result of the establishment in a non-Greek, that is, in barbarian territories (Robert 1959, 230 and note 2). The name occurs rarely elsewhere: twice in Delos, 7 times in various districts of Attica, once in each of the following places: Naxos, Corfu, Pompeii, Larisa, Smyrna, Lydia, Cilicia, Caria. The feminine name *Hellas*, that means Greece, is attested twice in Macedonia, in an inscription of Beroea (*SEG* 50, 623) and on a mosaic of Thessalonica (*SEG* 45, 821; Fraser / Matthews 2005, 117).

The ethnic *Makedon* occurs as a proper name in inscriptions from Macedonia from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, a total of 37 times; and 7 times in Thrace, 3 of them from Odessos.

Koiranos is an old Greek name, known from Homer and borne by two contemporaries of Alexander the Great; it is a rather rare name, attested 3 times in Macedonia and 3 times in Thrace, twice in Odessos, once in Apollonia Pontica; sporadically it is also found in Boeotia in the 5th c. BC, also in Attica, Caria, Pamphylia et al.

It is worth pointing out to two more names of Odessos originating from Miletos and not occurring in Macedonia; they are the names *Anthesterios* and *Apatourios* derived from the months *Anthesterion* and *Apatourion* of the Milesian calendar; the first occurs 6 times in Odessos, also 6 in Miletos, 4 times in Apollonia, once in Mesambria; the second (*Apatourios*) 10 times in Odessos, twice in Apollonia and 25 times in Miletos.

Epameinon is an interesting name that means an increased dimension of "better" (ἀμείνων); it is attested 7 times in Odessos, once in Mesambria, 5 times in Miletos; it is also attested once in Boeotia and is quite frequent in Attica with 25 attestations, 12 occurrences in the islands of the Aegean and one in Cyrenaica. *Xenandros* occurs 11 times in Odessos and only once in Euboea, Attica and Arcadia. *Promathion* is attested 8 times in Odessos, once in Mesambria, twice in Boeotia, once in Knidos, once in Delos.

A rare name of Odessos is *Demylos* attested once there, once in Miletos, and also once in Caria and Thessaly, and 12 times in the Aegean islands. *Kallikomas*, meaning "one with beautiful hair", is known only from one attestation in Odessos, and *Kratisthenes* is also attested once in Odessos, with one more attestation from Argolis.

Finally, *Phaneros* which means "made known or evident", is attested once in Odessos and once in Dionysopolis.

Apollonia Pontica is another Milesian colony in the Bulgarian part of the Black Sea littoral with interesting *onomasticon* including also many rare names as the unique *Ganyon*, originating probably from the word γάνος that means "brightness". *Demouchos* is another rare one attested there twice, and only once in Miletos in the 4th c. BC; it means a protector or possessor of land and is an epithet of guardian deities. It is an old name known from the Iliad (Y 457) as the name of a Trojan. There are also some rare female names as *Hegeanassa* once in Apollonia and once in Caria, *Kallianassa* occurring once, attested also once in each: Lindos, Smyrna and Pamphylia. It is the name of one of the Nereids mentioned in the Iliad (Σ 46). In the same category is also *Brithagore* attested once in the 5th/4th c. BC, occurring also once in Sinope; it is a compound of the epithet βριθύς, that means "strong, heavy". It is also rare as a man's name; only one *Brithagoras* is known from Herakleia of Pontos. Female names are in general less frequent because women are registered less often and mostly on private monuments.

Kolotes is another interesting name attested 3 times in Apollonia from the 5th c. BC on; it is derived from the word κωλώτης = ἀσκαλαβώτης that means a "spotted lizard" and is an epithet of Dionysos quite frequent in Ionia, as L. Robert was the first to notice, where it occurs 10 times (Robert 1963, 224-225); it is also attested twice in Troas, once in Paros and once in Athens, spelled with ο: Κολώτης.

Eurystratos is attested once in Apollonia, once in Miletos, 3 times in Attica, twice on Crete and on Rhodes. The Milesian one was the father of the philosopher of the 6th c. BC Anaximenes (Wellmann 1894). *Balaikon* is attested only once in the 5th/4th c. BC and is characterized by Mihailov: *nomen novum* (βάλαικες means "prison, jail") (*IGBulg* I² 409bis). *Mandrostratos* is also attested once; *Mandro-* names exist in Miletos as well as in the Aegean islands.

Mnesinos occurs once in Apollonia, once in Athens, also in Boeotia and Megara; it is derived from the plant μνάσιον translated in the *LSJ* as "earth almond, *cyperus esculentus*". Finally, *Komylos* is attested in Apollonia once on a coin, twice in Attica and once in each: Boeotia, Megara and Katane of Sicily.

Mesambria is a Dorian colony, the only Dorian *polis* in the Bulgarian part of the Black sea coast, a colony of Megara. Its epigraphic collection is much smaller in number compared to the ones we referred to before. Naturally, its *onomasticon* is not as rich as the ones of the Ionian cities; there are no frequent names. Only a few names have more than one attestation. *Euphamidas* is attested 4 times in Mesambria, 5 times in Boeotia, once in Athens in the 4th c. BC, where it is the name of a καλός, once in Argolis, once in Korinthia. *Oinias* is also attested 4 times in Mesambria and once in each: Thessaly, Achaia and Illyria. *Byrichos* occurs 3 times, once in Bithynia and once in Athens as *Bourichos*. The entry *Bouris* in the Thesaurus connects it to Boulis, a city of Phokis, settled by Boulon.

Kalligeiton is attested twice, 3 times in Byzantion, 4 in Euboea, 7 in Boeotia, once in Lokris; names ending in *-geiton* are frequent in the Megarid and in Boeotia, as was already noticed by Bechtel (Bechtel 1917, 103); I counted 27 names ending in *-geiton* in volume IIIB of the *LGPN*, containing these regions.

Also twice occur the names *Omphalion* and *Tyndarichos*; the first is also attested once in Achaia and Elis, twice in Boeotia and Thessaly; *Tyndarichos* is featured once in Apollonia, once in Sikyon and once in Bithynia; it is derived from the heroic name *Tyndareos*, the husband of Leda (Bechtel 1917, 577).

Once are attested the following: *Erymenidas*, probably connected with Erymnai, a city of Lycia according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*), *Echestratos*, occurring 4 times in Attica, once in each: Boeotia, Chios, Delos, Tenos and Kalliklea, attested once in Miletos and once in Thessaly.

There is also the feminine name *Sattion* that has been characterized as Iranian; L. Robert argued that it is clearly a new Greek name, rightly formed (Robert 1959, 229). Σάττα was a woman's headdress.

Finally, another unique name is *Lachetas*, attested also once in Mesambria; connected with it is one *Laches*, known from Miletos; they both derive from λαχισμός, which means "casting of lots" (Robert 1963, 295-296).

List of names discussed

(in order of their appearance in the text)

Βίθυς
Διονύσιος
Ἀλέξανδρος
Φίλιππος
Ἀντίπατρος
Ἀρχέλαος
Ἄτταλος
Παρμενίων
Ἀντίοχος
Κλεοπάτρα
Πύρρος
Περίτας
Περσεύς
Ἄδίστα
Ἀττίνας
Δαίσιος
Δῖος
Βρομερός
Ἀμύντας
Κάσσανδρος
Ἄσανδρος
Κρατεύας
Πάνταυχος
Γλαυκίας
Ζώπυρος
Σάτυρος
Στράτων
Ἑστιαῖος
Ἀθήναιος
Μητρόδωρος
Ξένων
Ποτάμων
Ἀγαθήνωρ
Ἕλλην
Ἑλλάς
Μακεδών
Κοίρανος
Ἀνθεστήριος
Ἀπατούριος
Ἐπαμείνων
Ξένανδρος
Προμαθίων
Δημύλος
Καλλικόμας
Κρατισθένης
Φανερός
Γανύων
Δημοῦχος
Ἡγεάνασσα
Καλλιάνασσα
Βριθαγόρη
Βριθαγόρας
Κωλώτης, Κολώτης
Εὐρύστρατος
Βαλαίκων
Μανδρόστρατος
Μνησῖνος
Κωμύλος
Εὐφαμίδας
Οἰνίας
Βύριχος
Καλλιγείτων
Ὀμφαλίων
Τυνδάριχος
Ἐρυμενίδας
Ἐχέστρατος
Καλλικλέα
Σάττιον
Λαχητᾶς

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La Thrace entre mythe et histoire : l'exemple de Claudien

Étienne WOLFF

Résumé : Le poète latin Claudien (vers 370-vers 404) a abondamment parlé de la Thrace, notamment dans ses poèmes politiques. Mais il y a chez lui deux Thraces distinctes. La première est la Thrace mythique, celle qui a donné naissance à Orphée. Orphée symbolise évidemment la poésie ; il occupe une très grande place dans l'œuvre de Claudien. Cette Thrace-là est le lieu de la poésie. La seconde est la Thrace historique. C'est la Thrace où les Wisigoths d'Alaric, admis dans l'Empire en 375, se révoltent à deux reprises et contre lesquels lutte le régent Stilicon, admiré de Claudien. Cette Thrace est au centre du conflit entre Stilicon et le préfet du prétoire d'Orient Rufin. C'est une Thrace rude, montagneuse, associée aux combats.
Après avoir étudié comment chacune de ces deux Thraces est représentée, on examinera comment Claudien, tel Orphée qui savait concilier les inconciliables, unit dans ses poèmes les deux aspects opposés voire contradictoires de la Thrace.
On en tirera des conclusions à la fois sur sa conception de la poésie, son message politique et sa vision du rôle historique de la Thrace dans l'opposition entre la *pars Occidentis* et la *pars Orientis* à la fin du IVe siècle et au début du Ve.

Mots-clés : Claudien, Thrace, Orphée, Wisigoths, Stilicon.

Introduction

Le poète latin Claudien (vers 370-vers 404) a abondamment parlé de la Thrace, qui présentait alors un certain caractère d'actualité.

Voyons d'abord comment il la présente. Toutes ses informations sont évidemment livresques, il n'y est jamais allé. Bien sûr il n'en donne pas une définition précise, et on ne sait s'il pense à la Thrace géographique ou à la Thrace administrative (le diocèse de Thrace). La limite avec la Macédoine n'est jamais clairement indiquée. On ne sait par exemple s'il situe le mont Pangée en Macédoine ou en Thrace (*Panégyrique pour le consulat de Stilicon* 1, 134). Par ailleurs, comme chez la plupart des auteurs antiques, ses connaissances géographiques sont floues : ainsi dans le *Rapt de Proserpine* 2, praef. 20, il paraît situer l'Ossa en Thrace, alors que cette montagne est en Thessalie.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la Thrace est selon lui une région majoritairement montagneuse (*Thracumque per ardua*, « à travers les escarpements de la Thrace », *Contre Rufin* 2, 291) où émergent notamment deux montagnes, le Rhodope et l'Hémus (aujourd'hui respectivement les massifs du Rodopi et de Stara Planina), et que deux fleuves parcourent, l'Hebrus (aujourd'hui la Maritsa) et le Strymon (aujourd'hui le Strouma ou Strimonas). Un passage du *Contre Eutrope* 2, 160-165 est significatif de ce schéma : Mars fait avec son bouclier un bruit de tonnerre, qui est répercuté par l'Hémus (*Haemusque remugit*) et le Rhodope (*ingeminat raucum Rhodope concussa fragorem*), tandis que l'Hebrus sur ses flots étonnés lève ses cornes blanchies par les frimas

(*cornua cana gelu mirantibus extulit undis / Hebrus*). Le mont Hémus en particulier finit souvent par se confondre avec la Thrace entière et la désigner (cf. *in Threiciis Haemi… oris*, *Guerre contre les Gètes* 575).

La Thrace est logiquement enneigée (*scopulisque niualibus Haemi*, « les rochers neigeux de l'Hémus », *Contre Rufin* 1, 340 ; *per Odrysias… niues*, « sur les neiges odrysiennes », *Contre Rufin* 2, praef. 18 ; voir aussi *Contre Eutrope* 2, 106), nuageuse (*tota repulsis / nubibus exuitur Thrace*, « la Thrace se dégage entièrement en repoussant les nuages », *Panégyrique pour le quatrième consulat d'Honorius* 178-179), et déserte (*Bistoniis Haemoque niuali / uastior… Oriens*, « l'Orient plus désert que la Bistonie et l'Hémus neigeux », *Contre Eutrope* 2, 655-566). Les grues y passent l'été avant d'aller combattre les Pygmées (*grues aestiua relinquunt / Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo*, « les grues quittent leurs quartiers d'été de Thrace, échangeant le Strymon contre la tiédeur du Nil », *Guerre contre Gildon* 475-476), ce qui nous est confirmé par Virgile (*Géorgiques* 1, 120 ; *Énéide* 10, 265 et 11, 580) ou Lucain (*Pharsale* 5, 711-712), qui associent également les grues au Strymon.

Des qualificatifs poétiques lui sont attribuées, par exemple *Odrysius*, du nom d'un peuple de Thrace (*Contre Rufin* 1, 175 ; 2, 425, etc.), *Bistonius*, du nom d'un autre peuple de Thrace (*Panégyrique pour le quatrième consulat d'Honorius 54* ; *Panégyrique pour le sixième consulat d'Honorius* 441, etc.).

La Thrace mythique

Bien que la Thrace soit montagneuse, ou précisément pour cette raison, c'est un lieu cher au dieu Mars. Après la bataille il se repose sur l'Hémus : *qualis…/ procubat horrendus Getico Gradiuus in Haemo*, « tel le redoutable Mars Gradivus est couché sur l'Hémus », *Panégyrique pour le consulat de Probinus et Olybrius* 118-119 ; *fertur et indomitis tandem post proelia Mauors / lassa per Odrysias fundere membra niues*, « on rapporte que l'indomptable Mars, après les combats, détend enfin ses membres fatigués sur les neiges odrysiennes », *Contre Rufin* 2, praef. 17-18. Enfant il baignait son corps dans les rivières du Rhodope : *sic…/ flumina lauerunt puerum Rhodopeia Martem*, « ainsi…Mars enfant se baigna dans les fleuves du Rhodope », *Panégyrique pour le quatrième consulat d'Honorius* 525-526. Il paraît bien habiter en Thrace, comme le suggère le vers *arua cruentato repetebat Thracia curru*, « il regagnait sur son char ensanglanté les champs de la Thrace » (avant de regarder la vue du sommet de l'Hémus), *Contre Eutrope* 2, 104. Et quand Stilicon adresse une prière à Mars, c'est sur le mont Hémus que le dieu l'entend (*Contre Rufin* 1, 334-341).

De fait, dans l'*Iliade* 13, 301, c'est de Thrace que Mars part au combat, et c'est selon Ovide, *Art d'aimer* 2, 588 en Thrace qu'il s'est réfugié après avoir été pris au piège du filet avec Aphrodite (cependant *Odyssée* 8, 361 le fait partir en Crète). Silius Italicus (*Guerre Punique* 11, 464), Stace (*Thébaïde* 5, 357 ; début de 7 ; 12, 733-734) et d'autres auteurs présentent clairement le mont Hémus comme sa demeure. Cette association avec la Thrace vient certainement de ce que les Thraces étaient considérés dans l'Antiquité comme barbares et belliqueux.

Les montagnes de Thrace, selon Claudien, servent également pour la Gigantomachie (*Gigantomachie* [*Carmina minora* 53] 67-69

et 75 sq. : les Géants brandissent le Pangée, arrachent le Rhodope avec la source de l'Hebrus), sans que le lieu de celle-ci soit clairement donné (voir 4-5 et 75 sq.). Traditionnellement (cf. Properce 2, 1, 39, etc.) on place le combat dans la presqu'île de Phlégra, en Chalcidique actuelle (la Chalcidique faisait partie de la Thrace, avant d'être rattachée à la Macédoine).

Mais cette Thrace mythologique est surtout marquée par la figure d'Orphée[1]. Majoritairement il s'agit de mentions brèves. Ainsi, le *Panégyrique pour le troisième consulat d'Honorius* 113-114 nous dit qu'Orphée jadis anima par ses mélodies les rochers du Rhodope (*Rhodopeia saxa / Orpheis animata modis*). Dans l'épithalame *Sur les noces d'Honorius et de Marie* 234, le Thrace Orphée (*Thracius Orpheus*) est associé à Homère et Sappho dans les lectures de la jeune Marie.

Deux textes cependant s'étendent plus longuement sur Orphée[2], la lettre à Sérène et la préface du livre 2 du *Rapt de Proserpine*. La lettre à Sérène (*Carmina minora* 31), de datation discutée, est construite sur une comparaison entre les noces du légendaire musicien et celles du poète. Claudien remercie sa protectrice Sérène de son entremise pour son mariage, et la compare à Junon, qui a honoré de sa présence le mariage d'Orphée et l'a comblé de présents célestes pour le remercier de l'avoir si bien célébrée. L'épisode mythologique choisi par Claudien ne paraît pas autrement attesté, mais il permet la superposition de l'image d'Orphée à celle du je du poète. Claudien est absent de Rome, il est revenu en Afrique dans son pays, provisoirement ou définitivement. Il rend à Sérène toute la gloire d'avoir découvert (avec son époux) le nouvel Orphée dans le petit poète égyptien Claudien (Bureau 2009, 66).

La préface du livre 2 du *Rapt de Proserpine* (Bureau 2009, 55-57; Charlet 1991, XXII-XXVIII) permet à Claudien de faire un retour sur son art et sur sa fonction dans le monde, et de définir clairement ce qu'est pour lui un poète. On y retrouve Orphée. Celui-ci avait délaissé sa lyre et ne chantait plus. Si la raison de cette attitude n'est pas donnée, on comprend qu'Orphée est accablé par le malheur de sa patrie la Thrace (cf. 2, praef. 14). Mais lorsque Hercule venu d'Argos eut mis fin aux cruautés du roi Diomède (ce roi de Thrace faisait dévorer par ses juments les étrangers qui abordaient dans son pays), Orphée reprend son activité poétique comme chantre du héros, selon une tradition assez bien attestée par la littérature grecque. Maître par son chant des éléments de la nature, qu'il peut apaiser à son gré, le poète légendaire, dont le chant s'était assoupi, retrouve dans la personne d'Hercule un sujet digne de lui. Pour Claudien, c'est Florentinus qui est Hercule, car il a ranimé sa lyre et lui inspire à nouveau des vers. Hercule a rétabli l'ordre dans le cosmos en le purgeant de ses monstres ; Florentinus, personnage assez mal connu (il fut préfet de Rome de septembre 395 à décembre 397, et disgracié ensuite), avait dû de son côté rétablir l'ordre politique, peut-être avait-il réprimé des troubles liés aux difficultés d'approvisionnement. La datation de cette préface est discutée (elle ne peut en tout cas être postérieure à la disgrâce de Florentinus), et il est difficile de déterminer s'il faut établir un rapport entre l'allégorie qu'elle développe et l'actualité. On comprend que Claudien avait interrompu l'écriture du *Rapt de Proserpine*, et que Florentinus l'aurait déterminé à la reprendre. Mais pourquoi Claudien s'était-il ar-

[1] Dans le *Panégyrique pour le consulat de Manlius Theodorus* 252, dans le *Panégyrique pour le consulat de Stilicon* 2, 172, et dans *Carmina minora* 18, 19-20 (consacré à des mules de Gaule), il est question d'Orphée, mais sans relation avec la Thrace.

[2] Sur ces deux textes et sur la figure d'Orphée chez Claudien, voir Bureau 2009.

rêté ? Était-il, comme Orphée, accablé par la situation de sa patrie ? Dans ce cas, doit-on identifier Diomède et les autres monstres domptés par Hercule avec les monstres que sont, selon Claudien en tout cas, les favoris d'Arcadius Rufin et l'eunuque Eutrope ?

En tout cas Claudien affirme la dignité de sa création poétique qui, comme l'action d'Orphée, transcende le désordre du monde. La poésie est une puissance régulatrice qui permet de dépasser les germes de barbarie, apaise les conflits et mène vers la culture. Sans le poète le monde va au chaos et à la violence, et seule la voix poétique est capable de renouer entre les éléments du monde l'harmonie qui en assure la survie (la thématique de l'Âge d'or est ici sous-jacente). Poète grec écrivain en latin, Claudien pouvait vouloir symboliser la réunion ou l'entente des deux parties de l'Empire, ou du moins dépasser leur opposition (de même que Marie et sa mère Sérène lisent à la fois les livres grecs et latins, *Sur les noces d'Honorius et de Marie* 232-233).

Ce double rapprochement avec Orphée n'est certes pas modeste, mais Claudien ne l'est pas. Orphée convenait à sa situation parce qu'il était de culture grecque comme lui, et que, selon la tradition, il avait voyagé jusqu'en Égypte. La figure d'Orphée peut avoir été choisie aussi parce que les chrétiens (ce que sont Sérène et Stilicon, contrairement à Claudien) ne la récusaient pas systématiquement, en raison de parallèles possibles avec David ou le Christ (voir Jourdan 2010-2011).

La Thrace mythique est principalement caractérisée par la figure d'Orphée, qui, on vient de le voir, a un rapport net avec le projet poétique de Claudien. Ce projet poétique est, lui, fortement ancré dans une réalité où la Thrace réelle joue un rôle important.

La Thrace historique

Rappelons d'abord brièvement quelques faits. En 375, la pression des Huns sur les populations de Gothie s'intensifie. La majorité des Goths demande à l'empereur Valens l'admission en Thrace, promettant d'y cultiver des terres en échange du service des armes. Valens donne son accord en 376, en précisant que les Goths doivent être désarmés (cette prescription ne sera pas respectée). Mais les modalités d'installation des Goths dans l'Empire sont sabotées par les militaires romains. Humiliés et à bout de ressources, les Goths se révoltent et ravagent les provinces balkaniques. Valens vient les combattre, mais le 9 août 378 à Andrinople son armée est écrasée et lui-même est tué. La Thrace et la Macédoine sont désormais sous l'emprise des Goths et d'autres barbares. Gratien et Théodose, nommé Auguste, stabilisent la présence gothique dans des conditions qui continent de faire débat, installant les Ostrogoths en Pannonie et les Wisigoths en Thrace. Si les Goths sont en principe sujets de l'Empire, ils jouissent d'une autonomie de fait et fournissent à l'armée romaine des recrues et des contingents. Ainsi ils participent sous les ordres de Stilicon à la campagne contre l'usurpateur Eugène en 394. À la mort de Théodose en janvier 395, Stilicon renvoie les contingents goths, qui ravagent la Thrace et parviennent aux abords de Constantinople. Rufin obtient qu'ils se retirent. Dans le même temps les Huns attaquent la Thrace. Les Goths, en quête d'un habitat qui les protège, s'en vont piller la Grèce. Stilicon les combat dans le Péloponnèse. Malgré la rivalité entre Eutrope et Stilicon, un accord est trouvé et les Goths sont établis au centre de la Macédoine en 397, cependant qu'Alaric est nommé *magister mili-*

tum de l'Illyricum. Mais en 401, Alaric et les siens, ne renonçant pas à se faire une place dans l'Empire, migrent vers la partie occidentale. Ils sont arrêtés en Italie par Stilicon (victoire de Pollentia dans le Piémont et de Vérone en 402). En 407, Stilicon obtient l'alliance d'Alaric qui retourne dans l'Illyricum, mais, contraint de se réconcilier avec l'Orient, Stilicon doit rompre avec lui. Alaric entre alors en conflit avec l'Occident, ce qui aboutira à la prise de Rome en 410, après l'élimination de Stilicon.

Cette Thrace réelle est souvent mentionnée dans les poèmes de Claudien.

Dans le *Panégyrique pour le troisième consulat d'Honorius*, de 396, l'éloge d'Honorius se transforme en éloge de Stilicon : Théodose (que fait parler le poète) rappelle qu'avec Stilicon il a rougi de sang gète l'Hebrus odrysien (*Odrysium pariter Getico foedauimus Hebrum / sanguine*, 147-148).

Le *Panégyrique pour le quatrième consulat d'Honorius*, de janvier 398, décrit l'invasion des Goths et la manière dont Théodose l'arrêta : « Alors que se précipitait une profonde agitation barbare / sur le Rhodope en pleurs, que l'Ourse, déserte à présent, / en tourbillons confus déversait sur nous ses peuplades, / que le Danube vomissait, tout au long de ses bords, la guerre, / que l'immense Mésie était pressée par les chariots gètes, / que de blonds escadrons couvraient les champs de Bistonie, / ... / du nom romain il ne serait resté pas même une ombre, / si ton illustre père n'avait supporté ce fardeau prêt à tomber » (*Nam cum barbaries penitus commota gementem / irrueret Rhodopen et mixto turbine gentes / iam deserta suas in nos transfunderet Arctos, / Danuuii totae uomerent cum proelia ripae, / cum Geticis ingens premeretur Mysia plaustris / flauaque Bistonios operirent agmina campos, /… / nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra, / ni pater ille tuus iamiam ruitura subisset / pondera*, 49-61), trad. Jean-Louis Charlet (Charlet 2000, t. 2, 9).

Dans l'épithalame *Sur les noces d'Honorius et de Marie*, de février 398, qui tourne aussi à l'éloge de Stilicon, le poète pourrait raconter les batailles que Stilicon a livrées au pied de l'Hémus, et les combats qui ont ensanglanté le Strymon fumant (*quae proelia gesta sub Haemo, / quaeque cruentarint fumantem Strymona pugnae*, 309-310), si le sujet, un mariage, ne l'interdisait. La prétérition est imposée par une raison de convenance.

Dans le *Contre Eutrope*, de 399, il est question encore de l'armée de Stilicon, qui bravait les frimas de Thrace, passait l'hiver au grand air et brisait à la hache la glace de l'Hebrus pour y boire (*Thracum qui ferre pruinas, / dum Stilico regeret, nudoque hiemare sub axe / sueuerat, et duris haurire bipennibus Hebrum*, 2, 412-414). La Thrace avec son climat rude permet de révéler la valeur et l'endurance.

Le *Panégyrique pour le consulat de Stilicon*, de 400, mentionne les hauts faits de Stilicon en Thrace (*gelidam Thracen decertatosque labores, / Hebro teste*, 1, 21-22), lui qui seul a arrêté les barbares (*tot barbara solus / milia, iampridem miseram uastantia Thracen, / … conclusa tenebas*, 1, 106-108), passant parfois l'hiver sous une simple tente de peaux (*Quotiens sub pellibus egit / Edonas hiemes*, 1, 122-123 ; l'adjectif *Edonus* vient du nom d'un peuple de Thrace).

Dans la *Guerre contre les Gètes*, de 402 (on sait que par le nom de Gètes, un peuple alors disparu, les auteurs de l'Antiquité tardive dé-

signent les Goths), Claudien (164 et suivants) écrit que trente fois l'hiver a couvert de glace l'Hémus dénudé et trente fois le printemps, faisant fondre les neiges, lui a rendu son vêtement de verdure depuis que ce peuple, oubliant sa patrie nordique et traversant le Danube, s'est fixé en Thrace pour le malheur du pays (*ex quo iam patrios gens haec oblita Triones, / aque Istrum transuecta, semel uestigia fixit / Threicio funesta solo*, 169-171). De là, sans que les montagnes ni les fleuves ne puissent les arrêter, ils sont passés jusqu'en Italie, où les Alpes et l'Éridan (le Pô) ont vengé les montagnes et les fleuves de Grèce impuissants. C'est bien sûr une allusion aux victoires de Pollentia (ville effectivement proche du Pô) et de Vérone en 402. Comme la *Guerre contre les Gètes* a été récitée à Rome en 402, le chiffre de trente est arrondi. Il est repris un peu plus loin, aux vers 489 et 634. Prudence, dans le *Contre Symmaque* 2, 715 daté lui aussi (en tout cas pour le second livre) de 402, donne également le chiffre de trente.

Un peu plus loin dans le texte, Alaric évoque ses victoires contre les Césars en prenant le mont Hémus à témoin (*tot Augustos Hebro qui teste fugaui*, 524, ce qui est à l'évidence emphatique), et il souligne que les Thraces ont été contraints de lui fabriquer des armes (536-537).

Dans le *Panégyrique pour le sixième consulat d'Honorius*, en 404, Claudien rappelle à Honorius qu'Alaric, bravant son père Théodose, arrêta sa marche sur les bords de l'Hebrus (*Thracum uenientem [Theodosium] finibus alter* [scil. *Alaricus*] / *Hebri clausit aquis*, 107-108). Un texte comme Virgile, *Énéide* 1, 317, où l'Hebrus est qualifié de *uolucer*, peut avoir conduit Claudien à le considérer comme une barrière redoutable. Mais de toute façon la reconstitution et la datation de ces événements est impossible (voir Dewar 1986, 132-133). Un peu plus loin, il est question des ravages effectués par Alaric en Grèce et en Bistonie (*populator Achiuae* / *Bistoniaeque plagae*, 440-441). Il est aussi qualifié de vainqueur de la Thrace (*hic Thracum domitor*, 483).

Dans l'éloge de Sérène (*Carmina minora* 30), de 404 (voir Consolino 1986, 47-48), c'est Stilicon qu'on choisit pour son expérience et son courage quand il y a la guerre en Thrace (*fremuit cum Thracia belli* / *tempestas*, 208-209). Le passage ferait allusion à une expédition de 392-393 contre les Bastarnes (*Ibid*., 119).

Toutes ces évocations sont assez peu précises et le lien avec la réalité des faits difficile à établir. On a notamment du mal parfois à déterminer ce qui renvoie aux événements de 376 et des années suivantes et ce qui renvoie aux événements de 395-397. Car il y a des thèmes récurrents : la masse impétueuse des Goths, l'arrogance d'Alaric, la vaillance d'Honorius et plus encore celle de Stilicon, qui supporte impavide les rigueurs du climat et les fatigues des campagnes.

Conclusion

Il y a chez Claudien deux Thraces distinctes. La première est la Thrace mythique, celle où séjourne Mars et qui a donné naissance à Orphée. Orphée symbolise la poésie et Mars la guerre, et ils ont tous deux un rapport avec le projet de Claudien. Ce projet consiste à célébrer par la poésie l'action politique et militaire de Stilicon, dont le champ d'action a été, notamment, la Thrace. On rejoint ici la seconde Thrace de Claudien, la Thrace historique. C'est la Thrace où les fédé-

rés wisigoths d'Alaric, installés par Valens puis Théodose, se révoltent à plusieurs reprises et contre lesquels lutte notamment le régent Stilicon, admiré de Claudien. Cette Thrace est au centre du conflit entre Stilicon et les favoris d'Arcadius le préfet du prétoire d'Orient Rufin (assassiné en 395) et son successeur le consul Eutrope (écarté en 399). L'une et l'autre Thrace sont rudes et montagneuses, même si la Thrace mythique est éclairée par la poésie.

Les deux aspects de la Thrace, qui paraissaient opposés voire contradictoires, se concilient dans la poésie de Claudien qui, tel Orphée, sait unir ce qui semblait ne pas pouvoir l'être. Il peut y avoir là une sorte de traduction formelle de son message poétique : face à Rufin, force de la discorde, de la désunion et du chaos, Stilicon est l'homme de l'unité (cf. *Contre Rufin* 1, 297 et suivants ; 2, 7 et suivants). Il en est de même ensuite face à Eutrope (cf. *Contre Eutrope* 2, 534 et suivants). De fait Stilicon, chargé par Théodose de maintenir la cohésion de l'empire (voir Charlet 2000, t. 1, XVI-XVII, et 180, note 2), a vu (en tout cas dans la présentation des événements que fait Claudien, qui demanderait à être nuancée) son action contrecarrée par l'opposition de Rufin, préfet du prétoire d'Orient, puis par celle d'Eutrope ; ce dernier l'a même fait déclarer ennemi public en 397.

Lieu d'affrontement des Romains et des Wisigoths, de Stilicon et de Rufin, de la *pars Occidentis* et de la *pars Orientis*, la Thrace de Claudien acquiert logiquement dans son œuvre une forte importance symbolique.

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Identitätskonstruktionen in der Münzprägung von Philippopolis (Thracia)*

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Zusammenfassung: Philippopolis, zentral im Inneren der Provinz an der *Via Diagonalis* gelegen und Sitz des thrakischen *Koinon*, besaß eine herausragende Stellung unter den Städten Thrakiens in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Dies äußerte sich auch in der Münzprägung, die vor allem in antoninischer und severischer Zeit ein beachtliches Ausmaß erreichte und eine große Typenvielfalt aufwies. Das Spektrum der Darstellungen umfasste landschaftliche Besonderheiten, wirtschaftliche Gegebenheiten, kulturelle und religiöse Bräuche, sportliche Agone, lokale Mythen, indigene Gottheiten, empfangene kaiserliche Privilegien, Akklamationen usw. Die Münzen, die auf der Vorderseite ein Bildnis des Kaisers oder eines Mitgliedes der kaiserlichen Familie abbilden und im Namen der Bewohner der Stadt bzw. der *Metropolis* Philippopolis herausgegebenen wurden sowie auf der Rückseite interessante lokale Bezüge zeigen, werden als Spiegelung städtischer Identität vorgestellt. Mit den zahlreichen Huldigungen an den Kaiser sind die Emissionen zugleich ein Zeugnis für das hochkomplexe Wechselspiel zwischen lokaler Polisidentität und der Einbindung in den römischen Reichsverband.

Schlagwörter: Numismatik, Philippopolis, Identität.

Den ersten Katalog der antiken Münzprägung von Philippopolis (heute Plovdiv) zwischen 88–222 n. Chr. hat 1924 Nikola A. Mušmov vorgelegt, Ivan Vărbanov konnte ihn 2002 bzw. 2007 um eine Vielzahl von Typen und Varianten erweitern[1]. Um die Interpretation einer Reihe von Münzbildern hat sich insbesondere der langjährige Kustode der Münzsammlung im Archäologischen Museum von Plovdiv, Kamen Kolev, verdient gemacht[2]. Ich selbst möchte eine Stempelstudie der umfangreichen Prägung von Domitian bis Elagabal veröffentlichen und so eine Rekonstruktion des Prägesystems vorlegen und danke allen öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen, die mich dabei bereits maßgeblich unterstützt haben und mir ihr einschlägiges Material zur Verfügung stellten.

Die unter römischer Herrschaft in Philippopolis emittierten Münzen lassen sich grob in drei Gruppen untergliedern:

Die Münzen, die ein Porträt eines Mitgliedes der kaiserlichen Familie auf der Vorderseite zeigen, auf der Rückseite hingegen diverse Darstellungen und den Namen der Stadtbewohner im Genitiv Plural ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ bzw. die Legende ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ in verschiedenen Abkürzungen aufweisen. Unter Elagabal wird die Legende noch durch den Titel der Neokorie bereichert.

Die im selben Zeitraum emittierten Münzen, die kein kaiserliches Porträt zeigen und als sogenannte ‚pseudo-autonome' Münzen bezeichnet werden.

* Nachfolgende Untersuchungen wurden durch die Unterstützung des Exzellenzclusters Topoi. The Formation and Transformation of Space and Knowledge in Ancient Civilizations (vgl. http://www.topoi.org/project/b-4-2/) ermöglicht. Zum Begriff der Identität vgl. auch K. P. Hoffmann, Identität, Version 1.0, 05.07.2016, http://www.topoi.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/20160705_Topoiorganon_Identitaet_v1.pdf, in TOPOIorganon, (http://www.topoi.otg/topoimap/topoiorganon/).

[1] Мушмов 1924; Върбанов 2002, 49-130, ## 686-1554; Varbanov 2007, 84-207, ## 613-1812. Die von Mušmov aufgeführten Typen fanden Eingang in den Katalog von Vărbanov, dessen leichter zugängliche, erweiterte englischsprachige Version nachfolgend jeweils ausschließlich zitiert wird.

[2] Vgl. u. a. Колев 1966, 1968, 1969, 1975, 1976, 1977, Kolev 1991, 1998.

Die unter Caracalla emittierten Prägungen, die laut Legende auf der Rückseite im Namen des thrakischen *Koinon* anlässlich pythischer Spiele von Philippopolis herausgegeben wurden.

Letztere Münzen sollen nicht Gegenstand des Beitrages sein; ich habe sie bereits in einem Aufsatz behandelt (Peter 2013) und die Motive sind vornehmlich mit dem Kaiser und den zu Ehren Caracallas veranstalteten Spielen des *Koinon* verbunden. Ein städtischer Bezug lässt sich lediglich in der Abbildung der Büste der Stadtgöttin und in dem opfernden Kaiser vor der Statue des Apollon Kendrisos, der als städtische Hauptgottheit den Kaiser bekrönt, erkennen (ebenda, 116).

Auch die kleinen Nominale, die kein kaiserliches Porträt zeigen, sondern die in der Stadt populären Götter und ihre Attribute abbilden, wurden von mir jüngst zusammenfassend vorgestellt (Peter, 2017). Mit dem Kleingeld, das vornehmlich lokal umlief, wurde nicht der Wettbewerb zwischen den Städten in der römischen Kaiserzeit ausgetragen. Die die Stadt unterscheidenden Vorzüge finden wir vor allem auf den größeren Nominalwerten präsentiert; einige wenige aus dem großen Spektrum der im Auftrag der städtischen Honoratioren geprägten Münztypen mit einem Bild des Kaiser oder eines Mitgliedes der kaiserlichen Familie auf der Vorderseite, sollen im Folgenden interpretiert werden. Zu beachten ist, dass die Relevanz der Typen für die Spiegelung städtischer Identität eigentlich nur vor dem Hintergrund der gesamten Emissionstätigkeit erfolgen kann; ein Corpus für Philippopolis aber liegt noch nicht vor. Ferner sind selbstverständlich für die Beurteilung der Typen auch die Prägungen der benachbarten Städte heranzuziehen, um bspw. regionale bzw. übergreifende Mythologeme und Patriamythen aufdecken zu können, und eine mögliche Kommunikation mit der Reichsprägung zu beachten. Auch das Wetteifern der Städte untereinander fand häufig im Bildprogramm seinen prägnanten Ausdruck[3].

Die Gliederungskriterien, mit denen sich Identität auf provinzialrömischen Münzen untersuchen lässt, hat bereits Chris Howgego im Tagungsband zur gleichnamigen Thematik 2005 herausgearbeitet (Howgego 2005). Die meisten dieser identitätsstiftenden, -repräsentierenden oder -konstruierenden Elemente lassen sich auch in der Prägung von Philippopolis beobachten. Dies zeigten auch die Beiträge und Diskussionen eines 2015 in Berlin veranstalteten Symposiums „Thrakien – lokale Münzprägung und regionale Identität?“[4].

Die Konstruktion von Identitäten basiert auf einem Zusammenspiel zwischen Inklusion und Exklusion, und wird durch die Bildung von Alteritäten begleitet (Hofmann 2012, 14; Klinger et al. 2016, 357). In den Münzen können solche Identitätskonstruktionen verdinglicht sein. Dabei geht es um die Untersuchung von kollektiven raumbezogenen Identitäten. Münzen vermitteln eine enorme Bandbreite von selbstdefinierten und expliziten Repräsentationen von öffentlicher, lokaler städtischer Identität. Münzbilder gewähren Einblicke in Akkulturationsprozesse aller Art, die zur Bildung bzw. Veränderung von Identitäten führen. Sie zeigen, inwiefern einheimische, lokale oder regionale Traditionen, Mythen und Wurzeln bewahrt oder verändert wurden, sie geben Auskunft über die Adaptation auswärtiger Einflüsse (z. B. durch die Übernahme und/oder Einpassung fremder Gottheiten in das eigene lokale Pantheon) oder auch über die gezielte Abgrenzung gegen solche Einflüsse. Identität auf Münzen wird



Abb. 1. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM - COS XIIII CENS PER P P Kopf des Domitianus mit Lorbeerkranz nach r. / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Stadtgöttin steht nach l. mit zwei Kornähren in der l. und einer Schale in der r. Hand. Vor ihr lagert der Flussgott Hebros nach l. In der l. Hand hält er einen Zweig, ein weiterer befindet sich hinter ihm. AE 27.97 g; 27 mm; 7 Uhr

[3] Vgl. Nollé 1998; Nollé / Nollé 1994; Weiß 2004, 186-195. Ein überzeugendes Beispiel hat auch Haymann 2014 vorgelegt.

[4] Peter (ed.) [in Vorbereitung]; vgl. auch bereits Peter 2005a und Nollé 2014.

durch Repräsentation geschaffen; es ist jene der Poliseliten, die die Prägekontrolle ausübten (Howgego 2005, 16; Heuchert 2005, 40).

Philippopolis[5] begann unter Domitian mit der Münzprägung (**Abb. 1**). Diese Münzen weisen wie auch die nachfolgend unter Traian geprägten Emissionen eine Besonderheit auf: Es handelt sich um bilinguale Münzen[6]. Die Vorderseitenlegenden mit Namen und Titulatur des Kaisers sind lateinisch, die Rückseiten tragen wie üblich den Städtenamen auf Griechisch im Genitiv Plural. Die Wahl der Sprache bei den Münzlegenden kann als identitätsstiftendes Merkmal interpretiert werden (Howgego 2005, 14)[7]. Allerdings sollte hier vermutlich weniger die Verbindung mit der reichsrömischen Macht propagiert werden[8], sondern es ging um die Erhöhung der Akzeptanz des neuen Geldes wie Ivo Topalilov herausgearbeitet hat. So wurde – wie die Funde zeigen – das Gebiet von Philippopolis in flavischer Zeit mit römischem Reichsgeld versorgt. Offenbar war aber der Zustrom nicht ausreichend und gab möglicherweise den Ausschlag für die Prägeerlaubnis an Philippopolis. Um die neuen Münzen leichter in den Markt zu integrieren, kopierte man die Vorderseite reichsrömischer Münzen inklusive der lateinischen Legende[9].

Auf dem größten unter Domitian emittierten Nominal (**Abb. 1**) ist die stehende Stadtgöttin mit Mauerkrone im langen Gewand mit Patera in der Rechten und zwei Ähren in der Linken rechts stehend zu erkennen, links davor ist der bärtige Flussgott mit nacktem Oberkörper gelagert, der einen Zweig hält (Varbanov 2007, ## 620-623). Philippopolis lag am Hebros (h. Marica), dem größten Fluss Thrakiens[10]. Alkaios (*frg.* 109 Bergk) bezeichnet ihn als schönsten aller Flüsse. Er ist der nach dem Nil am häufigsten auf Provinzialmünzen abgebildete Flussgott und kommt entsprechend in Philippopolis in zahlreichen Varianten vor[11]. So wird die Lebensnotwendigkeit des Flusses für das städtische Leben bzw. auch die Tatsache, dass sich die Bewohner von Philippopolis der Bedeutung des Hebros für ihren Wasserluxus und ihre Lebensqualität bewusst waren, insbesondere durch die gemeinsame Abbildung des personifizierten Flusses mit der Stadtgöttin in der Prägung unter fast allen Kaisern in vorseverischer Zeit hervorgehoben[12]. Die Münzen zeigen den sich auf das Quellgefäß stützenden Flussgott[13]; das in den Bergen entspringende Wasser ist in Form mehrerer Wellenlinien unter der Gottheit angedeutet. Auf den Münzen ab Antoninus Pius hält die Stadtgöttin nicht mehr Ähren, sondern ein Zepter. Münzen der Crispina versinnbildlichen noch eindringlicher die Wertschätzung der Stadtgöttin[14], indem sie von einem Heros bekränzt wird; zu ihren Füßen lagert wiederum der Hebros (**Abb. 2**)[15]. In severischer Zeit wird die gemeinsame Abbildung von Stadtgöttin und Flussgott unter Caracalla, Geta sowie Elagabal wieder aufgegriffen, allerdings ist es jetzt der verbreitete Typ der Tyche von Antiochia, der auf den Münzen erscheint (Kolev 1991, 523-524; Varbanov 2007, ## 1443, 1711). Ferner gibt es zahlreiche Münzen, die den Flussgott mit unterschiedlichen Attributen allein als Münzbild zeigen[16]. Auf Prägungen des Hadrian wird er sogar namentlich im Abschnitt genannt[17]. Münzen, auf denen der Flussgott sich zudem auf einem Schiffsbug abstützt, wie sie unter zahlreichen Kaisern in Philippopolis emittiert wurden, zeugen vermutlich von der Schiffbarkeit des Flusses in der Antike (Varbanov 2007, ## 702, 705, 1098, 1169, 1189, 1207, 1644, 1793). Diese legt auch ein weiteres Münzbild nahe: Isis Pelagia,

[5] Zur Lage, Geschichte und Archäologie der Stadt s. jetzt vor allem Топалилов 2012 und Topalilov 2012 jeweils mit umfangreicher Bibliographie 184-200 bzw. 428-437. Vergleiche ferner Danov 1980, 245-267; Кесякова 1999. In Philippopolis befanden sich nicht nur die wichtigsten Institutionen der Provinz – *fiscus provinciae Thraciae, aedes thensaurorum, tabularium provinciae* und Sitz des *Koinon*, – sondern die Stadt war laut überzeugender Interpretation von Sharankov 2007a, 185 zumindest für eine gewisse Zeit auch Sitz des *legatus Augusti*.

[6] Zu den traianischen Münzen vgl. Woytek 2011, 424-427.

[7] Zu den in Philippopolis gebräuchlichen Sprachen vgl. Шаранков 2005 und Sharankov 2011.

[8] Wenn auch grundsätzlich gilt: „Neben dem rein geographisch-territorialen Aspekt beeinflusst vor allem die Einbettung der Stadt in den jeweiligen Herrschaftsraum die Selbstwahrnehmung ihrer Bewohner." wie Haymann 2014, 217 richtig hervorhebt.

[9] Topalilov 2005, 688-690. Ferner verbindet Topalilov 2011, 24 damit die Änderung des Status der Stadt unter Hadrian; seiner Ansicht nach wurde die Münzprägung jetzt an die lokalen Autoritäten übertragen.

[10] Zur Versinnbildlichung von Orten durch Personifikationen – Stadtgöttinnen, Flußgötter usw. – vgl. Howgego 2005, 12.

[11] H. A. Cahn, s. v. Hebros, *LIMC*, 467-468, Sp. 468.

[12] Vgl. Varbanov 2007, 620-623 und bspw. *RPC* II 351, *RPC* III 746, 753; Varbanov 2007, ## 634–636, 643, 651, 712, 753 (mit zwei Flußgöttern), 754. Allgemein zum Stolz der Städte auf ihre Flüsse und zu den Flüssen als Repräsentanten ihrer Städte Nollé / Nollé 1994, 45-48; Maupai 2003, 33-40; für Philippopolis u. a. Колев 1966, 64-65.

[13] Teilweise wird der Flussgott mit Füllhorn abgebildet.

[14] Überzeugend formulierte Haymann 2014, 167: „Figuren, die die Polis verkörpern, gehörten zu den zentralen Identifikationsobjekten der Stadtbewohner."

[15] Privatsammlung R. Falter, vgl. Peter 2005b, 929.

[16] Varbanov 2007, ## 652-654, 661-665, 667-668, 672-678, 690-693, 701-702, 705, 710, 714-716, 774-775; 799; 903-904, 906; 942-943, 1097-1098, 1099; 1155-1157: 1169-1171, 1180-1182, 1189, 1200, 1207; 1643-1644; 1793. Zahlreiche Nachweise finden sich auch unter *RPC* IV online. Nollé 2014, 283 betont zu Recht, dass die Verehrung der Flußgötter nicht spezifisch für Thrakien ist.

[17] Peter 2005a, 107 mit weiteren Nachweisen in Anm. 3 und Abb. 1 auf Taf. 8.1; Varbanov 2007, # 640.

eindeutig erkennbar an dem aufgeblähten Segel, das sie in den Händen hält und als Beschützerin der Seefahrt sonst nur in Küstenstädten vorkommend – abgebildet auf einer Münze des Commodus (Varbanov 2007, ## 927, 928: *RPC* IV online 8164)[18]. Ferner spricht die Abbildung von Segelschiffen dafür (Varbanov 2007, ## 834, 1056)[19].

In severischer Zeit zeigen Münzen mit dem Flussgott noch weitere Reichtümer der Stadt: Im Abschnitt der Münze sind kleine Genien dargestellt[20], die – so legt eine parallele Emission aus Pautalia nahe, in der die Genien namentlich bezeichnet sind – Acker- und Bergbau versinnbildlichen[21].

Aus den gezeigten Münzbildern spricht der Stolz der Stadt auf den segenspendenden Hebros. Die Naturschönheiten waren ein Ausdruck der Identität der Bewohner von Philippopolis. Dies wird insbesondere durch die Verbindung des Flußgottes mit der Stadtgöttin bestärkt.

Zu diesem geographisch-territorialen Komplex gehören noch weitere Münzen: So wurde auch das sich südlich von Philippopolis erstreckende Rhodopengebirge als anmutige weibliche Verkörperung mit entsprechender Kennzeichnung (ΡΟΔΟΠΗ) auf Prägungen unter Antoninus Pius dargestellt[22]. Ferner wurden die topographischen Gegebenheiten in der Stadt selbst als relevant für das Münzbild angesehen: Die malerische Lage der Akropolis auf drei Hügeln, den heutigen Nebet-, Džambaz- und Taksimtepe, die in römischer Zeit zur Bezeichnung Trimontium für die Stadt führte, wurde auch von Lukian (*Fug.* 25) im 2. Jh. besungen[23]. Ein unter Antoninus Pius geprägter Münztyp (**Abb. 3**)[24], der die drei felsigen Hügel mit Tempeln und Statuen bebaut zeigt, kann gleichsam als Illustration für dieses für die zweite Sophistik typische Städtelob dienen[25].

Ferner wurden die Akropolishügel bzw. die weiteren Erhebungen der Stadt – auch Philippopolis soll auf sieben Hügeln erbaut worden sein – einzeln auf Münzen dargestellt. Werden diese mit Tempeln oder Statuen wiedergegeben, können sie teilweise dank der schriftlichen und archäologischen Überlieferung identifiziert werden. Unter Commodus emittierte Kleinbronzen zeigen den mittleren Akropolishügel, den Džambaztepe, mit einem Tempel und einer Apollonstatue (Колев 1975; Kolev 1991, 514; Kolev 1998, 359-361; Varbanov 2007, # 1069). Auf unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla herausgegebenen Münzen ist ein Tempel zu sehen, der sich auf dem heutigen Taksimtepe, dem westlichsten Akropolishügel befand, wie das angedeutete Wasserreservoir am Fuß des Berges vermuten lässt[26].

Zu den landschaftlichen Schönheiten treten bereits in antoninischer, aber vor allem dann in severischer Zeit – insbesondere unter Caracalla – verstärkt auch die baulichen Gegebenheiten der Stadt hinzu. So versinnbildlicht die Heraklesstatue auf einem Hügel auf unter Geta geprägten Münzen vermutlich die zweithöchste Erhebung der Stadt, den Bunardžik (Колев 1976; Kolev 1991, 519; Kolev 1998, 352 mit Anm. 6; Varbanov 2007, # 1615)[27]. Auf unter Caracalla emittierten Münzen erkennt man einen bewaldeten Hügel, der von Tempelbauten bekrönt ist und mit der höchsten Erhebung, dem heutigen Dždendemtepe, identifiziert wird (Колев 1969; Kolev 1998, 351-352; Varbanov 2007, ## 1515-1520). Ein Tempel weist zudem eine Kultstatue auf. Rechts davor ist ein Reiterstandbild zu erkennen. Am Fuße des Berges befindet sich ein weiterer Tempel. Rechts markieren Bögen die für die Stadt wichtige Wasserleitung, die aus dem

[18] Zur Singularität dieses Münzbildes in Thrakien Peter 2005b; Peter 2008.

[19] Zu diesem Komplex ausführlich Peter 2005b.

[20] Колев 1968. Vgl. auch Peter 2005a, 107 mit weiteren Nachweisen in Anm. 5 und Abb. 3 auf Taf. 8.1; Varbanov 2007, ## 1207-1209.

[21] Pautalia_CNT_3108, in: *Corpus Nummorum Thracorum*, http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/CNT_3108 [Last downloaded: 2017/01/27]; Varbanov 2005, ## 4922, 5174.

[22] Peter 2005a, 107-108 mit weiteren Nachweisen in Anm. 7 und Abb. 4 auf Taf. 8.1; Varbanov 2007, ## 706-707; *RPC* IV online 7429 und Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Fonds général 1285 (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8587384d).
Nollé 2014, 289-291 führt auch alle mit dem Namen Rhodope verbundenen negativen Konnotationen in der griechischen Mythologie auf und sieht in der auf den Münzen abgebildeten Figur eine völlig neue Gestalt der Rhodope oder aber den Ausdruck für ein neues, verändertes Denken in der römischen Epoche.

[23] Darauf wurde immer wieder hingewiesen: Pick 1931b, 6-7 und Abb. 1. Zur Interpretation des Dialogs vgl. auch Шаранков 2003, 110.

[24] Vgl. auch *SNG* Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge Taf. XXXI 1766; SNGuk_0402_1766; *RPC* IV online 10317.

[25] Weiß 2004, 183; Varbanov 2007, 656; vgl. zur ausführlichen Interpretation und mit älterer Literatur Kolev 1998, 353-362.

[26] Vgl. Колев 1977; Kolev 1998, 356-359; Topalilov 2012, 379-380; Topalilov 2011, 26 mit weiterer Literatur in den Anm. 30-33. Varbanov 2007, ## 1295, 1567, 1570-1571. Eventuell zeigt auch ein unter Commodus emittierter Typ diesen Hügel, vgl. Varbanov 2007, # 1070.

[27] Dieser Hügel wird auch mit einem weiteren Hügel, der von einem Tempel bekrönt ist auf unter Septimius Severus geprägten Münzen abgebildet, vgl. Varbanov 2007, ## 1168, 1192.

Rhodopengebirge das Wasser in die Stadt führte (Топалилов 2012, 149-152). Auf halber Höhe des Berges steht eine Säule mit einer Götterstatue[28]. Eine etwas andere Ansicht des Hügels wurde offensichtlich bereits unter Commodus als Münzbild propagiert (*RPC* IV online, # 6964). All diese Typen präsentieren Lokalkolorit.

Zudem kommen Tempeldarstellungen als alleinige Abbildungen vor. Gerade wenn wir aber Tempeldarstellungen mit Kultbildern haben, möchte man hierin das Bestreben erkennen, lokalen Gegebenheiten Rechnung zu tragen. In diesem Sinn kann auch die Abbildung von Monumentalität – obwohl in der Regel durch Chiffren skizziert (Nollé 1997, 25) – als Ausdruck von Identität auf Münzen betrachtet werden (Howgego 2005, 4-5). Münzen von Philippopolis aus severischer Zeit zeigen Tempel unter anderem mit Statuen des Hermes (Varbanov 2007, ## 1173, 1308, 1585-1586, 1618, 1736, 1738), des Apollon (Varbanov 2007, ## 1172, 1183, 1717, 1634-1635), des Asklepios (Varbanov 2007, ## 1210, 1737) und der Artemis (Varbanov 2007, # 1619), die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in der Stadt kultisch verehrt wurden.

Der Religion kommt entscheidende Bedeutung bei der Genese und Bewahrung kultureller Identität zu. So findet man religiöse Symbole als die am weitesten verbreitete Art des Ausdrucks von Identität auf Münzen – natürlich als Ausdruck derjenigen, die die Polis kontrollierten (Howgego 2005, 2-3; Heuchert 2005, 48-49). Auch in Philippopolis bilden neben den Abbildungen der Personifikationen die der Götter des etablierten griechisch-römischen Pantheons bzw. ihrer Symbole den Großteil des Münzrepertoires der Stadt; sie sollen hier nicht weiter interessieren, sind sie doch eher ein Ausdruck der globalen panhellenischen Kultur im Römischen Reich[29], sondern die Frage, ob sich für Philippopolis auch Spezifisches finden lässt.

So ist die Abbildung des Eumolpos, des mit Eleusis verbundenen Thrakers, auf Philippopolis-Münzen aus severischer Zeit von Interesse (Герасимов 1972)[30]. Der Sänger ist nach thrakischem Brauch mit Mantel und hohen Stiefeln dargestellt[31]. In der Rechten hält er die Patera, in der Linken die flammende Fackel. Es gibt ein Exemplar, bei dem die Legende im Abschnitt eindeutig die Gottheit benennt (Герасимов 1972, 43, # 1; Varbanov 2007, # 1553; Exemplare ohne explizite Bezeichnung: Герасимов 1972, 43, ## 2-3; Varbanov 2007, # 1629). Gerassimov legte dar, dass – auch wenn der Sänger auf den Münzen nicht als Ktistes bezeichnet wird – Eumolpos dennoch als solcher fungierte[32]. Für den heutigen westlichen Hügel der Akropolis von Philippopolis, den Taximtepe, ist als späterer Name (bis ins Mittelalter hinein) Eumolpios-Hügel überliefert (Герасимов 1972, 44; die Belege siehe auch bei Topalilov 2012, 363). Ebenso trug eine antike Phyle den Namen des Gottes[33]. In spätantiker Zeit spricht Ammianus Marcellinus stets von „*Philippopolis, Eumolpias vetus*“ [34].

Interessanterweise ist auch ein weiterer thrakischer Sänger auf den Münzen von Philippopolis abgebildet: Orpheus, dem die Tiere auf seiner Lyra lauschen (**Abb. 4**)[35]. Auch dieses Münzbild ist nahezu einzigartig in der provinzialrömischen Münzprägung[36]. Eumolpos und Orpheus[37] sind Beispiele für die Nutzung der – in diesem Fall – mythischen Vergangenheit zur Rekonstruktion von Identität (Howgego 2005, 5-7; Weiß 2004, 186-188). Ausgedrückt wurde insbesondere das Griechischsein, das eine spezielle thrakische Konnotation aufweisen konnte.

[28] Dazu siehe unten.

[29] Vgl. Verslyus 2015. Nollé 2014 hebt den ausschließlich griechischen bzw. den durch die griechische Kultur stark dominierten Charakter der offiziellen städtischen Kultur in Thrakien hervor.

[30] Vgl. auch knapp Колев 1966, 62; Kolev, 1998, 362.

[31] Zur Verbindung von Kleidung und Identität s. jetzt Lee 2015.

[32] Герасимов 1972, 43. Топалилов 2011 verbindet die Funde von Münzen Philipps II. im römischen Philippopolis als Beleg für die Propagierung einer ehrenwerten Abstammung der Stadt im 2. Jh., bevor dann an der Wende zum 3. Jh. verstärkt Eumolpos als Ktistis in den Vordergrund trat. Vgl. auch Topalilov 2014, 11-12.

[33] *IGBulg* III.1 1023. Vgl. auch Danov 1980, 257. Siehe auch den Namen auf den Theaterstufen: Шаранков 2004, 153-154 und Abb. 8, 158 zu *IGBulg* V 5412; Topalilov 2012, 391.

[34] Amm. Marc. 22.2.2; 26.10.4; 27.4.12. Die Zeugnisse zu den Phylen auch bei Jones 1987, 270-273; vgl. auch Kolev 1998, 359, 362; Topalilov 2014, 9-10. Die Belege für die Bezeichnungen der Stadt hat jüngst Топалилов 2007 noch einmal zusammengestellt; vgl. auch Topalilov 2014, 6-8.

[35] Varbanov 2007, ## 1641–1642. Vgl. Юрукова 1982, 10-11. Ausführlich zu den mit Orpheus verbundenen Quellen Шаранков 2003 mit älterer Literatur. Den Namen des Sängers trägt ebenfalls eine Phyle, ebenda 109.

[36] Vgl. Traianopolis: Schönert-Geiss 1991, # 34 und Alexandria: *RPC* IV online, ## 16273, 15287, 15276, 15679, 15595 und 15129. Zum Vergleich siehe Pick 1931a, 1-5.

[37] Ohne die Tiere wird der Sänger Orpheus auch auf unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla in Philippopolis geprägten Münzen abgebildet: Varbanov 2007, ## 1250, 1504, 1525-1526.

Unter den erwähnten Göttern des griechisch-römischen Pantheons, die in Philippopolis zahlreich abgebildet wurden, findet sich auch Apollon. Apollon – und zwar speziell Apollon Kendrisos[38] war – wie es vor allem auch durch Inschriften überliefert ist – die Hauptgottheit von Philippopolis, die auch einer Phyle ihren Namen gab[39]. Das Epitheton des Gottes ist eindeutig thrakischer Herkunft. Die relativ zahlreichen Münzen mit der Abbildung des Apollon unter fast allen Kaisern – sei es die Darstellung als Kitharöde mit der Lyra, mit Patera oder Bogen können nur indirekt den speziellen Bezug der Bewohner zu dieser Gottheit bezeugen[40]. Es gibt aber Münzbilder, die es erlauben, auf einen gezielten Ausdruck von lokaler Identität zu schließen[41]. So finden wir eine Statue des Apollon auf einer Säule dargestellt, die auch auf der erwähnten, unter Antoninus Pius geprägten Münze mit den drei Hügeln der Akropolis abgebildet ist. Auf unter Caracalla und Geta geprägten Münzen opfert der Kaiser genau vor dieser Säule; bringt also der städtischen Hauptgottheit sein Opfer dar[42].

Unter Elagabal wurde der Stadt die Neokorie verliehen. Der Tempel des Apollon Kendrisos wurde zum Kaiserkulttempel für Elagabal, d. h. zum Tempel der Neokorie, erklärt[43]. Zeugnis legen davon die Münztypen ab, die nicht nur die Neokorie explizit in der Legende erwähnen, sondern zeigen, wie Apollon und der Kaiser gemeinsam einen Tempel über eine Preiskrone halten (Varbanov 2007, # 1700). Elagabal gesellt sich als *synnaos* zu Apollo in dem bestehenden Tempel. Zudem waren mit der Verleihung der Neokorie auch Kaiserkultspiele verbunden. Diese nach pythischen Regeln veranstalteten Spiele erhielten das Epitheton Kendriseia, wie ebenfalls die Münzen bezeugen, waren also mit dem einheimischen Gott Kendrisos verbunden und zeigen die besonders enge Identifizierung der Bewohner mit dieser Gottheit. Ferner spiegelte sich in der Propagierung der Spiele auf den Münzen der Stolz der Bewohner auf diese prestigeträchtigen Veranstaltungen. Die Auszeichnungen des Kaisers verkörpern ebenfalls ein Stück Identität und wurden in der Münzprägung gebührend gefeiert.

Auch der Kaiserkult selbst nimmt – insbesondere in der severischen Zeit – einen wichtigen Platz in der Typenwahl ein. So gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Darstellungen, die dem Kaiser huldigen (Varbanov 2007, ## 647, 700, 709; 797, 833; 890; 916; 935-936, 951-952, 957, 959, 971, 1042-1047, 1142-1147; 1193, 1206, 1195, 1232; 1288-1289, 1354, 1508, 1554; 1613, 1616, 1627; 1673-1674, 1693, 1714-1718, 1744). Die Zunahme dieser Münztypen entspricht auch der wachsenden Militarisierung des Kaiser-Porträts. Auf den Rückseiten finden wir neben den üblichen Darstellungen des siegreichen Kaiser in Philippopolis unter Septimius Severus und Geta geprägte Münzen mit expliziten Formeln für die Kaiserverehrung (IC ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟVC ΚVΡΙΟVC ΕΠ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙ, vgl. Nollé 1998, 328-339; Peter 2005a, 113 mit Abb. 27 Taf. 8.2). Mit diesen zahlreichen Huldigungen an den Kaiser sind die Münzen zugleich ein Zeugnis für das hochkomplexe Wechselspiel zwischen lokaler Polisidentität und der Einbindung in den römischen Reichsverband. Chris Howgego sieht in dieser Verbundenheit mit der reichsrömischen Macht, dem Römischsein ebenfalls einen Ausdruck von Identität (Howgego 2005, 14-16).

Auf den Prägungen von Philippopolis wird aber auch auf die lokalen politischen Körperschaften verwiesen: So werden Rat und Volk der Polis verewigt und zeugen so vom „Selbstbewusstsein der Bewohner“ (Pick

[38] Vgl. dazu insbesondere Kolev 1991, 511-516 zu den diversen Apollon-Darstellungen auf Münzen von Philippopolis. Auch die Abbildungen des Apollon Kendrisos auf den Münzen von Philippopolis führt er auf eine Statue in der Stadt zurück.

[39] *IGBulg* III.1 886; vgl. Danov 1980, 257, 266; ein Beispiel bringt auch Sharankov 2005a, 62-63 u. a. Zu Kult und Heiligtum sowie den verschiedenen Aspekten des Apollon auf den Münzen von Philippopolis s. Gočeva 1988, 50-55. Райчева 2014 vermutet, dass der Kaiserkulttempel sich nicht auf dem höchsten Berg Dždendemtepe außerhalb der Stadtmauern befand, sondern eher auf einem der Hügel der Akropolis, dem Džambaz- oder Taksimtepe.

[40] Die unterschiedlichen Varianten werden von Kolev 1989, 171 aufgelistet. Zu den Belegen Varbanov 2007 passim. Lediglich unter Trajan ist bislang kein Apollontyp bekannt. Großer Beliebtheit erfreute sich auch Hermes, vgl. Kolev 1989, 182.

[41] Gočeva 1988, 57 unterstreicht, dass die lokalen religiösen Traditionen der thrakischen Bevölkerung in römischer Zeit in Philippopolis bewahrt wurden und das, obwohl die Stadt Provinzzentrum war. Den obersten Platz nahm der lokale Heros-Kendrisos im Synkretismus mit Apollon ein.

[42] Varbanov 2007, ## 1552 und 1626 (# 1197 beschreibt diesen Rückseitentyp auch für Septimius Severus).

[43] Zum Neokorietempel vgl. Райчева 2014.



Abb. 2. [ΚΡΙCΠ]ЄΙΝΑ CЄΒΑCΤΗ Brustbild der Crispina nach r. mit Gewand, das Haar hinten zum Knoten hochgesteckt / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠ-Ο-ΛΕΙΤΩΝ Stadtgöttin in langem Chiton mit Mauerkrone und Zepter nach l. thronend. Auf der ausgestreckten Rechten ein Heros mit Kranz stehend. Zu ihren Füssen lagert der Flussgott. AE 9.53 g; 23.5/24.9 mm; 1 Uhr



Abb. 3. ΑVΤ ΑΙΛ ΑΔΡ - ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Brustbild des Antoninus Pius mit Gewand nach r. / [ΕΠΙ Μ ΠΟΝ CΑΒΕΙΝΟV ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ] Ansicht der drei Akropolishügel mit diversen Bauten, im Vordergrund zwei gelagerte Flussgötter. AE 21.26 g; 35 mm; 7 Uhr



Abb. 4. ΑVΤ Κ Π CЄ-ΠΤΙ ΓЄΤΑC Drapierte Panzerbüste des Geta mit Lorbeerkranz in der Brustansicht nach r. / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟ/ΛΕΙΤΩΝ Orpheus sitzt mit Lyra auf einem Felsen nach r., umgeben von Schwein, Storch (?), Wolf, Ente (?), Hund, Marder (?), Löwe und Hase. AE 17.22 g, 29 mm; 6 Uhr



Abb. 5. ΑVΤ Κ Π CЄ-ΠΤΙ ΓЄΤΑC Drapierte Panzerbüste des Geta mit Lorbeerkranz in der Brustansicht nach r. / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟ-ΛΕΙΤΩΝ // ΔΗΜΟC·ΒΟVΛΗ Demos als männliche Personifikation mit Himation und Zepter in der Linken und Boule als weibliche Personifikation mit Chiton und Mauerkrone sowie Zepter in der Linken stehen einander gegenüber und reichen sich die Hand. AE 28 mm

1931b, 7; Peter 2005a, 112. Vgl. *IGBulg* III.1 888). Interessanterweise haben wir die Darstellung auf unter Caracalla geprägten Münzen ohne zusätzliche Identifizierung in der Legende, während die Personen auf unter Geta emittierten Münzen nicht nur in der entgegengesetzten Reihenfolge dargestellt, sondern auch explizit genannt werden (**Abb. 5**). Das Phänomen, neue Münzbilder mit erklärenden Beischriften zu versehen, ist Ausdruck dessen, dass die Auftraggeber der Münzen auch wollten, dass die Münzbilder verstanden wurden.

Um die Beobachtungen richtig einordnen zu können, möchte ich noch einmal hervorheben, dass hier nur einige Typen aus dem sehr umfangreichen Typenschatz der Münzprägung von der thrakischen *Metropolis*[44] Philippopolis, die mehr als 1.200 Typen umfasste, vorgestellt wurden. Die Relevanz eines jeden Typs ergibt sich aber nur aus seiner Einordnung in das Prägesystem.

Eine zentrale Frage im Zusammenhang mit der Interpretation, wie und wessen Identität auf Münzen vermittelt wurde, ist natürlich auch jene, wer die Münzen verwendete.

Die sogenannten pseudo-autonomen Münzen von Philippopolis wurden mehrheitlich in Plovdiv bzw. der näheren Umgebung gefunden. Gerade größere Nominale mit dem Kaiserporträt traten auch in weit entfernteren Funden zutage und zirkulierten hauptsächlich gemeinsam mit Prägungen von Pautalia, Serdica, Hadrianopolis, Augusta

[44] Ist der Titel *Metropolis* auf den Münzen von Philippopolis erst ab severischer Zeit bezeugt, so belegen Inschriften die Auszeichnung bereits in der flavischen Epoche; vgl. Sharankov 2005b, 241-242, Sharankov 2007b, 521 und passim sowie das neue Inschriftenfragment: siehe S. 69-71 in diesem Band. Vgl. auch Topalilov 2011, 25.

Traiana und anderen innerthrakischen Städten[45]. Vornehmlich in der severischen Zeit lassen sich bei diesen Städten die Verwendung sehr ähnlicher Vorderseitenstempel beobachten; besonders enge Beziehungen vor allem auch hinsichtlich der Gestaltung fast identischer Rückseiten sind zwischen Philippopolis und Pautalia nachzuweisen (Peter / Grozdanova, in Vorbereitung).

War das Münzrund auch begrenzt und erforderte symbolische Verdichtung der Bild- und Textaussagen[46], so spielten Münzen als Massenprodukt, das jeder in den Händen hielt, dennoch eine zentrale Rolle bei der Konstituierung und der Verbreitung von Identität selbst. Das Römische Reich hat Hans-Joachim Gehrke als Dialektik von Einheit und Vielfalt bezeichnet und betont „Diese ist im Hin und Her der Rückkopplungen zwischen den zentralen Elementen und den örtlichen und regionalen Traditionen zu greifen, die jeweils eigene Ausformungen bilden" (Gehrke 2012, 221). Die aufgeführten wenigen Beispiele zeigen, dass dies auch in der städtischen Prägung von Philippopolis unter römischer Herrschaft zum Ausdruck kommt.

[45] Zu den Funden im südlichen Bulgarien vgl. bspw. die Zusammenstellung von Гущераклиев 2014; zum größten Fund nördlich des Haimos vgl. Гущераклиев 1998.

[46] Zur Münzikonographie als komplexes semantisches System vgl. beispielsweise Krmnicek / Elkins 2014 mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen.

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Abbildungsnachweis:
Abb. 1: Münzkabinett Berlin. Objektnr. 18247974 (Foto: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke)
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Searching for Identities in the Coinage of Pautalia

Lily GROZDANOVA

Abstract: The question whether or not coins are intended and being produced as a communication medium is a fundamental and ongoing debate in the area of ancient numismatics. Nevertheless, the work with and the interpretation of these materials in their historical context seem to indicate beyond a doubt that the imagery of the die designs is meaningful, carefully chosen and strictly controlled. The Roman provincial coinage is an exciting research subject in this matter. The authors account for a complicated multileveled authority system sanctioning the issues, starting from the emperor himself, through the central provincial administration, to the city elites personally responsible for the minting. Thus, coins potentially carry information that could identify in some way all the involved parties. The specifics of the coin manufacturing also enrich further the data they carry and complicate its accurate extraction.
The city issues of Pautalia have a rich and diverse coin typology. The detailed and qualitative die designs contain themes characteristic for the entire region of the province of Thrace, but also such highly typical for the town reality. The production specifics of the specimens indicate the plausible existence of a common atelier supplying the cities in the region of inner Thrace, a theory already presented in the specialized literature.
The complexity of the chosen material and of the term identity itself inevitably evokes questions as to what extend the concept of identity is approachable through the particular coins; indications of which identity constructs could be attested for in these materials; how are the types representative for separate identities etc. The analysis of the Pautalia coinage has the potential to shed more light on these complicated issues.

Key words: provincial coinage, Pautalia, identity, identification issues.

The ongoing discussions concerning the identity problematics in the field of ancient history and archaeology tend to change substantially the way the researchers approach, analyze and interpret the sources. Key issues, as for example the Romanization, are being reevaluated and perceived in an entirely different discourse (Jones 1997, 129-135; Laurence 1998; Mattingly 2004).

Trying to research the topic of identity, scholars often adopt terminology and theories from other areas of study, making it sometimes extremely complicated to communicate clearly the essence of their ideas and of the issues which are being addressed. Hence, a few explanatory words on the main elements of the current title are needed.

The identity theories and definitions vary greatly in accordance with the research area, context, issue formulation etc. If one dares to simplify and generalize on the subject, one could argue that an identity is comparable to some degree to a universe, a highly dynamic, constantly fluctuating construct. In the frames of a historical research such as the present one, it must be further stressed that identity is being actively constituted and subjectively perceived in accordance with the

particular historical context (Preston 2001, 87; Mattingly 2004, 10). And even on individual level, it consists of multiple hierarchically organized identities, which explains its dynamical appearance and self-representation (Preston 2001, 87; Howgego 2005, 1; Hoo 2010). Very often, especially in the field of ancient studies, authors argue that it is more accurate to use the plural form of the term (Jones 1997, 140-141; Scott 2003, 6; Mattingly 2004, 22). Hence I will be attempting to search for identities in the chosen material.

The debate whether or not ancient coins were intentionally used as a communication medium is fundamental and ongoing in the area of ancient numismatics (Jones 1956, 15; Crawford 1983, 59; Драганов 2006, 99; Horster 2007, 293-294; Manders 2012, 33-36). But when studying the topic of identities, the importance of the numismatic material becomes more than clear. In the words of Christopher Howgego: "what coinage most obviously provides is an enormous range of self-defined and explicit representations of public/official/communal identities, principally civic in nature" (Howgego 2005, 1). The interpretation of the issues in their historical context seems to indicate beyond a doubt that the die imagery is meaningful and carefully developed. The researchers have reconstructed a complicated multileveled authority system sanctioning the issues, starting with the emperor and his court, through the central provincial administration, to the city elites personally responsible for the minting (Burnett et al. 1992, 1-25, 52-54; Alexandridis 2004, 45; Heuchert 2005, 29-56; Howgego 2005, 1-17; Peter 2005; Weiss 2005; Horster 2013). Weiss stresses also that the town coinage should be treated as a part of the city self-government (Weiss 2005, 58). Thus the coins potentially carry multileveled information that could identify in some way different subjects.

Why exactly Pautalia?

Evidence of settlement activity in the region of the modern town of Kyustendil (SW Bulgaria) dates since the Early Iron Age. Organized city life could be attested for since the beginning of the 2nd century AD in the time of Trajan (98-117). Under his rule Pautalia received city rights and the *nomen* Ulpia (Иванов 1906, 8-9; Danoff 1962, 800-824; Русева / Слокоска 1982; Русева / Слокоска 1989; Boteva 2014; Делев 2014, 222; Parissaki 2016, 189-191). The city and the territory under its control were situated very strategically, immediately neighboring the provinces of Macedonia and Moesia Superior. A crossing point for several main and secondary itineraries, Pautalia was directly connected to important cities within Thrace, Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior and Macedonia, and to the main roads in the region *Via Diagonalis* and *Via Egnatia* (Grigorova 1995, 42-44; Тачева 2004, 89-106; Кацарова 2005, 212-219; Katsarova 2012, 263-254). The analysis of the economic life of the city and the area (Grigorova 1995, 38-80; Кацарова 2005, 204-206; Grozdanova, forthcoming/A) reveals its central logistic, administrative, monetary, and production role. Hence, the identities analysis performed on the basis of the numismatic materials of the city has the potential to be informative not just on local city level, but also on regional and provincial level.

Further arguments for the choice of material are to be found in the quantity, quality and research state of the coinage. The *polis* had a very active mint from the time of emperor Antoninus Pius (138-

161), till the independent rule of Caracalla (195-217)[1]. Attested are specimens of six denominations, including high quality medallions (Ruzicka 1932; Grigorova 1995; Паунов 2016). The coinage of the city has a long research history. Nikola Moushmov (Мушмов 1912, 231-245) in his research on the ancient coins of the Balkan Peninsula and the Bulgarian kings, based mainly on the coin collection of the National Archaeological Museum, published the numismatic materials from Pautalia. Special attention deserves the grounding type corpus of Leon Ruzicka (1932) containing the basic analysis and typology of the Pautalia issues. The coinage is further systematically analyzed by Valentina Grigorova (1995). The author enriches the coin typology and researches the economic system of the city. Despite the continuous scientific interest towards the coinage in question (Прокопов 1983; Димитров 1985; Ботева 1993; Grigorova 1993; Ботева 1997, 143-152, 277-278; Филипова / Мешеков 2002; Филипова / Тонев 2003; Varbanov 2005, 374-458; Филипова 2006; Woytek 2015; Woytek 2015a) a die corpus of the materials is still missing. The die study is currently conducted in the frames of the project B4-2 *"Region and memoria: Local history and local myths on Thracian provincial coins"* supported by the Excellence Cluster Topoi, Berlin, under the scientific guidance of Dr. Ulrike Peter. The study is being conducted through the implementation of a new digital research tool currently developed by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Münzkabinett Berlin and their partners – *CNT* The webportal for Thracian coinage (http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu).

Searching for identities

In the course of our work with the materials from Pautalia and Philippopolis, also examined in the same project, a few issues connected to the regional and local identity came to light. In the next pages I intend to present how some of the relevantly well-known die designs of the city of Pautalia could be interpreted through the prism of the identities search.

K. Kraft defined the idea for the existence of common workshops supplying the cities of an entire area "Lieferbezirk", based mainly on the materials from Asia Minor (Kraft 1972). The theory was developed and adapted further for the reality of the province of Thrace by Kraft himself (Kraft 1972, 101) and scholars like Edith Schönert-Geiß (Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16) and Hans-Dietrich Schultz (Schultz 1999). Thus the presumption for the existence of a common supply area for the cities in the region of inner Thrace, including both Philippopolis and Pautalia, was formulated. Apart from the issue of how applicable specific aspects of Kraft's theory are outside Asia Minor, the direct work with the coinages of cities such as Serdica, Philippopolis, Pautalia, Topiros, Traianopolis, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis and Plotinopolis, recognized as belonging to the same inner-Thracian "*Lieferbezirk*", does show a high level of integrity in the type diversity and production characteristics. One could even speak about a coherence which seems to be indicative, not just concerning the workshop itself, but for the existence of a type of regional common identity. Common politics, that sets the rules of the civic self-representation in the region. Kraft does argue that the cities needed to choose their coin images from pre-developed standard designs produced by the particu-

[1] The overall opinion of the majority of the researchers of the Pautalia coinage is that there is no material convincingly attesting the activity of the mint after the rule of Caracalla (see Ruzicka 1933, 14-15; Grigorova 1995, 39; Grozdanova 2017). Мушмов 1912 identifies some of the specimens as minted for Elagabalus (## 4359-4367) and Gordianus III (# 4368). Varbanov 2005, 457-458 also supports the idea that there are Elagabalus issues produced in the city.

lar workshop, thus evaluating them as uninformative and irrelevant for the identities research, and to scholarly interest as a whole (Kraft 1972, 94-96). This notion is very much successfully refuted by Louis Robert who rightly points out to the great variety of coin types and the existence of unique designs for particular cities (Robert 1975, 188-92; see also Harl 1987, 15-17; Heuchert 2005, 41). The latter observation is more than applicable in the case of Pautalia.

Going deeper on a local identity level, the work with the material revealed a strong connection between the coinages of Pautalia and Philippopolis, that in our opinion goes beyond the explanation of the common supply area (Peter / Grozdanova, forthcoming). In the entire period of their simultaneous mint activity, the issues of the two cities demonstrate not just highly similar die designs, but the two produce types that are not typical for any of the other cities of the inner Thrace "*Lieferbezirk*". Of course, the explanation could be the craftsmanship of a common die cutter. Researching the cutter and the atelier is also a significant identities topic (Harl 1987, 16-17). Unfortunately, up until the present moment, no die-sharing cases are attested between the two cities, still the similarities seem to be indicative (see **fig. 1a/b**). Even if we recognize the work of one particular person, that would not explain why the elites of these two cities deemed important and recognizable precise types. We are still in the process of studying the phenomenon, and searching for a suitable explanation.

I would like to concentrate a bit more on the particular city level of identification possibilities, thus addressing of course just a few of the potential topics.

Since the majority of the iconography of the provincial reverse designs was drawn from the religious sphere, we cannot simply overlook the theme as an important aspect of the *polis* identity and self-representation (Woolf 1997; Heuhert 2005, 48-49; Howgego 2005, 2-4). Depicted are the deities themselves, mythological scenes, even temples. The question whether or not the represented on the coins deities have their actual equivalent in the civic cults is being actively discussed (Woolf 1997; Heuhert 2005, 49). In the case of Pautalia (Гроздanова 2016; Grigorova-Gencheva / Grozdanova, forthcoming), at least about one deity, namely Asclepius, there should be no doubt that it was certainly part of the city cult. The constant presence of the deity in the reverse typology throughout the entire minting period is more than noticeable. Two facts are meaningful in this connection. It is precisely Asclepius and his serpent-staff that are shown on the obverse and reverse of the few preserved specimens of the so called pseudo-autonomous coinage of the city (Ruzicka 1933, # 1). Furthermore, the reverse type considered to be unique for the city mint with no attested so far even close equivalents outside Pautalia depicts exactly Asclepius on a winged serpent / dragon (Ruzicka 1933, ## 159, 260, 342-348, 434, 612-618, 883; Varbanov 2005, ## 4665, 4681-4689, 4851, 4856, 4886, 5007-5015, 5339; Гроздanова 2016, 140-142)[2].

The city coinage was mostly intended for the internal city use. Volker Heuchert proposes an area of at least 80 km of circulation (Heuhert 2005, 31). The work with the coin hoards of Pautalia from the region presents the basis for further interpretation (Peter / Grozdanova, forthcoming). Regardless of the circulation issue, some designs promote certain specifics of the city reality, hence they play a



a

b

Fig. 1. a *CNT_7678* Pautalia, Obv. Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161); **b** *CNT_7679* Philippopolis, Obv. Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) (cast photos: L. Grozdanova)

[2] In the course of my ongoing research on the coinage of Pautalia there has been a development concerning this specific type. I have recently encountered data attesting the design in Nicaea for emperor Alexander Severus. Still the type remains meaningful and important for the current analysis (see Grozdanova, forthcoming/B).



Fig. 2. *CNT*_4935 Caracalla (AD 198-218) Rv. Hill view with temples (*CNT*_4935 Pautalia, in: Corpus Nummorum Thracorum <http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/*CNT*_4935> [Last downloaded: 2017/04/15])

key part in the civic self-representation, especially in the competitive rivalry between the neighboring *poleis*, characteristic for the Roman provincial world (Peter 2005). Amongst them in the case of Pautalia are the reverse types with hill view representing religious complex with several temples. The scenery is not just clearly archeologically attested, but is also freely visible on the Hisarlaka hill in present-day Kyustendil (Ruzicka 1933, ## 711-713, 908; Varbanov 2005, ## 4648, 4833, 5255-5257, 5427) (**fig. 2**). Meaningful and important in this matter is also the prominent type depicting the Nymph of the Strymon valley, promoting the natural resources and riches of the region (Ruzicka 1933, ## 473, 634; Varbanov 2005, ## 4922, 5174).

Another identity issue, approachable through the coinage of Pautalia, is also the representation of the imperial family on the coins, the civic perception of the imperial identity constructs. The presence of the ruling family on the obverses is something normal for the provincial coinage. Their appearance on the reverse is something specific. The images of the emperor and *domus Augusta* on civic coins are especially important for the identities topics "…, as they incorporate the emperor into the civic world and, at the same time, position the cities concerned within the wider world of Roman power. Furthermore, these types of images also reveal which aspects and qualities of the emperor were considered important ..." (Heuchert 2005, 52). An intriguing example is a coin from Pautalia struck for Marcus Aurelius with imagery directly relating to the events concerning the dynastic succession[3]. Faustina Minor is holding two babies and on her sides there are two little figures. In AD 161 she became a mother of male twins, Commodus and Aurelius Fulvus. Thus they and two of her daughters are most likely to be recognized on the specimen; this design is obviously developed in close accordance with such attested in the Roman imperial issues (Mattingly / Sydenham 1930, ## 1673-167) (**fig. 3**). Other reverses also demonstrate the knowledge and attitude of the Pautalians concerning the imperial family life and the specifics of the central government. Attested are reverse types for the Antonine (Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Auction 34, 9. Aug. 2015, lot 547) and the Severan (Ruzicka 1933, ## 499, 763-765, 909) dynasties, where the co-emperors ruling at that moment are presented together. The imagery demonstrates the understanding between the two rulers (Heuchert 2005, 53). In the case of Pautalia, one further design deserves special attention: a type of Plautilla, which on the reverse is depicting the wedding of Plautilla and Caracalla in AD 202, according to the convincing imagery interpretation of Ruzicka (Ruzicka 1933, # 755).

Directly relevant to the identities topic is the coinage for the *Augustae* in the city of Pautalia. So far there are issues attested for four empresses[4] – Faustina Minor (AD 145 – ca. 175[5]), Lucilla (AD 164 – ca. 182[6]), Iulia Domna (AD 193 – 217) and Plautilla (AD 202 – 205). The analysis of the materials from the two dynasties seems to indicate stable representation mechanisms and choice of motives, when describing the identity of the empress. In all the four cases there seems to be high coherence in the imperial and provincial coinage, concerning the motives introducing the characteristics of the *Augusta*. She is represented to the public mainly as a keeper of the dynasty, its piety and fortune. The type diversity and the quantity of the civic coinage for

[3] For other similar cases see Heuchert 2005, 53.

[4] Grigorova 1995, accounts for a coin of Faustina Maior (AD 105 – ca. 140), # I.88. The particular specimen is in a severely damaged state, which makes a precise recognition of the sitter impossible.

[5] AD 175 is the year most commonly accepted as the date of the death of Faustina minor (see Pfister 1951, 70; Fitschen 1982, 33; Bowman et al. 2000, 179 (f. 97); Priwitzer 2009, 195). Some earlier authors date it in AD 176 (see v. Rohden 1894a, 2313-2314).

[6] The year of the demise of Lucilla is also a subject of alternative suggestions, namely AD 182 (see v. Rohden 1894b, 2315; Burns 2007, 161) or AD 183 (see Pfister 1951, 71; Stoll 1996, 104).

the empresses are impressive. This is especially valid for the Pautalia coinage of Iulia Domna. There is no too significant difference in the quantity and type variety in her issues and those for her husband and sons. This could be indicative for the existent high appreciation for her central role in the family and the empire in the Pautalian society. Returning to the topic of identities and identification, through the city coinage it is possible to recover the local perception of the official public identity of the *Augustae*, as their personal one can hardly be reached via this mediator. Nevertheless, the coins need to be and are being used as a key source for the reconstruction of part of their personal identity, namely their appearance, due to the often very precise portraiture the obverse dies carry.



Fig. 3. *CNT_7677* Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-169) Rv. Faustina II as Fecunditas standing, facing, head r., carrying infant imperial twins (Commodus and Aurelius Fulvus); on either side, two other children (cast photos: L. Grozdanova)

To conclude

Due to the complexity of the identity theme, it must be noted that the actual research potential and value of the topic are connected not so much to the goal of achieving a particular, unambiguous and ultimate identity reconstruction. Much more, in my opinion, it is connected to the identification process itself and the recognition of the informative potential possessed by the analyzed materials.

For the current paper were chosen well-known dies and specimens already interpreted in the framework of other topics and analyses. The scientific interest towards them demonstrated in the course of the research of Pautalia, is indicative for their importance for the identity studies connected to the city. Furthermore, they display vibrantly how the identity reconstruction could be connected directly to the political life and religious ideas of the examined community, its economic system and natural resources, or even to the professional activity of a group or an individual.

The city issues of Pautalia have a rich and diverse coin typology. The detailed and qualitative die designs contain themes characteristic for the entire region of the province of Thrace, but also such highly typical for the town reality. Hence, they could reveal aspects of town identity, obviously perceived as representable, and chosen to be communicated through coins. The cases commented upon can be interpreted as public and official tokens of this civic identity. The issuing of the *polis* coinage is considered to have been the responsibility of local aristocracy, nevertheless the specifics of the presented cases strongly imply that the identity expressed through coinage was most probably not exclusively representative for the elite, but also for the entire civic community (Heuchert 2005, 40).

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Dionysos in Roman Imperial Thrace – What Do the Coins Tell Us about Him?*

Johannes NOLLÉ

„Das ganze Altertum hat Dionysos als den Spender des Weines gepriesen."
W. F. Otto[1]

Abstract: This paper wants to discuss the background of Roman imperial coins from Thrace which depict grapes or the wine god Dionysos in different contexts on their obverses. Such coin images mirror more authentically than other sources essential parts of Thracian cities' identity. It is clear that already in Antiquity many areas of Thrace were planted with vines and that coins showing grapes allude to both viticulture and viniculture flourishing there. However, these pieces of money should be understood less as a reference to an important economical resource or scenic beauty, but rather more as a praise of Dionysos who, despite the resistance of king Lykourgos, donated vines to Thrace. Local lore links this epiphany of Dionysos with his coming from India and with his birth somewhere in Thrace. The coins discussed here hint at both mythic events by showing the triumphant Dionysos together with Indian animals such as the leopard, and by presenting the infant Dionysos in different sceneries. It is very interesting to see that the thematic area *Dionysos and wine* became very prominent especially during the sole reign of Caracalla. This should not really come as a surprise, since Caracalla was acclaimed as a New Dionysos and he himself associated his campaign against Parthia with Alexander and Dionysos, as we are told by Cassius Dio.

Key words: Caracalla, coins, Dionysos, grape harvest, Hadrianopolis / Edirne, Hermes of Praxiteles, Korybantes, Kuretes, leopard, Mesambria / Nessebar, *Neos Dionysos*, Nys(s)a, Pautalia / Kyustendil, Philippopolis / Plovdiv, Serdica / Sofia, Strymon / Struma, Thrace, urban identity, viniculture, viticulture.

Land of vines

Today both the slopes of many hills and the terraces of several river valleys in Bulgaria are again densely planted with grapevines, so that viticulture contributes substantially to this country's appearance and identity. This may not be very different from the situation in Antiquity. As far as we know, ancient Thrace was a land full of vines, and hence it is natural that during the whole period of Antiquity the veneration of the wine-god was one of the most traditional and most important cults of this country[2]. Already Herodotus underlined this[3], and in later times inscriptions and coins show that the Thracians' deep devotion to Dionysos continued until the end of the Classical World. Numerous scholars thought and still think that the Greek cult of Dionysos even originated from Thrace[4]. However interesting this subject may be, this paper wants to draw the attention to a particular period and to a special aspect of this cult, which until now has not been dealt with so much. This treatise will focus on the picture that

* I am especially thankful to my friend Francis Jacquier who provided me with a very nice copy of Leon Ruzicka's excellent, but very rare book on the coins of Pautalia, which helped me to finish this paper. By supplying so many numismatists with newly published books on coins and by tracing hard-to-find older ones he has given important support to numismatists' research work, coin collectors and auction houses for many years now.

[1] Otto 1933, 49.

[2] Pomp. Mela 2.17; Strab. 10.3.16 (C 471); cf. Rapp 1882; Kazarov 1936, 488-495 (Dionysos); Chuvin 1991, 86: *La Thrace est un haut-lieu du culte et des légendes de Dionysos*.

[3] Hdt. 5.7.1: θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν; for Dionysos' connection with viticulture and for his veneration in Thrace cf. Wiesner 1963.

[4] Cf. Otto 1933, 51 f.; Bernhart 1949, 10: *die Heimat des hellenischen Dionysoskultes ist Thrakien*; Wiesner 1963, 83 ff.; Seaford 2006, 154.

the Roman imperial bronze coins draw of Dionysos, furthermore on this god's asserted gifts to cities and on his identity creating functions.

Just as coins almost exclusively represent the identity/identities of their minting authorities, the reverses of the so-called Greek imperials focus on urban identities, which were yet more multifaceted than those of the Archaic or even Hellenistic Greek *poleis*. The obverses of these coins normally show the portrait of the reigning emperor or, alternatively, of a member of his family; quite rarely the bust of a leading city deity occurs. Greek imperials in particular try to transpose an inextricable mixture of religious and political identities into images, and thereby they sometimes also reflect geographic and economic aspects of urban self-perception. Some coins minted by Thracian cities during the Roman Empire can visualise this quite obviously.

An extremely often discussed and in books again and again reproduced coin of Pautalia (OVΛΠΙΑC ΠΑVΤΑΛΙΑC), modern Kyustendil, praises the resources which the city's territory yielded in the 3rd c. AD: gold, silver, corn and wine (**fig. 1a-b**). The coin – minted with the portraits of Caracalla (sole reign portrait) or his mother Iulia Domna – depicts the city goddess of Pautalia[5] sitting on the ground; she is leaning against a vine, that forms a pergola from which bunches of grapes are hanging downwards, so that the impression of autumnal abundance arises. Her outstretched right hand is resting on a huge rock; a man standing on it is busy harvesting one of the bunches. The inscription BOTPV-C, which means grape[6], leaves no room for doubt what is going on: the scenery alludes to an autumnal vintage in Pautalia's territory. By this coin image the city goddess is closely associated with viticulture and wine-making[7]. Thus, the coin image conveys the same message as the many *epitheta* used by Homer and other Greek writers who refer to a region or a city as *ampeloeis* (ἀμπελόεις), *euampelos* (εὐάμπελος), *polyoinos* (πολύοινος), *oinoplethes* (οἰνοπλήθης), *polybotrys* (πολύβοτρυς), *polystaphylos* (πολυστάφυλος), etc.[8] Behind the vine, against which the city goddess of Pautalia is leaning, we see an amphora, from which water pours out. It first forms a runlet; later it becomes a proper river flowing beneath the city goddess. We should take the depiction seriously: the coin shows that the banks of a river flowing through Pautalia's territory were planted with grapevines. Already in the times of Marcus Aurelius Caesar (AD 139-161) the city of Pautalia had minted a coin that shows a river-god holding a grape vine in his right hand. His left forearm is resting on an amphora, of which water pours out, and with his left hand he holds some reeds (**fig. 3**)[9]. By focusing on the river and its banks overgrown with vines, in some way this coin thematises a detail of the coin image which we are debating. Since the Strymon / Struma is the most important river traversing Pautalia's territory, we can with any certainty identify the depicted river-god as the Strymon. On the coin that is being discussed here the legend APΓVPOC is written above a huge rock, so that we may localise Pautalia's silver mines in the mountains around the city; a man having shouldered a sack seems to have just come out of a mining gallery dug into the rock. Gold / XPVCOC is being panned out at the upper reaches of the river[10], in the exergue of the coin corn / CTAXVC is being cut with a sickle[11]. All these resources alluded to have been important for the economy of Pautalia, but we should not

[5] Cf. Imhoof-Blumer 1908, 163 f., # 459 (Caracalla), who identifies the city goddess as Ge or a nymph; also Weiss 1994, 816, # 14 and Peter 2005, 107, # 5. For the coin see also Мушмов 1912, 241, # 4286; Ruzicka 1933, 33 f. and 159, # 634 with Tf. VI 19 ('*Nymphe der Strymongegend*'); Varbanov II 2005, 418, # 4922 (Iulia Domna) and 436, # 5174 (Caracalla), who also identifies the female figure as a nymph; further pieces were published in auction catalogues, e.g. Lanz 157, 9.12.2013, # 33 = **fig. 1a** (Caracalla), and Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 312, 9.10.2013, # 148 = **fig. 1b** (Iulia Domna).

It makes no sense to see in the female personification a nymph; the resting of her left arm on an amphora does not provide a sound base for such an identification; a nymph, that may represent the source of a river, can at best be associated with gold panning at the headwaters, but not with silver mining in the mountains, with vintage, and with corn harvesting in the plains. Within this comprehensive hymn on Pautalia's wealth, the city goddess and not a nymph had to be placed into the centre of the coin image. I think we can recognize some merlons of the goddess' mural crown on very well preserved specimens of this coin type. In the time when this coin was minted many coins with the portrait of Iulia Domna on their obverses show the city goddess with a particularly elaborated mural crown, e.g. Obv. IOVΛIA – ΔOMNA CEB; draped bust r. — Rev. ΠAV-TAΛIA; draped and veiled bust of the city goddess with mural crown r. (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 376, 15.06.2016, # 343 = **fig. 2**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 417, # 4902).

Due to her significance the city goddess is depicted on a larger scale than the four hard-working men; I do not think that the four workers shall represent children or Erotes. The same is true for the vine that is accentuated by both its size and its central position.

[6] I see no reason why BOTPYC should be understood as a personification, as Zagdoun 1986, 144, # 6 does.

[7] For the the present day state of Kyustendil plain cf. Bousfield / Richardson 2002, 119: *The gorge [of river Strymon/ Struma] ends near the village of Râzhdavitsa, beyond which lies the broad Kyustendil plain – which locals proudly describe as the largest orchard in Bulgaria. Fragrant in spring, the plain is the site of frenzied cherry-picking in June, and is richly coloured during autumn by the red apples, yellow pears and lustrous grapes that hang profusely in the orchards and vineyards.* Cf. also Grigorova 1998, 10 f. In a further paper I will come back to the orchards of Pautalia.

[8] For all these epithets cf. Kienzle 1936 and Meier 1976.

[9] Obv. M AVPHΛIOC – OVHPOC KAIC; bareheaded draped bust of Marcus Aurelius r. — Rev. ΠAVTAΛIAC –



a



b

Fig. 1. a Pautalia, obv. Caracalla, rev. scenery, 28 mm: Lanz 157, 9.12.2013, 335; **b** Pautalia, obv. Iulia Domna, rev. scenery, 22 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 312, 9.10.2013, 148



Fig. 2. Pautalia, obv. Iulia Domna, rev. city goddess, 22 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 376, 15.6.2016, 343



Fig. 3. Pautalia, obv. Marcus Aurelius Caesar, rev. Strymon with grapevine, 24 mm: Gorny & Mosch 200, 10.10.2011, 2097



Fig. 4. Serdica, obv. Caracalla, rev. river god with grapes, 30 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 9, 3.11.2013, 337

forget that the grape vine is placed into the centre of the coin image and also by its size dominates the whole scenery.

A bronze coin minted by the neighbouring city of Serdica, i.e. modern Sofia, during the reign of the emperor Caracalla also shows a river-god holding a vine with a bunch of grapes in his right hand (**fig. 4**)[12]. We know a lot of depictions of river-gods, who hold special objects in their hands, e.g. tree branches, corn ears, olive trees, statues of gods, ships etc. (cf. especially Robert 1980, 85 f.). These objects may allude to the name of a river or to one of the cities' highly venerated tutelary divinities (πολιοῦχοι). In some cases, these symbolic objects may point out that a river is navigable or that it was used for floating timber. However, coins showing a river-god with a vine in his right hand occur rather rarely[13]. Since in the case of Serdica an elucidating legend is missing, we have again to ask who the river-god is. There are two rivers which both have their sources or at least some of their main sources in the Vitosha mountain (ancient Skombros) near Serdica: the Struma / Strymon and the Iskar / Oiskos (Oskios / Skios) (**fig. 5**). It is difficult to say which of these rivers is meant by the coin image. The famous Swiss numismatist Imhoof-Blumer thought that the depicted river was the Iskar / Oiskos (Imhoof-Blumer 1924, 246), but I feel forced to argue that it is the other one: In Antiquity the territory of Serdica included the Haimos / Balkan mountains, but no parts of the Danubian plain (Mihailov 1966, 5). In the Haimos section of the river Oiskos as well as southwards from these mountains there are nowadays no vineyards along the riverside (**fig. 6**), and it is quite likely

ΟVΛΠΙΙΑC; river-god reclining r., holding in his right hand a grapevine, left forearm resting on amphora, in his left hand reeds (Gorny & Mosch 200, 10.10.2011, #. 2097 = **fig. 3**; Varbanov II 2005, 381, # 4446).

[10] Kazarov 1954, 542 f.: *Many of the Thracian rivers, too (e.g. Hebrus), brought down alluvial gold, which could be extracted by the use of primitive gold-washing devices*; cf. also the very instructive map in Archibald 1998, 23.

[11] For the cultivation of cereals in Thrace cf. Kazarov 1954, 541; Wiesner 1963, 31 f.

[12] Obv. AVT K M AVPH CЄVH – ANTΩNЄINOC; bust of laureate Caracalla r. – Rev. OVΛΠΙ-AC – CЄPΔI-KHC river-god reclining l., holding a grapevine with a bunch of grapes and a vine leaf in his r. hand, resting with his left arm on amphora, from which water streams out (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 9, 3.11.2013, # 337 = **fig. 4**; Varbanov III 2007, 260, # 2424).

[13] Apart from the just mentioned coins of Pautalia and Serdica I only know of a third coin depicting a river-god who possibly holds a vine in his right hand: the Paphlagonian city of Amastris minted coins with the personified river Meles on their obverses. On these pieces of money the divine personification of this small watercourse, which the Amastrians used to support their absurd claim that Homer was a native of their city, is also holding a vine with two bunches of grapes in his r. hand (according to the author of the auction catalogue; I am not absolutely sure about this identification): Obv. OM-HPOC; draped bust of Homer r. — Rev. AMACTPIA-NΩN; MЄΛHC (in exergue); river-god reclining l., holding a grapevine with two bunches of grapes in his r. hand, resting with his l. arm on amphora, from which water streams out (Peus 366, 29.10.2000, # 544 [formerly in Burstein Collection, Nevada]; '*unpublizierte Variante*').



Fig. 5. Map of rivers in Bulgaria (designed by J. Nollé)

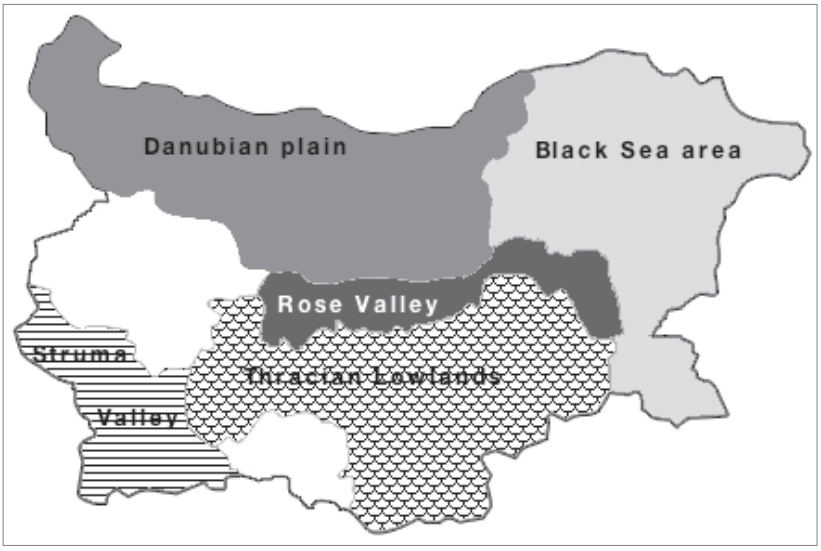


Fig. 6. Map of wine-regions of Bulgaria (designed by J. Nollé, based on http://www.thefullwiki.org/Bulgarian_wine)

that this was not different in Antiquity[14]. Therefore, the identification of the depicted river-god with the Struma / Strymon seems to me highly probable.

During the Roman imperial period numerous cities of Thrace minted coins depicting a bunch of grapes or vines with grapes[15]. In this context, it is sufficient to offer some examples, which show clearly, how some Thracian cities propagated their identity as famous wine producers by means of their coins. Such coins were for example minted by Byzantion (**fig. 7a**), Trajanopolis (**fig. 7b**) and Hadrianopolis. The last-mentioned city repeatedly minted such coins to underline the importance of viticulture for the city's economy and identity (**fig. 7c-g**)[16]. The same is the case with Philippopolis

[14] Cf. the map of http://www.thefullwiki.org/Bulgarian_wine. The interior of Thracia was not very favourable for viticulture, cf. the statement of Pomp. Mela 2.16 that viticulture was very limited in the interior of Thrace: *regio nec caelo laeta nec solo, et nisi qua mari propior est, infecunda, frigida, eorumque quae seruntur maligne admodum patiens, raro usquam pomiferam arborem, vitem frequentius tolerat: sed nec eius quidem fructus maturat ac mitigat, nisi ubi frigora obiectu frondium cultores arcuere*.

[15] Coins with this design were not taken into account by Max Bernhart's book on '*Dionysos und seine Familie auf griechischen Münzen*'. In addition to other shortcomings, this leads to the consequence that the information we can get from this book is somewhat limited.

[16] Byzantion: Obv. ANTΩNINOC – AVΓOVCTOC; laureate draped bust of Caracalla r. – Rev. BVZA-NTIΩN; bunch of grapes with tendrill and vine leaf (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 291, 21.11.2012, # 194 = **fig. 7a**; cf. Schönert-Geiss 1972, 83, # 1593-1596; Varbanov II 2005, # 1768). — Trajanopolis: Obv. AVT K M AVP CE – ANTΩNEINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. TPAIANO-ΠOΛEITΩN; vine twig with big tripartite bunch of grapes (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 16, 4.5.2014, # 672 = **fig. 7b**; Varbanov III 2005, 295, # 2790); cf. Schönert-Geiss 1991, 204, s.v. Weintraube, with further testimonies. — Hadrianopolis: Obv. AV T AIΛ AΔPI – ANTΩNEINO; bareheaded bust of Antoninus Pius r. — Rev. AΔPIANO-ΠOΛEIT; vine twig with tripartite bunch of grapes, vine leaf, and tendril (Gorny & Mosch 229, 10.3.2015, # 1491 = **fig.**

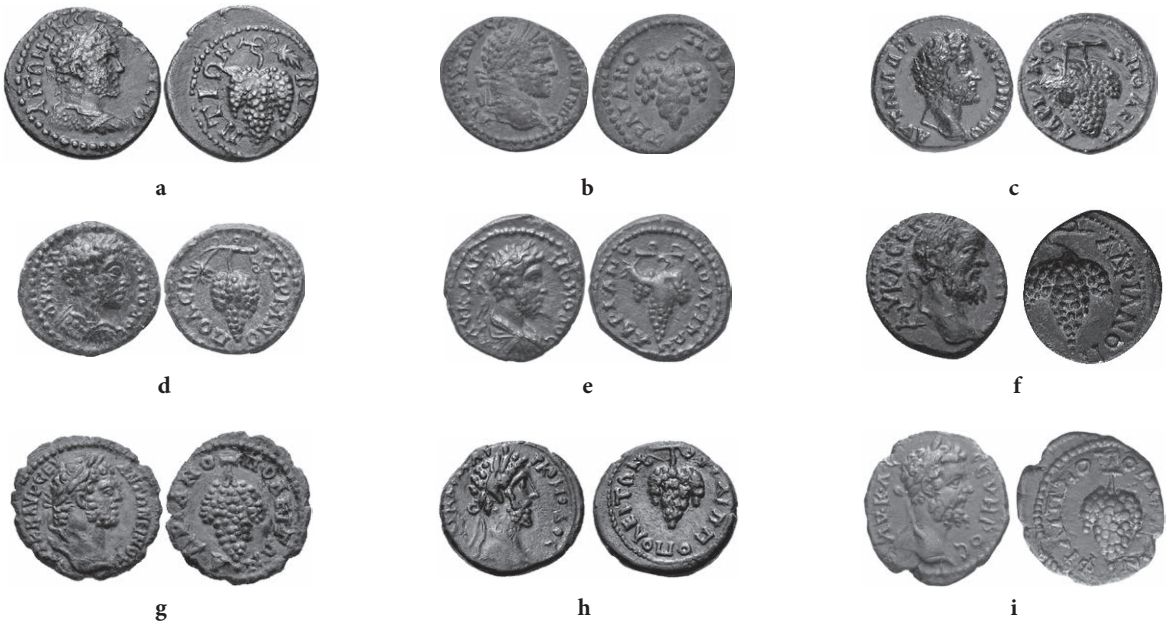


Fig. 7. a Byzantion, obv. Caracalla, rev. bunch of grapes, 20 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 291, 21.11.2012, 194; **b** Traianopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. bunch of grapes, 18 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 16, 4.5.2014, 672; **c** Hadrianopolis, obv. Antoninus Pius, rev. bunch of grapes, 17 mm: Gorny & Mosch 229, 10.3.2015, 1491; **d** Hadrianopolis, obv. Commodus Caesar, rev. bunch of grapes, 17 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 37, 1.11.2015, 394; **e** Hadrianopolis, obv. Commodus, rev. bunch of grapes, 17 mm: Pecunem (Naumann) 43, 1.5.2016, 539; **f** Hadrianopolis, obv. Septimius Severus, rev. bunch of grapes, 17 mm: Hirsch 249, 7.2.2007, 2007; **g** Hadrianopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. bunch of grapes, 18 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 243, 27.10.2010, 231; **h** Philippopolis, obv. Commodus, rev. bunch of grapes, 19 mm: Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 36, 30.5.2012, 572; **i** Philippopolis, obv. Septimius Severus, rev. bunch of grapes, 18 mm: Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 15, 21.10.2004, 185



Fig. 8. a Pautalia, obv. Geta, rev. bunch of grapes, 19 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 39, 3.1.2016, 493; **b** Pautalia, obv. Geta Caesar, rev. basket with grapes, 20 mm: Lanz 97, 22.05.2000, 789; **c** Pautalia, obv. Geta Caesar, rev. wine jug and two *cornucopiae*, 18 mm: Lanz 114, 26.05.2003, 522

7c; cf. Jouroukova 1987, 122, # 33; Varbanov II 2005, 256, # 3143 and 258, # 3156f.). — Obv. AYT K Λ A – KOMOΔOC; bareheaded draped bust of Commodus Caesar r. – Rev. AΔPIANO-ΠOΛIT; vine twig with bunch of grapes, vine leaf, and tendril (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 37, 1.11.2015, # 394 = **fig. 7d**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 268, # 3259). — Obv. AV K Λ AYP – KOMOΔOC; laureate draped bust of Commodus r. — Rev. AΔPIANO-ΠOΛEITΩN; vine twig with tendrils and a tripartite bunch of grapes (Pecunem (Naumann) 43, 1.5.2016, # 539 = **fig. 7e**; cf. Jurukova 1987, 144, # 165; Varbanov II 2005, 268, # 3260). — Obv. A-V K Λ CЄΠ – [CЄVHPOC]; laureate bust of Septimius Severus r. — Rev. AΔPIANO-[ΠOΛЄITΩN]; vine twig with tripartite bunch of grapes (Hirsch 249, 7.2.2007, # 2007 = **fig. 7f**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 277, # 2354). — Obv. AVT K M AVP CEV – ANTΩNEINON; laureate draped bust of Caracalla r. – Rev. AΔPIANO-ΠOΛEITΩN; vine twig with bunch of grapes (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 243, 27.10.2010, # 231 = **fig. 7g**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 287, # 3474-3478).



Fig. 9. Pautalia, obv. Commodus, rev. Dionysos in a chariot, 29 mm: Gorny & Mosch 165, 17.03.2008, 1514

(**fig. 7h-i**)[17]. In the times of Geta Caesar (AD 198-209) the Pautalia mint produced a great variety of coin types depicting grapes or alluding to vintage: a vine twig with a bunch of grapes, harvesting baskets filled with grapes and other fruits, and a horn of plenty overflowing with grapes (**fig. 8a-c**)[18]. Evoking the grape harvest by such coins Pautalia emphasised that the autumnal vintage was a special event in the city's annual cycle.

Most of the coins that depict bunches of grapes are of smaller denominations. Usually such loose cash does not thematise completely new issues, but falls back on details of larger-sized coins, very often by showing the attributes of a deity that occurs on the larger pieces. One may wonder whether this holds also true for the depiction of grapes. In the end of the paper we will return to this question.

Having become aware of of the considerable number of coin images showing grapes, we should not be astonished about the praise of Thracian wines in the writings of many Greek and Roman authors[19].

The Triumphator from India

In strict opposition to modern mentality, the people of the Thracian cities, like those of other wine-growing regions, explained the quality of their wines not with environmental factors like soil and climate, with the varieties of their vines or with the applied cellar technology, but with divine interference, or to say it more precisely, with the epiphany of Dionysos in their cities. The Thracians were convinced that they owe Dionysos their excellent wines. For Thrace we do not have such elaborated mythical traditions about the introduction of both viticulture and viniculture as we do with the Ikarios myth for Attica[20]. However, the tale of the Thracian King Lykourgos tells us the myth of an unsuccessful attempt to hinder Dionysos from bringing viticulture to Thrace. Thereby it does not matter whether Dionysos had come triumphant from India or had been born in Thracian Nysa. The message is always the same: a mortal is not able to oppose the will of a god successfully, and so viticulture has been introduced into Thrace. Thus the Lykourgos-myth forms the literary background for coins showing the victorious Dionysos who has brought viticulture to Thrace.

Coin images rendering the sceneries of Indian leopards (or their melanistic species, the panther) drawing Dionysos' triumphal chariot or serving as a mount for the god, are a conspicuous indication that Thracian cities had assimilated the myth of Dionysos' coming from India to Thrace[21]. As a matter of course, pictures of Dionysos having subdued wild and dangerous animals and made them subservient to him may have also propagated the idea that Dionysos is the master over nature[22]. Thus, such coins were well suited to underline the god's omnipotence. Originally, Indian tigers had drawn Dionysos' chariot[23], but in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean region tigers were very often replaced by leopards, since leopards can also represent India and were better known in the areas westwards from India[24]. It may be that in Antiquity leopards even lived in the forests and woody mountains of Thrace; in Thrace's neighbouring country Turkey leopards could be observed until very recently[25].

The depiction of a scenery, which shows Dionysos riding in a chariot, is quite difficult to produce, in particular when it comes to

[17] Obv. AV KAI Λ AV-P KOMOΔOC; laureate bust of Commodus r. — Rev. ΦIΛIΠΠOΠOΛЄITΩN; vine twig with two tendrills and tripartite bunch of grapes (Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 36, 30.5.2012, # 572 = **fig. 7h**; cf. Varbanov III 2007, 123, # 998 f.). — Obv. AV K Λ C – CЄVHPOC; laureate bust of Septimius Severus r. – Rev. ΦIΛIΠΠOΠOΛЄITΩN; vine twig with bunch of grapes (Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 15, 21.10.2004, # 185 = **fig. 7i**; cf. Varbanov III 2007, 147, # 1261 f.). — Obv. M AV KAI ANTΩNЄINOC; bareheaded draped bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. ΦIΛIΠΠOΠOΛЄITΩN; vine twig with bunch of grapes (Varbanov III 2007, 177, # 1538).

[18] Obv. Π CЄΠTI – ΓЄTAC K; bareheaded draped bust of Geta r. — ΠAVTAΛIΩTΩN; vine twig with bunch of grapes, a wine-leaf, and a trendril (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 39, 3.1.2016, # 493 = **fig. 8a**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 449, # 5350 f.). — Π CЄΠ – ΓЄTA KAI; bareheaded draped bust of Geta r. — Rev. ΠAVTAΛЄΩTΩN; big basket filled with grapes (Lanz 97, 22.05.2000, # 789 = **fig. 8b**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 449, # 5347 f.). — Obv. Π CЄΠT – ΓЄTA KAI; bareheaded draped bust of Geta r. — Rev. OVΛΠIAC ΠA-VTAΛIAC; in the middle of two *cornucopiae* filled with grapes wine-jug (Lanz 114, 26.05.2003, # 522 = **fig. 8c**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 453, # 5426).

[19] The most famous wine from Thrace came from Ismaros near Maroneia, cf. Plin. *NH* 14.53 who refers to Hom. *Il.* 9.71 f.; *Od.* 9.196-201; for the founding of the city by its eponym Maron, a grandson of Dionysos, cf. Möller 1996, 318. Famous was also the wine from Biblinos, cf. Ath. 1.31 and Olck 1897, 404 f. Cf. Kazarov 1954, 541; Wiesner 1963, 31 f. who discusses the Thracian customs related to drinking, and some Thracians' attempts to reduce the alcoholism of their countrymen.

[20] For the myth of Ikarios depicted on a mosaic of Nea Paphos / Cyprus cf. Kondoleon 1994, 174-190.

[21] For Dionysos and the panther cf. Horn 1972, 109-112.

[22] Foucher 1981, 687; the subjugation of all kinds of feline predators is emphasised by a mosaic in the house of Virgil at Sousse, on which four tigers are drawing Dionysos' chariot, a panther is lapping up wine just like a domestic cat drinks milk, and an Eros is riding on a lion, cf. Boardman 2014, 37.

[23] For the many depictions of tigers on African mosaics cf. Dunbabin 1971.

[24] Bernhart 1949, 16, discussing the functions of the leopard in the myths about Dionysos, does not mention this function of the leopard.

[25] Cf. Robert 1963, 172, discussing the name Παρδαλᾶς and the distribution range of leopards in Antiquity; Robert 1980, 281 on leopards in Asia Minor; cf. Nollé 2009, 48 f.



Fig. 10. a Hadrianopolis, obv. Gordianus III, rev. Dionysos reclining on a panther, 27 mm: Gorny & Mosch 122, 10.3.2003, 1724; **b** Bizye, obv. Philippus I, rev. Dionysos reclining, 32 mm: Savoca 7, 28.02.2016, 391; **c** Serdica, rev. Dionysos riding, 30 mm: Classical Numismatic Group Triton XVI, 8.1.2013, 689; **d** Philippopolis, obv. Antoninus Pius, rev. Dionysos riding, 37 mm: Gorny & Mosch 181, 12.10.2009, 1691

carving such a complex picture into a small object like a coining die. Accordingly, this image is very rarely found on coins, and this applies, above all, to the coins minted by Thracian cities. For the moment I can present only one specimen coined by the city of Pautalia (**fig. 9**)[26]. In this case the die cutter failed in reproducing the leopards' natural appearance correctly: the animals drawing the carriage have ears like asses, but on the other hand the rosettes on their coat and the paws leave no doubt that leopards are meant[27].

Therefore it is not surprising that we quite often come across more simply designed coin images, which show Dionysos riding on a leopard[28]. For example, coins minted by Hadrianopolis (**fig. 10a**), Bizye (**fig. 10b**), Serdica (**fig. 10c**) and Philippopolis (**fig. 10d**) render such a scenery. On the coins of the two first-mentioned cities Dionysos is lying visibly relaxed on the back of the feline predator[29], whereas on the samples of Serdica and Philippopolis he is riding the panther like a horseman; on the image of the Serdica coin he also pours out some wine to feed his mount[30].

The last-mentioned scene, Dionysos feeding a leopard, is very often depicted on Thracian coins. Samples from Pautalia (**fig. 11a**) and Serdica (**fig. 11b**) may suffice[31]. More interesting is a coin of Hadrianopolis showing Dionysos pouring out wine from a *kantharos*;

[26] Ruzicka 1933, 78, # 192 mentions two other Thracian coins of this type. He thought that a Perinthian coin minted during the reign of Gordian III shows Dionysos and Artemis riding in a chariot drawn by two horses, but in reality the rape of Persephone by Hades is depicted (cf. Varbanov III 2007, 70, # 523 who identifies the two persons as Dionysos and a female figure). A coin of Philippopolis listed in Мушмов 1912, 296, # 5203 (no photograph) is not registered in Varbanov III 2007, 114-131 (Commodus).

[27] Obv. AYT KAI MAP – AYP KOMOΔOC; laureate bust of Commodus r. — Rev. HΓE KAI MATEPNOY – OYΛΠΙΑΣ | ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ (in exergue); Dionysos standing in a chariot drawn l. by two female leopards with teats; the god holds a *thyrsos* in his left hand and steers the chariot with his right hand; on the back of the facing leopard a maenad with a shouldered *thyrsos* is sitting aside and looking back to Dionysos (Gorny & Mosch 165, 17.03.2008, # 1514 = **fig. 9**; cf. Ruzicka 1933, 78, # 192 with pl. IV 9; Varbanov II 2005, 390, # 4536).

[28] Cf. Bernhart 1949, 29 for this motive.

[29] Hadrianopolis: Obv. AVT K M ANT ΓO-PΔIANOC AV; laureate draped bust of Gordianus III r. — Rev. AΔP-IA-NO-ΠOΛEITΩN (last part in exergue); Dionysos with a *thyrsos* in his r. hand reclining l. on the back of a leopard walking r. (Classical Numismatic Group (mail bid sale) 60, 22.5.2002, # 1210 = Gorny & Mosch 122, 10.3.2003, # 1724 = **fig. 10a**; cf. Jurukova 199, # 482 with pl. XLVI 482; Varbanov II 2005, 328, # 4002 f.). — Bizye: Obv. AVT M IOVΛ ΦIΛIΠΠOC AV; radiate draped bust of Philippus I r. — Rev. BIZV-HNΩ-N (last letter in exergue); Dionysos with a *thyrsos* in his l. arm reclining l. on the back of a leopard walking r. (Savoca 7, 28.02.2016, # 391 = **fig. 10b**; cf. Jurukova 1981, 84, # 82 and pl. 13, 82).

[30] Serdica: Obv. AVT K Π CЄ-ΠTI ΓЄTAC; laureate bust of Geta r. — Rev. OVΛΠΙΑC - CЄPΔIK-H-C; Dionysos with *kantharos* in his outstretched r. hand and *thyrsos* in his l. arm is riding on leopard walking l. (Classical Numismatic Group Triton XVI, 8.1.2013, # 689 = **fig. 10c**; Varbanov III 2007, 271, # 2560 f.). — Philippopolis: AVT AI AΔPIA – ANTΩNEINOC; laureate bust of Antoninus Pius r. — Rev. HΓE ΓAPΓIAI ANTIKOV ΦIΛIΠΠOΠO-ΛITΩN; Dionysos with *thyrsos* in his r. hand riding sidewards on leopard walking r. (Gorny & Mosch 181, 12.10.2009, 1691 = **fig. 10d**) .

[31] Pautalia: Obv. AVT M AVPHΛIOC – ANTΩNINOC; laureate draped bust of



a **b**

c

Fig. 11. a Pautalia, obv. Caracalla, rev. young Dionysos standing, 29 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 213, 1.07.2009, 278; **b** Serdica, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos standing, 28 mm: Rauch 15.09.2008, 749; **c** Hadrianopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos and Pan, 27 mm: Gorny & Mosch 215, 13.10.2013, 950



a **b**

Fig. 12. a Pautalia, obv. Caracalla, rev. dance invitation, 30 mm: Helios 3, 29.4.2009, 176; **b** Pautalia, obv. Caracalla, rev. dance invitation, 29 mm: Gorny & Mosch 236, 7.3.2016, 327



Fig. 13. Bizye, obv. Dionysos Ktistes, rev. river god, 23 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (mail bid sale) 66, 19.05.2004, 1010

he is flanked by both a dancing satyr or Pan on his right side and a leopard on his left. The satyr holds a bunch of grapes and a *lagobolon* in his hands (**fig. 11c**). There is a certain probability that the scenery alludes to a wine festival on the occasion of the autumnal vintage, which was characterized by excessive drinking and boisterous dancing performed by people who were disguised as satyrs and maenads[32]. A coin of Pautalia showing an invitation to dance should be also mentioned in this context[33]. The scenery goes back to a Hellenistic sculptural group, but as Hans-Christoph von Mosch has demonstrated in a very profound study, these coin images reflect experienceable reality of city life during the Roman Empire (**fig. 12a-b**; von Mosch 2007, 117).

young Caracalla r. — Rv. ΗΓΕ ΚΑΙΚΙΝΑ ΛΑΡ-ΓΟΥ ΟΥΛΠΙΑC – ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙ|ΑC (last word in exergue); Dionysos standing l., holding *thyrsos* decorated with a large ribbon in his l. hand, and pouring wine out a jug for a leopard at his feet (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 213, 1.7.2009, 278 = **fig. 11a**; cf. Ruzicka 1933, 134, # 500; Varbanov II 2005, 429, # 5060). — Serdica: Obv. AVT K M AVPH – ANTΩNINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. OVΛΠΙΑC – CЄPΔIKHC; as before (Rauch 15.09.2008, # 749 = **fig. 11b**; Varbanov III 2007, 248, # 2270-2274).

[32] Obv. AY K M AY – ANTΩNЄINOC, laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. AΔPIANOΠO-ΛITΩN, Dionysos standing in front, head turned l., holding *thyrsos* in his raised right hand, pouring out wine from a *kantharos*, at his feet l. a dancing *silenus* or Pan, r. a leopard (Gorny & Mosch 215, 13.10.2013, # 950 = **fig. 11c**; cf. Jurukova 1987, 176, # 353 with pl. XXXIII; Varbanov II 2005, 288, # 3493 f.).

[33] Obv. AV K M AVP – ANTΩNINOC; laureate draped bust of Caracalla (sole reign) r. — Obv. OVΛΠΙΑC Π-AVTAΛIAC; male figure (likely a satyr) turned r. asks a female figure (likely

They should not be primarily viewed as a reference to a well known statue type which could be admired in the city that minted such coins, but as an allusion to quasi-religious dancing activities performed during celebrations in honour of Dionysos.

There is one city in Thrace which even associates its founding with Dionysos' arrival[34]. A pseudo-autonomous coin of Bizye shows Dionysos sitting in a pergola. He holds a vine twig with bunches of grapes in his right hand, perhaps a drinking vessel in his left one. The legend around the coin image tells us unambiguously that this piece of money is dedicated to Dionysos the founder (**fig. 13**). The coin gives special importance to the fact that Dionysos simultaneously with this constitutive act had endowed Bizye with grapevines. In this case the coming into existence of a city and the introduction of winegrowing melt together. No other mythic tale could be better suited to emphasise the close connection between Thracian cities and viticulture[35].

Brought up in Thrace

Not alternatively, but additionally, the Thracian cities used still another kind of myth for linking their quality wines with Dionysos. The story goes that Dionysos donated excellent vines to this country after he was born under severely adverse conditions and brought by Hermes to a hiding place in Thrace in order to be nurtured and educated there by nymphs and *sileni*, as well as protected by armed men called Korybantes or Kuretes[36]. In the Greek and Roman World a considerable number of cities claimed that the wine god was brought up in their territories. Already the so-called *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* and in Late Hellenistic times the historian Diodorus described this phenomenon and gave a few examples for cities which asserted that Dionysos was reared in their city territory: ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως, καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογούμενα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς δεικνύουσι γεγενημένα, καὶ πολλὰ τεκμήρια τούτων μέχρι τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς βίου διαμένειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φασί: *'but rival claims are raised by not a few Greek cities to having been the place of his birth. ... But, speaking generally, since the god has left behind him in many places over the inhabited world evidences of his personal favour and presence, it is not surprising that in each case the people should think that Dionysus had had a peculiar relationship to both their city and country*' (Diod. 3.66; translated by C. H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library 1935). Amongst them were also some Thracian cities.

The idea that Hermes took the baby Dionysos to Thrace, where he handed it over to the Nyseian nymphs, is already a tradition known to Homer. Homer tells us that the Thracian king Lykourgos persecuted Dionysos' foster mothers on Mount Nysseios[37]. Already the ancient scholars who annotated Homer's writings, were convinced that this Mount Nys(s)a was situated somewhere in Thrace[38]. Paul Perdrizet has identified this Nysa with the Pangaion mountains or at least located Thracian Nysa within this region (Perdrizet 1910, 50; Kazarow 1936, 489; Wiesner 1963, 105). However, it was just this lack of clarity about the exact localisition of the place where Dionysos was brought up that Thracian cities used to adopt this myth for their purposes.

Homer was a splendid starting point for them to localise Dionysos' upbringing in Thrace. Being called ὁ ποιητής, that means *the poet*, he

a maenad) sitting on a rock, to dance (Helios 3, 29.4.2009, # 176 = **fig. 12a**; cf. Varbanov). — Obv. AVT K M AVPH – ANTΩNEINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. OVΛ-ΠΙΑC ΠΑVΤΑ-ΛΙΑC (last part in exergue); the same scenery as before, but male figure turned l., his head turned l., and the female figure in a wider dress (Gorny & Mosch 236, 7.3.2016, # 327 = **fig. 12b**; cf. Ruzicka 1933, 110, # 362 with pl. VI 18 [Septimius Severus]; Varbanov II 2005, 438, # 5189-5191).

[34] For a list of cities founded by Dionysos, cf. Leschhorn 1984, 365 f.

[35] Obv.: ΔIONYC-Ω KTICTH; Dionysos sitting on a *diphros* r. in a vine arbour with bunches of grapes, holding a vine with bunches of grapes in his right hand, in his left one unidentifiable object (drinking vessel ?). – Rev. BIZYHN-ΩN; river-god reclining r., behind him reed, holding in his left hand a reed, leaning with his right forearm on amphora; in front of him female figure holding unidentifiable objects in her outstretched right and left hand (Classical Numismatic Group (mail bid sale) 66, 19.5.2004, # 1010 = **fig. 13**; Jurukova 1981, 78, # 165).

[36] Kazarow 1936, 488 f. associates the origin of this tale with Phrygia rsp. with Asia Minor and Crete. Originally the Korybantes / Kuretes protected the Zeus baby, but later they became also guards of the child Dionysos. Cf. Linder 1998; Cruccas 2014.

[37] Hom. *Il.* 6.130-133: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος | δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν· | ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας | σεῦε κατ᾽ ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον· '*since even the son of Dryas, Lykourgos the powerful, did not | live long; he who tried to fight with the gods of the bright sky, | who once drove the fosterers of rapturous Dionysos | headlong down the sacred Nyseian hill*' (The Iliad of Homer, translated with an introduction by R. Lattimore, Chicago / London 1951, 156 f.).

[38] Steph. Byz., s.v. Nysa: Νῦσαι πόλεις πολλαί. ... δευτέρα ἐν Θρᾴκῃ. ...; '*There are many cities called Nysa. ... A second one is in Thracia...*' Eustathios, Comm. in *Il.* Z (II 260 van der Valk): Νυσήιον δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄρος τι Θρᾴκης, ὃ καὶ Νύσσα λέγεται, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὁ Διόνυσος ὠνομάσθαι δοκεῖ, περὶ ἣν ὁ δηλωθεὶς Λυκοῦργος ἔσευε τὰς Βάκχας. *'In this case the Nysseion is a mountain in Thrace, which is also called Nyssa. It seems that Dionysos was named after it. In this area the already mentioned Lykourgos chased Dionysus's female followers (the Bakchai)*'.



Fig. 14. Philippopolis, obv. Septimius Severus, rev. Hermes holding newborn Dionysos, 19 mm: Gorny & Mosch 118, 15.10.2002, 1667



Fig. 15. Ophrynion, obv. Hector, rev. the infant Dionysos with a bunch of grapes, 11 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 199, 19.11.2008, 171



Fig. 16. Philippopolis, obv. Iulia Domna, rev. female figure holding infant Dionysos, 26 mm: Gorny & Mosch 160, 9.10.2007, 1838



Fig. 17. Hadrianopolis, obv. Commodus, rev. *Silenus*, holding infant Dionysos, 15 mm: Lanz 102, 28.5.2001, 658



a **b** **c**

Fig. 18. a Serdica, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos sitting in *liknon*, 19 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 12, 2.2.2014, 340; **b** Pautalia, obv. Marcus Aurelius Caesar, rev. Dionysos sitting in a *liknon*, 19 mm: Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 6, 4.8.2013, 266; **c** Pautalia, obv. Marcus Aurelius Caesar, rev. Dionysos sitting in a *liknon*, 20 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 146, 23.8.2006, 120



a **b**

Fig. 19. a Mesambria, obv. Caracalla, rev. Kuretes, 28 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 131, 18.1.2006, 137; **b** Mesembria, obv. Gordian and Tranquillina, rev. Korybantes, 27 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (mail bid sale) 63, 21.5.2003, 994

was the ancient world's most reliable witness. That is why we should not be surprised that several Hellenised Thracian cities made use of this mythic tale and transferred Dionysos' childhood to mountains in their own territory. In this way they transformed a widely spread tradition into local lore.

Numerous cities minted coins that show Dionysos as a child in different situations and various pictorial representations. All of them mirror the claims of these cities that they were the place where the motherless Dionysos was reared.

In Thrace we come across at least four ways to transpose the epiphany of the newborn Dionysos into pictures. Philippopolis, which was particularly interested to stylize itself as such a place, minted a



Fig. 20. a Pautalia, obv. Commodus, rev. Dionysos standing and holding a bunch of grapes, 18 mm: Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 344, 11.02.2015, 269; **b** Philippopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos standing and holding a bunch of grapes, 31 mm: Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 36, 30.5.2012, 576; **c** Hadrianopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos standing and holding a bunch of grapes, 18 mm: Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 15, 21.10.2004, 122; **d** Traianopolis, obv. Caracalla, rev. Dionysos standing and holding a bunch of grapes, 30 mm: Gorny & Mosch 170, 13.10.2008, 1724

coin which shows Hermes with the infant Dionysos on the way to Philippopolis (**fig. 14**). He is resting on a tree trunk and holds the infant Dionysos in his left arm. In his raised right hand he holds an object with a stem, but in this part of the coin the surface is rubbed of so that we only can conjecture that it is the stem of a vine, from which bunches of grapes are hanging down. This could very well explain, why the child is streching out its arms towards this object[39]. The persons responsible for the choice of this image had fallen back on a statue created by the famous Greek sculptor Praxiteles. Pausanias saw it in Olympia in the temple of Hera (Paus. 5.17.3; cf. esp. Corso 1996, 132; Sinn 2004, 217; Geominy 2004, 305 f.). By a lucky coincidence, this Greek original is preserved up to our time and can now be visited in the Museum of Olympia. Coins of Pautalia and Anchialos mirror the same statue type (cf. Bernhart 1949, 24 and in his catalogue 116, ## 877 and 880).

The citizens of Philippoplis were not satisfied with showing Hermes on the way to Philippopolis. They minted another coin with the portrait of Septimius Severus' wife Iulia Domna on its obverse. This coin shows the continuation of the before mentioned story on its reverse. There we can see the baby Dionysos sitting on the left arm of a woman, who holds a a *thyrsos* with her raised right hand. To the right of her, beneath the child, there is an animal that, like the woman, was misinterpreted by the numismatists. Scholars who know the myth of Dionysos and its pictorial representations quite well, will have no problem to identify the scenery correctly. There are similar images on coins minted by cities in Asia Minor. The woman is the wet nurse of Dionysos, who has different names at different places (**fig. 16**)[40]. The animal at her feet is a goat which, like goat Amaltheia in the case of Zeus, provided the divine child with milk[41]. The myth tells us that not only a foster mother, whatever her name be, looked after the child, but also *sileni* and satyrs. A coin of Hadrianopolis, modern Edirne, that also claims to be a birth-

[39] AV K Λ – [C]EVHPOC; laureate bust of Septimius Severus r. – Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠ-ΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ; naked Hermes r., resting with his left forearm on low column, holding infant Dionysos, in his raised right hand unidentifiable object (Gorny & Mosch 118, 15.10.2002, # 1667 = **fig. 14**). The baby Dionysos reaching for a bunch of grapes (or having just grasped it) is a special pictorial motif. We find it in the case of statues (cf. Corso 1996, 132, discussing the Praxitelian group of Hermes with the child Dionysos), on coins (e.g. a coin of Ophrynion, e.g. Obv. Helmeted head of Hector in frontal view. – Rev. ΟΦΡΥ; infant Dionysos kneeling r., leaning with its left hand on the flour, has grasped a bunch of grapes [Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 199, 19.11.2008, # 171 = **fig. 15**; cf. Altınoluk 2007]), later we can find it again in Early Modern Times paintings on which Jesus is grasping at grapes, e.g. a painting of Jan Sanders van Hemessen (ca. 1500-1566), Holy Family and a bunch of grapes (Grewenig 1996, 214).

[40] For the various names of Dionysos' wet nurse cf. Gruppe 1906, 1435, Anm. 1; Kroll 1937; Bernhart 1949, 11.

[41] Obv. IOVΛIA · ΔOMNA CЄB; draped bust of Iulia Domna r. — Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙ-ΟΠΟΛЄΙΤΩΝ; female figure standing l., holding with her raised right hand long staff and on her left arm the baby Dionysos; to the right of her a goat, perhaps Amaltheia (Gorny & Mosch 160, 9.10.2007, # 1838 = **fig. 16**; cf. Varbanov III 2007, 155 f. # 1386, where the female figure is called Artemis). For the baby Dionysos' whole entourage, cf. a mosaic from Nea Paphos in Daszewski 1985, Pl. 18.



Fig. 21. Rice winnowing, Uttarakhand, India. Photo: Wikimedia commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ARice_winnow-ing%2C_Uttarakhand%2C_India.jpg

place of the wine god, shows a satyr with the baby Dionysos sitting on his left shoulder. In his right hand he holds a *lagobolon* / *pedum* and a hare slain with this kind of boomerang (**fig. 17**)[42].

A third type for the announcement of Dionysos' birth is the depiction of the wine god as a child sitting in a *liknon*; coins of Serdica and Pautalia show such a scenery (**fig. 18a-c**)[43]. In the Greek and Roman civilisation the *liknon* was not exclusively used for separating the grain from the chaff, but also as a kind of cradle, especially beyond the threshing season. So it had become a symbol for the fertility of men and nature[44]. The ancient forms and the handling of a *liknon* can be found still in use in not mechanized agriculture (**fig. 21**)[45]. By showing the infant Dionysos sitting in a *liknon* artists and coin designers could highlight Dionysos' function as a vegetation god.

The fourth way to allude to the birth of Dionysos in a city's territory was to depict the Korybantes or Kuretes. These heavily armed men performed a war dance to protect the child. By beating their swords against their shields they hoped that the noise, which they generated, would suffice to drown out the child's crying. Amongst the Thracian cities only Mesembria had chosen this scenery (**fig. 19a-b**)[46] to make its claim visible to be one of Dionysos' birthplaces. In Asia Minor there are several cities which had fallen back on this coin image.

The Bringer of vines and wine

It has been the aim of this paper to give a first overview about Roman imperials which were minted by Thracian cities and which thematise viticulture and viniculture. Hence, this study has concentrated on the various types of pictures used for propagating Thracian wine culture. Thereby it has not been possible to consider the specific iconographic strategies of certain city mints; this may be the subject of fur-

[42] Obv. AV K Λ A – KOMOΔOC; bearheaded draped bust of Commodus Caesar. — Rev. AΔPIANO-ΠOΛЄITΩN; satyr standing in frontal view, holding with his left hand the child Dionysos sitting on his left shoulder, in his right hand *lagobolon* and slain hare (Lanz 102, 28.05.2001, # 658 = fig. 17; cf. Jurukova 1987, 143, # 159; Varbanov II 2005, 270 f. # 3295).

[43] Serdica: Obv. AVT K M AV CEV ANTΩNEINOC; laureate draped bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. CEPΔΩN; Dionysos as a child sitting in *liknon* l., in his outstretched right hand bunch of grapes, in his left arm *thyrsos* (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 12, 2.2.2014, # 340 = **fig. 18a**; cf. Varbanov III 2007, 234, # 2067 f. who took the *liknon* for a prow). — Pautalia: Obv. AVT K M AVP – ANTΩNINOC; barheaded draped bust of Marcus Aurelius Caesar r. – ΠAVTAΛI-[; baby Dionysos sitting in *liknon* r., holding with left hand *thyrsos*, leaning with the right hand on the edge of the *liknon* (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 146, 23.8.2006, # 120 = **fig. 18b**). – Obv. AVT K M AVP – ANTΩNINOC; as before. — Rev. ΠAVTA-ΛIΩTΩN; newborn Dionysos sitting in *liknon* r., both arms outstretched, behind him *thyrsos* with large ribbon (Pecunem (Gitbud & Naumann) 6, 4.8.2013, # 266 = **fig. 18c**). By calling the *liknon* '*Wiege*' Bernhart has not understood the symbolic meaning of this coin image. For the *liknon* cf. Harrison 1904; Nilsson 1953, 178 f.; Nilsson 1957, 21-45: *III. The Liknon*, *IV. Dionysos Liknites*; Horn 1972, 56-62: Die Perlhühner und das Liknon; Krauskopf 2005.

[44] The 45th Orphic Hymn is dedicated to Λικνίτης Διόνυσος.

[45] Cf. rice winnowing in India.

[46] Obv. AVT K M AVP – ANTΩNINOC; laureate draped bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. MECAM-B-P-IANΩN; two dancing Kuretes, holding in their right hands swords and with their left hands shields above their heads (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 131, 18.1.2006, # 137 = **fig. 19a**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 147, # 4159). — Obv. AVT K M ANT ΓORΔIANOC AVΓ CЄB –TRANKYΛΛINH; laureate draped bust of Gordianus l., looking r., and draped bust of Tranquillina with *stephane* r., looking left. — Rev. MECAM-BPIANΩN; as before (Classical Numismatic group (mail bid sale) 63, 21.5.2003, # 994 = **fig. 19b**; cf. Varbanov II 2005, 350, # 4186 f.). Cf. Weiß 1995, 108, Anm. 61: *Eine bislang unbekannte Darstellung von Korybanten aus einer ganz anderen Region sei hier anhangsweise vorgestellt, eine Prägung der thrakischen Stadt Mesambria. Vs. Gordian III. und Tranquillina, Rs. zwei Korybanten, MECAMBPIANΩN. 9.55 g. Auktionskat. Giessener Münzhandlung D. Gorny (München) 67 (1994) 720. Ein zweites Exemplar in süddeutschem Privatbesitz.*

Hier wird wohl erstmals auf den 'thrakischen' Dionysos angespielt, in einer Stadt mit ebenfalls reichem Weinbau.

[47] Pautalia: Obv. AV K M AVP – ANTΩNIN; laureate draped bust of Caracalla r. – Rev. ΠAVTA-ΛIΩTΩN; naked Dionysos standing l., holding in his right hand a bunch of grapes, in his raised left hand *thyrsos* (Classical Numismatic Group (e-auction) 344, 11.2.2015, # 269 = **fig. 20a**). — Philippopolis: AVT K M AVP CЄV – ANTΩNINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. KOINON ΘPAKΩN AΛEΞANΔPIA EN ΦI-ΛIΠΠOΠ (last part in exergue) – ΠV-ΘI|A; as before, but the *thyrsos* with a big ribbon (Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 36, 30.05.2012, # 576 = **fig. 20b**; Varbanov III 2007, 167, # 1453). — Hadrianopolis: Obv. AVT K M AVP CЄV – ANTΩNINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. AΔPIANOΠO-ΛEITΩN; as before (Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH 15, 21.10.2004, # 122 = **fig. 20c**; cf. Jurukova 1984, 184, # 398) — Trajanopolis: Obv. AVT K M AVPH – ANTΩNEINOC; laureate bust of Caracalla r. — Rev. TRAIANO-ΠOΛEITΩN; as before, but leopard l. of Dionysos (Gorny & Mosch 170, 13.10.2008, # 1724 = **fig. 20d**; cf. Varbanov III 2007, 296, # 2807).

[48] Cf. an inscription from Rome, now preserved in Florence (*IGR* IV 468; cf. Merkelbach 1985, who discussed the origin of the inscription and explains the title νέος Διόνυσος; Mastino 1981, 68 had erroneously associated the title with Antoninus Pius): ἀρχιερεὺς · Μάρκου · Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ · τοῦ νέου · Διονύσου, and a reflex of Caracalla's honorific title in an inscription from the city territory of Philippopolis (*IGBulg* III.1 1074): [ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κ]υρίων Αὐτοκρατ[όρων νίκης καὶ | αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς Λουκ. · Σεπτιμ[ίου Σευήρου | Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτ]υχοῦς Σεβ. · τὸ · γ′ · Ἀ[ραβ. Ἀδιαβ. Παρθ. μεγ. | ἀρχιερεῖ μεγ.,] πατρὶ πατρίδος, ἀν[θυπάτῳ καὶ Μ. | Αὐρηλίου Ἀντ]ωνείνου Αὐγο[ύστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ|χοῦς, πατρὸς πατρί]δος, Ἀραβικ[οῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρ|θικοῦ μεγίστο]υ τῆς οἰκο[υμένης δεσπότου καὶ | σωτῆρος, τοῦ νέου Δ]ιονύσο[υ καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνης | Σεβ.) μητρὸς κάστ]ρων κ[αὶ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου]. Mastino 1981, 68 stated – and in this case he seems to be right – that the honorific titles of Caracalla use the free space that came about, when after the end of AD 211 the name of Geta was chiselled out. Although in this inscription Caracalla's νέος Διόνυσος title is only added for spatial reasons, its usage may show that the Thracians were prone to associate Caracalla with Dionysos.

[49] Cass. Dio 78.7: ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Αλέξανδρον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον, μιμεῖσθαι δόξῃ.

ther research work. I have concentrated on emphasising the general importance of this issue and elucidating the mythical conceptions which form the background of these coin images. Their main focus is on the Thracians' belief that their cities were loved by Dionysos and donated with excellent vines in a distant past, when – how local lore as well as widely spread traditions had handed down – Dionysos had come there from India or had been born on the Thracian mount Nyssa. All coin images mentioned above circle around these epiphanies of the wine-god, even those which show only a vine twig with a bunch of grapes. This role of Dionysos is well graspable on city coins which show the wine god holding such a bunch of grapes in his hands[47]. By coin images of this sort Dionysos was hailed as the great benefactor of the Thracian cities. Thus, the bunch of grapes depicted on many Thracian coins, which I have discussed in the beginning of this paper, is not an independent coin image, but rather more a detail of a much larger picture. It is to a greater extent the visualisation of a religious conception than the depiction of scenic beauty or regional wealth.

It is remarkable that many of the coins, which I have presented here, had the head or bust of Caracalla on their obverses. This is certainly due to the fact that coin production reached a peak in the time of the Severans, but it may also have to do with a homage of the empire-wide union of the stage performers to Caracalla: They had proclaimed Septimius Severus' young son *Neos Dionysos*[48]. It may be that the *Neos Dionysos* acclamation of Caracalla encouraged also the Thracian cities to fall back on the Dionysos theme very intensively. But we should not forget that Cassius Dio associated Caracalla and his Parthian campaign not only with Alexander but also with Dionysos[49]. Dio's statement may go back directly to the emperor's self-stylisation, which may have fueled the city's enthusiasm for Dionysos. Trying to build up a very good and strong relation with the emperor, the cities of Thrace instrumentalised their very important and traditional cults of Dionysos, so that in this time this god's cults got a political significance which they had not had at any time before.

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What Was 'Thracian' in the Cult of Dionysos in Roman Thrace?*

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Abstract: The cult of Dionysos in Thrace is well attested in literary and epigraphic sources through a long period of time, from the first evidences in the 5th century BC to the Roman times. This long-standing tradition is far from being straightforward: whereas Herodotus' statement on the Thracian cult of Dionysos (5.7) seems to suggest that it had specific forms and contents, a good deal of Roman imperial evidence may indicate that a considerable portion of the cult had adopted common Greek features. This paper seeks to investigate whether there were specific fields where the Thracian character of this cult still remained during the Roman age.

Key words: Herodotus, oracle, wine, fire, Herakles, mystic associations.

Dionysos and Thrace: first pieces of evidence

The relationship of Dionysos with Thrace has been largely discussed by historians and researchers. Among the first textual pieces of evidence usually commented, noteworthy is the myth of Lycurgus, already attested in the *Iliad*[1]. According to Homer, Lycurgus chased the nursing mothers of mad Dionysos over the sacred mount of Nysa and terrorized Dionysos himself, who looked for refuge close to Thetis, into the sea. After that, Zeus made Lycurgus blind and he died prematurely because he was hated by all the immortal gods. Although Homer makes no reference to the identity of Lycurgus, we learn from further texts and comments that he was a king of the Thracian Edonians.

The 'Thracian version' of the myth is attested for the first time in Sophocles' *Antigone*[2], but it might be already known to Aeschylus, who wrote a lost tetralogy about this episode entitled *Lykourgeia*. Jeanmarie (Jeanmarie 1970, 64-65; also West 1990, 49-50) suggested that the location of Lycurgus in Thrace could be due to Aeschylus himself, as a result of the intensification of contacts with the Thracian world and the development of Athenian interests in the region of the low Strymon and Pangaion after the Persian Wars. According to the French historian, Aeschylus' participation in Cimon's expeditions against the Edonians (476/475) could have provided him with direct or indirect knowledge of some local cults whose ceremonies were similar to those devoted to Dionysos. This fact, together with the gradual spread of the cult of Dionysos in Thrace, may have favoured the invention of the tragic plot. Indeed, in the reconstruction of the Aeschylian tetralogy, both West and more recently Nikolaidou-Arabatzi argued that the ascendancy of the cult of Dionysos in Thrace was fully attained in the third tragedy (Νεανίσκοι, *Young men*), after the god managed to destroy all of his enemies and establish an

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[1] Hom. *Il.* 6.128-140. Faraone (2013) recently argued that this myth seems to provide a double model for the initiation into Bacchic mysteries: one for young males, who followed Dionysos' role, and another one for women, acting like the nurses of the god. Two Orphic tablets from Thessaly (Pelinna) show very similar rituals. According to Faraone, this may point to a rather local North Aegean (Thessalian and Thracian) lore and cult.

[2] Soph. *Ant*. 955-965. On this passage and its relationship with the inspired mantic of Dionysos, see Chirassi Colombo 1991, 210-211.

oracle, with Lycurgus as his prophet (West 1990, 46-47; Νικολαΐδου-Αραμπατζή 2010, *non uidi, cf. ap.* Marinis 2011, 338).

Although the presence of a *theomachos* and his punishment is a story pattern rather usual in Dionysos myth (Gödde 2011, 101-103), the eventual connection of the myth with actual cultic practices and beliefs in Thrace is more difficult to elucidate. Nowadays there is no doubt that Dionysos was an old Greek god who was already worshiped by the Mycenaeans, as confirmed by the LB data (Bernabé 2013, 25, 27). Therefore it seems quite unlikely that its veneration had been imported from Thrace into Greece, as previously argued by many scholars, but rather the opposite. At any rate, once established there, the cult acquired such a vigour and unique characteristics which already captured the interest of ancient authors.

Herodotus and the cult of Dionysos among the Thracians

In a widely known passage, Herodotus (Hdt. 5.7) states that the Thracians only worship three gods: Ares, Artemis and Dionysos. Hermes also received a cult, but it was restricted to the kings, who claimed to be his descendants. The text draws a clear distinction between Hermes, who is venerated as an ancestor among the royalty members, and the divine triad formed by the god of war, Ares, the goddess of hunting, Artemis, and the god of wine, Dionysos, whose cults, in contrast, should be regarded as more popular. A comprehensive analysis of all the available evidence shows that Herodotus is not right, because in Thrace exist many other cults than those mentioned by the historian in this passage[3]. Moreover, none of these four gods has a Thracian name: they are Greek gods, and, as Rabadjiev (2015, 444) points, it is difficult to accept a Hellenization of the Thracian cultic practices at such an early date as the 5th century BC. Therefore, it is more acceptable to think that Herodotus simply translates local divinities into the better-known Greek gods, a very common procedure in his narrative called *interpretatio Graeca*. However, Herodotus gives no useful information on the elements on which he based the association between Greek and Thracian divinities, nor does he explain why these gods had a greater significance. Actually, the only reference to cultic practices regarding the worship of Dionysos among the Thracians which we can find in his work attaches an oracular function to the god that does not correspond at all to the most traditional powers of the Greek Dionysos[4].

Thus, Herodotus (Hdt. 7.111; Jeanmarie 1978, 431) states that the Thracian people of the Satrae have an oracle of Dionysos in a very high mountain, and that the Bessi, a tribe or a clan of the Satrae, are interpreters of the god, while a priestess utters the oracle, just as in the Delphic oracle. This passage deserves particular attention, because different aspects are worth stressing: Herodotus identifies Dionysos as a prophetic god; he places his sanctuary in an indeterminate and remote space in Thrace; he links it to a Thracian people and a subgroup thereof, and finally he equates the oracular procedure with the one held in Delphi, where a priestess is in charge of giving the prophecy. Indeed, there are many indications that highlight the oracular function of Dionysos as a really outstanding feature of the god among the Thracians, according to the Greek point of view.

[3] For other cults, see the approaches to Thracian religion in Kazarow 1936; Fol / Marazov 1977, 17-36; Archibald 1999; Rabadjiev 2015.

[4] To our knowledge, the only place in which it is said that the Greek Dionysos enjoyed some mantic powers can be found in Amphikleia, in Phocis, according to Pausanias (3.33.11). There the priest of the god utters the oracles under divine inspiration.

Dionysian oracles and particular mantic procedures in Thrace

In a recent study, Iliev[5] has collected all references in Classical literary texts concerning the oracles of Dionysos in Thrace. Among the oldest evidence, dated around the second half of the 5th century BC, are the text of Herodotus, which I have just mentioned, and up to three passages of tragedies by Euripides, an author who most likely contributed to a great extent to shape the popular image of Thrace and the Thracians among Athenians.

In his first tragedy, *Alcestis* (428), Thracian wooden tablets with the written words of Orpheus are mentioned (Eur. *Alc.* 968-970). The scholiast relates these oracular tablets with a sanctuary of Dionysos on Mount Haimos. Some years later, in *Hecuba* (c. 424), the Thracian king Polymestor, who is a perfect model of a betrayer, attributes to the "Thracian prophet Dionysos" the prediction about the metamorphosis of Hecuba into a female dog[6]. Finally, in *Bacchae* (405) it is stated that Dionysos is a prophet because some kind of prophetic power arises during his celebrations. Evidently Euripides' passages cannot be considered historical sources, but along with the text of Herodotus they reveal the knowledge of Thracian practices in which the god Dionysos is endowed with the prophetic gift. Tragedy – and also Greek myth – incorporates this element as a distinguishing feature of the Thracian essence of the god and exploits it for poetic purposes.

In Hellenistic and Roman sources, however, the focus of interest points to another direction. In a passage of the Pseudo-Aristotelian work *On Marvellous Things Heard* ([Arist.] *de mirab. ausc.* 842a), we read about another "big and fine sanctuary of Dionysos" among the Bisaltians at the site of Crastonia. According to the text, a festival and a sacrificial ritual were held in this oracle, where the god gave prophecies on the productivity of the land: if he augured a fruitful year, a big fire flame appeared which was visible to all visitors; if, conversely, he portended a poor harvest, darkness covered everything. It seems, therefore, that this oracle was somehow specialized in consultations related to land fertility. In this regard, the Pseudo-Apollodorus provides a mythical piece of evidence of interest: according to his thorough account of the myth of Lycurgus, the same, driven mad by the god Dionysos, killed his own son in the belief that he was cutting a vine branch. After that, the land remained barren and the god declared through an oracle that it would bear fruit only if Lycurgus were put to death. And this is exactly what the Edonians did. In both texts, the relationship of Dionysos with the fertility of the land is perfectly stated, so that he can be considered a propitiatory divinity of good harvests, as in the Greek world. The Thracian peculiarity lies in the gift of prophecy through fire[7] and, as we will see, through wine.

Indeed, the combination of fire and wine is documented in two other sources in relation to the oracle of Dionysos: Suetonius (Suet. *Aug.* 94.5) recalls that during his campaign in Thrace (60-50 BC), Gaius Octavius, Augustus' father received an oracle about his son in a sacred forest of Dionysos while following "barbarian ceremonies", in which pure wine was poured on an altar, producing a flame more or less high, which was interpreted by the local priests. Some centuries later, Macrobius (Macr. *Sat.* 1.81.1) states that in a sanctuary of

[5] Iliev 2013. In the next pages I will take his collection as a starting point of my reflections.

[6] Eur. *Hec.* 1267. Commenting on this verse the scholiast adds some interesting information about the location of this oracle, which apparently was a matter of discussion already among ancient authors. Two possibilities are considered: mount Haimos (Stara Planina, the Balkan mountains) and the mountain of Pangaion (near the Lower Struma and Mount Symbolon). On this locations, cf. Iliev 2013, 63; Bouzek / Graninger 2015, 14. Boteva (1997, 293-297) argues that the main Thracian oracle of Dionysos was located on the present Mount of St. Athanasius in the Balkan Mountain (ancient Haimos), where still at that day some rituals were accomplished to celebrate the rising of the sun and the arrival of the spring. However, until now there is no conclusive archaeological evidence regarding the location of this oracle, cf. Rabadjiev 2015, 449.

[7] In the Dionysian mysteries, fire was an important element in sacred ceremonies during nocturnal rituals, see Alexandrescu Vianu 2007, 223.

Dionysos among the Ligyreans of Thrace predictions were delivered by prophets after drinking large amounts of pure wine. This statement provides Macrobius with another argument for equating Dionysos with Apollo, since in both oracles liquids (wine and water respectively) are essential elements of mantic procedure[8]. This statement, although very interesting from a theological approach, cannot be empirically verified, because, as Horster (2011, 71, n. 38) puts it, "there is no attestation of a regularly functioning oracle cult or oracular sanctuary of Dionysos outside literary sources."

Epigraphic evidence on the cult of Dionysos

Yet, we have a good number of inscriptions attesting to the existence of priests of Dionysos in different regions of Thrace. In Seuthopolis, an inscription from the first half of the 3rd century BC, engraved on a statue base, recalls the name of Amaistas, son of Medistas, who dedicated the monument at the end of his service as a priest of Dionysos, in accordance with a common practice in the exercise of Greek magistracies (*IGBulg* III.2 1732; cf. Dana 2015, 248). More or less at the same time, Apollonios, son of Demophon, dedicated as priest of Dionysos a statue to the god for thanksgiving on behalf of an association of *Bakchiastai* from Dionysopolis (*IGBulg* I² 20). In another inscription from the same city, dated in the 2nd century BC, we find a list of priests of Dionysos (*IGBulg* I² 22, l. 1-2).

In the town of Drama, in Greek Thrace, a set of inscriptions on marble bases confirms the existence of a local cult of Dionysos from the late 4th century BC until Roman times (*SEG* 48, 791-794). Besides the inscriptions, a bust of the god was also brought to light. According to Skoulariki (2007), "the god is depicted in the age of maturity, dressed in sheepskin and bearing a strip and a wreath of ivy and vine branches on his head. This particular representation of the standing bearded Dionysos, a little shorter than in natural size, alludes to a worship statue of the time of the Antonines (mid-2nd century AD), probably in imitation of a Classical example of the early 5th century BC."

These are only some examples of inscriptions attesting to the cult of Dionysos in Thrace, although none of them provide any useful piece of information about the alleged local peculiarities of this god, with no mention of the oracular functions or the singular prediction procedures previously commented. As Archibald (1999, 428) remarks, it seems that there is "an uncomfortable imbalance" between the Greek literary sources and the "nature of ordinary cult behaviour".

Dionysos, a reliable god?

However, we can draw some hints about the essential differences between the Greek and the Thracian god through two inscriptions in which Dionysos appears as guarantor of public oaths:

At the very beginning (l. 3) of the granite stele from Vetren, dated between 359-352 BC[9], Dionysos is attested as the guarantor of a list of privileges which are granted to Greek merchants and to the inhabitants of Pistiros by an Odrysian ruler – most likely Amadocus (II) (Archibald 1999, 437).

On the other hand, the great Seuthopolis inscription (*IGBulg* III.2 1731; Elvers 1994; *SEG* 42, 661) contains an oath of Berenike, wife of Seuthes III, sworn together with her four sons before the dynast

[8] On this equation, cf. Chirassi Colombo 1991.

[9] *IGBulg* V 5557 ter = *SEG* 43, 486; 47, 1101; 49, 911.

of Kabyle, Spartokos (ca. 300-280 BC). At the end of the inscription, among the usual clauses concerning the act of copying and publishing the agreement, the text mentions up to four copies of the oath and establishes accurately the place where each of them had to be exposed: two copies should be displayed at Seuthopolis, one in the sanctuary for the Great Gods of Samothrake, and one in the agora, in the temple of Dionysos, by the altar; another two had to be set up at Kabyle, one in the temple of (Artemis) Phosphoros, and one in the agora, by the altar of Apollo. Obviously the choice of sacred sites is not fortuitous, since sanctuaries used to act as deposits of treaties and agreements in the Greek world from Archaic times. The reason for this practice was twofold: on the one hand, sanctuaries were frequented areas, thus facilitating the disclosure of the content to a wide audience; on the other hand, the sanctity of the place offered a greater guarantee of compliance with the agreement. To some extent, the local deity acted as a guarantor, a practice that probably goes back to pre-legal Archaic societies.

It has often been said that the mention of Dionysos in these two political texts is a proof of the importance of the god in the Thracian world. I certainly agree with this statement and I will bring one more argument in this regard. In a recent study on *Epigraphica Dionysiaca*, Guettel Cole (2011, 276-278) highlights the scarce or null reputation of Dionysos as a reliable god among the Greeks, particularly when it was a matter of swearing an oath. Taking as a reference the database of oaths in ancient times made by the team of Alan H. Sommerstein from the University of Nottingham[10], she shows that the examples in which Dionysos is invoked as oath witness are very few in front of other divinities considered more 'reliable'. Moreover, almost all the examples belong to fictitious oaths, exclamations or informal swearing in comedies of Aristophanes. Given these data, I think that we can adventure that Dionysos was not only a very important god in the Thracian pantheon, as Herodotus states, but that he was substantially different to the Greek one, insofar as he was considered a divinity with trustworthy powers in treaties and agreements of major political, social and commercial significance.

The cult of Dionysos in Roman Thrace

The oracle of Dionysos and Roman politics

The worship of Dionysos in Thrace does not decrease in Roman times. It even seems that, at least at the very beginning of the Roman conquest, it embodied a kind of symbol of resistance to the Roman power, as shown in the famous episode of Vologaesus. According to Cass. Dio 51.25.5, M. Licinius Crassus invaded the whole Thrace except the territory of the Odrysae, which was set apart for two reasons: firstly, because the Odrysae were devoted to the service of the god Dionysos and, secondly, because they had come to meet him without arms. In addition, he gave them a sanctuary of Dionysos whose control was disputed between the Odrysae and the Bessi. Crassus' interference in Thracian internal conflicts caused the subsequent revolt of the Bessi. Indeed, around 15 BC, Vologaesus, a priest of Dionysos from the tribe of the Bessi, who gained some supporters thanks to his numerous predictions, led a revolt and killed the Thracian king Rhaskouporis, son of Kotys. The reputation of his Dionysian powers was so great that Rhoimetalkes, Rhaskouporis' uncle, ran away without even going into

[10] http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/greatdatabase/brzoaths/public_html/publications.php.

battle with him (Cass. Dio 54.53.5). Some time later, the governor of Pamphylia, Lucius Piso took part in the affair and stopped the uprising of the Bessi[11]. It appears therefore that the alleged supernatural qualities of Vologaesus did not impress the Romans that much.

However, leaving aside the consideration of the superstitious nature of the Thracians, these passages confirm the political significance of the cult of Dionysos and suggest a prominent role of some shrines and priests in local history. It is even possible that the oracle of Dionysos, through the rising of the flame, provided some kind of legitimization of power for the local rulers, which would perhaps explain the aforementioned consultation by Augustus' father (Fol / Marazov 1977, 57-58).

Ancient and new paths in Roman Age

After the Roman conquest, the use of images and written dedications to the gods began in Thrace (Rabadjiev 2015, 450). The spread of this new practice explains the significant increase of inscriptions related to the cult of Dionysos. I will end my paper by commenting on some of them.

In an inscription of Maroneia found in the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace and dating to the reign of Claudius (AD 41/42 or 46), a copy of a decree sealed with a seal depicting the head of Dionysos is mentioned (*SEG* 53, 659, A, l. 37-38). This is not surprising, since Dionysos was the main god of the city (Clinton 2003, 395), whose portrait can be found on some local coins (Hansen / Nielsen 2004, 879-880), but this text adds another proof on the reliability of the god in this area. Indeed, the act of sealing a document contributes to guaranteeing its authenticity and at the same time ensuring that it has not been opened before reaching its final destination. In this case, however, through the *prosopon* of Dionysos the seal also involves a political function, to the extent that it identifies the issuing authority – Maroneia –, and a sacral significance, since it puts the agreement under the guidance of the god[12].

The organization of mystic associations is mostly regarded as the main characteristic feature of the cult of Dionysos in Thrace during Roman times (Jeanmarie 1978, 431-433). In this regard, we can add to the *Bakchiastai* of Dionysopolis, whom I have already referred to, the *mystai* of Dionysos Kallon from Byzantion, attested in six inscriptions dated from the mid-1st century to the first quarter of the 2nd century AD[13]. These were members of a *thiasos* probably linked to a restricted family group, as suggested by the prosopographical study of the honorees (Dana 2011, 83-85). In the same city there was another *thiasos* of Dionysos Parabolos[14]. Of great interest is also the mid-3rd century catalogue of a *thiasos* of Cillae (Cherna Gora), in the region of Philippopolis, which records the names of the members of this Bacchic association together with their offices inside the religious collegium (*IGBulg* III.1 1517)[15]. All these inscriptions show a general diffusion and substantial development of the organization of the cult of Dionysos in Thrace, although it seems that this is not an exclusive feature of this area, but a general trend throughout the Roman Empire (Foucher 1981).

Greater local nuance is visible in the new cultic associations of deities that we find in some Thracian inscriptions from this period. For example, in an inscription from Pautalia, whose date is unfortunately

[11] On this revolt, see Velkov 1981, 475; Lozanov 2015, 78.

[12] The *prosopon* of Dionysos was worshiped in different locations of the Greek world: Naxos (Ath. 3.14), Methymna (Paus. 10.19.3), Corinth (Paus. 2.2.6-7), etc., cf. González Merino 2009, 135-138.

[13] *IK Byzantion* 30 (AD 85-96) = *SEG* 18, 279, l. 6-7; *IK Byzantion* (AD 85-96) = *SEG* 18, 280, l. 5; *IK Byzantion* 32 (ca. AD 50-100) = *SEG* 18, 283, l. 4; *IK Byzantion* 33 (ca. AD 50-100) = *SEG* 18, 282, l. 5; *IK Byzantion* 34 (ca. AD 50-100) = *SEG* 18, 284, l. 7-8; *IK Byzantion* 35 (AD 102-116) = *SEG* 18, 281, l. 3.

[14] *IK Byzantion* 37 (AD 117-137) = *SEG* 28, 562; 50, 665, l. 2.

[15] On the names of the Dionysiac mystery associations' functionaries attested in Bulgarian lands, see Slavova 2002, 141-143.

uncertain, Zeus, Hera, Hermes, Herakles, Dionysos and Aphrodite are worshiped together (*IGBulg* IV 2230). More frequently attested is the association of Zeus and Dionysos, who receive an altar in the region of Bizye during the reign of Caracalla, ca. AD 211-217, and are worshiped together in two other cases[16]. Last but not least, Dionysos and Herakles appear together in two inscriptions with reliefs: one from Philippopolis (*IGBulg* III.1 1055) and the other one from Nicopolis ad Istrum (*IGBulg* II 697).

These new cultic partnerships pose numerous questions about the beliefs and religious practices of these cities in imperial times. Considering Herakles and Dionysos, both were sons of Zeus and, despite their semi-divine origin, they reached the status of gods in the Greek pantheon. The two were considered traveling gods who brought civilization, and both were closely related to wine: Dionysos as god of the wine, and Herakles as a heavy drinker[17]. This relation is also attested in some myths of the legendary past of Greece in which they faced uncivilized peoples like the Amazons[18] and the Centaurs[19]. Together they became the founding gods of Nikaia, in Bithynia (Robert 1977, 8-12; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 150), and the *Dii Patrii* of Leptis Magna and the Severan house (Foucher 1981, 700; Di Segni 1997, 154). While these traditions were mostly developed in Roman times, we cannot rule out that the Thracian cult shared by the two sons of Zeus dated back to an earlier time, especially if we consider that their cult was of great significance in Thasos (Oppermann 2012, 345), as proved by the fact that they were depicted on both sides of local coins already in the beginning of the 4th century BC (Kraay 1976, 150).

Some final remarks

To sum up, there is a gap between the information about the Thracian cult of Dionysos which depends on the written sources which we take into account (literary or epigraphic). The earliest pieces of evidence regarding the Classical period are literary passages (mainly by Herodotus and Euripides) which highlight the oracular function of Dionysos as the main feature of the god among the Thracians. Connected to this function, we read about some oracles and we learn about some practices which are equated with those held in Delphi. In this regard, we can trace a path of assimilation between the Thracian Dionysos and Apollo, which is still alive in some theological reflections on the god in later times, for example in the work of Macrobius.

The literary sources of the Hellenistic period incorporate details in the description of the oracle of Dionysos; in particular, they mention the use of fire and wine in mantic sessions and the prominent role of priests, who may even ingest wine in large quantities in order to deliver the oracle. Unfortunately, no epigraphic source confirms these data, but they underline a substantially distinctive feature of the Thracian Dionysos: this god, unlike his Greek counterpart, is a reliable god; a god to which one can swear and on whose altar treaties and oaths can be safely deposited.

The political importance of the cult of Dionysos can be inferred from the involvement of priests and even of the sanctuaries of Dionysos in inter-tribal conflicts and, subsequently, in the confrontation with the Roman power. From this moment on, inscriptions overcome the literary evidence and provide data of great interest to elucidate not only the

[16] *IGBulg* V 5659, Malko Turnovo, territory of Bizye, AD 211-217 (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Julia Domna) = *SEG* 28, 560 = *AE* 1999, 1368. This association of father and son is attested in two other inscriptions from Malko Turnovo of uncertain dating: *IGBulg* III.2 1864 and 1865.

[17] On drinking competitions between Dionysos and Herakles depicted on vases and mosaics, see Foucher 2000.

[18] According to Pausanias (7.2.4), on two occasions the Amazons requested refuge as suppliants in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos when they fled Herakles and, some time earlier, Dionysos. This episode is represented in a decorative frieze of the "Temple of Hadrian" of the 4th century AD, cf. Linant de Bellefonds 2002, 65-67.

[19] On Mount Pholoe, in Arcadia, see [Apollod.] 2.5.4 and D.S. 4.12.1-8, cf. Noël 1998, 345-346.

spread of the cult, but also its internal organization. In this regard, inscriptions of both priests – always men – and cultic associations – including also women – deserve to be highlighted. In all cases, the mystery character of the cult is clear. Finally, in this period we see how Dionysos is worshiped together with other deities, thus enriching his already large entourage with a new cultic framework of complex relationships.

Nevertheless, beyond the external forms, which seem more characteristic of the new cultural horizon of the Roman Empire, consciousness of a long cultic tradition in which Dionysos had always occupied a prominent place probably survived.

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Thracian Influence in Asia Minor Mystery Cults in the Eastern Parts of the Roman Provinces in the Central Balkans[1]

Nadežda GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS

Abstract: During the period of Roman rule in the Central Balkan Roman provinces, among other oriental cults, like the Syrian cult of Sol Invictus or the Persian cult of Mithras, Asia Minor deities and theologies were considerably favoured. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence confirms the existence of the cults of Magna Mater, Attis, Iuppiter Dolichenus, Sabazius, Iuppiter Turmasgades, Iuppiter Melanus, Mēn, and Artemis of Ephesus. However, in the eastern parts of the Central Balkan Roman provinces, certain religious syncretism is emphasized, which can be connected to the strong Thracian influence in the mentioned territory. This paper examines the ways and the degree to which Thracian culture penetrated the religious beliefs and funerary rites of the population that inhabited the eastern parts of the Central Balkans in Antiquity.

Key words: Asia Minor cults, Central Balkans, mystery religions, funerary rites, snake.

Introduction

In the period of Antiquity, particularly during the 3rd and 4th c. AD, in the territory of the Roman provinces in the Central Balkans many cults of oriental provenance flourished. Among them, beside the cult of Mithras, as most influential prevailed the Metroac and the Iuppiter Dolichenus ones, but also cults like that of Sabazius had their devotees, particularly in the eastern parts of the Central Balkans. The reasons for such popularity of mystery religions are quite understandable – as a form of a more personal religion, depending on a private decision of the participant, quite voluntary and of secretive character, mystery cults offered hope of rebirth after death – to summarize, *blessedness* in eternity (Burkert 1987, 12, 21, 99-101; Turcan 1996, 18-22, 24-26). Through very emotional liturgies, arousing strong feelings in ordinary audiences and aiming at some form of salvation through closeness to the god or goddess in question during the ritual of initiation, mystery religions promised eternal life to their *mystai*. The whole religious experience was further enhanced by myths, nature allegories or metaphysics, on which sacred tales of mysteries were based, but also by colourful festivals full of music and dance, visual effects (the look of mystery priests, nocturnal liturgies, sacrifice rituals etc.) and initiation rituals (Burkert 1987, 89; Alvar 2010, 10, 146-148, 216-221)[2]. Some of the mystery texts were saved in, for example, Greek romances like *The Golden Ass*, Gnostic and Hermetic literature, Egyptian papyri and the writings of early Christian authors; archaeology also provides infor-

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[2] As W. Burkert describes, mystery religions were based on a 'sacred tale' (*hieros logos*), presumably contained in a book (Burkert 1987, 69-70). Ancient writers like Aristophanes and Diodorus of Sicily note that Greeks thought that Orpheus was an inventor and teacher of rituals (*teletai*), particularly those in connection with Dionysus. Of course, in the writings of Pindar, Plato, Empedocles and Parmenides, the essence of the above mentioned sacred tale is present and it is very clearly pointed out by the stoic Chrysippus, who believed that the transmission of *logoi* is of essential importance for the performing of *teletai*: see Burkert 1987, 70; Graf / Johnston 2007, 62, 229.

mation – for example, in the wall paintings of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii or at Dura Europos. Of course, each mystery religion had its own form of organization, whether it was the clergy at a sanctuary, a *thiasos* or a *collegium* – we find out about them through votive or funerary inscriptions, like the votive monument found in the locality of Turres (now Pirot), dated to the 3rd c. and dedicated to *Theos epēkoos Hypsistos*, by his *thiasos*[3].

Materials and methods

As for epigraphic and archaeological testimonies to Asia Minor cults and the possible Thracian influence, alas, in terms of the Metroac cult of Magna Mater and Attis, as well as concerning the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, there are none. The cult of the Asia Minor Great Goddess, the Phrygian and Hellenistic Cybele and the Roman Magna Mater, has been confirmed mainly in the northern, central and southern parts of the Central Balkan Roman provinces, with clearly outlined Roman influence in the northern parts and emphasized Hellenistic impact in the central and southern areas of the mentioned territory[4]. As for the cult of the goddess' consort Attis, apart from a few archaeological finds, it is confirmed mostly by funerary monuments with the image of *Attis tristis* (*Attis funerarius*), concentrated in some areas in the territory of the Central Balkans – in the area of Podrinje and Polimlje, except for several monuments from the locality of Municipium S[---] where the syncretism with the Mithras is expressed in the detail of a torch in the god's hand (Gavrilović 2010, 102, cat. 29, 34, 35, 51, 52), or in the locality of Komini, where syncretism with the Illyrian Silvanus is perceived in the oversized genitalia of Attis' body (Medini 1981, 174, # 135). A similar situation can be observed in regard to the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus – confirmed by 17 epigraphic monuments – whose popularity was at its height in 2nd and 3rd century, when many of the sculptures, statues and objects representing the image of the god and his *paredra* Iuno Dolichena are dated.

However, the situation completely changes in the case of an Asia Minor-Thracian deity – Sabazius[5]. The cult of Sabazius is confirmed by two epigraphic monuments, along which different archaeological monuments represent testimonies to how popular this deity was among the inhabitants of the Central Balkans[6]. This fact can probably be attributed to the strong cultural and spiritual influence and popularity of the cult of Sabazius in neighbouring Thrace. As it is well known, the cult of Sabazius was quite popular in Moesia Inferior and Thrace, and is confirmed through 17 epigraphic monuments and various archaeological objects (marble votive tablets, bronze and ivory Sabazius hands), dating between the second half of the 1st century and the 4th century (Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 180-181). It can hardly remain unperceived, however, that another god enjoyed even greater popularity in the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans – Dionysus. Unlike Sabazius, Dionysus represented undoubtedly a Greek god and the influence of Dionysian beliefs was so strong in the Central Balkans during the period of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, that even today relicts of Dionysian theology can be recognized in the folklore tradition of Eastern Serbia, primarily among Vlach population, in the celebration of agrarian feasts and the cult of the dead[7]. The popularity of these two gods in the eastern and southern parts of the Central

[3] The votive monument from Turres dedicated to *Theos epēkoos Hypsistos* by his *thiasos* provoked very different opinions among scholars, basically because of the word Σεβαζιανός, which some authors, like A. von Domaszewski, M. Rostovtzeff, M. Macrea, Ch. Picard, Sh. E. Johnson and P. R. Trebilco, accepted to be the name of Sabazius and therefore concluded that the monument was dedicated by a Sabazian *thiasos* (and not such of Zeus Hypsistos). Other scholars, however, like D. Detschew, B. Gerov, M. Tacheva-Hitova and I. Levinskaya, thought that the word Σεβαζιανός represented a personal name and not the name of the god and, therefore, the monument is a dedication to Theos Hypsistos by his *thiasos*, see Gavrilović 2010, 243-247.

[4] However, no solid arguments for a deeper knowledge among the Romanized population in the Central Balkans on the subject of Metroac religion and theology, nor the existence of temples, *cognatio*, *collegia dendrophorum* or the practice of *taurobolium* or *criobolium* rituals, have been confirmed so far.

[5] Scholars like T. Eisel, H. Schaefer, F. Cumont, Ch. Picard and M. Macrea were of the opinion that Sabazius represented an ancestral Thracian deity, that is the god of Thraco-Phrygian tribes, while authors like M. Tacheva-Hitova, Sh. E. Johnson and R. Gicheva thought that Sabazius was of Anatolian, that is Phrygian, origin (Gavrilović 2010, 127-129). In E. N. Lane's detailed examination of ancient sources, it can be clearly seen how they differed too on the subject of Sabazius' origin (in the context of the god's relation to another deity of similar functions, Dionysus) – Aristophanes, Lucian, Cicero, Hesychius, Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius thought that he was a Phrygian god, while Diodorus Siculus and Cicero regarded Sabazius as an early form of Dionysus. Strabo thought that he was a Phrygian (in some way son of a Great Goddess) and Mnaseas of Patara wrote that Sabazius was Dionysus' son (Lane 1989, 54-60).

[6] The cult of Sabazius was confirmed by an epigraphic monument from the locality Kuline (his name in Greek also appears on a marble plate found in the Više grobalja necropolis in Viminacium) and several archaeological monuments, see Gavrilović 2010; 2015, 340-342.

[7] K. Rabadjiev writes that some aspects of Dionysus (his association with the solar cult, his popularity among the Thracian elite and his image on royal coins) may suggest assimilation between a similar indigenous Thracian god and Dionysus (Rabadjiev 2015, 446).

Balkan Roman provinces can be attributed to the strong influence of Thracian spiritual and religious beliefs, mainly routed by Thracian inhabitants and soldiers who were stationed in bigger and important centres like Naissus and Timacum Minus, but also in the inland parts of the Central Balkans.

Discussion

Although the influence of Thracian culture is confirmed in epigraphic monuments and archaeological material, more explicit impact on mystery religions that existed in the discussed territory can be noticed in the specific funeral features of a few graves from the Late Roman necropolis at Slog in Timacum Minus, where essential beliefs in rebirth and celestial immortality – common to all mystery cults – have been registered. The necropolis constitutes part of a larger necropolis, located near the fortress and settlement of Timacum Minus in the village Ravna, near Knjaževac[8]. Archaeological excavations which started in 1975 identified Timacum Minus as the administrative centre of the mining region of *Territoria metallorum* in Moesia Superior, later in the provinces of Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea. The earliest fortification was built at the end of the 1st c. and abandoned after the Hunnic invasion in the Morava Basin in the middle of the 5th c. To the north and south of the fortress of Timacum Minus, a civil settlement was formed, with *thermae* from the 2nd c. (to the northeast of the fort), urban villas, workshops, temples and necropolises (Petrović 1995; Petković et al. 1995, 16-17). The large necropolis of Slog was excavated from 1994 to 1996, with rescue excavations continuing in 2013 and 2014. One hundred and forty graves were discovered, of which 75 were dated to the Late Roman period[9]. It is necessary to emphasize here that the period to which the graves were dated represents a period of religious syncretism in people's beliefs, but also in practice – as Gwynn and Bangert (2010, 1-8) observe, an 'ever increasing religious diversity between religions and also within religions', which, as a consequence, presents a perplexity for scholars in their interpretation of archaeological evidence. Bearing this in mind, our thoughts and hypotheses about the funeral rite observed in the case of the Late Roman necropolis of Slog must not be comprehended as final.

As already mentioned, certain graves from the Late Roman necropolis of Slog drew our attention to the possible Thracian influence on funerary rites performed in connection with some mystery religion. In the grave of a four-year-old boy (grave # 53) whose cause of death could not be determined, egg-shells were found, while at his right side a snake skeleton was laid lengthwise, parallel to the child's body (**fig. 1**)[10]. The snake was killed before being deposited in the tomb, so its purpose as an offering to the protector deity of the deceased, is more than clear. As grave goods, egg-shells have been found all over the Roman Empire, both in inhumation graves, and in or around cremation urns, regardless of social status (Alcock 1980, 56-57; Watts 2014, 42). However, it is interesting to note that egg-shells have been mostly found in women's and children's graves[11]. This kind of grave goods, apart from its obvious role as funerary offerings, i.e. food deposited for the deceased, has been interpreted as a symbol of rebirth and regeneration. As Nilsson believes, the egg is a potent principle of life with special vital power to awake or enhance the vital powers of those

[8] As archaeological excavations showed (at the site Kuline), the earliest fortification of Timacum Minus was garrisoned by *cohors I Thracum Syriaca,* then *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum*, until the late 4th c., when *pseudocomitatenses Timacenses auxiliarii* came. The fortification was reconstructed in the middle of the 4th c. and archaeological excavations also confirmed building activities in the first half of the 5th c. (Petković et al. 2005, 13-15).

[9] The 75 graves belonging to the Roman period were dated to the 4th and the first half of the 5th c. (Petković et al. 2005, 18). From 140 excavated graves, 75 graves with remains of 78 individuals belonged to the Roman period and 65 graves to the Middle Ages (the early medieval necropolis was dated from the 9th to the beginning of the 11th c., judging by the grave goods found in the graves). All deceased were buried, and beside the individual graves, 7 graves belong to the so-called 'double graves' (four inhumations of two deceased individuals in the same burial pit and three graves divided in two chambers), (Petković et al. 2005, 134).

[10] The remains of egg-shells were found at the left side of the boy's skull.

[11] Analogies for egg-shells as grave goods are known from various Roman provinces and are numerous. However, our analysis of the graves with egg-shells from neighbouring Roman provinces (for example, the Dalmatian localities Gajine, Plana, Brodski Drenovac, Župa Dubrovačka etc.), show that egg-shells have been found beside the deceased or placed under his or her hand, again in women's and children's graves (Petković et al. 2016, 23).

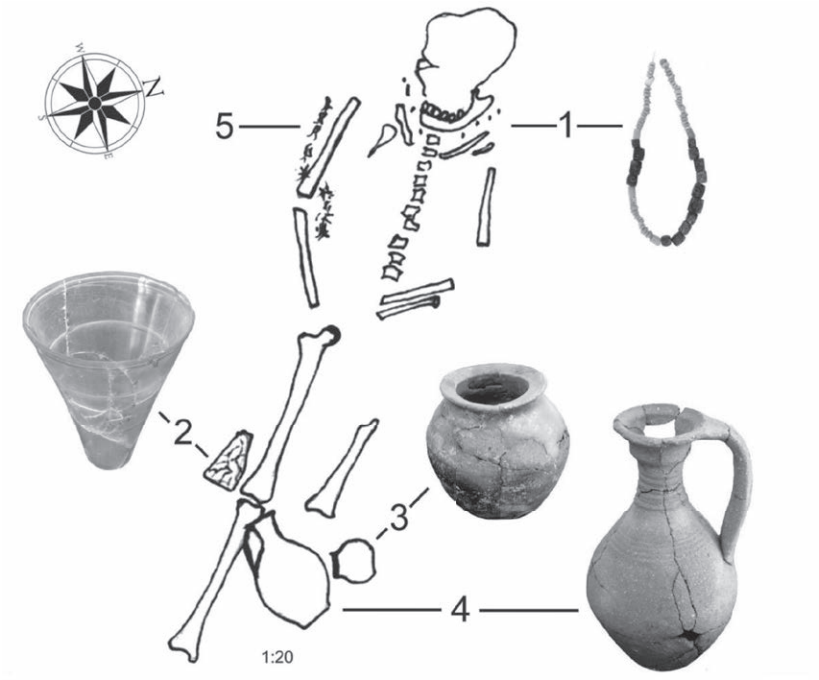


Fig. 1. Grave # 4, Late Roman necropolis at Slog, Timacum Minus (after Petković et al. 2016, 89, Plate 1)



Fig. 2. Grave # 53, Late Roman necropolis at Slog, Timacum Minus (after Petković et al. 2016, 91, Plate III)

to whom it is offered (Nilsson 1907, 530-546), so its eschatological dimension is very clearly underlined[12]. As for placing the egg-shells in the context of pagan religions, it is well known that the egg was one of the attributes of the Dionysian mysteries and, having in mind the Orphic concept by which the world is an egg where the god comes from (therefore, as grave good, the egg represents a symbol of new life, rebirth and immortality), further elaboration is not necessary. But apart from egg-shells in the boy's grave, by his right side the skeleton of a snake was also found, placed in a parallel position with the body of the deceased. It is generally known that the snake accompanies different deities, but it is most frequently the faithful companion of Dionysus, his Asia Minor-Thracian counterpart Sabazius, healer-god Asclepius and goddess Hygieia. The cult of Dionysus has not been epigraphically confirmed in Timacum Minus, although a corpus of monuments related to the god implies that his cult was not only known, but indeed very popular in this part of the Roman Empire (Petković et al. 2016, 39-50). In the theology and iconography of Dionysus, as a hypostasis of the god, the snake has a chthonic, eschatological and apotropaic dimension, and is usually shown beside or behind the deity, or at the bottom of the scene and inside or next to a *cista mistica*. Regarded as a chthonic and fertility symbol, the snake represented the respective functions of Dionysus.

In the context of the possibility of the cult of Dionysus being associated with the funerary rites in the grave from the Slog necropolis, the thought of another deity with similar functions imposes itself – Sabazius. The snake represents a basic zoomorphic image of the god himself, judging by Demosthenes' passage in *De Corona*, the narrative by Theophrastus in *Characters*, and the writings by Clement of Alexandria, Firmicus Maternus and Arnobius (Lane 1989, 52-53,

[12] In eschatological context, the egg symbolizes resurrection and new life, therefore the remains of egg-shells in children's graves bear a very clear message – the hope of their rebirth, since they were taken from this world too young.

59-60). The works of the last three authors mention that in Sabazian mysteries an initiation ritual was performed by putting a golden snake through the garments of the initiated (the golden snake symbolizing Sabazius)[13]. This act meant the union of the believer with the God, because the snake was his embodiment and thus, the performed act represented the initiation of the devotee to the Sabazian mysteries. As in other mystery rituals, the basic idea of an initiation ritual was the symbolic death and rebirth of the devotee – the day of the initiation constituted a new birthday, for the initiated was *natus et renatus*. In almost all so far known archaeological monuments of Sabazius, the snake is present, thus making it an important part of his iconography[14].

Furthering the hypothesis that the funeral rite from the Late Roman Slog necropolis could mirror the beliefs contained in Sabazian mysteries, in another grave (grave # 4), where a young woman was buried, a snake skeleton was found wrapped above her elbow (**fig. 2**). Like in grave # 53, the snake was first killed and then put around the upper arm of the deceased. We cannot help but remember Demosthenes' description of religious ceremonies, where worshippers (although not namely of Sabazius), with wreaths on their heads, were dancing on the streets, squeezing snakes and lifting them over their heads while shouting '*Euoi Saboi*', which led some of the ancient scholars to assume that the ritual was in connection with Sabazius (Lane 1989, 53-54)[15]. However, there is another element which should be considered in the context of the possible influence of the Sabazius cult on the ritual of placing a snake around the arm of the deceased – that is the characteristic artefacts known as Sabazius votive hands[16]. These bronze artefacts represent a right hand with three fingers pointed up, with various attributes on them like animals, plants, objects, musical instruments etc.[17] Frequently, there is a snake coiled around the wrist of the hand, thus signifying that the votive hands of Sabazius bore clear eschatological and apotropaic dimensions of putting the dedicant under the god's protection. Turning towards the possibility of the existence of a Sabazius cult in Timacum Minus: one votive monument dedicated to *Sabazius Paternus Augustus* was found in the locality, implying foreign, possibly Thracian or Asia Minor origin of the dedicant (Petrović 1995, 70-71, # 13)[18]. We should mention as the geographically closest analogy a votive monument from Turres (Pirot; in the province of Thrace), dedicated to *Sabazios Kyrios,* who was venerated with that epithet also in several other monuments discovered in Thrace (votive monuments from Serdica, Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 166, # 8; village of Dragoman, Ibid., 168, # 12; village of Tavalichevo, Ibid., 169, # 15; Sportela (Rila), Ibid., 170, # 16). Although not confirmed in epigraphic monuments from the Central Balkans (in the context of the female name of Sabazius' dedicant), women were allowed in Sabazius' worship, as for example can be observed in a plaque from Ampurias where a woman is making an offering at an altar (Lane 1985, 40, # 85), and they constituted significant part of his devotees, maybe even priestesses (Lane 1989, 43)[19].

Whether it was particularly the cult of Sabazius or not, in terms of the funerary rites performed in the Slog necropolis, the question of dead snakes put on the body of the deceased, i.e. the placing of snakes as grave goods, is raising some other thoughts as well, in connection to grave goods consisting of animal figurines in the shape of a snake,

[13] E. N. Lane (1989, 59-60) analyses the writings of all ancient sources and notes that Arnobius called the rites *Sebadia*, implying sexual stimulation of the initiates by the act (passing of the snake from the top of the clothing to its bottom).

[14] As it is confirmed, too, by the monuments from the territory of the Central Balkans (bronze statue of a pine tree with Sabazius' bust, pine cone, eagle and snake from Vidin; three ivory hairpins with heads in the shape of so-called hands of Sabazius making the *benedictio latina* gesture from Pontes and Viminacium; a gem of a gold ring with the image of a standing Sabazius turned towards a column with a snake from the locality Vinik, near Naissus), (Gavrilović 2010, 137-147). For Sabazius monuments from Moesia Inferior and Thrace, see Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 162-181.

[15] Demosthenes mentions Aeschines' (his opponent's) involvement in a Sabazius cult, and the initiation ritual, describing it as a nocturnal event, during which the initiates were wearing fawnskins and were cleansed with mud and bran. After the purification, the devotees said the formula '*I have left evil, I have found the better*', which marked the end of their successful initiation to the cult (Dillon 2002, 159-160).

[16] For the complete bibliography on the subject of Sabazius votive hands see Gavrilović 2010, 138-139.

[17] The earliest datable Sabazius monument is a bronze hand found in the Roman camp at Dangstetten, South Germany, dated from 15 to 9 BC, followed by several votive hands from Pompeii and Herculaneum (Lane 1989, 9-10).

[18] It is possible that an enclave or a small community of people from Asia Minor existed in Timacum Minus already, venerating the deities of Asia Minor origin, since anthropological analysis showed that three female skeletons, from the earliest burial horizon of the necropolis of Slog (graves ## 8, 9 and 42) were of oriental origin (Petković et al. 2005, 145).

[19] Female dedicants to Sabazius from the Roman period are: Attia Celerina, from the inscription of a marble statue from Rome (Lane 1985, 29, # 58); Servilia, from an inscription on a stone tablet (Lane 1985, 31, # 63) and Myrtina from a bronze statue of a boar on a base-plate (of unknown provenance, now in the British Museum), (Lane 1985, 36, # 76).

and jewellery in the shape of a snake or a snake's head (also found in the graves as grave goods). The example of the Rhineland graves show that various animal figurines were discovered in them as grave goods, like objects in the shape of lizards, frogs, tortoises, but also snakes. As Green points out, the analysis of the objects suggests a clear religious context of one of the mystery cults – probably of Sabazius or the Cabiri (Green 1981, 265). In that context, it is necessary to emphasize again that the period to which the graves from the Slog Necropolis are dated is the period of Late Antiquity and religious syncretism, when Dionysian eschatological ideas could have been transferred to the underworld in different ways, sometimes not so transparent – for example, objects like small terracotta maenads in the hand of the deceased, were found in a grave, probably symbolizing, as S. Cole writes, 'a talisman of initiation or a reminder of the rewards that initiation guarantees' (1980, 237). Bearing in mind that the snake as a symbol in mystery religions has various meanings (chthonic, apotropaic, eschatological), but also represents a zoomorphic image of different mystery gods (Dionysus, Sabazius etc.), and a faithful companion of other deities like Asclepius and Hygieia, it is possible that its placing in the grave bore complex symbolism in which it is quite impossible to isolate one primary meaning or belief[20].

With regard to snake-shaped jewellery as grave goods, one must thread very carefully, since not all examples of chains with snake pendants, gems with snake images, bracelets with ends shaped like stylized snake protomes etc., can be regarded in a religious context[21]. However, in the particular case of the Slog necropolis, bracelets with ends shaped as stylized snake protomes have been found in three Late Roman graves (Petković et al. 2005, 71, 75-76) and one cannot help but question whether these items of jewellery represented cult paraphernalia and were worn in ritual rites or formal worship. Again, whether the jewellery of this kind was integral part of the costume of female inhabitants in Timacum Minus, or held some other symbolism, possibly in a religious context, remains an open question.

While discussing snake symbolism, we cannot omit the thought of the cult of Hygieia perhaps being connected in some way, not only in the terms of snake jewellery as grave goods, but also in the religious context of the Late Roman graves with snake skeletons. The cults of Asclepius and Hygieia enjoyed great popularity in the Central Balkan provinces and in Thrace as well[22], and it is possible that in some way maybe, the influence of a Hygieia cult could be reflected in religious rituals and funerary rites[23]. Among other functions, as protectress of women's health in all stages of their life and women's well-being, Hygieia was also protectress of children, their health and their prosperity, and in that context, her protection could have been sought not only in this world, but also in the next one[24].

At the end of the elaboration about the possible identity of the cult practices and mystery religion in question, and the strong Thracian influence on funeral rites in the Slog Necropolis in Timacum Minus, it is important to emphasize the continuation of the ritual of placing a snake in graves in the Middle Ages as well. Snake skeletons have been found in medieval graves ## 11, 37 and 73 (along with egg-shells, Petković et al. 2005, 182, # 11, 186, # 37, 190-191, # 73)[25] and these examples show not only the conservatism of funeral rites performed in

[20] On snake symbolism in the Central Balkans in pre-Roman and Roman periods, see Šašel Kos 1991, 183-193.

[21] Very interesting and useful considerations about snake jewellery hoards in Roman Britain and the same kind of dilemma – whether this type of jewellery can be regarded in a religious context and if it can, of which religion, are presented by H. E. M. Cool (2000, 29-40). In the author's opinion, the majority of finger-rings with the image of a snake are clearly depicting the Asclepian snake and in that context, a short review of the snake as a sacred animal of different deities like Asclepius, Mercury, Sabazius, Mithras, Glycon etc., is presented. However, H. E. M. Cool restraints herself from a final characterisation of snake jewellery, since she proposes that it could have been votive deposits to a certain deity or maybe that this kind of jewellery presented objects with a definite cult dimension, probably an apotropaic and/or eschatological one (Cool 2000, 39-40).

[22] The majority of epigraphic and archaeological monuments confirm the cults of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans, as in Moesia Inferior and Thrace. As for the snake as a symbol of Asclepius and a companion of Hygeia, a zoomorphic image of a snake as Asclepius from Epidaurus' Asclepium, was sent to Rome in the 3rd c. BC, thus making the god entering the city as his epiphany – the snake.

[23] Iconographic presentations of Hygieia established as early as the beginning of the 4th c. BC present the goddess almost always with a snake (and a *patera*), and some of the known images, for example a marble sculpture from the House of the Abduction of Europa in Kos (dated to AD 150-200), represent Hygieia holding a snake and offering it an egg (Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 25).

[24] I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Dilyana Boteva, for her thoughts and constructive suggestions, during our talk on the subject of protectress-goddesses.

[25] A question of possible Orphic beliefs and expressed hopes for the deceased in the underworld also arises, since it has been noted that in mediaeval grave # 73, the bones of the snake were found by the right upper arm and in the area of stomach of the deceased female, with egg-shells (as in Late Roman grave # 4, of a four-year-old boy). To our knowledge, three or four of the Orphic tablets were found in women's graves (two from Pelina, one from Hipponion and one presumably from Rome, now in the British Museum (Gitcheva 2002, 934; Guthrie 1993, 174).

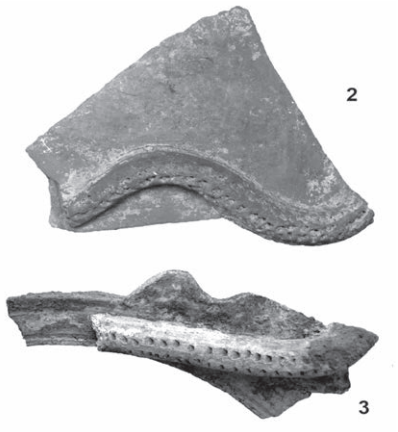


Fig. 3. Fragments of ceramic vessels ornamented with a snake motif from Timacum Minus (after Petković et al. 2016, 92, Pl. IV, figs. 2-3)

the locality, but also the continuous religious beliefs of the population which inhabited these parts of the Central Balkans.

As for the presence of mystery religions in Timacum Minus, evidence of other mystery cults' existence is possible, since finds like the marble plaque with an image of Iuppiter Dolichenus, the head of a fragmented Sarapis statue and epigraphic monuments dedicated to Mithras were found in this area, all of which can be partly attributed to soldiers who constituted *cohors I Thracum Syriaca,* which was relocated from Asia Minor and garrisoned in Timacum Minus, and partly to an enclave or a community of people of oriental origin. In addition, some facts favour the hypothesis that cults of Asia Minor deities and the knowledge of mystery religions and probably cult practices were known to a certain part of Timacum Minus' inhabitants:

1. Fragments of ritual ceramic vessels plastically decorated with snakes have been found in the fort of Timacum Minus (**fig. 3**). These vessels, usually large amphorae or two- or three-handled krater vases, have ornaments in the form of a snake on the recipient and/or handles (Petković et al. 2016, 33). This kind of vessels has been found in other Roman provinces, in secular or funerary context (Collins-Clinton 1977, 33; Swoboda 1937, 1). Although most of the scholars are inclined to attribute this kind of vessels to Mithraic cult practices (Swoboda 1937, 1-27; Beck 2000, 145-180; Clauss 2000), the discovery of so-called 'snake vessels' in localities such as Lentia, Isthmia, Vindonissa, Timacum Minus, Viminacium etc. question the function of these vessels solely in the cult of Mithras. Authors like Staehelin, Collins-Clinton and recently Alvar discussed the question, with no definite answer[26]. Our opinion is that, on the one hand, vessels ornamented with motifs in the shape of a snake have not been found solely in Sabazian context and therefore their certain use in Sabazius cult rites cannot be confirmed, but on the other hand, there is no argument either that they were not used in Sabazian cult rituals as well. Unfortunately, the exact place and context of discovery of these fragmented vessels with snake ornaments in Timacum Minus is not known, but their existence affirms their relation to the content of the rituals of a certain mystery religion.

2. The undoubted strong influence of Thracian religion has been confirmed in Timacum Minus, with the discovery of a marble votive plate with the image of Zeus Zbelsurdos, a Thracian deity assimilated to Zeus, whose name loosely translated supposedly means 'light, lightning', and makes him analogous to the Geto-Dacian god Gebeleizis (Tudor 1978, 1276). On the marble plate from Timacum Minus, Zeus Zbelsurdos is presented naked, holding a lightning bolt in his raised right hand, while he feeds two snakes with raised heads, with his left hand (**fig. 4**). By his left shoulder, an eagle is presented standing on a branch. The somewhat crude and unskilfully modelled relief with a Zeus Zbelsurdos image from Timacum Minus is analogous in an iconographic aspect to a more skilfully made marble relief from Alba Iulia, where the god is presented also nude (apart from the himation over his back), with a raised right hand, in which he holds a fragmented lightning bolt, while his left hand is placed on a snake's head (Popa / Popa 1982, 353-355, pl. VIII-IX, fig. 1-3).

3. Specific iconographic syncretism, which may mirror the religious beliefs in mystery cults of the inhabitants of the south-eastern

Without any intention of entering into a deeper elaboration of Orphic beliefs regarding the hopes and the fate of the soul after death, it is an intriguing thought that a snake placed inside the grave could have had the same role as the Orphic tablets put in the graves of the deceased – beside other symbolism, to present the carrier of the belief in life after death and resurrection, with an apotropaic dimension (with its clear symbolism as a chthonic animal) and eschatological function for the deceased.

[26] F. Staehelin bases his hypothesis about the snake vessels belonging to the Sabazius cult on the fact that some vessels with the images of reptiles, lion, eagle etc., are very similar to the attributes presented on the votive hands of Sabazius (Staehelin 1948, 551-556). However, in her analysis of the vessels from Vindonissa, E. Ettlinger observes the similarity between the shape of the Vindonissa snake vessels and the cult vessels from Mithraic reliefs of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD, although no Mithraeum has been found in Vindonissa (Ettlinger 1951, 111; Alvar 2008, 380).

parts of the Central Balkan Roman provinces, and a certain Thracian influence, can be perhaps observed in the very interesting gem from a golden ring found in the grave of a wealthy citizen from Vinik (Naissus), dated from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th c. (**fig. 5**). On the gem, a figure of a standing mature, bearded man in a short chiton, presented in profile, turned towards a column with a snake coiling around it. The god has a helmet on his head, he holds a staff in his right hand and an unidentified round-shaped object in his left hand (perhaps a pine cone?), which he is giving to a snake. On the top of the column is an eagle and in front of the god – a four-legged animal (a ram?). It is clear that we are dealing with a syncretistic image of Sabazius, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Attis. We are not aware of a direct iconographic analogy, but strong similarities can be observed in a bust of Sabazius from the Vatican Museum and in a mould with the negative of Sabazius' image from Zadar (Gavrilović 2010, 143, 292 etc., for further iconographic analogies). The placement of the ring in a funerary context (as a grave good) and the very complex syncretistic rendition which assimilates the zoomorphic representations of Jupiter (eagle) and Mars (ram), and attributes of Mercury (helmet) and Attis (the staff probably represents a *pedum*), point to its apotropaic, soteriological and eschatological symbolism, which it had for the deceased, in their journey to the underworld.



Fig. 4. Marble relief of Zeus Zbelsurdos, from Timacum Minus (after Petković et al. 2016, 93, Plate V, fig. 5)

Conclusion

Unfortunately, there are no elements upon which it would be possible to estimate how well or not the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Central Balkan Roman provinces were acquainted with mystery religions, theologies and rituals, but the strong cultural and religious influence from their western neighbours in Thrace did not cease with the end of Antiquity – in medieval burials in Timacum Minus, we find snake skeletons again, in tombs where children and women were buried, and as in Late Roman graves, snakes were killed before the burial and placed around the waist, right arm or beside the body of the deceased. The continuity of belief in afterlife and rebirth, along with evident eschatological and soteriological aspects, is clear.

The relicts of Dionysian beliefs, regardless of the subsequent Christian superstructure, are very strong in the folklore tradition of today's eastern Serbia, among Vlach population, as we already mentioned – they celebrate the agrarian feast associated with a belief in the cyclical renewal of nature and life, reincarnation and immortality of the soul, which is again in connection with the autochthonous tradition of worship and ritual practices in the Dionysus cult. The contemporary celebration includes the ecstatic trance of the consecrated women called *rusalja* – which is derived from the Vulgar Latin name for a Roman holiday of Dionysian type, the *Rosalia* – and who are believed to communicate with the dead. A similar custom can be recognized in the Bulgarian ritual Lazaruvane, especially in its eastern Bulgarian version *Buenek*, a traditional festival possibly connected to the *Brumalia*, dedicated to *Dionysos Bromios* in Antiquity (Gitcheva 2002, 927-940), when, with songs and dance, the belief in life after death was celebrated.



Fig. 5. Syncretistic representation of Sabazius on golden ring from Vinik, Naissus (after Јовановић 1977, 87-90, сл. 1)

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Anatolian Elements in the Order Architecture of Philippopolis

Zdravko DIMITROV

Abstract: Roman Philippopolis is the city with the finest monumental architecture within the boundaries of present-day Bulgaria. This Thracian centre shows us the entire development of architectural orders from Late Hellenistic age to the early Byzantine period. In the beginning was the Doric order, used in the decoration of the *agora* of the city as early as the Flavian times. But only a few decades later, at the beginning of the 2nd c. AD, a number of significant changes occurred. Monumental complexes in the *agora*, stadium, theatre, and a number of other complexes that today are not known by archaeological data, were decorated in the Ionic, Corinthian and Composite orders.

The decorative models from the architectural environment of Philippopolis are almost entirely copied from the original productions of Asia Minor cities. Most clearly visible are the decorative models taken from Pergamon, Ephesos, Aphrodisias and Nicomedia.

The main purpose of the paper is to show the great wealth of architectural models in the largest Thracian city of the Roman era and to put research of architectural decoration in Thrace to the required level. In contrast to studies of Anatolian influences on the luxurious Villa Armira, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis, Abritus, Odessos and the Black Sea region, we must acknowledge that the studies of the vast complexes in today's Plovdiv are significantly less.

Key words: Philippopolis, Asia Minor, Roman order architecture, workshops, stone-carving.

Introduction

The monumental complexes of the *agora*, the stadium, the theatre and a number of other buildings in Philippopolis were decorated in the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and even Composite orders (Tsontchev 1947; Топалилов 2012, 106-147, обр. 2-71; Димитров 2009, 85-115; Мартинова-Кютова / Пировска 2011, 211-233, обр. 5, 11-15; Матеев 1993, 72, 77; Кесякова 2004, 9-74; Кесякова 1999).

The decoration models for the architecture of Philippopolis are almost exact replicas of the original production in major Anatolian cities – Pergamon, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Miletos, Nicomedia and others.

The main purpose of this paper is to show the great diversity of architectural models in the biggest Thracian city during the Roman period, and to put the study of the architectural decoration of this region at the level it deserves. Unlike the studies of Anatolian influence in Villa Armira, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis, Abritus, Odessoss and the settlements along the Pontic coast, the analyses of the huge complexes of in present-day Plovdiv are significantly less and its architectural details must be properly examined.

State of research

The problem of the origin of the architectural decoration in the order complexes constructed in the Thracian lands during the time of the

Roman Empire has long been discussed in scholarly circles. As early as the 1920s – 1930s Prof. Sava Bobchev noted that the architectural monuments of Nicopolis ad Istrum were based on Anatolian stone-carving originals (Бобчев 1929, 56-75). Later on, the thesis was upheld by Dimitar Tsontchev, who worked on the details from Philippopolis (Tsontchev 1947; Цончев 1956, 141-175), and also by Prof. Theophil Ivanov, who studied Abritus, Oescus and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Иванов 1979, 1-11; Иванов 1965; Ivanov 1986, 498-504). Unfortunately, most of the studies simply offer a general conclusion that the architectural decoration in Roman Thrace is of Anatolian origin and that it exhibits certain influence from the Eastern provinces of the Empire.

The first profound and thoroughly professional studies based on an in-depth analysis of the architectural details by applying accurate comparative methods were produced only in the 1970s. At that time, the Bulgarian scholar Yanka Mladenova of the Department of Antiquities at the Institute of Archaeology studied Roman architectural decoration through the examination of particular details (Mladenova 1979, 91-94; Младенова 1979, 45-47; Mladenova 1981, 38-48; Младенова 1991). She brought up the question of travelling teams of Anatolian stone-carvers in Roman Thrace. In the 1980s Y. Mladenova offered a wonderful approach to the exploration of architectural decoration of the Roman Villa Armira, near present-day Ivaylovgrad, which no doubt was the work of Anatolian stone-carvers (Mladenova 1979, 91-94; Mladenova 1981, 38-48; Младенова 1991, 149, 157-158).

Apart from Y. Mladenova, the issue of Anatolian elements in the order architecture of Roman Thrace was also tackled by Prof. John Ward-Perkins. He studied the works of Anatolian stone-carvers on imported marble. The study of J. Ward-Perkins focused on details from the West Pontic coast – Tomis, Odessos, Callatis, as well as Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Ward-Perkins 1980, 50-51, 53-57, pl. XV-XX, XXIII). From a historical point of view, the problems of the presence of Anatolians in Thrace was investigated by Prof. Margarita Tacheva of Sofia University (Tačeva 1969, 115-123; Tatscheva-Chitova 1970, 87-89; Tačeva-Hitova 1976, 81-88).

Nowadays, about 40 years after the works of J. Ward-Perkins, Y. Mladenova and M. Tacheva, I believe that this line of research needs to be continued. We are in the position to analyse significantly more architectural details after many new excavations. In this respect, I consider that the pressing issues calling for attention today are the following:

The studies so far have not focused on the links between the Thracian architectural environment and the Anatolian stone-working schools and workshops, and there has been no comment or analysis on the largest architectural group in Roman Thrace – the one in Philippopolis;

The studies by Y. Mladenova and J. Ward-Perkins highlight the recognizable presence of models from Aphrodisias and Nicomedia in the territory of Thrace, but so far relatively little is known about the copies of originals from Pergamon and Ephesos. Although the work of stone-carvers from Ephesos and Pergamon has been mentioned in scholarly publications too, it has always been referred to as a constant and indisputable point of departure, without any previous analysis, precise substantiation of facts or examination of individual architectural details;

The large architectural ensembles in Philippopolis have altogether remained unpublished, which makes it difficult to study this Thracian city. Today there is an urgent need to explore the immense number of details of order architecture – similarly to the way my colleague Maya Martinova[1] and I examined the complex to the north of the *agora* in 2005-2007;

The entire collection of architectural details from the Roman period in the province of Thrace needs to be catalogued and a corpus has to be published; this will inevitably facilitate further studies and eventually, various new connections might be identified between the architectural environment of the cities and the Anatolian stone-carving centres.

The main focus of this study is not to establish *whether* there were Anatolian architectural decorative models in Philippopolis, but to identify the exact architectural details produced by Anatolian sculptors and date them.

Main goals

My main objective here would be to pinpoint the original Anatolian models which infiltrated the Thracian architectural environment and led to the development and subsequent local reproduction of entire series of high quality architectural works in the finest form of architecture – the order decoration of buildings. I am of the opinion that in Philippopolis one must first identify and trace this process, which has already been evidenced in the study and analysis of Villa Armira and particularly so along the west coastline of Pontus.

The architectural units in Philippopolis, which are the subject of this paper and which show very distinctly Anatolian elements in the order architecture, are:

The *agora* of Philippopolis – more precisely, the ensemble of the *odeion-bouleuterion* located at the north-eastern part of the square and studied by M. Martinova of the Regional Museum of Archaeology in Plovdiv;

The Eastern Gate of Philippopolis – an elaborate structure with a long history and various functions throughout time. The earliest period of this complex – the rule of Emperor Hadrian – is crucial for this study. Excavated in the 1980s by Elena Kesyakova;

The theatre of Philippopolis – studied long ago by L. Botusharova, but still unpublished;

The stadium of Philippopolis – studied and published in 1947 by D. Tsontchev;

The recently localized Late Antique fortress wall to the south of the Three hills – a number of architectural details built in the foundations of the wall constitute new finds, and nothing is known about the original buildings to which they belonged. Excavated by Zh. Tankova.

The *odeion-bouleuterion*

Some of the latest excavations in Philippopolis directed by M. Martinova[2] provided the best data about the "Anatolian elements in the order architecture of Philippopolis" (Мартинова 2004, 135-136; Мартинова 2003, 101-102; Мартинова / Боспачиева 2002, 187-188, обр. 6). During her investigation of a large public building to the north-east of the open-air space of the agora, the *odeion-bouleuteri-*

[1] I highly appreciate M. Martinova's devotion and assistance on this matter.

[2] I am grateful to M. Martinova for inviting me to handle all the details from her excavations in a catalogue. This turned out to be a perfect opportunity for a complete architectural analysis of an entire complex executed in a specific order, dated to a particular period. The catalogue with the details from the *odeion-bouleuterion* has already been finalized and it will be published together with M. Martinova's general study of the complex.

on, a good deal of architectural details in the Corinthian order were unearthed (**Plate 1**). The building displays a number of construction periods and phases and its decoration was renovated several times. However, I shall dwell on the original order, dating to the period of Emperor Hadrian and more precisely to the late years of his reign – the AD 130s.

The Corinthian capitals from the *scaena* of the complex are probably the best preserved ones and, from this point of view, they are crucial for the analysis of the architectural environment of Roman Philippopolis. These are Corinthian capitals produced following models from Pergamon (Rohmann 1998, 71-81, Taf. 44-47). The exact analogies run in three lines:

In terms of the architectural decoration of the set of elements in the capital;

In terms of the carving style of the stone surface;

In terms of production from the same period – the Late Hadrianic period, the AD 130s.

With regard to the architectural decorative features, the capitals from the *scaena* of the *odeion* may be analysed by considering the *acanthus* band, the upper third of the *calathus*, volutes and helices.

The *acanthus* band has two rows of eight *acanthus* leaves each. Each of the leaves follows the model typical of the stone-carving school in Pergamon. There is no difference whatsoever between the *acanthus* leaves from the *Asklepieion* in Pergamon and the ones in Philippopolis. The same is true about the examples from the *Traianeum* (**Plate 1** and **2**). The replication of the Anatolian model can be noticed in the tips of the leaves, in the bending palms, and especially in the carving of the individual figures in between.

Exact replicas of the Anatolian model can be seen also in the *caulis* of the capitals, the *acanthus* cups and, best of all, in the carving of the scrolls of the volutes and helices in the details (**Plate 1** and **2**). The proportions between the *acanthus* band and the upper third of the *calathus* are also strictly observed.

The carving style of the stone surface must also be analysed. The overall replication of the Pergamene model in Philippopolis is not an unusual fact. However, the most substantial information in this case is that this allows us to determine the origin of the carving works very accurately. In my opinion, the capitals from the *scaena* of the *odeion* in Philippopolis are not just replicas from the capitals of the *Asklepieion* in Pergamon, but were produced on the spot by Anatolian stone-carvers. The style of the Pergamene carvers is best seen in the small details of the helices, the *acanthus* tips and the abacus flowers (**Plate 1** and **2**). Quite distinct is the high relief of the *acanthus* band, the fretwork of some stems in the volutes, the helices and the horns below the abacus slab in the upper third of the *calathus*.

One of the most characteristic techniques applied by Anatolian craftsmen is the use of a drill. The traces of this instrument are everywhere, but mainly over the abacus flowers of the capitals. Another very important element is the perfect execution of three-dimensional technique (**Plate 1 b, e, f** and **Plate 2 a, b**). For example, in the fully preserved Corinthian capital from the *odeion-bouleuterion*, one could see the unique carving of the upper part of the *acanthus* leaf – it is fully three-dimensional and fully turned down, decorated also by drilling,

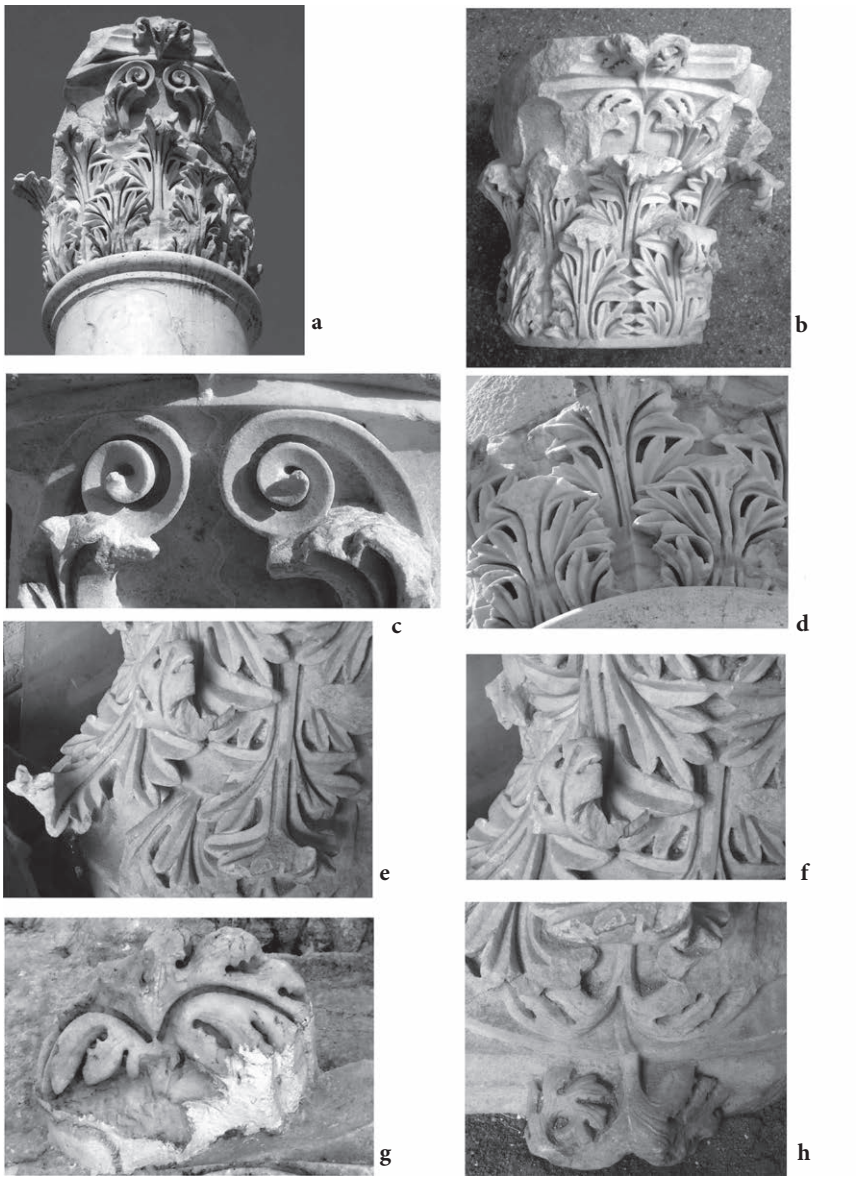


Plate 1. Architectural details and models from the *odeion-bouleuterion* in Philippopolis (all photos: Z. Dimitrov):
a Corinthian capital from the *scaena* – with all elements in the scheme and normal helices;
b Corinthian capital from the *scaena* – with all elements in the scheme and floral helices carved with a drill;
c detail of the normal helices – carving like snail-form elements;
d detail of the model of *acanthus* foliage;
e-f details of the three-dimensional technique at the tips of the *acanthus* leaves;
g-h details of the abacus flowers – drill carvings

just like the main examples from the *Asklepieion* in Pergamon (**Plate 1** and **2**).

The Eastern Gate of Philippopolis (Plate 3).

Architectural details from diverse complexes of the Roman city lie around the present-day ensemble of the Eastern Gate of Philippopolis. During the reign of Constantine the Great, and probably later during Late Antiquity, order-decorated complexes were constructed in this zone, where architectural elements from earlier buildings were reused (Топалилов 2012, 140-141).

A reliable chronological marker is the anta-pier from the passages of the earliest complex in this zone (**Plate 3 e, f**). It is built inside the Late Antique fortress wall. Actually, this detail, an "engaged pier of a rectangular section and floral decoration", originally belonged to the arch of Hadrian's reign, which was erected in this zone of Philippopolis in the 2nd century (Dimitrov 2013, 808-809).

In this area, plenty of architectural details have been collected and their original models came from well distinguished complexes in

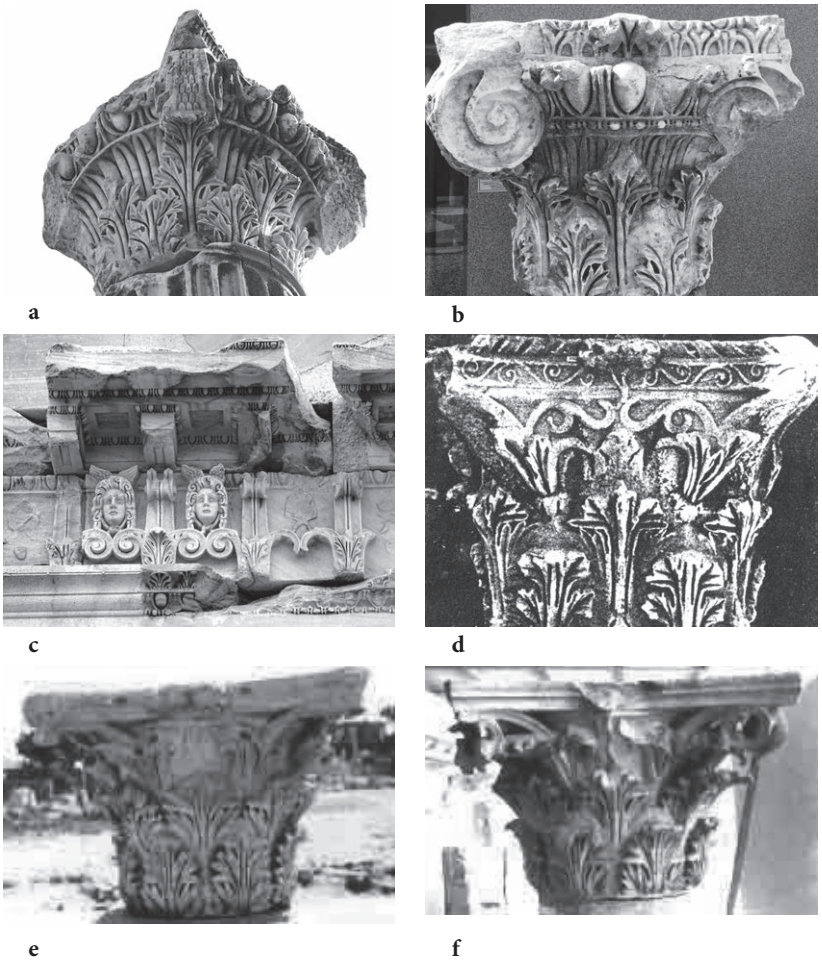


Plate 2. Architectural details and models from Asia Minor (Pergamon and Smyrna) copied in the *odeion-bouleuterion* and other buildings in Philippopolis:
a-b composite capitals from the *Asklepieion* in Pergamon (publ.: Rohmann 1998, Taf. 42-44; photos: M. Raycheva);
c frieze-architrave from the *Traianeum* in Pergamon – snail-formed technique for the carvings of the volutes (publ.: Strocka 1988, 298, Abb. 4; photo: M. Raycheva);
d Corinthian capital from Smyrna with floral motifs of the helices and the abacus plate (Idil 1981, 174, fig. 7a);
e-f Pergamene models of the Corinthian capitals with snail-formed and palmetto helices – examples from the *Asklepieion* (Rohmann 1998, C 30, C 31, Taf. 46. 2-3)

Pergamon and Ephesos (the Library of Celsus, the so-called Temple of Hadrian, the Fountain of Trajan, Agora, etc.) (Strocka 1988, 291-307, Taf. 39-47) (**Plates 2**, **4**).

In the capitals we see perfect Pergamene and Ephesian *acanthus* models (**Plate 3 a-d**), but probably the most important and well visible Anatolian elements are the three types of helices. There are helices connected with an abacus flower; palmetto helices; and a normal type, but made in the so-called snail-formed shape (See: Rohmann 1998, 71-88, 90-93, 102-104, 132-136, Taf. 42-47, 50-51, 55-56; Ward-Perkins 1980, 52-55, pl. XIIIa, # 1; Pl. XVIId, # 12; Idil 1981, 164, Abb. 5; 167, Abb. 6; Strocka 1988, Taf. 43, Abb. 6).

The most distinct detail from the Hadrianic era at the Eastern Gate ensemble is the anta-pier decorated with the so-called "*Ranken-Motive*". The prototype of this decorative model has been thoroughly studied in complexes of the same period in the whole western region of Asia Minor, but most often is recognizable as an element in the architecture of Ephesos – from the Library of Celsus, the so-called Temple of Hadrian, as well as in many other buildings in Aphrodisias, Smyrna, Miletos, Bithynion-Claudiopolis and Pergamon (Bammer 1980, 70-71, 90, Abb. 2-4, 25; Strocka 1988, 295-296, 299-300, Taf. 40, 44; Ward-Perkins 1980, 58-59, pl. XXIVb, # 31; XVa-b, # 32-33; XXVIa, # 34; Erim 1967b, 233-243, fig. 3-4; Mendel 1914, 176-184, # 493; Naumann / Kantar 1950, Taf. 24d, 25c; Melink 1973, fig. 39; Ward-Perkins 1980, 59, pl. XXVIIc-d, #. 38-39; Gerkan / Krischen 1928, Abb. 59-60, 65-67; Koller 2002, 128-135, Taf. 82).

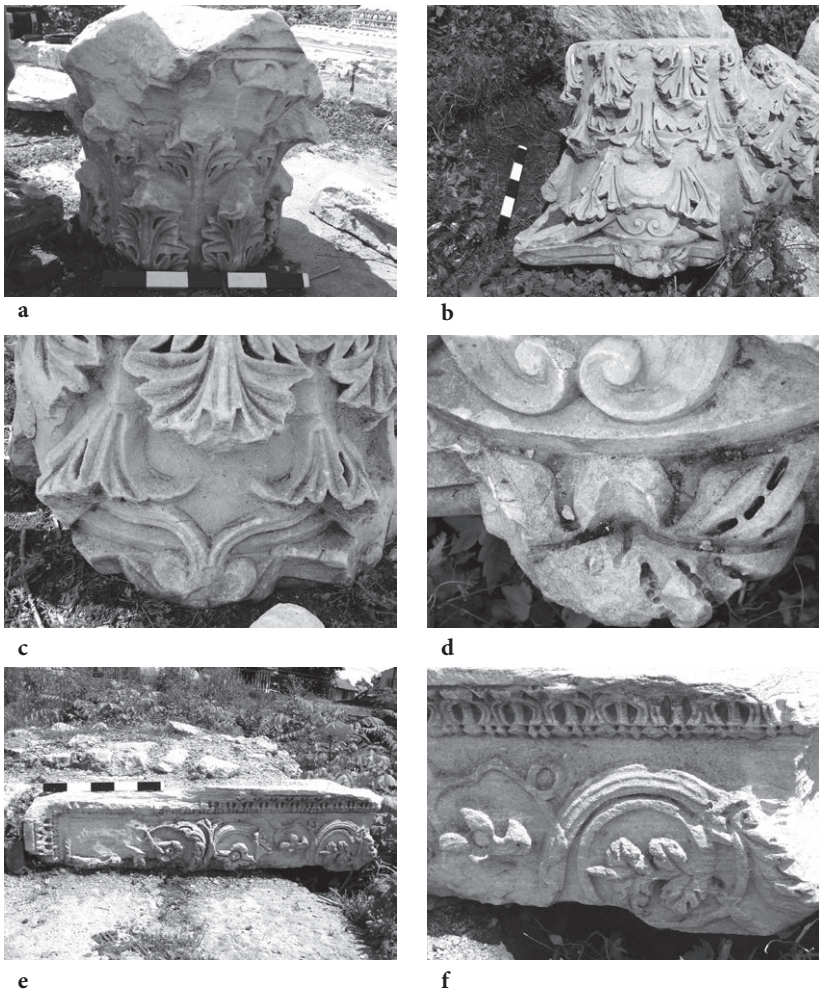


Plate 3. Architectural details and models from the so-called Eastern Gate in Philippopolis (all photos: Z. Dimitrov):
a corinthian capital from the Eastern Gate – with all elements in the scheme and palmetto helices;
b Corinthian capital from the Eastern Gate – with all elements in the scheme and normal helices;
c Corinthian capital from the Eastern Gate – with all elements in the scheme and helices connected with an abacus plate;
d detail of the abacus flower from the Corinthian capital in the complex of the Eastern Gate (detail of **Pl. 3 b**) – drill carving;
e anta-pier from the construction of Hadrian's arch, reused in the Eastern Gate during Late Antiquity – floral decoration of Anatolian origin;
f detail of the *acanthus* scrolls, flowers, Lesbian *cyma* and *astragalus*

At the Eastern Gate there are further elements of Anatolian carving – such is the use of drills (best known from Aphrodisias, Pergamon and Ephesos[3]) in the Ionic and Lesbian *cyma*, the cassette-roof slabs and the abacus flowers of the Corinthian capitals (**Plate 3 d**). Clear Asia Minor origin can be observed also in the garland decoration with bulls' heads, and in the *soffitte* ornamentation of the frieze-architrave blocks.

The theatre (Plate 5 c-g).

This large and, regretfully, yet unpublished architectural complex in Philippopolis abounds in similarities to Anatolian architecture. If one delves deep in the ornamentation of the cushions of the Ionic capitals from the *scaena*, they will recognize floral motifs originating from Pergamon, Ephesos, Nicomedia, and especially from Laodicea ad Lycum and Hierapolis (See: Bingöl 1980, with all models of Anatolian Ionic capitals and their decoration). This, however, deserves to be the subject of a separate study. Identical is the situation with the frieze-architraves that are decorated with garlands and bulls' heads, very similar to the 1st century models from Ephesos and Miletos.

I would like to discuss here the second floor of the *scaena*, where the Composite order can be observed (**Plate 5 g**). The capitals of this order are produced in a rather specific manner, not following the standards. Indeed, these represent a combination of the upper third, which is an *echinus* from an Ionic capital generally following the dec-

[3] The latest studies of "Hanghaus 2" in Ephesos demonstrate the finest details of this carving technique, and offer a comparison with other models from Asia Minor: Koller 2002, 125-135, Taf. 72-82.

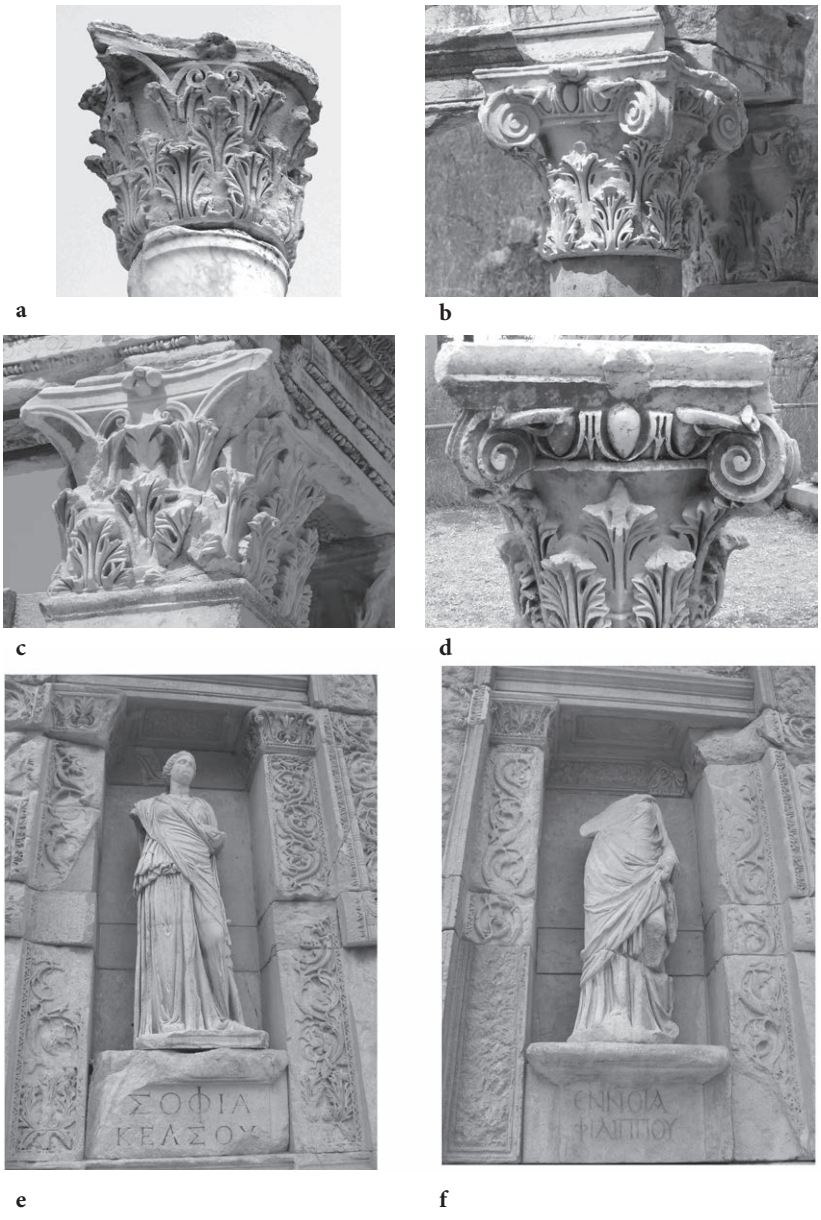


Plate 4. Ephesos. Origins of the architectural models used in Philippopolis: **a** Corinthian capital from the *anastylosis* of the Roman Agora – Anatolian models of *acanthus* foliage and so-called snail-shaped helices (photo: M. Raycheva); **b** composite capital from the Fountain of Trajan – Anatolian models of *acanthus* foliage (photo: M. Raycheva); **c** Corinthian capital from the so-called Temple of Hadrian – Anatolian models of *acanthus* foliage, normal helices and abacus flowers (photo: M. Raycheva); **d** composite capital exhibited in the Agora – Anatolian models of *acanthus* foliage (photo: M. Raycheva); **e-f** details of the piers of the *exedrae* in the Library of Celsus – *acanthus* scroll decorations (photos: M. Kamisheva)

orative scheme of the Composite detail, with a lower non-standard part. The *calathus* of the capitals, i.e. the lower two-thirds of the details, is covered with diverse floral motifs, and not with *acanthus* foliage as is typical for the main examples in Rome and Italy. The entire lower part of the Composite capitals from the theatre is covered with tendrils, leaves, small flowers and rosettes – a model whose origins cannot be mistaken. This pattern is again a replica from Ephesos, and one of those that provide an accurate date of the architectural monuments at that, as it was no longer produced in Ephesian schools after the mid-2nd century. The details come from the Fountain of Domitian, the Library of Celsus, and the so-called Temple of Hadrian. These elements date to the end of the 1st century and mainly in the 120s and 130s (Bammer 1980, 69-71, 73-75, Abb. 1-4, 7-8; Strocka 1988, 294-297, Taf. 39-42). One could see the same models also in Smyrna and its region (Naumann / Kantar 1950, Taf. 24a; Idil 1981, 151-152, 174, Abb. 1-2, 7a). It is interesting that these very rich floral scrolls, leaves and flowers appear also everywhere in the Ionic and Corinthian cornices in the theatre (**Plate 5 c-d**).



Plate 5. The stadium and the theatre in Philippopolis. Architectural details and models:
a frieze-architrave from the entrance of the stadium (photo: M. Martinova);
b Corinthian capital from the entrance of the stadium (photo: M. Martinova);
c-d Corinthian cornices of the *scaena* of the theatre in Philippopolis – floral motifs of *acanthus* scrolls, leaves and flowers between the palmettes (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
e Lesbian *cyma* and *astragalus* from architrave in the *scaena* of the theatre in Philippopolis – drill carvings (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
f cassette roof slab in the *scaena* of the theatre in Philippopolis – drill carvings (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
g composite capital in the *scaena* of the theatre in Philippopolis (photo: Z. Dimitrov)

In the order decoration of the theatre the typical Anatolian drill workings are also well visible – mainly in the *astragalus* elements of the Ionic and Lesbian *cyma* (**Plate 5 e-f**).

The stadium (Plate 5 a-b).

This well-known architectural complex, luckily published by D. Tsontchev, is perhaps of a later date than the above mentioned *agora*, the arch at the Eastern Gate, and the theatre – it is dated to the late 2nd century and the early Severan period. However, all architectural decorative features of the details from the stadium lead again to Asia Minor – the pattern of the garland ornamentation in the frieze-architraves with bulls' heads, the columns at the entrance and, certainly, the Corinthian capitals and cornices. Here one can see good reproductions of the Anatolian



Plate 6. Aphrodisian marble carvings on a group of architectural details from Roman Thrace and Aphrodisias: **a** *acroterium* from *Ulpia Oescus* in the exhibition of the National Archaeological Museum – Sofia (photo: Z. Dimitrov); **b** details of the "Aphrodisian style" of carvings in sculpture and *acanthus* foliage (photo: Z. Dimitrov); **c-d** two pilaster capitals from Aphrodisias – origins of the works in Villa Armira, Oescus and Philippopolis in Roman Thrace (publ.: Erim 1967a, 26, fig. 16; photos: M. Raycheva); **e** newly found anta capital from the Roman villa near Kasnakovo village, Haskovo region (excavations and photo: V. Kazarova)

originals created by local stone carvers and decorators on the basis of the well-developed architectural environment of Philippopolis.

The Late antique wall

A new find from about five years ago could also contribute significantly to the advance of the studies of architectural decoration in Philippopolis and its similarities to Anatolian prototypes. A great number of architectural details were found in the fortress wall from Late Antiquity, which was localized in front of the *Trimontium* zone by my colleague Zheni Tankova. They were incorporated as *spolia* in the base and plinth rows of the fortification. At first sight one can spot details from completely unknown complexes – most probably temple ensembles and types of buildings from the *Trimontium*. Most of the details belong chronologically to the first half of the 2nd c. – the time of Trajan and Hadrian.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I should point out that the problem of Anatolian elements in the order architecture of Philippopolis from the period of the Empire is of immense importance and rather insufficiently studied. As commented so far, this is an issue that can hardly be resolved at one go. In fact, the first data about the Anatolian elements in the architectural

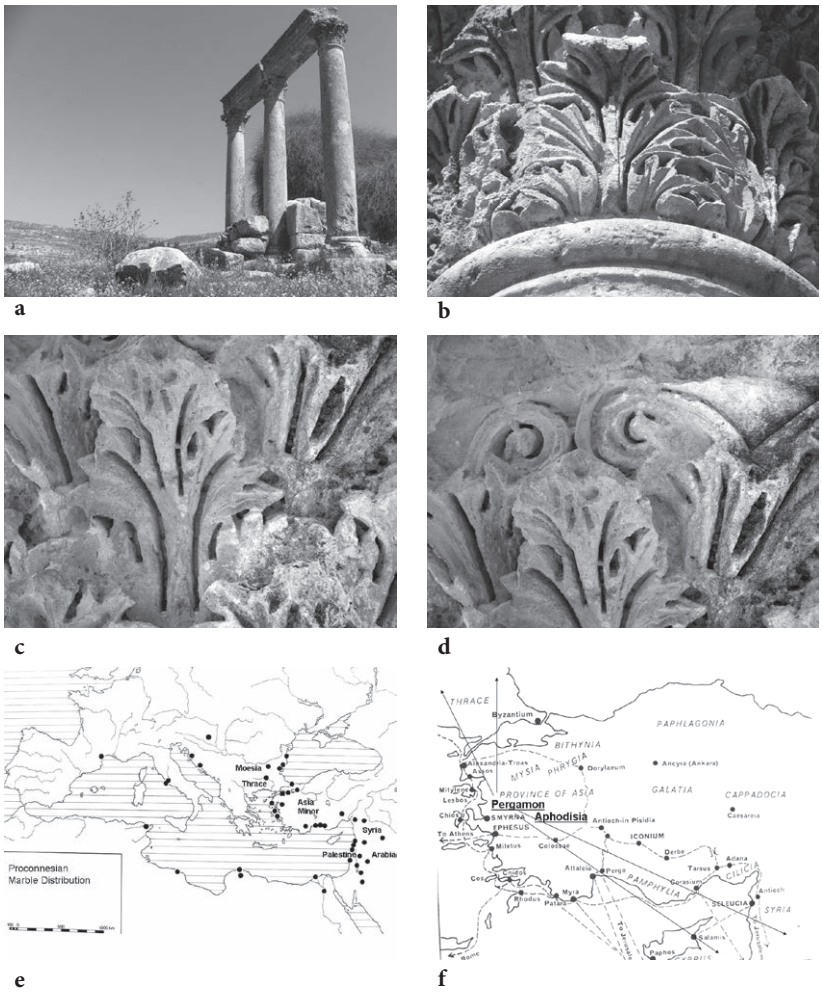


Plate 7. Mausoleum of Germanus in the vicinity of Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan):
a Corinthian order of the tomb – today (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
b detail of the *acanthus* foliage – also Anatolian type (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
c detail of the carving techniques – little stone ribs in the grooves of the leaves (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
d detail of the same ribs – also in the curls of the helices (photo: Z. Dimitrov);
e map of the distribution of Proconnesian marble in the Roman world (designed by Z. Dimitrov);
f map of the distribution of stone-carving techniques and original models of the Anatolian stone-working schools – here: way to Roman Thrace and the Orient (designed by Z. Dimitrov)

decoration of the Thracian city were only touched upon by D. Tsontchev in 1956, followed by a long period without publications or specific analyses, and the process of acquiring further information is still ongoing.

It is evident that the major urban structures of Philippopolis in the early 2nd c. were decorated through the application of Anatolian models in the order architecture. One can observe not only the Ionic order, but also the Corinthian and Composite orders as well. The details are significant in terms of their value, location and content for the Thracian city and its architectural environment. The prototypes come mainly from Pergamon (the *Asklepieion* and the *Traianeum*), Ephesos (the Library of Celsus and the so-called Temple of Hadrian), but also from other Anatolian cities, e.g. Aphrodisias, Miletos, Smyrna, Hierapolis, Bithynion-Claudiopolis, Laodicea ad Lycum and Nicomedia.

The drill works are some of the finest found in the contemporary Bulgarian lands (**Plate 6**). In this aspect, the Anatolian origin is absolutely certain, especially with regard to the Aphrodisian monuments (Erim 1967a, 18-28, fig. 16; here see: **Plate 6 c-d**). There is sufficient evidence of travelling groups active in Thrace, originating from this important and best developed in terms of sculpture town of Asia Minor. The examples come not only from Villa Armira and Philippopolis; some of the finest monuments are in fact an *acroterium* from Oescus (Mercklin 1962, 39, Abb. 185; Димитров 2007, 218-234; **Plate 6 a-b**) and another new detail from Kasnakovo (Кацарова 2015a, 559; Кацарова 2015b, 30) (**Plate 6 e**).

The chronology of this process of direct import of architectural models and, most probably, even their partial reproduction in Thrace by Anatolian stone-carvers, is also easy to perceive. This is definitely a tendency encountered in other zones of Thrace – the western coastline of Pontus, Villa Armira, Ulpia Oescus, Ulpia Ratiaria, Abritus, Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum, which developed in the late years of Trajan's reign and especially during the entire reign of Emperor Hadrian. An identical situation can be seen in other regions of the Roman Empire, for instance in the Orient. One very important, but little known monument, is the private grave complex from Gerasa – the so-called Tomb of Germanus (Schumacher 1902, 109-177; Dimitrov 2016, 369-383; **Plate 7 a-d**). In this Roman mausoleum one can very well trace all abovementioned definite Anatolian features of the order architecture, e.g. *acanthus* foliage, curls of helices, three-dimensional techniques, relief ribs in the grooves of the leaves and helices.

And finally, according to the architectural monuments, but also to the historical evidence and ways of distribution of marble (**Plate 7 e**), one can follow the export of architectural models and technique of the stone-carving schools of Asia Minor (**Plate 7 f**).

The ambition of this paper is to bring the attention of international scholars to the architectural decoration of Philippopolis. A major future task would be to publish completely all architectural details from the city, as well as the entire Bulgarian part of Roman Thrace, and then many of these clearly discernible Anatolian elements and influences would be identified and studied properly (see **Plate 7 e-f**). In this respect, I would like to believe that our efforts will find support among experts in Greece and Turkey. Thus, overcoming contemporary boundaries, we could produce highly professional studies of the architectural environment of Thrace (today falling within the boundaries of the three countries) and get in contact through the truly impressive masterpieces of stone art from Anatolia.

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The Lesicheri Pillar and the Transfer of Funerary Architecture Trends from Bithynia to Roman Thrace

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Abstract: Ever since its first scholarly publication in 1882, the so-called Lesicheri Obelisk located not far from Nicopolis ad Istrum has been discussed in literature as a component of a greater complex of cultic or sepulchral character. The present paper studies the monument as an autonomous structure and attempts to offer a more precise dating for it. The authors discuss the pillar from the perspective of transfer of knowledge and patterns from Bithynia to Thrace in funerary context in the 2nd century AD, and explore the possible connection with elite families involved in emperor worship in both provinces.

Key words: funerary pillar, Roman imperial cult, transfer of patterns, Thrace, Bithynia, Lesicheri.

Introduction

For centuries, the landscape some 18 km west of the Roman city of Nicopolis ad Istrum[1] has been dominated by an impressive funerary pillar known as the Lesicheri Obelisk. Unparalleled in the Eastern Balkans today, the monument had been the subject of popular writing for a while, before it was scientifically described and sketched for the first time by Austro-Hungarian explorer Felix Kanitz in the late 19th century (**fig. 1**). Back in his day, the structure was surrounded by numerous burial mounds and other significant architectural remains, including the base of a second identical pillar (Kanitz 1882, 4-7). Kanitz's observations, largely confirmed and supplemented by excavations conducted in 1987-1990, gave grounds for several interpretations and hypothetical reconstructions of this remarkable archaeological area. While research focused primarily on the pillar's surroundings, the monument itself was regarded mostly as an element of secondary importance within a larger complex, rather than an entity on its own.

By contrast, the present paper intends to focus specifically on the Lesicheri Obelisk as an individual structure and offers an interpretation of the monument as a funerary pillar with possible origins in Bithynia, through a comparative analysis of similar structures. Furthermore, the article attempts to discuss the possible connection between the transfer of funerary architecture trends and the novelties of the imperial cult in the two neighbouring provinces.

The monument and its surroundings

The Lesicheri Obelisk (**fig. 2**), also known as *Markov Kamak*, *Dikilitaş*, and *Stalbo* throughout its existence (Шкорпил / Шкорпил 1898, 57;

[1] The authors of this article refer to Nicopolis ad Istrum as a city of Thrace, as far as the monuments and processes discussed here antedate the administrative allocation of territories from the province of Thrace to Moesia Inferior, when the city passed from the former into the latter – an event that most probably took place in the last decade of the 2nd century AD (cf. Boteva 1996, 174-176; Ботева 1997, 30-32).

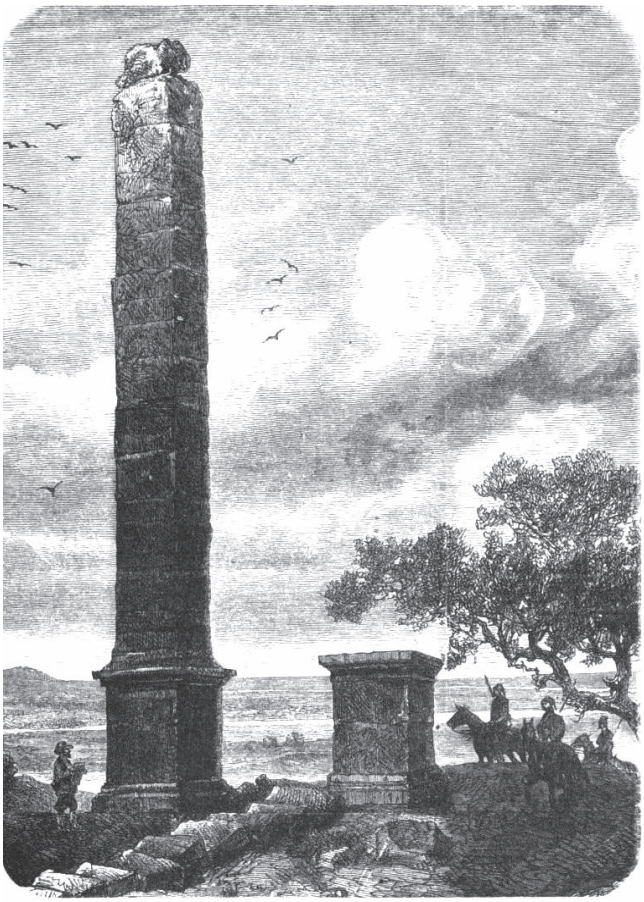


Fig. 1. The Lesicheri pillar and the ruins of the second one (after Kanitz 1882, 5, engraving # 2)



Fig. 2. The Lesicheri pillar today (photo: M. Raycheva)

Църов 1996, 111), is located about 3 km south-east of the contemporary village of Lesicheri in the vicinity of the ancient city of Nicopolis ad Istrum. Its remarkably well-preserved height measures ca. 12.6 m (**fig. 3**)[2]. Small differences in its overall elevation are visible on each side and are due to the slight northwest slanting of the monument nowadays. The base of the second pillar recorded by Kanitz, its shaft now lost, is situated some 8 m to the east of the first one (**fig. 4**).

The surviving pillar consists of a four-stepped fundament and a vertical body made of rectangular stone blocks of varying height[3] (Kanitz 1882, 4-7) placed atop each other, with no mortar binding. The stone used is of the local Hotnitsa type, originating from the homonymous limestone quarry located nearby (Бешевлиев 1939, 11).

All steps of the fundament are heavily ruined and significant conclusions about their possible decoration cannot be drawn. The only fact that can be certainly observed is that the edges of the middle two fundament steps have some moulding.

The body of the monument features two distinct parts. The lower section (ca. 3 m high) occupies almost one third of its currently preserved size and is shaped like a base. It consists of a profiled socle, a five-ashlar shaft, and a Doric cornice on top. While the Doric cornice can be observed on all four sides, the socle profiles are finished on three of them only: the northern side is only roughly threated, which might indicate its function as the rear of the monument. The Doric cornice also plays the role of a fundament for the upper section of the

[2] The most recent measurements and documentation of the monument were initiated by the authors and conducted in April 2017 by architect Milena Kamenova, to whom they express their sincerest gratitude. The task would not be completed without the kind cooperation of Kalin Chakarov (Pavlikeni History Museum). Acknowledgements are also due to Ivan Tsarov (Veliko Tarnovo History Museum), Lyudmil Vagalinski (NAIM-BAS) and Nicolay Sharankov (Sofia University) for their support.

[3] Approximate average dimensions: height: between 0.40 and 0.60 m; width: ca. 1.60 m; thickness: ca. 1.20 m. Cf. also Kanitz 1882, 6.

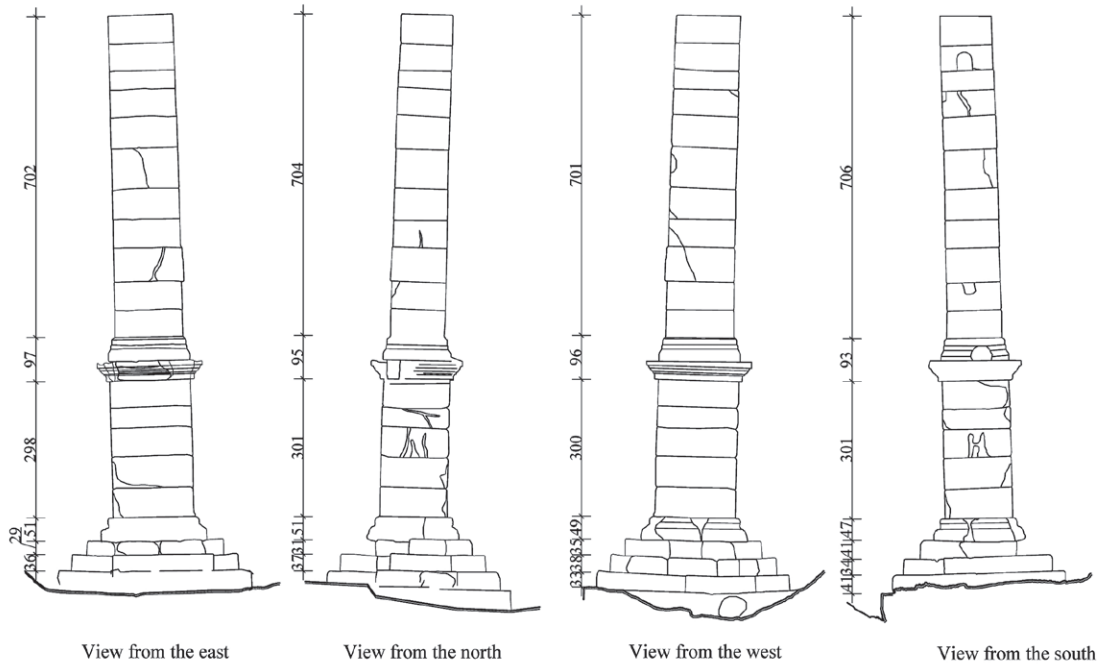


Fig. 3. The Lesicheri pillar – current state. Views from all four sides (drawing: architect M. Kamenova)

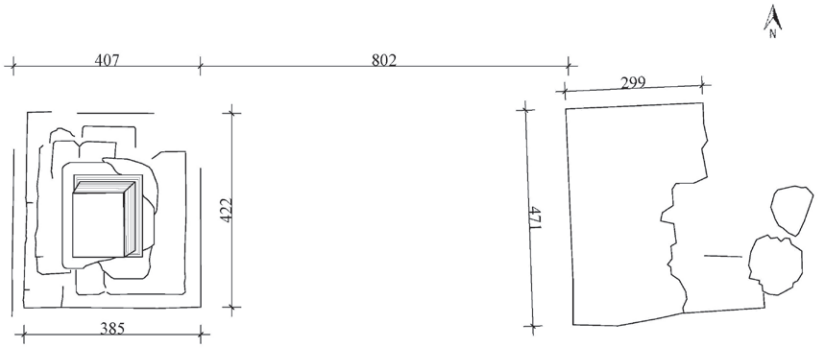


Fig. 4. The Lesicheri pillar and the surviving base of the second pillar (drawing: architect M. Kamenova)

monument – the *obelos* – that comprises a profiled socle (as a base) and a shaft, 11 stone blocks high[4] (ca. 7 m). The first ashlar on top of the socle further features a fillet and its lowest portion is a prolongation of the socle-base profile. At the same time, it serves to 'regulate' the width and thickness for all of the following ashlars that construct the *obelos*, slightly narrowing towards the top. In contrast to that, the first stone block of the lower section does not feature any fillet, but is placed roughly cut directly on the socle and differs from it with its smaller dimensions. On the south side of the second ashlar from top to bottom a small empty niche of unclear function is visible. Apart from the described profiling treatments and the niche, there are no other architectural decorations visible on the monument, nor are there any traces of inscriptions. Having in mind the roughly profiled socle of the northern side and the niche on the opposite one, it can be assumed that the main approach to the front of the monument must have been from the south.

According to the description and drawings by F. Kanitz (1882, 4-7), the pillar once stood among several *tumuli*, some of which contained stone-built tombs, and was also surrounded by fragments of monumental architecture[5]. Furthermore, the traveller sketched the base of a similar pillar '*dessen herabgestürzter, aufgelöst in die einzel-*

[4] F. Kanitz counted 12 and mentioned that some of the top blocks had already fallen (Kanitz 1882, 6). The Škorpil brothers initially reported 11 pieces and argued for a height of ca. 7.20 m, but later K. Škorpil revised them as 12 (Шкорпил / Шкорпил 1898, 57, fig. 17; Шкорпил 1905, 477).

[5] Also visible were fragmentarily preserved relief friezes, roof slabs (length 2.53 m x width 1.26 m), profiled cornices, a pilaster, columns and two ornamented pediments, one of which displaying a rider with a dog hunting a boar, and the other showing a shield and a spear (Kanitz 1882, 4-7). Some of the described and sketched fragments, such as the pediment with a spear and shield, and a fragmented coffered slab, could be confirmed by scholars in the following decades (Шкорпил / Шкорпил 1898, 59; Шкорпил 1905, 477-478; Герасимов 1961, 245).

nen Steinwürfel, sich merkwürdig in regelmäßiger Linie staffelförmig ins Erdreich eingebohrt hatte' (Kanitz 1882, 4-5) close to the monument and whose base only is visible today[6]. Finally, some inscribed stones with partly readable texts were in sight as well.

There is not much to see around the pillar today[7]. The first planned excavations in this location were conducted over a century after Kanitz's visit, in the period 1987-1990, by I. Tsarov. They confirmed to a great extent the observations of earlier scholars. The investigation revealed the foundation of the twin-pillar recorded in Kanitz's sketch (Църов 1988, 104; 1989, 104), as well as some other architectural fragments, among them an impressive pediment-corner with an *acroterion* base, and a sizeable fragment of the coffered ceiling (2.70 x 1.60 m) cut from a single stone block (Църов 1996, 112). Further finds were a frieze-architrave ornamented with Ionic and Lesbian *cymatium*, fragments of an Ionic base and a capital, a lion statue and a shattered sculpture of the Thracian rider (Църов 1996, 112-113, 118, figs. 5-8)[8]. Finally, according to the reports of 1990 and 1991, two badly damaged bases have been revealed, one of them measuring 4.50 x 3.80 m (cf. Църов 1990, 75; 1991, 106).

Early interpretations

For the very early interpretations of the monument and the area, scholars referred solely to the drawings and the descriptions by Kanitz and the Škorpil brothers. Emphasis was put mostly on the challenging reconstruction of the surroundings. The Lesicheri pillars were regarded by Kanitz himself as the piers of the aqueduct identified nearby, remains of which were visible to the traveller (Kanitz 1882, 7). The Škorpil brothers perceived the monuments as a *tropaeum* for Trajan's Dacian Wars (Шкорпил / Шкорпил 1898, 60) and later on, K. Škorpil recognized among the architectonic fragments the ruins of a temple or a tomb (Шкорпил 1905, 477-478). Then G. Seure (Seure 1915, 82-86) saw the pillars as the debris of an ante-temple and, judging by the rider figure sketched on the pediment by Kanitz, assumed that it was dedicated to the Thracian rider. T. Gerassimov went a step further by proposing a reconstruction of a 'temple of the Thracian rider', based on the descriptions of the finds by previous authors (Герасимов 1961, 245; 252, fig. 5) – an interpretation later dismissed by Z. Gočeva and M. Oppermann in *CCET* II.2. 647. Gerassimov did not discuss in detail the pillar itself, but, based on the architectural decoration and the iconography of the Thracian rider, proposed a dating for the building in the mid-2nd century AD (Герасимов 1961, 253).

The notion of the Lesicheri Obelisk as a funerary pillar was first put forward by V. Beševliev. The researcher suggested that the function of the pillar was similar to the obelisk-shaped tombs in North Africa, as in Wadi Merdum (Msletten-north), Wadi Ghirza and Wadi el-Amud (Бешевлиев 1939, 13-14, fig. 4). This interpretation was further taken into consideration by I. Tsarov (Църов 1996, 114). The author accepted the possible connection between the pillars near Lesicheri and the North African examples, and for the surrounding area he argued for a family tomb in the domain of wealthy aristocrats from Nicopolis ad Istrum[9]. Moreover, Tsarov assumed that all of the remains belonged to one single complex which was in use from the Antonine period to the 4th century AD (Църов 1996, 114). An interpretation of the Lesicheri

[6] The fallen ashlars from the second pillar most likely collapsed due to an earthquake, which would explain the linear manner they came down. Similar examples can be observed at the Apollo sanctuary in Didyma where columns have fallen due to earthquakes and have been preserved in their damaged condition (cf. Knackfuss 1941, 21-22, F 53 Pl. 39, F 54 Pl. 166, F 55 Pl. 185). The 'domino' -effect is also visible in the fallen pyramid-like tomb in Hierapolis (Nyquist 2014, 10).

[7] In the course of the 20th century many of the objects once surrounding the pillar disappeared, probably reused in the nearby country road. Similarly, from the several *tumuli* reported by F. Kanitz (1882, 4), only one located ca. 70 m south of the monument is still visible today. An unknown number of them disappeared over the last century, mainly due to regular agricultural activity.

[8] According to I. Tsarov, the rider statue is an individual monument and has to be regarded separately from the pediment with a rider image seen in the sketch by Kanitz. Furthermore, the author believes that the statue was drawn by F. Kanitz deliberately in the *tympanum*, thus seeking an additional artistic effect (cf. Църов 1996, 113).

[9] That interpretation was introduced by I. Tsarov based on the results of the British-Bulgarian survey in the area, which may suggest the existence of a villa, cf. Църов 1996, 113, with footnote 20. It was accepted also by Poulter 2002, 19; Vladkova 2012, 195 and Чакъров 2014, 54. The villa identification is however refuted by V. Dintchev with the argument that a villa complex would not contain a public sanctuary (Динчев 2006, 101, note 5).

Obelisk as a funerary monument was also supported by S. Conrad (Conrad 2004, 20) and M. Scholz (Scholz 2012, 218-219). Finally, in his recent study K. Chakarov (Чакъров 2014, 53-54) accepted a function of the two pillars as gate posts and also paralleled them to the funerary monuments in North Africa. As for the date, he related the obelisk to the Libyan specimens and accepted the 2nd – 3rd century AD.

The pillar as a funerary monument and its origins

The interpretations of the Lesicheri Obelisk as a structure other than a sepulchral monument are not substantiated by much solid evidence. Against its assumption as an aqueduct pier is its unusual form, slightly narrowing towards the top, as well as its location away from the water supply course specified later by G. Seure (Seure 1915, 82-83). Furthermore, no features suggest any analogy to a victory monument (e.g. an inscription or a historical relief), nor did Tsarov's excavations of the environs in 1987-1990 (Църов 1988, 103-104; 1989, 104-105; 1990, 75; 1991, 106; 1996, 112-113) reveal any indications of such there. In the same way, there is no structural evidence that would suggest any architectonic connection between the pillar and the surrounding ruins; or its function as either an ante of a temple, or a monumental gate post.

To the contrary, given that the surrounding landscape was covered by *tumuli* (of which only one of considerable size survives today due to the continual cultivation of the land – **fig. 5**) and the epigraphic evidence of funerary character that shall be discussed below, an explanation for the Lesicheri Obelisk in a sepulchral context appears most reasonable (Бешевлиев 1939, 12-13; Църов 1996, 114; Conrad 2004, 20; Scholz, 2012, 218-219). Still, it is not clear whether the monument(s) served as the actual resting place of human remains, or rather as a memorial; the foundations of a small building discovered next to them gives reason to Tsarov to propose that a small family mausoleum may be related to it (Църов 1996, 112-113). Regarding the so far proposed analogies (Бешевлиев 1961, 14, fig. 4; Vladkova 2012, 195; Чакъров 2014, 53-54, 68-69, figs. 20-21) – the obelisk-shaped tombs of Wadi Merdum (Msletten north), Wadi Ghirza and Wadi el-Amud – some important considerations must be outlined. Unlike the Lesicheri Obelisk which was built as a solid pillar-shaped monument without any hollow space inside, the Libyan examples (Scott et al. 1996, 173; 178, fig. 26/7, cat. # Md 1 (Wadi Merdum); 119-120, cat. # Gh 128 (Ghirza), 165; 167, fig. 25/3, cat. # Lm1 (Wadi el-Amud)[10]) are, above all, *constructed* as tombs and contain a burial chamber. Moreover, the North African tombs feature a different silhouette. They consist of a socle-base, most often two storeys high, and a pyramid-shaped top. Finally, they often display architectonic decoration, such as columns, pilasters, busts, reliefs and freezes with floral motifs and tendrils (Mattingly / Dore 1996, 146) – ornamental trends characteristic of Western Roman iconography[11], none of which traceable in the Lesicheri pillar.

M. Scholz was the first scholar to propose that the parallels for Lesicheri are to be sought in Asia Minor. The absence of reliefs and other forms of embellishment directly applied on the monument, as well as the fact that the pillar does not imitate a building, such as a mausoleum or an *aedicula*, are interpreted by the author as indications of an affiliation to Eastern Mediterranean funerary monuments

[10] In the Libyan valleys similar tombs appear also in Wadi Umm el-Agerem (Scott et al. 1996, 20, 25 fig. 1/8, cat. # Ag 2), Wadi Antar (Scott et al. 1996, 33, 38 fig. 3/6, cat. # An 1a), Wadi Migdal (Scott et al. 1996, 200, 204, fig 27/4a, cat. # Mg 1), Wadi N'f'd (Scott et al. 1996, 261-262, fig. 33/7, cat. # Nf 30-31).

[11] Cf. for instance a richly decorated funerary pillar in Basel / Schmidt 1967, 96 figs. 1-2. Furthermore, one exceptional example in this regard is the cenotaph in Limyra that belonged to C. Caesar, the adopted son and designated successor of Augustus, who died in AD 4. Monument and pillars have been deliberately ornamented by following decorative patterns originating and widely spread in the city of Rome (cf. Plattner 2012, 249-256 with fig. 1).



Fig. 5. The Lesicheri pillar and the surviving *tumulus* nearby (photo: D. Delchev)

(Scholz 2012, 219, 221). In fact, funerary pillars have long traditions in Asia Minor. In Central Lycia, for instance, 50 monuments have been attested so far, dating from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic period (Marksteiner 2002, 219-225). Therefore, the monument type consisting of a stepped fundament and a pillar appears to be a rather common funerary feature, although mostly made of monolithic blocks (Schürr 2015, 154-155, 161, fig. 1/3 – for a specimen from Isidna).

The authors of this paper would like to propose another parallel for the monument, located much closer geographically and more similar in appearance, that has somehow remained outside the discourse on the origins of the Lesicheri pillar so far. The structure under discussion (**fig. 6a**) is a funerary pillar situated 5 km north-west of Nicaea in Bithynia (modern-day Iznik in Turkey), popularly known as the Nicaean Obelisk, or (again) *Dikilitaş* (Schneider 1943, 7, Pl. 1-2; Merkelbach 1987, 33-34, Pl. 4; *IK Iznik* 85). The Bithynian monument, like the one at Lesicheri, never toppled down and accordingly inspired travelogues and scholarly curiosity for ages – cf. Dr. John Covel's 17th-century description and sketch (Covel 1676-1679, folio 9r) and many others. The obelisk near Nicaea is ca. 12 m tall in total and shows an identical structure to that at Lesicheri: a three-stepped fundament and a pillar divided into a lower ('base') and an upper part – the *obelos*, here of a triangular cross-section (Schneider 1943, 7, Pl. 1-2). Likewise, the Nicaean monument was not cut from a single block, but was erected by mounting grey-whitish marble blocks on top of each other without mortar[12]. Some decoration was applied at the uppermost step in the form of lion paws, much like the widespread theatre or stadium seat ornaments. On the socle cornice there is a palmette motif, still visible today. Furthermore, holes on the socle and on the second block of the *obelos* have been interpreted as intended for metal clamps that supported bronze statues or other decoration that cannot be identified today (Schneider 1943, 7). According to an inscription placed on the first *obelos*-ashlar (**fig. 6b**), the monument was erected for C. Cassius Philiscus from Nicaea, possibly in the first half of the 2nd century AD (Schneider 1943, 7, Pl. 1-2; *IK Iznik* 85, Pl. 9). The dating of the monument rests on the reconstruction of the family tree of the deceased, based on his relatives known from earlier monuments (*IK Iznik* 85; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 110; Nyquist 2014, 14-15; also see text below). Like in Lesicheri, it remains unclear where the actual body of

[12] The monolithic blocks used here were of greater height. The base (height: 2.70 m; width: 2.03-2.30 m), besides the socle and the cornice-stone, was made of two tiers, and the *obelos* part above the socle-stone – of five (Nyquist 2014, 15).

the Nicaean deceased was kept – whether it was interred in an underground chamber, or if the ashes were put in an urn and built-in the obelisk (Nyquist 2014, 15).

Similarly to the Lesicheri Obelisk, the Nicaean pillar did not stand alone. A now lost second obelisk was also set up near Lake Ascania. What remains today is only the record of a remarkable inscription once visible on it (*Anth. Gr.* 15.4-8 = *IK Iznik* 85; Merkelbach / Stauber 2001, 159-163) – five epigrams for the priest Sacerdos and his wife Severa that date the monument to ca. 130s AD (see below about this date). With regard to its structure, one cannot say more than what is already suggested in the epigrams: they emphasize the outstanding height of the monument and its gilded sharp end, οὐράνιον τὸ μνᾶμα καὶ ἁ χρυσήλατος ἀκτίς (*IK Iznik* 85, second and third epigram). The mention of the pillar as a tall 'pyramid' – τὰν ἀελίῳ γείτονα πυραμίδα (*IK Iznik* 85, first epigram) may suggest a pointed top of the structure or, perhaps, a triangular cross-section for its *obelos*, identical to the Philiscus monument. There are indications that other funerary obelisks were also visible in the same area at Lake Ascania by the road to Nicomedia (*Anth. Gr.* 7.701).

A comparison between the two surviving obelisks in Bithynia and Thrace reveals similarities not only in the general appearance of both monuments, but also in their architectonic execution. In both cases the lower part is ca. 3 m high and seems to follow the same construction scheme: plainly profiled socle, basic shaft, and profiled cornice, on which lies the base for the *obelos*. Furthermore, one should note the crafting of the fillet-detail at the lower portion of the first stone block of the upper section (the *obelos*) as an extension of the socle that appears identical. The dissimilarities between the two monuments are in terms of the cross-sections of the *obeloi* – triangular for Nicaea and rectangular for Lesicheri – as well as the utter lack of decoration on the Lesicheri shaft in comparison to the Nicaean pillar. The suggested existence of attached sculptural decoration to the *obelos* cannot be certainly proved either for the Nicaean pillar, or for the Lesicheri monument (cf. Scholz 2012, 218). Another discrepancy can be seen in the fact that while the two (or more) Nicaean obelisks appear to be erected for and by separate individuals, were placed slightly apart from each other and perhaps differed some in their appearance, the two pillars near Nicopolis ad Istrum seem to be designed as twin monuments, erected simultaneously and right next to each other.

From a typological perspective, however, there is unmistakable similarity between the monuments in Lesicheri and Nicaea. Both surviving pillars were probably set up at approximately the same time (Hadrianic 2nd century or slightly after, as suggested by the Nicaean piece) and their shape belongs to the same Egyptizing trend in architecture of the time. Despite the different cross-sections and minor ornamental divergences, the construction technique and the remaining physical features are identical: the general size and silhouette, the tripartite structure, the architectonic details. These observations allow us to consider the example(s) of Nicaea as the closest so far known parallel for the Lesicheri Obelisk(s), and respectively, to narrow the date of the latter down to the decades between the 120s and the 140s AD.



Fig. 6. a The so-called Nicaean obelisk today; **b** the inscription – a detail (photos: M. Raycheva)

Epigraphic evidence

The epigraphic evidence related to the pillars both in Lesicheri and Nicaea may shed some light on further possible connections between the two monuments in terms of their social and cultural context. A fragmentary inscription found near the Lesicheri pillar was sketched by Kanitz, but was eventually lost. It provoked various readings and interpretations by later scholars, and is recorded in *IGBulg* II 701 as follows:

Κ<λ>(αύδιος) Οὐά[λ]<η>ς(?) βουλ(ευτὴς) καὶ ἱερεὺς Ῥώμ[ης ζ]ῶν καὶ φρονῶν ἑαυ[τοῦ] | καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς μνίας χάριν ἐποίησ[α].

This funerary inscription was set up by a Claudius Valens or a Quintus Julius (cf. G. Mihailov's commentary in *IGBulg* about variant readings) for himself and his parents. He was a member of the city council, most likely in the nearest city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, and a priest of the goddess Roma, an office closely related to emperor worship. Due to the circumstances of discovery and the fact that it seemingly belonged to a horizontal architectural feature, there is no definite evidence about the original location of the inscribed stone and its connection to the pillar. The surface of the surviving obelisk does not bear any ancient inscriptions – perhaps it was once faced with slabs, or it did not have any at all, or perhaps it was the twin pillar that originally bore some epitaphs. All authors so far have generally accepted a link between the text and the pillar[13] because of the insignificant distance between them. Some attribute both the inscription and the obelisks to the small building right next to them that has been interpreted as a family tomb (cf. Църов 1996, 112-113). As long as the pillar shows no constructive bond to the structures of its environment, this interpretation remains tentative, and we should refrain from identifying with certainty the 'owner' of the pillars with the person who set up the funerary inscription. Moreover, the shape of letters in Kanitz's drawing would suggest an inscription later than Hadrianic times, towards the

[13] Following G. Mihailov's entry in *IGBulg* II, the inscription has been widely considered to pertain to the construction of the pillar by all later scholars who dealt with the monument, including one of the authors of this article in a previous study – see Raycheva 2015, 27.

end of the 2nd – beginning of the 3rd century, and if related to the pillar, it was then set up some decades after its construction.

It appears safe to suggest that due to the immediate proximity, the pillars, the inscription and the small building belonged to the same premises, perhaps as monuments within the burial plot of the same family, but may have served different members of that family. Unfortunately, the scant evidence and the fragmented state of the name do not allow for much deliberation on the ancestry of Claudius Valens / Quintus Julius. He apparently possessed Roman citizenship and certainly held at least two public offices – one administrative, one religious, and probably owned some land outside the city. The choice of language rather points to a non-Roman origin of the person, and perhaps to a local, Greek-speaking (Asia Minor?) family. It is worth to observe his involvement in the cult of Dea Roma which is comparatively rare for Thrace, but nevertheless practiced in some places, such as Augusta Traiana (Raycheva 2015, 29-30).

As for the Nicaean obelisk, the very short inscription on it informs us that it was built for C. Cassius Philiscus who died at the age of 83 (*IK Iznik* 85; Merkelbach 1987, 20; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 110; Nyquist 2014, 14-15). Although not much is known about his own life, other epigraphic and literary sources from Nicaea indicate that the deceased belonged to a family of dedicated citizens. Many Cassii were active in the public affairs of Bithynia from the mid-1st century on, and especially in Nicaea, where at least six of them are known by name (Fernoux 2004, 175-176; Madsen 2005, 9-10; 2009, 94-95). The Nicaean Cassii branch included an older distinguished relative of Philiscus (most likely an uncle), C. Cassius Chrestus who, in the late 1st century AD, was an *epimeletes*, but most importantly – an archpriest and a *sebastophantes*[14] (*IK Iznik* 25, 51, 116; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 112; Madsen 2009, 90) – both offices tightly linked to the imperial cult. The probable date of Philiscus' death has been calculated to ca. AD 120, based on the epigraphic evidence of his father's career (Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 110).

Further information about the social standing of the owners of funerary obelisks in Nicaea is offered by the now lost second monument. It bore five epigrams (*Anth. Gr.* 15.4-8 = *IK Iznik* 89) for the priest Sacerdos and his wife Severa (Merkelbach / Stauber 2001, 159). The lengthy metrical inscription related the life and career of Sacerdos as prominent benefactor and hereditary 'celestial *orgiophantes*' – in all likelihood, a poetic way of denoting a priest of the imperial cult[15]. The 'Ausonian (i.e. Roman) Zeus' (Αὐσονίοιο Διός) mentioned in the inscription is perhaps a reference to the emperor Hadrian himself, whom Sacerdos met personally, possibly while serving as ambassador for Nicaea during the Panhellenic games in Athens (Fernoux 2004, 404-405; Nyquist 2014, 11-14). It is worth to note that the deceased is known by his *cognomen* only, the very matching Latin *Sacerdos*, but no proper name and filiation are mentioned (possibly due to his wide popularity and the demands of metrics). His wife's name implies Roman roots or at least a family in possession of Roman citizenship. This circumstance is interestingly combined with the Doric Greek used in 3 out of 5 epigrams, interpreted as various poets contributing to a deserving citizen (Bowie 2016, 16, 20). We can assume that here as well we are dealing with

[14] For the title and its connection with the imperial cult see Nilsson 1950, 19; Robert 1960, 322; Pleket 1965, 340-346; Friesen 2001, 114-115.

[15] This opinion is supported by the majority of scholars – e.g. Merkelbach 1987, 33 and most of the later authors. It has been proposed also that Sacerdos was a priest of a mystery cult – largely due to the English translation used where the term is given as *hierophant* (Paton 1918) and the 'lack of reference to the cult', which 'fits the pattern of secrecy' (Nyquist 2014, 18). However, one can argue that precisely the lack of reference may result from the rather well-known occupation and deeds of Sacerdos. The hereditary aspect of the office, the special wording of the inscription and especially the designation of Hadrian as Zeus are also in favor of this idea.

another 'Romanized' local or at least a Greek-speaking member of the elite with a stellar administrative and religious career. It has been recently suggested that he may also be related to the Nicaean Cassii, his full name possibly being C. Cassius Sacerdos, although this idea has not been convincingly proven (Bowie 2016, 19). Of significance for the dating of this monument in ca. AD 131-137 is one of the texts praising the extraordinary engagement of Sacerdos in connection with the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake of AD 120-121 (*IK Iznik* 89, second and fourth epigram).

A third Nicaean obelisk may be indicated in another preserved epigram from Nicaea, mentioning a tall and glittering monument by Lake Ascania set up for an Achaeus (*Anth. Gr.* 7.701), but unfortunately this cannot be substantiated without further evidence (Merkelbach / Stauber 2001, 164; Nyquist 2014, 9).

It is important to observe the underlying connection between families of Roman citizenship involved in the public sphere and particularly imperial worship in Nicaea, and these imposing funerary monuments that belong to the Egyptizing trend of the 2nd century. It can be suggested that the obelisk in Thrace, so far dated roughly to the 2nd – 3rd century, was probably erected around the same time as the Nicaean one – in the 120s – 130s AD or a little after, as part of the similar political and cultural tendencies occurring in the two neighbouring provinces.

Bithynians in Thrace

The Bithynian influence on several spheres of life in Thrace, from architecture to imperial cult practices and beyond, should be viewed in a broader context. Nicopolis ad Istrum and its environs appear as one of the centres in Thrace where many Bithynians are recorded (e.g. *IGBulg* II 600, 674, 667, 668, 688 (= *IGBulg* V 5232), 690; Velkov 1993, 212, # 5; Шаранков 2014, 28-31, fig. 1-2).

The significant role of Asia Minor craftsmen in Roman Thrace is frequently noted, especially with regard to stone working and architectural decoration (cf. Dimitrov's paper in this volume), and many of the documented examples concern settlers namely from Bithynia. This is attested, for instance, by the existence of a *collegium* of Nicomedian *lithoxooi* (stone craftsmen) in Nicopolis ad Istrum in the 2nd century (*IGBulg* II 674). Their visible and consistent influence on architecture can be traced not only in public buildings, but also in terms of funerary structures. Bithynian craftsmen were the intermediaries of many fashionable patterns brought from the East, and it is especially true in Hadrian's time. This is supported by the adoption of terms characteristic for Egypt in the sepulchral language, such as the 'pyramids', evidenced both in Nicaea and Nicopolis ad Istrum (*IGBulg* II 668, *IK Iznik* 89).

Apart from tangible monuments, the Bithynians in Thrace left a great impact on cultural and religious life as well. At least one cult – that of Zeus Okkonenos – characteristic for the eastern and southern city territory of Nicaea, where 8 dedications have been found so far (Öztürk / Öztürk 2015, 124), was practiced in Nicopolis ad Istrum as well. This is seen in no less than three cases (*IGBulg* II 599, 718; Velkov 1993, 212, # 5). The dedicator in the last inscription – Πάλουμβος Ἀπολλωνίδου – was a Nicaean who maintained in Nicopolis the cult

so typical of his homeland in the late 2nd – the early 3rd century AD (Velkov 1993, 212, # 5).

It is, then, no wonder that some novelties of emperor worship also reached Thrace namely through the Eastern settlers. Bithynian involvement in imperial cult practices in Thrace can be viewed both in individual careers (as part of civic duties, or spontaneous) and in the form of organized group activity, such as various social clubs or associations.

The individual stories recorded on stone usually concern Bithynians that moved to (and often settled permanently in) Thrace. These people were involved in emperor worship, either in the framework of their official responsibilities, or on their own initiative. They were traditionally active participants in city administration: some of them held positions on municipal level, predominantly as members of city councils, or took various priesthoods. Others were simply private individuals with no indication of public career, who took part in imperial cult activities. An inscription namely from Nicopolis ad Istrum documents the construction of a Hypsistos temple for the health and well-being of Hadrian and Sabina. It was sponsored by a certain Iason, son of Apphus, from Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, no later than mid-136 AD (Шаранков 2014, 28-31). The Hypsistos cult points again to a considerable Eastern and particularly Bithynian presence in the city in the second century. The mixed names of individuals of Thracian and Asia Minor ancestry might hint at a Bithynian origin as well.

Organized activity is also evident in Nicopolis ad Istrum. For instance, a society of hymn-singers (ὑμνῳδοί) with at least two native Nicaean members functioned here in the 2nd – 3rd century AD. The *collegium*'s activity involved dedications for the well-being of the emperors, and musical performances in honour of the rulers, as seen in three altars from the 2nd century AD (*IGBulg* II 666, 667, 668, see also *IGBulg* V 5219). One of them is set up by the association itself for the health of the emperors, while the other two are dedicated to the *collegium* by the two Nicaeans. Apart from linking the organization explicitly to imperial worship, these examples also reveal a direct connection with Bithynia. The altars set up for the hymn-singers themselves use epithets such as φιλοσέβαστοι, 'Augustus-loving', and ἱερονῖκαι, 'winners of the sacred games' (although it is unclear whether those games took place in Nicopolis proper or elsewhere). Hymn-singing is attested only once elsewhere in Thrace so far – in a single piece of evidence from Perinthos – a funerary inscription set up for the deceased daughter of one such performer of unknown origin, with a date after AD 212 (*Perinthos-Herakleia* 158). These societies were popular throughout the Roman imperial age in Asia Minor where they were also engaged in the observances of emperor worship by composing and singing hymns (Oliver 1941, 92-93; Mellor 1975, 192); in Smyrna, they appear to be members of the local *gerousia* (*ISmyrna* 109, 161). Their introduction in Thrace possibly happened through Bithynian agents.

Emperor worship institutions and individual offices meant promising career paths everywhere in the Roman East, and Thrace and Bithynia were no exception. These activities provided opportunity for public manifestations both for middle-class people that sought affordable membership in societies like the hymn-singers, and for the elite families that could build imposing funerary monuments. The

Lesicheri pillar indirectly confirms these observations and reveals the deeper cultural impact Bithynians had on Thrace – not only through the replication of architectural patterns, but also in the cultural and religious life, one aspect of which is the transfer of fashionable trends in funerary monuments that mark the social status of the higher classes in the cities.

Conclusion

With considerable evidence of numerous settlers from Bithynia (especially Nicaeans and Nicomedians) that came to Nicopolis ad Istrum from the 2nd century AD, the connection between the pillars of Thrace and Bithynia is hardly surprising. The two monuments illustrate another aspect of the transfer of patterns into Thrace, in terms of usage of certain monument forms in the Eastern Balkans.

Apart from their general layout, construction technique and execution, the pillars in Thrace and Bithynia might share another similarity – the individuals that erected them. The obelisks were perhaps used in the first half of the 2nd century as an indicator of high social status by members of rich families in possession of Roman citizenship, very likely engaged in emperor worship offices. The funerary pillars seem to have appeared in Hadrian's rule and can be therefore regarded as a Hadrianic phenomenon, influenced by the Egyptizing trend of the time, which can establish the date of the Lesicheri obelisk somewhere around the 120s – 130s AD, with a possible delay of a decade. It can be suggested that these fashion novelties among the elites in Nicopolis ad Istrum were perhaps set and executed, or at least strongly influenced by Bithynians settled in the city.

While the phenomenon occurred repeatedly in Nicaea and was performed by a few individuals, it seems that the pillar(s) in Thrace are encountered only once. Therefore, we cannot claim a complete adoption of that sepulchral architecture trend. Strictly speaking, the emergence of funerary obelisks in Nicopolis ad Istrum is rather to be labelled 'transfer of a pattern'. This contrasts to full 'adoption', which connotes a repeated usage and even further development of certain trends.

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The Image of Sphinx in Roman Sculpture from Lower Danube Fortresses

Andrzej B. BIERNACKI / Elena KLENINA

Abstract: The motif of the sphinx, originating from the Ancient Orient and Egypt, was later taken up by Hellenistic art and eventually, around the year 30 BC, emerged in Roman imagery as the symbol of hope. At the time of Caesar, it appeared on coins together with Sibyl. In sepulchral art, it is obviously decorative, of an apotropaic nature. Furthermore, images of sphinxes on sarcophaguses, tombstones and individual statues were used to guard graves or necropolises. In the region of the Lower Danube, two fragments of sphinxes have been found. One of them was uncovered during the conservation work in the central part of Novae. Another fragment was discovered within the structure of the defensive wall in the Roman castle of Dimum. The sphinx of Novae may be dated to the 2nd century AD, and possibly to the first half of the century. The sphinx of Dimum is dated to the time between the late 2nd and the early 3rd century AD.

Key words: Roman sculpture, sphinx, Lower Danube, Novae, Dimum.

Each season of the long-lasting Polish-Bulgarian exploration of the Roman legionary camp and the later Roman and Early Byzantine city of Novae **(fig. 1)** yields an abundant and diversified collection of archaeological artefacts, among them ancient sculptures. In the course of conservation works in the south-western section of the complex of the legionary bath in 2013, a fragment of a limestone statue which obviously portrays a sphinx was discovered. It is 0.52 m high, the maximum width is 0.33 m, the minimum is 0.19 m, and it is 0.21 m thick **(fig. 2)**. In its present condition, it is a headless torso with a partly preserved single wing, made of local crumbly limestone (biopellsparite). On the extant portion of the underbelly, four pairs of animal nipples are visible. Also the lower portion of the neck is extant. The wing, growing out of the torso, features eleven small down feathers and six primary remiges. Some feathers have been badly broken off. Extinct parts of the statue are the other wing, the head, the fore legs and the rear section of the body of the portrayed animal, including the hind legs. The entire preserved fragment of the sculpture has been much damaged and many pieces have been broken off, which increases the difficulty of identifying its exact purpose. On the back of the statue there is a rectangular flat area, as in sculptures which were used as bases or supports of Roman tables and candelabra; sculptures on Roman tombstones also had this feature.

In 1928, within the structure of the defensive wall in the Roman castle of Dimum (now Belene) **(fig. 1)**, a fragment of a sculpture

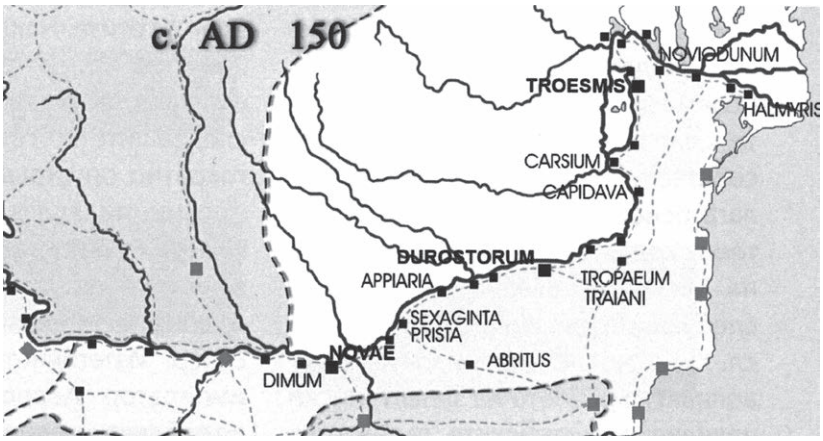


Fig. 1. The Lower Danube *Limes*. Legionary bases and auxiliary forts ca. AD 150 (after Sarnowski 2012, fig. 5)



Fig. 2. The sphinx of Novae (photo: A. B. Biernacki)

made of organogenous detrital limestone was discovered, representing the torso of a sphinx (Вълов 1968, 51, 52, fig. 7). The extant piece is 0.48 m long, 0.34 m tall and 0.24 m wide. It shows the front part of a woman's trunk including a section of the neck **(fig. 3)**. It features two female breasts with the nipples visible. In its lower part, the torso becomes an animal's underbelly with extant four pairs of small nip-

ples. On both sides, wings grow out of the torso. The better preserved one consists of three arcuated strips of small down feathers. The first strip, at the shoulder, consists of six down feathers, the second of five, and the third one of as few as four, from under which five secondary remiges protrude. Of the other wing, only the section directly at the torso is extant, consisting of three straight strips of small down feathers. The first and the second strip feature five down feathers each, and the third one, only four. Only an impression is preserved of the secondary remiges. On either side of the torso, under the wings, the outline of ribs is distinguishable. The head, the hind part of the trunk and the fore and hind legs are extinct.

Upon a comparative study, both sculptures may be tenably identified as sphinxes. The motif of the sphinx, originating from the Ancient Orient and Egypt, was later taken up by the Hellenistic art and eventually, around the year 30 BC, emerged in Roman imagery as the symbol of hope. At the time of Caesar, it appeared on coins together with Sibyl (Zanker 1999, 270). Octavian sealed his documents with an effigy of the sphinx. *Cistophorus* coins minted in Pergamum

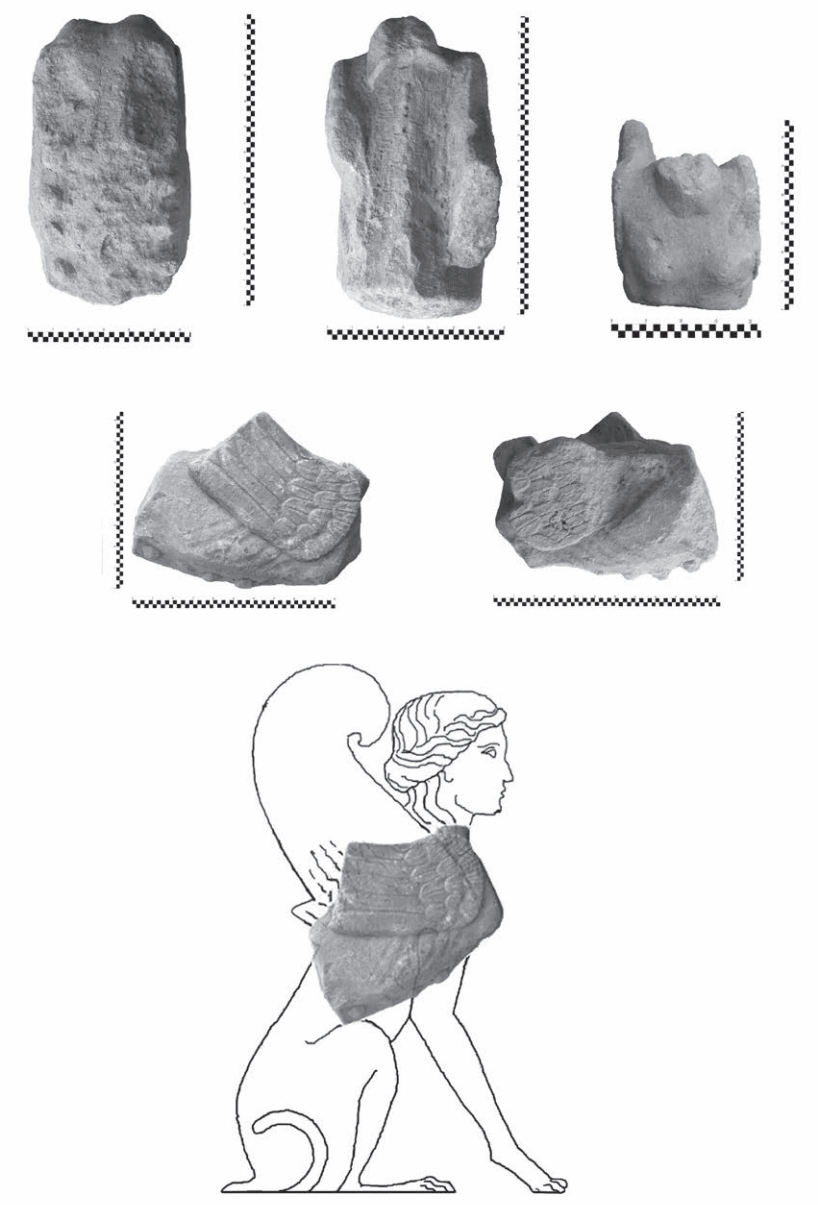


Fig. 3. The sphinx of Dimum (photo: A. B. Biernacki)



Fig. 4. Roman sphinxes: **1** the sphinx of Colchester (photo: http://colchesterantiquesclub.weebly.com); **2** the sphinx of Aenona (after: Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, figs. 13-15); **3-4** the sphinxes of Side (photo: A. B. Biernacki)

in the year 27/26 BC bore an image of a sphinx, which augured the beginning of a new era and was also associated with the prophecy and secret of Octavian (Zanker 1999, 56, fig. 36b). Likewise, an image of this mythical creature appears on the pauldrons of the armor of Augustus' statue in Prima Porta (Zanker 1999, 194, 270, fig. 148b). The same motif occurs on candelabra, bronze tables, murals, altars, tombstones and marble urns (Zanker 1999, 270-271, fig. 213; S. Landi in Durante 2001, 54-55). In sepulchral art, sphinxes are obviously decorative, of an apotropaic nature. They may also be related to the myth of Oedipus (Herrmann / von den Hoek 2005, 279; Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, 89). Furthermore, images of sphinxes on sarcophaguses, tombstones and individual statues were used to guard graves or necropolises; an instance of this practice is the sphinx of Colchester, dated to AD 43-75, a statue of a sitting lion with a woman's head, shoulders and breasts, holding the deceased's head in the claws of its fore paws **(fig. 4/1)**.This is a representation of the triumph of death over life (Lodge 1870, 89-91; Katakis 1997, 1173, pl. 322; Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, 89-90). Of a higher artistic quality is the sphinx tomb



Fig. 5. Roman sphinxes: **1** the sphinx of Monte Cognolo at Lanuvium (near Rome) (photo: https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/20336635792487299); **2** the sphinx from the Roman villa in the Prisco property at Boscoreale (photo: https://pl.pinterest.com/marinamilella/iconografia-sfinge); **3** the sphinx from the Roman mausoleum of Orange (photo: https://www.flickr.com/photos/mharrsch/9543165346); **4** the Roman sphinx of Piraeus (photo: A. B. Biernacki); **5** the sphinx of Aenona (after Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, figs. 1-3)

guardian from the Roman mausoleum of Orange (France) – a naked female bust decorated with a plastron, with a *phalera* in its center **(fig. 5/3)**. The woman's face is preserved; it has a very refined expression, while the model's carefully combed hair reaches halfway down her neck. This statue probably dates from the 1st century BC – mid-1st century AD. A sphinx of a similar design is kept at the archaeological museum of Zadar; found at the ancient necropolis of Aenona, it is tentatively dated to the late Antonine or the Severan dynasty (late 2nd – 3rd century) **(fig. 5/5)** (Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, 80, figs. 1-3). Another sphinx found in Aenona has strongly emphasized feminine features, but wears no jewelry **(fig. 4/2)** (Cesarik / Štrmelj 2015, 82-83, figs. 13-15). In the Ancient city of Luna (Etruria) was discovered a fragment of a sphinx which constituted the base of a marble table, dated to

the time between the late 1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD (S. Landi in Durante 2001, 54-55, figs. 81-84). One statue of a seated sphinx is kept at the Archaeological museum of Piraeus in Greece. On the head she wears a *polos* adorned with *anthemia* (palmette flowers) **(fig. 5/4)**. It served as a leg of a marble table, dated to ca. AD 150. Further instances of this design of sphinxes are two sculptures found in Side and dated to the 3rd century AD **(figs. 4/3, 4/4)**.

In our opinion, all of the abovementioned artifacts belong to Type I sphinx statues, which may be further divided into Subtypes A and B, the latter distinguished by decorative jewelry girdling the breasts of the woman's torso. Type II, of a slightly different design, is represented by a sculpture found on Monte Cognolo at Lanuvium (near Rome), dated to the years AD 120–140 **(fig. 5/1)**. Its characteristic is a more masculine torso, with the chest covered by peculiar scale-like down feathers. The breast is less pronounced and deprived of nipples. There are also down feathers on the upper sections of the sphinx's fore legs. The item was apparently used as the support of a stone table. An earlier example of this Type II sphinx sculpture was made from tufa and was found in a Roman villa in the Prisco property at Boscoreale, dated to AD 79 **(fig. 5/2)**.

The statue found in Novae must be classified as a Type II sphinx image. It is emphasized that it clearly came from a provincial workshop where the workers had only mediocre skills, both the stonecutters and the sculptors. Since it is made of second-rate crumbly limestone (biopellsparite), a material available locally in Novae and its environs, it may have been produced in this city (Skoczylas 1995, 91-99; Skoczylas 2013, 121-126). The sphinx of Novae may be dated to the 2nd century AD, and possibly the first half of the century.

Conversely, the statue discovered in Dimum must be classified as Type IA. In comparison with the artifact from Novae, it plainly shows a better quality of the sculptor's skills, a more careful representation of anatomical details and superior visual decoration. It is made of highly crystalline organogenous detrital limestone quarried in Hotnica (near Nicopolis ad Istrum) (Skoczylas 2013, 125-126). This is yet another piece of evidence proving that the workshop at the latter location employed better skilled stonecutters and sculptors. The sphinx of Dimum is dated to the period between the late 2nd and the early 3rd century AD (Вълов 1968, 53-54).

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Transport in Thracia

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Abstract: The example of the Roman province of Thracia delivers insight into the functioning of Roman state transport and emphasizes its role and importance for state and populace throughout the Empire. Located in-between the western and eastern half of the Roman Empire, Thracia and its roads served as a bridge between the two. In reviewing the ways in which the state transport system (*vehiculatio / cursus publicus*) functioned, this paper analyses the relations between claims of the state and private interests regarding transportation, by discussing the following topics: 1. Significance of Thracia; 2. Establishment of infrastructure; 3. Organization and misuse of the state transport system; 4. Interrelations of state and private business. On the one hand, the examination of these topics reveals the huge burden the Roman state imposed on the populace and the problems of misuse of the transportation system. On the other hand, however, it reveals how locals could nevertheless capitalise on the system.

Key words: Roman roads, *viae*, transport, *cursus publicus*, *vehiculatio.*

Introduction

In the Roman Empire, transport and its infrastructure were crucial assets for the state, society and economy. Merchants and those engaged in transport, other businessmen, as well as private individuals who had occasion to travel, heavily relied on it.

The state depended on efficient and reliable means of transportation for the administration of its Empire: communication, the carriage of supplies, as well as the travels of government officials relied on suitable infrastructure. Consequently, road building was intensified from Augustus' reign on.

In addition, the first emperor created a system of state transport (*vehiculatio / cursus publicus*) that built on a Republican model as far as the requisition of the means of transportation and accommodation was concerned. Over time, it was enlarged and established as an institution organised by the cities of the Empire. Our evidence for the imperial period shows a high degree of movement of goods, as well as increased interconnectivity between the micro-regions of the Mediterranean.

After 45 CE, when Thracia was established as a Roman province, the new territory had to be integrated into the communication network of the Empire. Several documents provide information on the topic. The example of Thracia, therefore, may exemplify the functioning of Roman transport and its implications. These are: the measures of the state in building infrastructure, the organization of the state transport system, and the question of the relation between the people's obligations and benefits.

The following discussion of these questions is divided into 4 parts: 1. Significance of Thracia; 2. Establishment of infrastructure; 3. Organization and misuse of the state transport system; 4. Interrelations of state and private business.

Materials and methods

An analysis of the state transport system during the imperial period (1st – 3rd century) is predominantly based on epigraphical sources. They document not only the building of roads and the necessary related infrastructure (such as bridges, tunnels or rest houses), but further illustrate the organization and functioning of the system by stating rules and obligations for users or suppliers of the system. In particular, the misuse of the system and the impact of private business are further documented by disputes and complaints reflected in letters of the populace or government edicts (Kolb 2000). For instance, the only complete petition to an emperor was found in Thracia and this document refers to the transport system. Compared to other provinces, Thracia seems relatively rich in such documents – a fact that may well be due to the province's role as a transport hub and the resulting high traffic density.

1. Significance of Thracia

The establishment of Thracia as a Roman province in 45 CE transformed the greater part of the Thracian territory into an inland province. The *ripa Thraciae* along the Danube to the Black Sea had been assigned to the newly created province of Moesia inferior, where legions and auxiliary units were stationed to protect the northern border of the Empire.

Although Thracia was an inland province, its location was unique, as it functioned as a bridge between Europe and Asia. In the south and east of Thracia, the Balkans ended in the adjacent Aegean Sea, Black Sea and Sea of Marmara.

On land, the oldest link between West and East, the *Via Egnatia*, cut across the south of Thracia. The *poleis* along the coast of the Black Sea were linked by a road running north to south. The main trans-provincial road (coming from Singidunum in Moesia superior) runs diagonally (hence its modern name *Via Diagonalis*) through the province through Naissus, Serdica, Philippopolis towards the *Via Egnatia* (through Hadrianopolis and Perinthos) to the Aegean Sea and Byzantion. It facilitated the connection to the north-western provinces and was of both military and economic significance. Other routes of strategic and commercial nature were added, such as the north-south link from Oescus at the Danubian *limes* over the Haemus to Philippopolis or the west-east connections in the north and south of the Balkan Mountains (Hollenstein 1975; Wendel 2005; Madzharov 2009; Ivanov 2012, 233-236).

The importance of transport and infrastructure in Thracia is highlighted by the region's position in-between the western and eastern half of the Roman Empire. Thracia was a transit-province. As such, the volume of traffic was most likely higher than in other regions of the Empire. This may be reflected in the body of source material from the province, even though we have to allow for the contingency of our tradition. As it happens, important documents crucial to our knowledge of Roman transport survive exclusively from Thracia. They hint at a connection between state measures and the local population's obligations and economic interests. In other words: The construction and maintenance of roads and facilities for travellers, in particular those commissioned by the state, as well as the provision of means of transportation, resulted in a substantial burden falling on the populace.

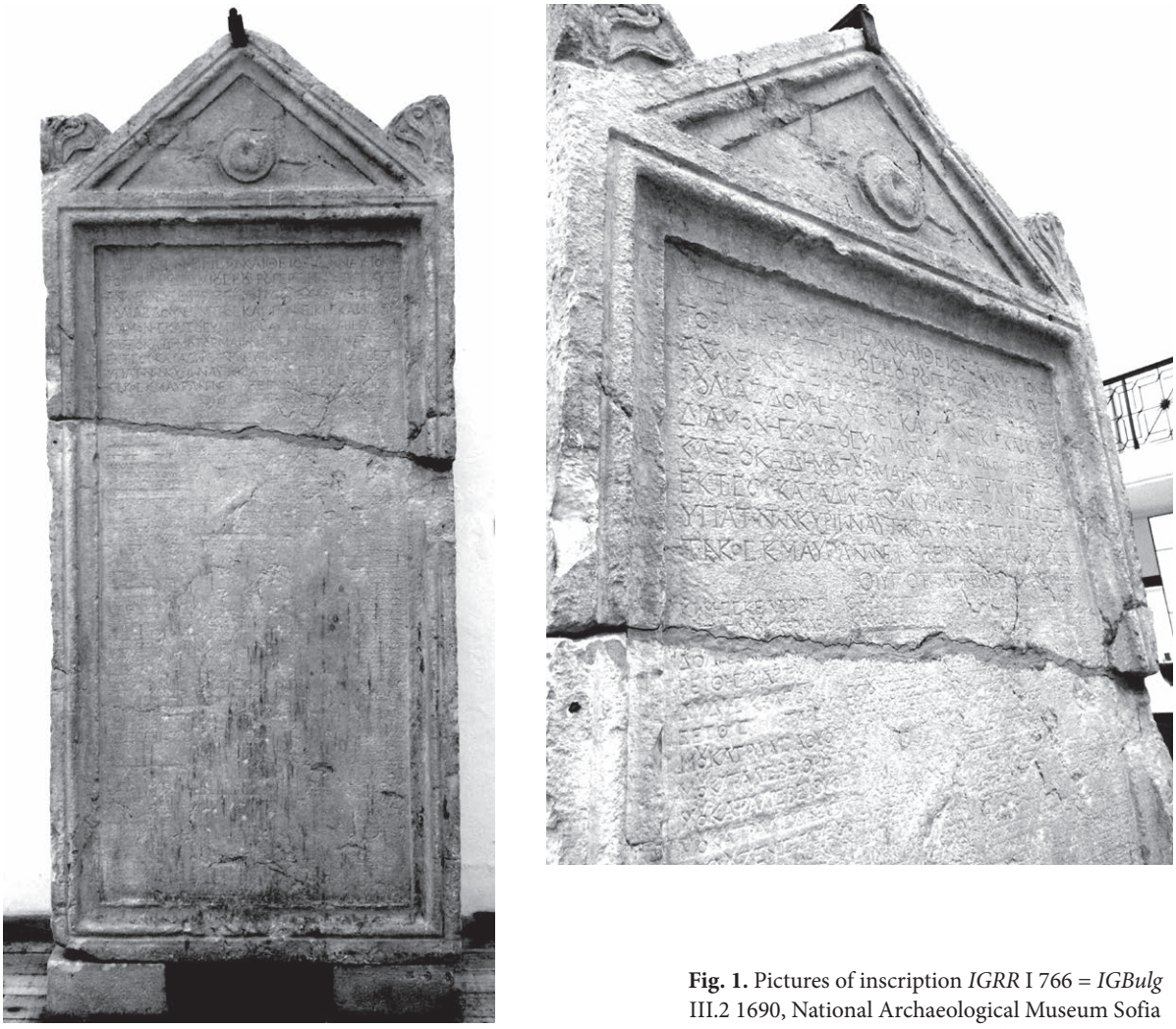


Fig. 1. Pictures of inscription *IGRR* I 766 = *IGBulg* III.2 1690, National Archaeological Museum Sofia (photos: Anne Kolb)

As a rule, such burdens are negatively connoted down to the present day. Nevertheless, it appears that this obligation towards the state was accepted and customarily fulfilled; only additional demands by excessive users were objected to. This shows, I would argue, that benefits from the established infrastructure proved advantageous for the population and even compensated for possible drawbacks. Although residents were obliged to support transport facilities, they did not, in general, assess roads and travellers negatively, provided that everything operated as arranged. Pursuing this line of thought further leads then to the following question: What were the relations between claims of the state and private interests?

2. Establishment of infrastructure

For various reasons, the Roman central authority took interest in a transport infrastructure that incorporated roads and roadhouses. Once new territory was secured by military power, administrative development and economic exploitation were facilitated by these infrastructure provisions. For the most part, both objectives went hand in hand, as new territory was intended to return resources as well as taxes (Bartels 2014[1]).

Starting with the reign of the emperor Nero, Thracian inscriptions testify to the government constructing and expanding roads that

[1] Most recently on roads as military supply routes.

had in part existed already in pre-provincial times. A milestone found in what is today Feres in northern Greece (*AE* 1991, 1407 = *IThrAeg* 453), as well as three well-known building inscriptions of Nero attest to the construction of roads and roadhouses *throughout Thracia* in the years from 59 to 63, i.e. some time after the establishment of the province. Nero had his procurator Titus Iulius Ustus build several inns along different main roads (*viae militares)* in the province (in 61 CE): "*[[[Ner]o C[la]ud[iu]s]] / divi Claudi f(ilius) / Germ(anici) Caesaris n(epos) / Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) / pron(epos) divi Aug(usti) abn(epos) / Caesar Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) / pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII imp(erator) VIII co(n)s(ul) IIII / p(ater) p(atriae) / **tabernas et praetoria / per vias militares / fieri iussit per / T(itum) Iulium Ustum proc(uratorem) / provinciae Thrac(iae)** = Nero … ordered inns and quarters to be established along the military roads through the intervention of Titus Iulius Ustus, procurator of the province of Thracia*" (*CIL* III 6123 = 14207[34])[2].

Although the three stelae only attest the new construction of accommodation for travellers on behalf of the state, they imply the building of *viae militares* by Nero too. But it seems possible that their construction had already been instigated earlier after the province had been established under Claudius, although we lack definite epigraphical evidence.

A marble fragment of an inscription may likewise point to such activities of Nero. The fragment was found at modern-day Belozem (district of Plovdiv), later the place of the Roman station Parembole at the so-called *Via Diagonalis*, which is located approximately 25 km east of Philippopolis (by an ancient distance indication, *It. Burd.* 568,6). Up to now it has usually been identified as another building inscription that might have recorded the building of *tabernae et praetoria* in *Thracia* by Nero, which we just have seen (Ivanov 1973, 211; *IGBulg* V 5691; Christol 1998, 794; Ivanov / von Bülow 2008, 26)[3]. Unfortunately, only small parts of the emperor's titles survive, which may be restored as follows: *[Neroni Clau]dio Divi Clau[di filio Germanici Caesaris nepot]i Ti(beri) Ca[esaris pronepoti ---]*.

Mainly the dative case of the inscription, but also the relief ornaments of the fragment and anchor hole may hint at an honorary monument for Nero rather than a building inscription[4]. Taking into account the find spot of the inscription, it is possible that what was being honoured was the emperor's care for transport infrastructure. Until further evidence emerges, this must remain conjectural, however.

Such imperial investment in the construction and reconstruction of way stations is only seldom attested. For instance, after Nero, the *stabula* at the station of Viamata had to be restored by Marcus Aurelius at his own expense (*AE* 1961, 318)[5]. In principle, those responsible for the construction and maintenance of the infrastructure were the cities of the Empire. Yet, the case of Nero's building activities shows that state incentive was needed soon after the establishment of the province of Thracia. At that time, Thracia was too poorly urbanised to be able to adequately render the necessary services and split the costs accordingly.

It is only from Severan times that we know of two inscriptions that mention the allocation of construction lots to individual villages to build the *Via Egnatia* on the territory of Traianopolis. Both stelae had been erected by the *phylae* of the city which coordinated the construction work.

[2] This first stone comes from Mihilci, i.e. probably ancient Viamata (*Not. Dign. Or.* 40.48) on the road from Philippopolis to Oescus; see Маджаров 1985, 43 and Madzharov 2009, 210-211. Two more stelae document the same text: *AE* 1912, 193 from Buchino / Buchin Prohod (on the road from Serdica to Petrohanski Prohod, Montana to the Danube) and Ivanov 1973 = *IGBulg* V 5691 = *AE* 1999, 1397 from Ihtiman, ancient *mansio* Helice (*It. Ant.* 136.1) on the so called *Via Diagonalis* from Serdica to Philippopolis; cf. Christol 1998, 792-797; Madzharov 2009, 248-249.

[3] Although pointing out the dative formula, Hollenstein 1975, 27 interprets it as a, building inscription. Furthermore, Stein 1920, 7 erroneously postulated a fourth copy of the mentioned stelae (at that time the third) as a result of a corrupt entry in *AE* 1916, 17. On Parembole see Wendel 2005, 118.

[4] See already Пеев 1926, 81, who published the fragment and interpreted the marble block (27 x 60 cm) due to the anchor hole and its relief ornaments, as the pedestal of a big monument, but saw Claudius as the emperor mentioned. He gave the text as follows: DIO DIVI CLAV.../ ...ITICA....; but nobody else has seen the stone fragment since then. This text from Пеев 1926 was repeated by Геров 1961, 239, note 6, who pointed out the dative formula, which was later neglected. My requests about the location of the fragment to the Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv and the National Archaeological Museum of Sofia have unfortunately been answered in the negative.

[5] Archaeological evidence suggests that it was a large building of 792 square meters, consisting of a peristyle surrounded by several rooms – see Маджаров 1985; for imperial and other investment in roadhouses see Kolb 2016.

The inscriptions list the names of the villages and their allotted sections of the road. These varied according to the size of the villages from half a mile to two miles; most of them measured one mile. This kind of organisation, in which urban *phylae* coordinated the building and financing of a *via publica* on the city-level, is, to-date, only attested for Thracia (*IThrAeg* 433; *447; see Pekáry 1989, 491-492; Mottas 1989, 102-104; Kunnert 2012, 296)[6].

It was under the same governor, Sicinnius Clarus, that new *emporia* were established in Thracia. An edict from 202 CE (**fig. 1**) containing the charter of Pizos (*IGRR* I 766 = *IGBulg* III.2 1690; see Hauken 1998, 2-168; Kolb 2000, 128-129, 185-186; Hauken 2004; Conolly 2010, 167-173), a new community situated in the territory of Augusta Traiana (at the so called *Via Diagonalis*, south-west of modern Chirpan), shows that the main cause for the initiative was neither economic promotion (Mihailov in *IGBulg* III.2 1690, p. 121), nor the relief of tension between town and country (Ivanov / von Bülow 2008, 47). But what is explicitly mentioned in the text is a concern for and the care of state transportation. We are obviously dealing with the interlacing of governmental and private interests. Evidently, several areas lacked the settlements and settlers required to maintain the transport system. At that time, 167 new residents were settled in Pizos and obliged to look after a roadhouse in their *emporion*. To incentivise their resettlement, they were granted various privileges, not least with regards to the provisioning of means of transportation (*IGBulg* III.2 1690, ll. e60-62)[7].

3. Organization and misuse of the state transport system

For the purpose of communication and transport, Augustus established the state transport system (*vehiculatio*)[8], which initially consisted of a relay of couriers who took over from each other during journeys over long distances (Suet. *Aug*. 49.3). The system was soon developed into a fully functional transportation service. Means of transport were made available at regular intervals along the major routes. Wagons and animals could be used in turn by those authorized with a *diploma.*

Thanks to an edict of the governor of the province of Galatia dating from the early years of Tiberius' reign, we know of the workings of this transport system (*AE* 1976, 653 = *SEG* 26, 1392; Mitchell 1976; Kolb 2000, 55-64, 71-80). The local population was charged with the provision of resources, for which they were reimbursed based on centrally determined rates. The residents provided wagons, animals and food at stations along the *viae publicae*. In addition, authorized travellers had to be provided with free accommodation.

Misuse as well as burden sharing between the municipalities of the Empire caused problems and disputes. A governor of Thracia in Trajanic times settled a dispute between the cities of Philippi and Thasos about the provision of means of transportation: "*Lucius Venuleius Pataecius, procurator of the Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, greets the magistrates, council and people of the Thasians. I found in favour of you against the colony (of Philippi), and you have been reimbursed the money owed, and I hereby make you exempt from the obligation to provide transportation except (for the route) through your land.*" (Dunant / Pouilloux 186 = Philippi 711).

On their mainland territory, the Thasians were obliged to perform duties on behalf of the public transport system. On that account they

[6] On roadbuilding and the cities in general cf. Rathmann 2003, 104-134.

[7] But they were not exempt from this burden as it is often deducted in scholarship e.g. Boteva 2000, 22; see further on the privileges Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer 2002, 142.

[8] For the term *vehiculatio* see *CIL* III 6075 = *IvEph* 820: *praef(ectus) vehiculationis*; *BMCRE* III 21-22 no. 19. The expression *cursus publicus* is mentioned by our sources only from the late third century CE onward. Yet, it is consistently used by modern scholars for the former period as well, even though *vehiculatio* seems to have been the term used to describe the imperial communication system during the first two centuries CE. On the mechanics of the state transport system see Kolb 2000, 49-226.

came into conflict with the colony of Philippi and went to court to have the dispute settled by the governor. Although the governor's decision does not name specific roads, his definition evidently was explicit. The obligation included state roads on Thasian territory, meaning a section of the *via Egnatia*, for which the municipality was bound to provide transport facilities.

Admittedly, this state transport system was open to abuse – primarily on the part of the travellers. They either called for more means of transport than they were granted by their permit (*diploma*), or refused to pay the fixed compensation or demanded services that were not due to them. This resulted in provincial subjects sending letters of complaint to the emperor (Herrmann 1990; Hauken 1998; Kolb 2000, 76-81; Jones 2011)[9]. Roman rulers apparently reacted by re-enacting the same rules at regular intervals, as is clear from various inscriptions and from the collection of rules regarding the *cursus publicus* in the Theodosian Code (*C. Th.* 8.5; Kolb 2000, 117-122).

The only complete petition to an emperor, which intriguingly has bearing on our subject, stems from Thracia. The village of Skaptopara, situated in the territory of the city of Pautalia, complained to Gordian III in 238 CE about harassment by travellers (*CIL* III 12336 = *IGBulg* IV 2236 = Hauken 1998, 85-97; see Hauken 2004). The petition spells out what the villagers accepted as justified demands by the state and its representatives. Yet, we also learn about the nature of unjustified excesses. The village was famous for its hot springs, which, among others, primarily attracted governors and soldiers. Skaptopara's location in between two military camps most likely added to this. The inhabitants of Skaptopara were willing to provide free accommodation – which the state usually demanded for its travelling representatives – even if visitors were not present on state business. Claims to additional gratuitous services, such as supplies of food, or demands by non-authorised individuals were perceived as harassment and coercion, however. The latter included visitors to a nearby market that was held on 15 days every year. The Skaptoparians therefore complained: "*So, since we can no longer sustain these burdens and, as the others, we too really face the risk of abandoning the settlements of our ancestors, for this reason we beg you, invincible Augustus, to order by your sacred rescriptum that everyone shall keep to his proper route, that they shall not leave the other villages and come to us and compel us to offer them provisions at our expense, and that we shall not quarter those who are not entitled to (such service). For the governors have on many occasions ordered that quarters should not be provided for men other than those sent on service by the governors and procurators. If we are oppressed, we shall flee our homes, and the fiscus will be embroiled in the greatest loss. If we are shown mercy by your divine foresight and remain in our homes, we will be able to provide both the sacred taxes and the other impositions*." (Hauken 1998, 96, ll. 73-99). We see that the Skaptoparians warned that some home owners had already left and that more could feel compelled to do so if no check was put on these excessive activities. Therefore, besides threatening *anachoresis*, they drew attention to negative consequences for the state treasury.

Two edicts of Hadrian from Thracia and Asia that were found only recently also address the abuse of the system. They illustrate that such harassment was a phenomenon not restricted to the third century CE

[9] Most recently, Speidel (2015, 48-53) has resumed the discussion about the so called "Hilferufe" by explaining them not as signs of military anarchy, but of an overloaded transport system.

(*IThrAeg* 185 = *SEG* 55, 744 = *AE* 2005, 1348, Maroneia, Thracia 132 CE = Jones 2011; Hauken / Malay 2009 = *SEG* 59, 1365 = *AE* 2009, 1428, Mykale Peninsula, Asia 129 CE)[10]. In 132 CE, Hadrian heard in Abdera and Maroneia about abuses by Roman officials while he was on his return journey from the East. Travellers were reported to have claimed free transportation and lodging not only on the road from Maroneia to Philippi but also for the passage to Samothrake. Furthermore, they had demanded unpaid accommodation in the city of Maroneia. As Hadrian's edict states, the travellers were not supposed to rest in the inns inside the city, since they were not actually situated on the *via publica*, which was the only authorized route. Instead, they were obliged to use the way stations outside the city, which were the ones intended for use by travellers on official business. Their stay in the city seems to have opened up additional opportunities for abuse, opportunities that needed to be minimised. By stating the general rules, Hadrian tried to prevent further misuse. Likewise, in Asia, he decreed that transport should only be given to travellers with a permit and that fixed prices had to be paid for food for humans and animals alike; only lodging was free, and only on official business; the use of guides – in order to stay on the right way – was forbidden, the sole exception being times of heavy snowfall (Hauken / Malay 2009 = *SEG* 59, 1365 = *AE* 2009, 1428).

4. Interrelations of state and private business

Despite such misuses of the state transport system, roadhouses and the provisioning of transport facilities also provided income opportunities for the population. The aforementioned edict of the Galatian governor shows that at least 10 mules (or 20 donkeys) were needed per station in early imperial times (*AE* 1976, 653 = *SEG* 26, 1392). Later, horses and oxen were added to these requirements. The procedures relating to their usage show that during imperial times the breeding of suitable animals was not yet centrally organized by the state. This may have been the case only later, as Stephen Mitchell (Mitchell 2014) has recently suggested. Animals and chariots were still rented out on fixed rates. Thus, private business interests were inherent to the system. Several farmers and breeders of animals might have profited from reliable earnings, even if they were, arguably, slender.

This integration of private interests into the system can also be traced for the services provided at way stations. New facilities along the imperial roads – such as the ones built by Nero – were only built from scratch where no such buildings existed.

Admittedly, we are not currently able to clearly identify roadhouses that were exclusively used by private individuals. Based on finds alone, they are indistinguishable from state-owned roadhouses; even more so as we – naturally – expect them to have been erected at the very same locations (Kolb 2000, 183, 210-211; Sanna / Zucca 2010 ; Kolb 2016).

The services to be rendered, i.e. the granting of accommodation, the changing of means of transport, the maintenance and supply of chariots and animals, respectively, as well as the catering of travellers, were the same for every visitor. Visitors on state business were cared for by the personnel of the way station, employed by the municipality, in which the station was located[11]. Interrelations between private and state interests become obvious when one considers that the operators

[10] For the discussion about the "Hilferufe" see above note 9; for sources relating to such abuse from other provinces see Kolb 2000, 117-122.

[11] E.g. *CIL* III 12336 = *IGBulg* IV 2236 = Hauken 1998, 85-97 (Pizos, Thracia); more in Kolb 2000, 183-190; the obligation of the cities is further documented by *AE* 2000, 1295 (Dion, Macedonia); Kolb 2016, 7.

of the stations probably also ran the inns at these locations. For travellers on official business they were obliged to provide food and fodder, which was, however, not free of charge. In addition, state travellers had to pay for their meals, as is shown by the aforementioned edict of Hadrian from Mykale: "*It shall not be allowed to demand breakfast, dinner, barley or fodder for free nor should anyone give these when called upon*" (Hauken / Malay 2009 = *SEG* 59, 1365 = *AE* 2009, 1428).

That this might have entailed the sale of additional services to travellers is evident. Whether station operators or innkeepers made some extra money by renting accommodation reserved for travellers on state business to civilians will remain their secret. Yet, this likely scenario shows that we may imagine further sources of income generated by providing services to functionaries of the state. One result of such private income opportunities was abuse on the part of the local population, which had to provide the necessary services to official travellers. Sometimes they tended to overcharge users of the *vehiculatio* for their duties. We may infer this from Hadrian's Mykale-edict which states that provisions were to be sold at the price that had been the going rate at the market ten days earlier: ἀγορὰ τιμῆς / ἥτις ἦν πρὸ δέκα ἡμερῶν (*SEG* 59, 1365 = *AE* 2009, 1428 l.34-35).

This kind of profiteering may well have been what was on the mind of a pretorian prefect who wrote about the misuse of the system sometime in the third or fourth century[12]: *"Exemplum epistu(lae) [scrip]tae Messalae Rutiliano a praef(ecto) prae[torio. Ci]rca armatos et circa ceteros comme[antes sat]is provinsum est principalibus consti[tutioni-b]us, qua certum est te non ignora[re, ut si s]ecundum ea partibus tuis functus [sis,* ***nequ]e diplomatibus commeantes*** *neque [coloni] vel stabularii* ***iniuriam patientur*** *= Copy of the letters to Messala Rutilianus written by the pretorian prefect. Concerning those bearing arms and other travellers, the imperial constitutions, which you surely know, take ample care of; if you perform your duties accordingly, neither those travelling with a diploma nor the peasants nor the station personnel will suffer any wrong*" (*EKM* II 432, l. 13-20).

Conclusion

In order to provide efficient transportation for its military and administration, the state was interested in its system running smoothly. Misuse, caused by travellers as well as locals and station personnel, was to be prevented. Yet, not only misuse was inherent in the transport system, but also an interrelation between state and private interests. As a consequence, at least some of the locals sought to capitalise on the system.

[12] From Pella, Macedonia stems this dossier (mentioned in *SEG* 53, 617) with letters by a high-ranking official consisting of the last part of an edict, two letters of officials and beginning of a letter of protest of the city of Pella. For the full text, see now *EKM* II 432.

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The Presence of Roman and Provincial Coins in Aegean Thrace: Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Marina TASAKLAKI

Abstract: Based on statistical analysis of more than 1200 Roman and provincial coins found in Aegean Thrace, the present study aims to reconstruct the monetary circulation and to trace the relations between the cities that prospered between the 1st and the 3rd c.[1]: Topeiros, Abdera, Maroneia, Traianopolis and Plotinopolis. Those cities were affected directly or indirectly by the Roman administrative changes in the province of Thrace in the course of three centuries. Their monetary production, compared with the presence of Roman imperial coins in the area, points to their mutually complementary relations.

Key words: Aegean Thrace, provincial coins, imperial coins, Roman period.

Introduction

The aim of the present study is to detect the relations between the cities of the Roman province of Thrace, and particularly of those cities that proliferated in Aegean Thrace[2]. My ambition is also to trace the relations between them and the central authority during the 1st-3rd c., and thus fill the bibliographical gap referring to the circulation of coins in that particular area (Georgantelli 2005; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2011). For the purposes of this presentation, 1214 coins have been studied. These coins emanate from the excavations conducted by the local Ephorate of Antiquities. In addition, there are chance finds from known areas that belong to the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum of Komotini, which correspond to 36% of the total number of coins studied[3].

Material and Methods

The presentation of the material will be geographical, at least for the major cities located in Aegean Thrace, while the discussion will evolve in chronological order separated into three chronological groups.

Of the 922 provincial coins, 678 were, as expected, minted by local kings and cities. Coins of cities of Aegean Thrace predominate (**Table 1**). Almost all other provincial cities of Thrace, even the most distant ones, are represented at least with isolated examples. Regarding the Macedonian cities, the city of Philippi is the best represented of all due to its geographic proximity. Imperial issues, on the other hand, which amount to 292 coins (**Table 2**), geographically cover the whole territory. Some of these coins are dated to beginning of the 2nd c., but the majority of them after the mid-3rd c. (**Chart 1**). It is in that period

[1] All dates are AD, unless otherwise stated.

[2] I would like to note that the contractual term *Aegean Thrace* is used as a geographical definition for the area bound by the rivers Nestos to the West, Hebros to the East, the Rhodope Mountains to the north, and the Aegean Sea to the south. For basic bibliography regarding Ancient Thrace, see Soustal 1991; Valeva / Nankov / Graninger 2015; especially for Roman Thrace see Lozanov 2015. For Aegean Thrace see *IThrAeg* with detailed bibliography.

[3] For previous publications of major sites in Aegean Thrace including Roman provincial/imperial coins, see Γαλάνη-Κρίκου 1996; Γαλάνη-Κρίκου / Τσέλεκας 2015; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 325-382; Psoma et al. 2008; Arrington et al. 2016. However, the majority of the presented material remains unpublished.

At this point, I would like to thank Dr. Konstantina Kallintzi and Mrs Chryssa Karadima, Directors of the Ephorates of Xanthi and Rhodope-Hebros, for the permission to study the material.

when the coin production of the provincial mints came to an end and daily needs along with the salaries of the soldiers began to be covered by imperial mints (Schönert-Geiss 1968; Bland 2012).

Starting from west to east: Topeiros is a city placed on the west bank of the river Nestos and on the road of the *Via Egnatia* (Adams 1986; Loukopoulou 1987; *IThrAeg* 262-265). The limited excavations brought to light architectural remains of the Byzantine period and a few Byzantine coins (*IThrAeg* 264; Τσουρής 2015, 117). The coins, however, that the city struck from the time of Antoninus Pius till the end of the reign of Caracalla, as we shall see below (Peter 2000; Доткова 2009; Topalilov forthcoming), were found in a wider area – as far as Plotinopolis.

The majority of the coins under study come from Abdera: 716 coins have been recorded in this city, from which 211 are issues of the city itself. The mint of Abdera was activated at the time of Tiberius, before the official annexation of Thrace in the Roman *Imperium*, and struck coins steadily down to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Other issues come from Maroneia, Topeiros, Thasos, Philippi, etc. There are also a few imperial issues; most of them belong to the second half of the 3rd c.

In the city at the peninsula of Molyvoti (Arrington et al. 2016, with updated bibliography), which flourished during the Classical period, 1650 coins have been unearthed and 90% of them date to the Classical era. However, coins of the Roman period, whether provincial or imperial, have also been found. The majority belong to the late 3rd and the 4th c. Only 33 coins date to the first three centuries, 24 of which are imperial and only 9 provincial issues.

Maroneia's close relations with the Romans go back to the 2nd c. BC, as is revealed by the well-known treaty of the city with Rome (*IThrAeg* E168; Terzopoulou in this volume). Early Roman coins

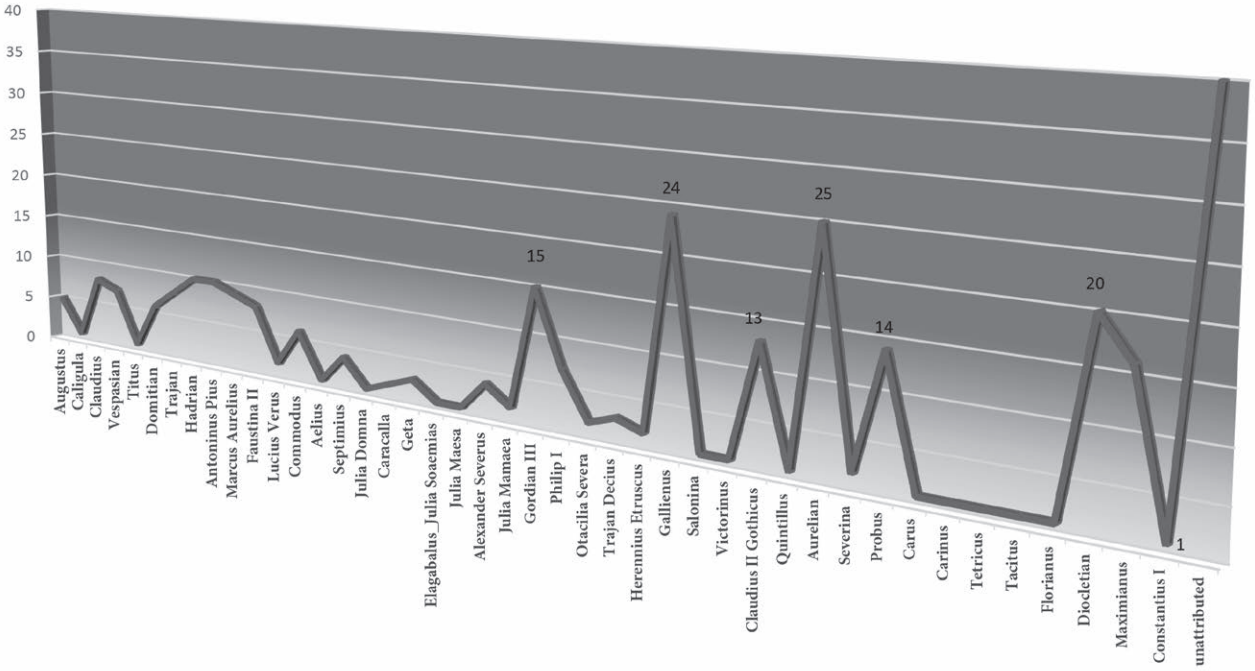


Chart 1. Statistical analysis of Roman imperial coins (1st-3rd c.) (chart by M. Tasaklaki)

at Maroneia confirm the occasional and non-organized presence of Romans before the establishment of the province of Thrace. In Maroneia and its *chora* we have found 94 coins that chronologically

Mints	Abdera	Molyvoti	Maroneia	Zone	Various sites	Total Number
Thrace						
Abdera	211	3	4		24	242
Maroneia	24		15	1	11	51
Topeiros	24	1	10	4	30	69
Thasos	25		1		2	28
Plotinopolis	1		1		4	6
Traianopolis					2	2
Hadrianopolis	5		2	1	17	25
Augusta Traiana	4					4
Anchialos	1		1		2	4
Perinthos	2		1	2	3	8
Byzantion	2					2
Philippopolis	7		1	1		9
Serdica	1				1	2
Pautalia			1			1
Ainos	3		2			**5**
Macedonia						
Philippi	136	3	6	1	26	172
Amphipolis	15		2		2	19
Thessalonike	7	2	1		4	14
Kassandreia	2					2
Pella	1					1
Koinon	2		1			**3**
Troas						
Koila	6		1	1	1	9
Alexandreia	6					6
Ilion	1		1		**1**	**3**
Various						
Antiocheia (Syria)					1	1
Kaisareia (Cappadocia)					1	1
Mytilene (Aeolis)	1					1
Nikaia (Bithynia)	1		1		2	4
Pergamon (Asia)	2		1		1	4
Side (Pamphylia)	1					1
Nicopolis ad Istrum					1	1
Marcianopolis (Moesia)	2					**2**
Kings						
Rhoimetalkes I	123		2	2	50	177
Rhoimetalkes II	2					2
Rhoimetalkes III	2				3	5
Rhaiskouporis	1				1	2
Unattributed	11		2	4	17	34
Total	632	9	57	17	207	922

Table 1. Roman provincial coins found in Aegean Thrace (table by M. Tasaklaki)

cover the course of three centuries. Provincial issues of the city prevail and follow those of Topeiros, Philippi and Abdera. Likewise, isolated issues come from other cities of the Roman Province of Thrace, Macedonia, Troas, and Bithynia. Imperial issues are also limited, 37 of a total of 94 coins with the highest percentage belonging to the second half of the 3rd c.

The relatively small number of coins from Zone that date to the Roman Imperial period reflects the limited human activity in the

Emperors	Abdera	Molyvoti	Maroneia	Zone	Various	Total
Augustus	3				2	5
Caligula	1					1
Claudius	2	1		1	4	8
Vespasian	5				2	7
Titus					1	1
Domitian	2			1	3	6
Trajan	3				5	8
Hadrian	3		2		5	10
Antoninus Pius	3			1	6	10
Marcus Aurelius	4		1		4	9
Faustina II	2				6	8
Lucius Verus					2	2
Commodus		1	1	1	3	6
Aelius			1			1
Septimius Severus	1			3		4
Julia Domna		1				1
Caracalla	2					2
Geta	1	1	1			3
Elagabalus / Julia Soaemias	1					1
Julia Maesa					1	1
Alexander Severus	1			1	2	4
Julia Mamaea			2			2
Gordian III	5		2	2	6	15
Philip I	3			1	3	7
Otacilia Severa	1		1			2
Trajan Decius	1				2	3
Herennius Etruscus	2					2
Gallienus	3	7	2	8	4	24
Salonina					1	1
Victorinus			1			1
Claudius II Gothicus		3	4	2	4	13
Quintillus			1			1
Aurelian	13	2	1	3	6	25
Ulpia Severina	2					2
Probus	5	1	4	2	2	14
Carus			1			1
Carinus				1		1
Tetricus				1		1
Tacitus				1		1
Florianus				1		1
Diocletian	6	1	2	5	6	20
Maximianus	1		1	4	10	16
Constantius I				1		1
Unattributed	8	6	9	8	9	40
Total	**84**	**24**	**37**	**48**	**99**	**292**

Table 2. Roman imperial coins found in Aegean Thrace (table by M. Tasaklaki)

region, which is also confirmed by the few non-monetary findings recorded in the vicinity. The provincial issues come from Topeiros, Maroneia and Perinthos, all of which cities of the Roman province of Thrace, and date from the time of Antoninus Pius to Alexander Severus. The imperial coins also belong to the same period until the end of the 3rd c.

In the excavations of Traianopolis, like in Topeiros, the majority of findings belong to the Byzantine period, and only few coins of the 4th c. came to light (*IThrAeg* 531-534).

At Plotinopolis, another foundation of Emperor Trajan, excavations revealed important architectural remains, such as a *triclinium* with impressive mosaic floors and a monumental well (Κουτσουμανής 2007; Κουτσουμανής et al. 2013). The number of coins (about 2000) is striking, but 95% of them are dated after the 4th c. Of the remaining, 7 are imperial issues and 13 provincial, mainly of Plotinopolis and Hadrianopolis. The limited number of Roman coins is possibly due to: a) the continuous habitation of the settlement until the early 7th c., and b) the evidence for melting metals in the *triclinium* dated to the 5th c.

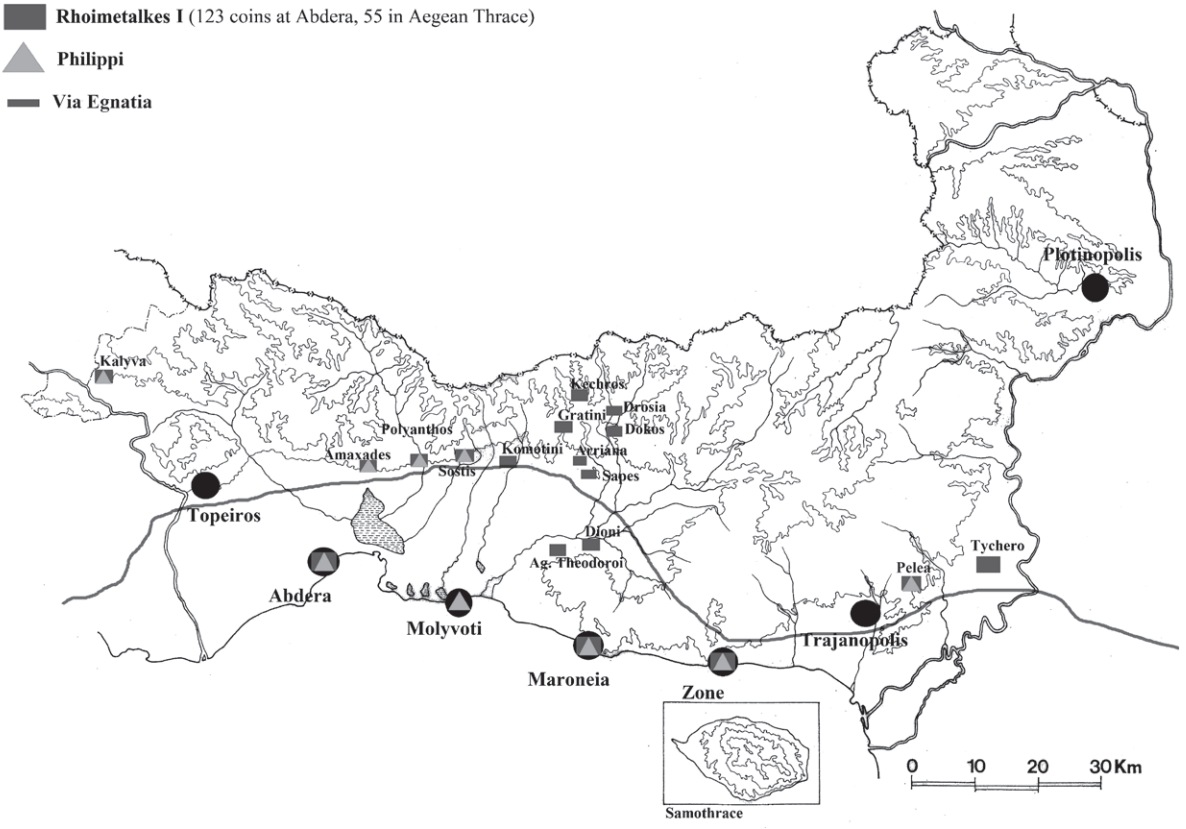
Bearing in mind the aforementioned coin material, we shall attempt to approach the history of the region since the beginning of the 1st c., when Roman intervention was still indirect through the establishment of the cliental kingdom under Rhoimetalkes I of the Thracian tribe of the Sapaei (Lozanov 2015, 78-80; Parissaki 2013; Papageorgiadou / Parissaki forthcoming).

A. Preparation for the transformation of the region into a Roman province

During the 1st c., two Greek cities managed to survive and be incorporated in the new political scene: Maroneia and Abdera. As a result of their anti-Macedonian policy, they gained the privilege of *civitates liberae* and stayed outside the jurisdiction of the proconsul of the province of Macedonia (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 379; Psoma et al. 2008, 252). But as autonomous cities, they did not have the right to issue coins and the vacuum was filled by the coins of Rhoimetalkes I and those of Philippi. The geographical spread of these issues (**Map 1**) essentially shows that they followed the main road of *Via Egnatia*, from Abdera to Tychero in the Hebros prefecture. The impressive number of bronze coins of Rhoimetalkes I at Abdera is worth mentioning, as they are 123 of the total of 177 coins that have been recorded in Aegean Thrace. According to Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2007, 379) the presence of Rhoimetalkes' coins at Abdera reveals that the city belonged to his sphere of economic and political influence. Abdera used those coins that functioned as Roman currency, since he was appointed by Augustus as a supervisor of the area. However, in Maroneia only two coins of Rhoimetalkes have been recorded.

The issues of Philippi, 58 coins, circulated at the same area as those of Rhoimetalkes. The type with the head of Augustus on the obverse and the founders on the reverse predominates. Those coins where struck to celebrate the foundation of the *Colonia Iulia Philippensis*. It seems that the Thracian cities, as they did not have their own currency, continued to operate as monetary societies using those coins they considered legitimate at that time.

During the following period, under Tiberius, the first issues of Abdera with the imperial portrait appeared, although Abdera was still a *civitas libera* and the region of Thrace was not officially annexed into the Roman *Imperium*. We cannot arrive at a certain conclusion about the reasons why Abdera minted coins at that time, but their local circulation in combination with their limited number (only 13 specimens found, all of which in the city itself) rather point to their sym-



Map 1. Rhoimetalkes' and Philippi coins in Aegean Thrace (map designed by Ch. Sismanidis and M. Tasaklaki)

bolic or festive use. According to Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2007, 379-80), the city obtained the right to strike coins because of the city's support to the Roman army in its efforts to stabilize the region, or because of the trust in Roman power.

After the annexation of the province, from Claudius to Nero, the total number of coins is limited compared to that recorded at the beginning of the century. Abdera struck two denominations under Claudius and Nero (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 330-335) and Maroneia just started to issue coins (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 85-88; Psoma et al. 2008, # M157). In any case, no other cities of the region are known before the urbanization project of Trajan and the foundation of Topeiros, Traianopolis, and Plotinopolis to the north. Nevertheless, the coins of Philippi during the reign of Claudius and Nero once again prevail over the local ones. Indeed, at Abdera there are 90 such coins and only 39 coins of the city. There is an iconographic affinity between the two cities and it has been demonstrated that both cities used the same engraver for the type of Nike on the reverse (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 331). These coins were minted to commemorate the significant battle of Philippi in 42 BC, and apart from Abdera, 36 more coins are recorded in Aegean Thrace from the region of the Nestos River up to Zone.

B. First half of the 2nd c. and Trajan's urbanization program

After Trajan's success in his campaigns in Dacia in the early 2nd c., the political scene in Thrace changed as a result of the shift of the North border. To ensure the province of Thrace, Trajan implemented an urbanization project with the foundation of new cities and the re-foun-

dation of old ones, literally eliminating the two distinct zones that had already existed since Antiquity – the coastal district with the Greek cities, and the hinterland with the presence of Thracian tribes, sometimes united under the rule of one king and sometimes not. The expansion of the road network further contributed to the success of the program which was completed during the reign of Antoninus Pius. These changes led to the establishment of three new cities in Aegean Thrace: two along *Via Egnatia*, Topeiros and Traianopolis, and a third one, Plotinopolis, on the west bank of the Hebros River.

The city of Abdera shrank and moved to the west because of the successive floods of the Nestos. Furthermore, at the time of Antoninus Pius Abdera ceased its monetary activity, although from a total of 211 known provincial coins of that city, 46 belong to this period. The new situation at Abdera was related to the dynamic entry of the *civitas* of Topeiros, with issues ranging from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla. After Trajan, Abdera lost a great part of its *chora* in favor of the new city and afterwards, till the Severan dynasty, both imperial and provincial coins are few.

Coins of Maroneia at the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, 28 in number, apart from the city itself, have been found at Abdera, while in Maroneia only few foreign coins have been recorded.

The new leading role of Topeiros is reflected in the spread of its monetary issues. Unlike those of Abdera and Maroneia, Topeiros' coins have been found in a wider area to the distant Plotinopolis, Augusta Traiana, Philippopolis and Serdica: 24 found at Abdera, 10 at Maroneia, 4 at the Nestos region and finally isolated examples found all along the *Via Egnatia*. Those finds, combined with the discovery of the *miliaria* found in Komotini[4] and Aetolophos (*IThrAeg* E395), the inscriptions on the *proedreiai* of the theatre of Maroneia (Πεντάζος 1990), the name ΟΥΛΠΙΑ in its currency (Topalilov forthcoming), the fact that its issues override the local one, show that Topeiros was the most powerful city and controlled a wider area towards the north of the *chora* of Abdera and Maroneia.

The presence of coins of other cities apart from those in Aegean Thrace is limited. So are the imperial issues.

From Antoninus Pius till Septimius Severus, for a time span of almost 35 years, coin production was in decline. Abdera stopped minting, while Maroneia, Topeiros, Traianopolis and Plotinopolis had sporadic issues, as is also the case with the imperial coins. At the time of Commodus the only active mint in Aegean Thrace was Maroneia and its three recorded coins have been found at Abdera. Imperial coins of Commodus, mainly *sestertii*, have been found at Molyvoti, Maroneia, Zone, Dimi and Chalepio.

C. The end of the 2nd till the mid-3rd c.

At the end of the 2nd and the early 3rd c. the production of local mints increased. We have 20 mints in total, among which Nicopolis ad Nestum (Komnick 2003) and Ainos (*CNG* 88, 14.09.11, 729; *Numismatik Naumann* 46, 11.09.16, 294) struck coins for the first time. In Aegean Thrace, Maroneia, Plotinopolis, Topeiros and Thasos struck small, medium and large denominations, while an intensive circulation that could not be detected in the past is now recorded. Coins of Thasos at the time of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta were found at

[4] As presented by Ch. Karadima in her oral contribution for the 1st RaLATh Conference in Plovdiv, 7-10 October 2016 – "New evidence on *Via Egnatia* from Komotini, Rhodope".

Abdera. Coins of Maroneia were found at Maroneia and Abdera, coins of Topeiros at Abdera and Maroneia, while isolated issues have been traced in Komotini, Linos and elsewhere. It is also during this time that coins of the cities of Aegean Thrace were discovered outside this limited area. Coins of Traianopolis (Schönert-Geiss 1991, 151-3), Topeiros (Peter 2000), Plotinopolis and Maroneia (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 112) traveled to places that are now in Bulgaria and Albania. It is also during this time that a high number of coins coming from other cities of the Roman Province of Thrace are recorded, like Hadrianopolis, Anchialos, Pautalia, Perinthos etc. (**Table 1**).

The presence of imperial issues, however, remains firmly limited. *Denarii* were excavated only at Abdera, Molyvoti, Maroneia and Zone.

This mobility is observed not only in terms of the local issues, but also in terms of the presence of other provincial and imperial coins. It can only be the result of both the wars of the early 190s between Septimius Severus and his opponents, and the frequent presence of the emperor and the members of his family (Boteva 2013). When Caracalla visited Thrace during his last campaign to the east, not only were athletic events organized in his honor in Philippopolis (Peter 2013), but almost all provincial cities minted coins commemorating his visits. And while monetary production and mobility was at its peak, the period that followed is characterized by a downward trend until the mid-3rd c. The reign of Gordian III however can be seen as an upward movement: 27 coins have been found, 15 of which are imperial issues, mostly *denarii*.

D. The closure of provincial mints and the second half of the 3rd c.

From the mid-3rd c. continuous invasions of the Northern tribes of Heruli, Goths and Germans tormented the Empire and led to a comprehensive review of the monetary system by Aurelian in 274, and later by Diocletian in 294-295 (Estiot 2012). The small denominations of the imperial mint ceased, so did the provincial issues. The last examples come from Maroneia at the time of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 218-219). The imperial coins of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, and Aurelian were found throughout Thrace and also in places where coins were never found before. We have 20 specimens of Diocletian and 16 of Maximianus. At the same time, in the area of cities like Molyvoti, Zone, Dikaia, which had been abandoned by the end of the 4th c. BC, a resettlement is detected. The presence of Late Roman coins of the 3rd c. is related to the presence of Gallienus. The risk from the north led people to move and search for secure place to stay in the coastal zone.

Conclusions

In conclusion, three main points should be highlighted. First, the overall picture of the cities of Aegean Thrace within the framework of the province of Thrace and the Empire, compared to those of the rest of the Roman Province of Thrace, is mainly that of isolation. During certain historical events (e.g. the battle at Philippi in October 42 BC, the battles of Septimius Severus and his rival Niger in the Bosporus area, and the mid-3rd c. wars against the Heruli and the Goths) an increase of coin production and circulation is attested. Second, in the intervals, bronze denominations were issued by Abdera, Maroneia, Topeiros,

Traianopolis and Plotinopolis to cover the daily needs of these cities. These circulated locally, while the limited number of specimens found outside their *chora*, reveal mostly all sorts of interactions between the cities of Aegean Thrace. Maroneia and Abdera lost most of their past glamour and failed to reach the high level of urbanization observed in the newly founded cities of the province. Efforts towards this direction had been made as is revealed by the festive issues of both cities or the erection of imperial statues under Hadrian, and the construction of a monumental gate at Maroneia. Coin hoards of provincial issues are absent in the area of Aegean Thrace. Third, the Roman presence was also limited, because *Via Militaris / Diagonalis*, leading from Perinthos through Serdica to Naissus was preferred by military troops and the emperors. *Via Egnatia* remained the main road connecting the West and the East, and Roman authorities always took care of its good shape, as the *miliaria* from Komotini and Aetolophos reveal. However, it was not used for moving troops at least during the centuries that interest us. The few *denarii* and the absence of coin hoards in Aegean Thrace which are in sharp contrast with the situation in modern Bulgaria, indicate that the use of *Via Egnatia* was limited probably to the return of the veterans or redeployment of public servants. This might be seen in the light of Hadrian's edict found in Maroneia (*IThrAeg* E185), which deals with the use of Roman road network and the non-payment of the official fees. Imperial coins found in Aegean Thrace are occasional, probably remnants of passersby.

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Mensae Ponderariae from the North-Western Black Sea Region. Preliminary Approach[1]

Elena KLENINA / Andrzej B. BIERNACKI

Abstract: Studies of *mensae ponderariae*, or σηκώματα, are important for the understanding of economic processes in the Roman Empire. After the pioneer studies undertaken in the 19th century, modern scholars did not pay due attention to these items for a long time. The authors of this paper propose a more systematic approach to the research, focusing only on several ancient tables for measuring capacities found in the North-Western Pontus region. The first stage of the investigation consists of thorough direct observations, gathering data from museum collections, photography, and graphic documentation of samples. An analysis of epigraphic sources gives an opportunity to study the economic processes related to the supply of the Roman army at the Danube *limes* and the trade relationships in the Black Sea region. The compilation of a corpus of *mensae ponderariae* from this region would be of paramount significance for the further study of economic history.

Key words: *mensae ponderariae*, Chersonesos, Emporium Piretensium, Parthicopolis, Mesambria, Municipium Montanensium, Roman period.

Measuring tables were an important element of market squares in ancient cities. In scholarly literature they are often called both *sekomata* (σηκώματα) in Greek, which is supposed to represent the original idiom for them, and *mensae ponderariae* in Latin. The second name is a modern denomination given in the 19th century by Italian archaeologists (Cioffi 2014, 42). The term *sekoma* is known from epigraphic documents and used in relation to weights and measures, where it defines standards in general and acts as a model at the community's disposal against frauds and the adulteration of measuring instruments in trade (Stroud 1998, 56-61). There is, for example, a measuring table discovered on Delos with an inscription in which the idiom *sekoma* is used. The inscription refers to an *epimeletes* who donated a *sekoma* of *hemi-medimnon* of grain to the god Apollo (Deonna 1938, 175, # 5; Chankowski / Hasenohr 2014, 29-30, table 7). In written sources *sekoma* means simply "a measure of" (Ciofi 2014, 42).

In the 19th – early 20th century studies of *mensae ponderariae* were comprehensive with a pioneering approach (Mazois 1829; Mancini 1870, 144-161; Domaszewski 1892, 144-150; Deonna 1913, 167-179). Most measuring tables found in the following years were just mentioned in reports on excavations among other archaeological materials. Modern studies on tables for measuring capacities lack complex and systematical approaches that would include a compilation of a catalogue of the measuring tables, the development of typology and chronology, and mapping of distribution of different *mensa* types throughout the

[1] We thank A. S. Namoilik for translating the text into English.

ancient Mediterranean. It would be also very important to analyze the metric systems used in different regions of the Mediterranean in the ancient period.

Mensae ponderariae served for inspecting the weight of grain, salt, and liquids, being set in a public place in the vicinity of or directly on the *agora*. Inscriptions on the front side of the tables usually mentioned magistrates who controlled and inspected public cargos, trade, and especially measures and weights (*cura urbis*). They ordered these tables after taking office on their own will or following an instruction. City magistrates were also responsible for ratio of weights and measures (*mensurae exaequandae*) that, according to the inscription on the table from Pompeii, contributed to the consolidation of the state. *Aediles* were the most frequently mentioned among the officials monitoring weights and measures. *Duumviri* fulfilled control functions, too (Gaspari / Novšak 2012, 201).

The main characteristics of *mensae ponderariae* are the following:

1. A block of a rectangular (less frequently, round) shape, sometimes with small legs;

2. One or more cavities of different sizes arranged in one or several rows on the surface;

3. Some cavities had through holes in their bottoms.

In some cases, cavities had a small roll that prevented spilling of liquids during the process of pouring. Cavities without through holes had no rolls around their edges. After the check measurement of a bulk product had been performed, the hollows of this type were thoroughly cleaned by taking out the contents over the edge. The inner surface of hollows could be smoothed, but in most cases it was rough. Larger cavities had broad apertures or metal pipes in their bottoms, so that contents could be poured out directly in containers (wineskins, *amphorae*, or other vessels). The cavities were a little bigger than the corresponding measuring vessels (*mensurae*), which should be taken into account while determining their capacities. The *mensurae* were bronze vessels with bucket-shaped bodies. One of the samples was discovered outside the fort of Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall (Britannia). There is an inscription on its outer surface informing that it was made during the reign of the Emperor Domitian in the late 1st century AD and it holds 17½ *sextarii*. In fact it comprises 20.8 *sextarii*. It has been suggested that it was a device to defraud farmers when they paid the corn tax (*annona*) (Liversidge 1968, 177).

Octavian Augustus implemented a number of economic reforms which had a significant effect on the development of the Roman Empire in the subsequent years. The currency reform and the unification of tax policy became of great importance for economic development. At the beginning of the reign of Augustus, Hellenistic tax systems still persisted in some eastern provinces, though they were gradually replaced by taxation under the Roman rule. An essential part of the taxation reform was the unification of measuring units. The ancient Roman units were largely built on the Hellenic system. The Greek *hemina*, or *kotyle* corresponded to 1⁄12 *congius* (273 ml), and 1⁄6 *congius*, to a *sextarius* (Hultsch 1882, 34, 104, 117). In the Roman period, both liquid and dry measures were based on *sextarius*. As no two surviving samples of *sextarius* are identical, scholarly opinion ranges from 549.28 ml to 580 ml (Cardarelli 2003, 74-75).

During the period of the Principate, measuring tables were not only an instrument of inspecting sellers for compliance with standards in the city and rural markets, but also became an important element in the process of purchasing grain at fixed prices from the rural people in some Roman provinces. The unified units of measure facilitated the following of determined tax rates in all the provinces of the Roman Empire. However, there are precedents when the capacity of *mensurae* does not meet the standards (Liversidge 1968, 177). In such a way officials could deceive sellers of grain.

Several measuring tables have been uncovered in the territory of the Roman provinces of Thrace, Moesia Inferior, and Moesia Superior (**fig. 1/1**). A fragment of a marble table was found in Mesambria (Thrace), one of the largest centers of the Western Black Sea region (**fig. 3/1**). Its preserved length is 123 cm, the width is 47 cm, and the thickness is 16 cm[2]. Six cup-shaped cavities have fully survived on the upper surface of the table. Three other cavities, in a state of partial preservation, were identified on the line of broken edges. There are thoroughly drilled through holes in the bottom of every cavity. The hollows are situated irregularly in several rows. The *sekoma* dates back to the 2nd – 3rd century AD.

A fragment of another marble rectangular *mensa ponderaria* of the first centuries AD with six typical cup-shaped cavities arranged in two rows and a relief image of a *caduceus* was discovered in Parthicopolis (modern Sandanski in South-Western Bulgaria) (Димитрова-Милчева 2002, 275; Nankov 2017) (**fig. 3/2**).

A perfectly preserved marble measuring table originates from Perinthos-Herakleia in Thrace. On its surface, there are nine hollows arranged in one row in ascending order by volume[3].

The described *sekomata* were evidently set in public places, being intended for city control over compliance with the standards in commercial operations. *Mensae ponderariae* of a similar shape were also found in Pompeii, Tivoli, Ostia, Piraeus, Salinas, Dion, Assos, Delos, Thasos, Naxos, and Leptis Magna (**fig. 5/1-5**).

In the province of Moesia Inferior, in close proximity to the border of the Empire, fragments of two massive measuring tables were discovered in the territory of a *statio* and *emporium*.

A fragment of a marble *mensa ponderaria* was found in Moesia Inferior, in a room of "Villa # 3", in the vicinity of Municipium Montanensium (Александров 1984, 23) (**fig. 3/3-4**). The width of the fragment is 80 cm, the length is 70 cm, and the height is 40 cm. On its surface, there are two cup-shaped cavities with round apertures in their bottoms. One of the cavities is preserved partially. The larger one, with a roll on the edge, is 32 cm in diameter and 30 cm in depth. Its volume was probably equal to one *modius*. The smaller cavity, 20 cm in diameter and 30 cm in depth, could hold a *semimodius*. The inner surface of the hollows is treated roughly. The *mensa* is dated back to the late 2nd – 3rd century AD (Велков / Александров 1994, 6, # 8, инв. # 387; *IGBulg* V 5160). An inscription in ancient Greek is carved on its lateral face:

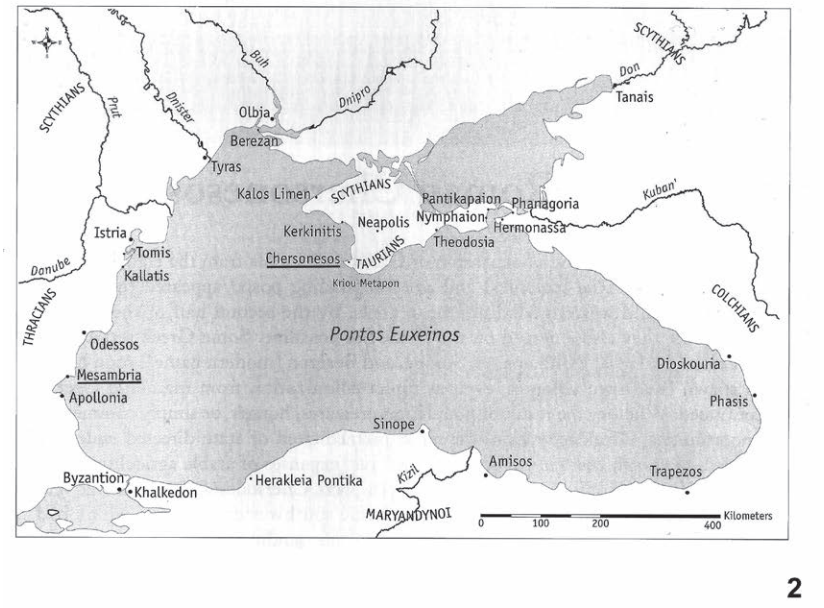
[-]
[πρε]σβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) [ἀν]τ[ι]στρατήγ[ου - - -]
ΠΑ.Ο Πομπείου Διογέ[νους - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
ἐπιστάθμου στατιῶνος Αὐρ(ήλιος) [- - - - - - - - - - -]
Εὐτυχῶς.

[2] This *mensa ponderaria* is exhibited in the Archaeological museum in Varna (Bulgaria). The authors express their sincere gratitude to Dr. Valeri Yotov for the useful information and for providing photos.

[3] We thank Dr. Milena Raycheva for the information. Unfortunately, we have not had an opportunity to carry out independent measurements.



1



2

Fig. 1. 1 Map of Bulgaria with major ancient sites (after R. Ivanov, S. Gochev, R. Konstantinova); **2** map of the Black Sea region (after Carter 2003, 18, map 3/2)

It is clear from the inscription that the table was made by order of Aurelius, probably in honor of a governor of Moesia Inferior, whose name has not survived, and a head of a station (ἐπιστάθμου στατιῶνος), Pompeius Diogenes. The Greek word στατιών corresponds to the Roman *statio cursus publici*, i. e. a station of the state road. The text provides information that a garrison of Roman soldiers was deployed at this station (Велков / Александров 1994, 6).

Not only is the content of the inscription of interest, but also the reason for using Greek in the territory where Latin dominated. Why in such a remote from the Greek colonies place does the Roman legionnaire use Greek in an inscription? There are several possible explanations of this fact. On the one hand, in Montana and its vicinity the local Romanized population and natives of Italy lived together with the Greek migrants from Asia Minor. It is possible that part of the rural people engaged in the cultivation of grains and grapes preferred Greek. On the other hand, judging from the name, the head of the station Pompeius Diogenes was of Greek origin. Unfortunately, the reasons

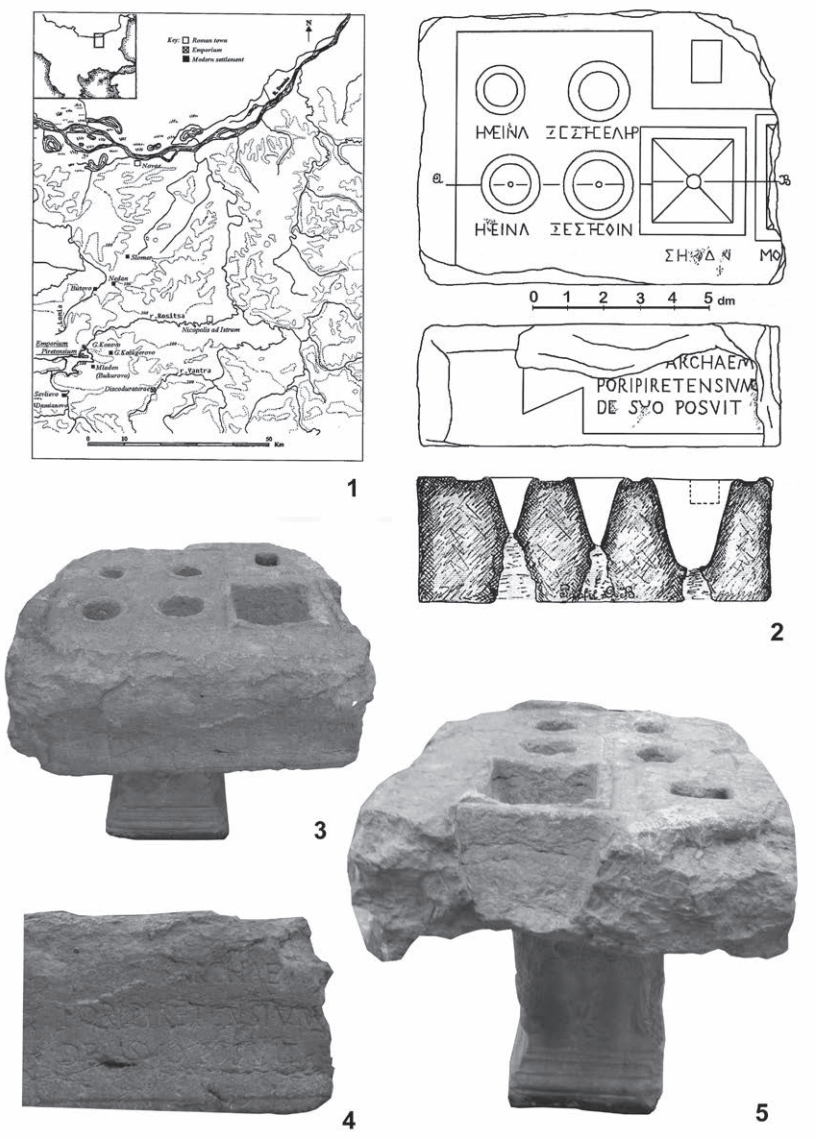


Fig. 2. *Mensa ponderaria* from Emporium Piretensium: **1** map of the region of Nicopolis ad Istrum; **2** fragment of the block (after Domaszewski 1892, 145); **3** front view from the top; **4** front view of inscription; **5** side view from the top (photos: E. Klenina)

for such choice cannot be defined for sure. Nevertheless, the mere fact of using Greek in the inscription on a *mensa ponderaria* points to the great significance of the Greek-speaking population in this region.

The text of the inscription shows that the measuring table was intended for στατιών, or *statio cursus publici*, functioning not only as a stronghold on the Roman road, but also as a trading center where farmers from all around gathered in high season. The main products in this region were wine and grain. A large part of grain was sold through free market. Merchants could count on making a profit. Grain was also collected as tax in kind; some of this was distributed to officials and soldiers, and some was sold at market rates. Pompeius Diogenes was probably a *praefectus annonae*. His responsibilities included care of grain supply (*cura annonae*). As it is evident from the inscription, a small garrison protected the Roman state road ensuring secure transportation of goods up to destination points. Products were intended mainly for *vexillatio legionis XI Claudiae* and *vexillatio legionis I Italicae* stationed in Montana in the first centuries AD and *numerus civium Romanorum*, in the second half of the 3rd century AD (Велков / Александров 1994, 6).

Similar tables for the measurement of grain were found, for example in Side (Lycia and Pamphylia) (**fig. 5/6**), Tivoli, Ostia (Italia), Delos, and Messene (Achaia). These samples have quite big apertures in their bottoms, while the *mensa* from the Montana district has a through hole analogous to those in liquid-measuring cavities. A rather high roll on the edge of the hollow also might indicate that it was used for measuring volumes of liquids, for example wine.

The other fragment belongs to a massive stone table with preserved six cavities arranged in two rows and was found in Gorsko Kosovo (Northern Bulgaria) (**fig. 2/1, 3-5**) (Domaszewski 1892, 144-145; Gerov 1988, 119, 155-156). This *mensa* dated to the 2nd – 3rd century AD is unique for two reasons: firstly, it has inscriptions both in Latin and Greek, and, secondly, the inscriptions naming units of measure have survived beside every cavity.

On the lateral face, there is a partially preserved inscription in Latin (*CIL* III 12415; *ILBulg* 401; *IGBulg* II 695):

[- - - - - - - - - - - -]
[empori]archa em-
pori Piretensium
de suo posuit.

This *mensa ponderaria* was set in Emporium Piretensium near Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior (Tsarov 2005, 47-51).

Inscriptions naming measures of capacity have preserved on its surface, in front of every cavity (**fig. 2/2**). In the lower line, in front of the first round hollow, there is an inscription HMEINA (ἡμεῖνα) – the Roman unit of volume of liquid and bulk materials which corresponds to the Greek *kotyle*, or ½ *sextarius*. In front of the second cavity of the same line, we read the word ΞΕΣΤΗC (ξέστης). This is the Greek unit of volume corresponding to the Roman *sextarius*. The word is followed by letters OIN, as additional information to the main measure. The whole text can be understood as ξέστης οἴν(ου) – a special unit for the measurement of wine. The next cavity in this line, square in shape, is also inscribed: ΣΗΜΟΔΙΝ (σημόδι(ο)ν) – the Roman *semodius*, or ½ *modius*. Two letters MO are crealy visible in front of the following, partially preserved rectangular cavity. The word is obviously to be read as μό(διος), or 1 modius.

An inscription HMEINA (ἡμεῖνα) is distinctly seen in the upper row. The adjacent hollow marked as ΞΕΣΤΗC ΕΛΗΡ was apparently intended for measuring volumes of olive oil: ξέστης ἐλ(αι)ηρ(ός).

This *sekoma* is singular as the inscriptions name units for measuring certain products – wine and olive oil. Olive oil was not produced in this part of the Black Sea basin, being imported from Asia Minor, the islands of the Aegean Sea, etc. The choice of language for marking units of measurement was perhaps preconditioned by the presence of Greeks from Asia Minor who settled not only in Nicopolis ad Istrum, but also in its territory.

Fragments of a measuring table similar in shape were discovered on the Forum of the Roman Asseria (Dalmatia). Covering two opposite sides, the inscription is interrupted on one side at the name C·OPPIV [S…….] / TI·C [… to be continued on the opposite side with MIL LEG, probably TRIB[VNVS] MIL[ITVM] LEG[IONIS]. It

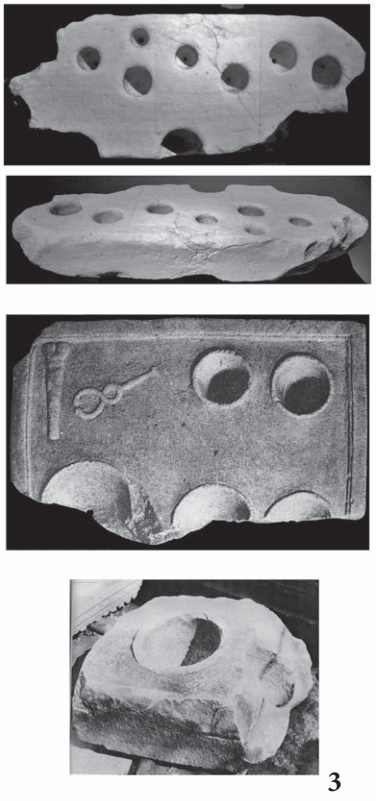


Fig. 3. *Mensae ponderariae* from Bulgaria: **1** Mesambria (photo: V. Yotov); **2** Parthicopolis (after Димитрова-Милчева 2002, 275); **3** Villa # 3 near Municipium Montanensium (after Александров 1981, 6)

could be Gaius Oppius, either still in that function or afterwards, probably as *praefectus annonae* or as aedile, caused the table to be erected on the Forum of Ancient Asseria (Jeličić 1980, 65-67).

In the Northern Black Sea region, a fragment of a massive *mensa ponderaria* of the same period with three cavities was found in the quarter # 45 of Tauric Chersonesos. The fragment of a large limestone block was mounted into the wall of the southern corner of the Early Byzantine basilica. It is obvious that in the Early Byzantine period the table had been broken into several unequal pieces which were used as building material during the erection of a basilica together with other architectural details and elements of large ancient public buildings (**fig. 4/1-3**). The maximum preserved length of the fragment is 94.0 cm, its maximum preserved width is 47.0 cm, and its height is 18.1 cm. The entire table could have been as long as 1.15 cm. Three cavities for measuring volumes of products have partially survived on its surface. Two of them had apertures in their bottoms (**fig. 4/4**). The volume of the first small cavity is 0.55 l that corresponds to a *sextarius*, the second one contained 3.275 l (*congius*), and the third and largest one, 6.185 l, or 2 *congia*.

The Roman *mensa ponderaria* from Chersonesos is likely to have had three cavities. A similar weights-and-measures table was found on the Forum in Leptis Magna (Africa Proconsularis). In Chersonesos, the *mensa* was set at the *agora* or its close vicinity.

A small fragment of a *mensa ponderaria* (Chersonesos museum, inv. # 7/37561) (**fig. 4/5**) was discovered in the layer of fire of the first half of the 14th century in the room # 2 of the quarter # 45 in Chersonesos. The table was made of local fine-grained sandstone. Its dimensions are 7.8 x 8.8 cm, and its height is 2.2 and 2.6 cm. It was also reused as building material for a Byzantine structure. This fragment belonged to an earlier table, probably, a Hellenistic one, and served for measuring dry products, among them salt.

Mensae ponderariae are known in many ancient cities of the Mediterranean. However, in the North-Western Black Sea region they are represented only by a few fragments (Frayn 1993, 113). The most famous measuring tables are the *mensa* installed in a narrow niche of a portico near the temple of Apollo in Pompeii (*CIL* X 793) and two *mensae* from the building specially designed for keeping official measures (*ponderarium*) in Tivoli not far from Rome (*CIL* XIV 3687-3688) (Corti 2001, 220-221, fig. 5). A similar stone table with six hollows of different diameters is exhibited at the entrance to the *macellum* in Dion (Macedonia). On its side surface, there is a two-line inscription in Latin which says that the first aedile *L. Cassius* has set [the table] at his expense, and the *duumvir* has formally adopted it. Another marble *mensa ponderaria* with five cup-shaped cavities was found in the immediate neighborhood of the agora in Assos (Asia). It is 110.3 x 45.8 x 21.6 cm in size. There are traces of abbreviated ancient Greek names of units for measuring volumes of liquid and bulk products on the table surface in front of every hollow except one (B). These are κοτύλη (A), ξέστης (C), χοῦς (D), and τρίχους (E) (Tarbell 1891, 441-442). A *mensa ponderaria* of similar type dated back to the first centuries AD was discovered in Emona (Italia). Its dimensions are 180 x 50 x 26 cm. The researchers who found this artifact managed to calculate that the first (biggest) hollow comprised 13.67 l, or 1.566 *modia*, and the next

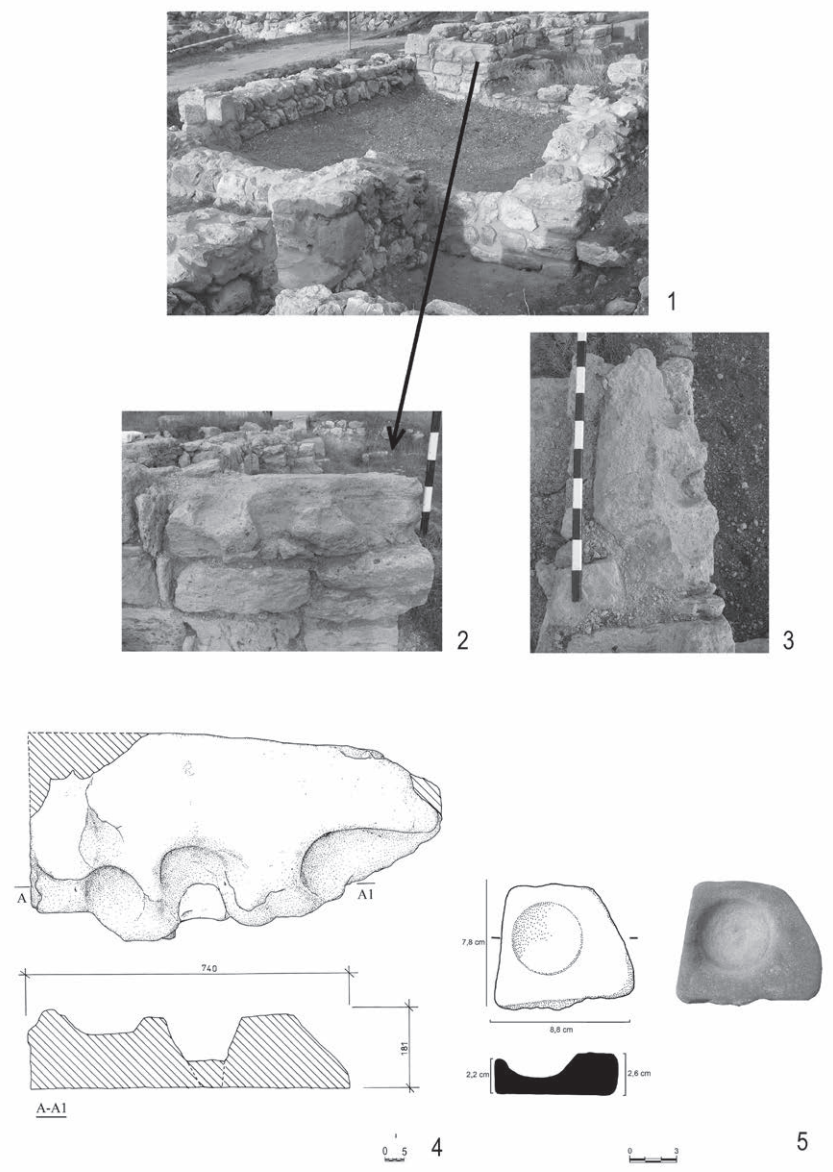


Fig. 4. *Mensa ponderaria* from Chersonesos in Taurica: **1** the southern corner of the basilica in the block # 45; **2-3** fragment of a limestone *mensa in situ* in the wall of the basilica (photos: E. Klenina); **4-5** details of the *mensa ponderaria*

ones, 4.32 l (0.495 *modia*) and 1.86 l (0.213 *modia*) correspondingly (Gaspari / Novšak 2012, 200).

The number of cavities in *mensae ponderariae* could be no more than three. We know two examples, and both of them originate from the Western Mediterranean. One of them, a square table bearing three hollows with proportions 1:2, 1:4, and 1:16, was discovered at the foot of the acropolis in Salina (Sicily), and the other one, at the marketplace in Leptis Magna (Africa Proconsularis).

Fragments of a big measuring table with irregularly situated cavities were found on the Forum in Asseria (Dalmatia). One of the fragments has the dimensions of 20 x 38 cm and the height of 29.5 cm. Only two hollows on its upper face are completely preserved. One of them comprised 0.900 l and the other 0.500 l (Jeličić 1980, 62-64). There is a letter L (*libra*) near the first cavity and letters LIB (*libra*) near the second one. Two other hollows have been partially preserved. One of them is also marked as L (*libra*). There are symbols S·I (= *sextarius unus*?) along the broken edge of the table, the cavity itself being fully destroyed. Both surviving hollows had no typical apertures in the bottoms, unlike the damaged one with the letter L. The Roman unit of

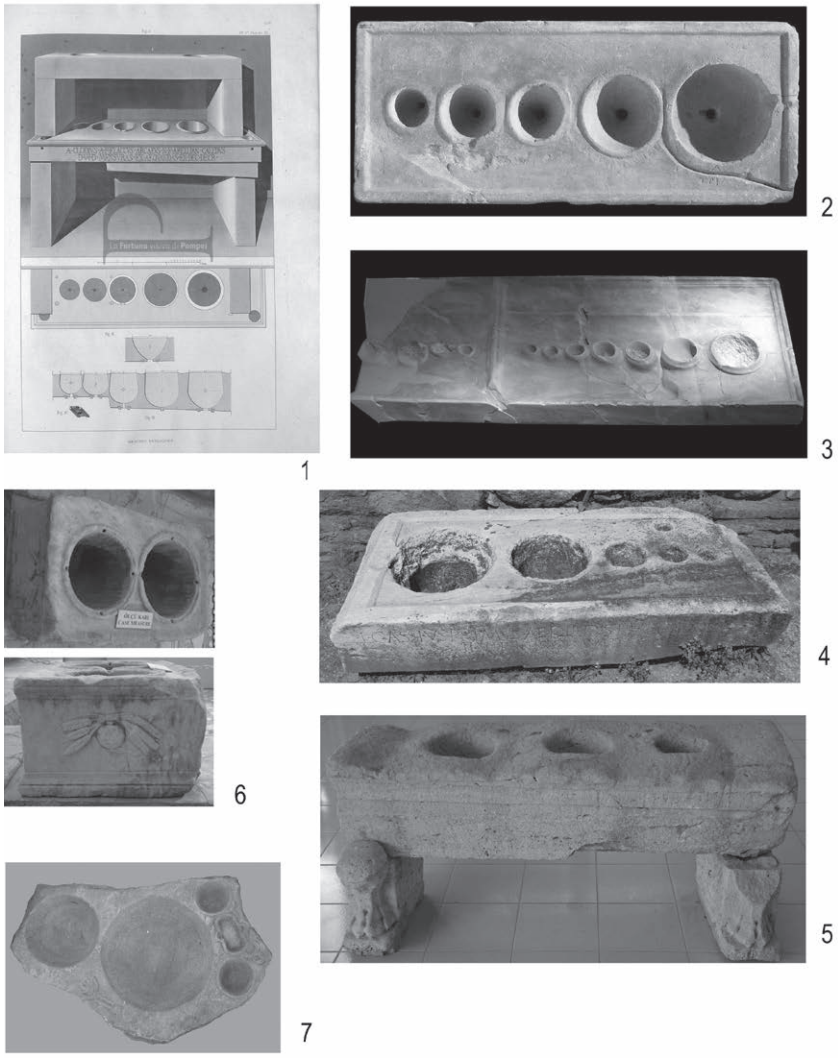


Fig. 5. *Mensae ponderariae* from the Mediterranean region: **1** Pompeii (Italia) (after Mazois 1829, pl. XI); **2** Assos (Asia) (after http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/measurement-block-mensa-ponderaria-199469); **3** Piraeus (Achaia), Archaeological Museum (photo: E. Klenina); **4** Dion (Macedonia) (photo: E. Klenina); **5** Leptis Magna (Africa Proconsularis) (after https://www.flickr.com/photos/sebastiagi-ralt/1818091212); **6** Side (Lycia and Pamphylia) (photo: E. Klenina); **7** Montellano (Baetica) (after https://blogdruta.com/2013/01/27/la-sierra-de-san-pablo-y-el-castillo-de-cote/)

weight *libra* amounts to 328.9 g. It is worth mentioning that units of weight, and not volume, were preferred in this case.

A *mensa ponderaria* from Montellano (Baetica) of the first centuries AD somewhat differs in shape. It is an irregular block (78 x 49 x 19 cm) with five hollows for measuring which held 4.5 l (*semodius*), 1.5 l, 0.2 l, 0.2 l (*hemina*), and 0.1 l (*quartarius*) correspondingly. Presumably, the table was used in order to measure the volume of wheat or barley and maybe lime and sand (Fernández Gómez 2004, 132; Lange 2010, 277-278).

In conclusion, there are several points to outline. The 19th century research of *mensae ponderariae* studied mostly philological data and gave a valid background to begin. Modern knowledge should be integrated with a new view, focused on the systematic comparison with archaeological finds. The analysis of new data suggests that Roman metrology was predominantly based on the sexagesimal system. In the Greco-Roman cities such as Mesambria, Parthicopolis, Perinthos, Chersonesos, *mensae* with a standard set of cavities for measuring were used. On them, there are no references to units and magistrates who fulfilled control functions, which bears evidence of a steady trend to use certain units for measuring products. Tables of similar type were spread in the cities of the Aegean Sea basin, too.

Mensae of another type originate from the border provinces. Both

samples have votive inscriptions which inform of officials controlling trade and taxes. One of the *mensae ponderariae* has clearly indicated measurement units over every cavity. Further research will let us study metrology and commercial relations in the North-Western Black Sea region in more details.

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Urban Ceramic Workshops in the Province of Thrace during the Principate: The Archaeological Evidence from Bulgaria

Alexander HARIZANOV

Abstract: This article explores the archaeological evidence of urban ceramic workshops in the Roman province of Thrace, discovered in the modern territory of Bulgaria. Three major types of data are taken into account – the overall location, the internal organisation and the production repertoire of the potteries in question. The analysed information is then compared to published material about urban ateliers in other provinces of the Roman Empire. In conclusion some general remarks are made on the scale and chronology of the ceramic manufacture in the towns of *provincia Thracia*.

Key words: *provincia Thracia*, towns, ceramic workshops, Bulgaria.

Introduction

Urban ceramic production in the province of Thrace during the Principate (**fig. 1**) is attested indirectly in most of its towns. However, direct archaeological proof is still limited and seldom published. Several workshops are excavated in the modern territory of Bulgaria, most of them located on the sites of the city of Philippopolis (nowadays Plovdiv) and the town of Augusta Traiana (nowadays Stara Zagora). The available data for the presence of this craft in the rest of the urban settlements in this part of Thrace is based mostly on secondary proof.

The archaeological evidence from the territory of Bulgaria[1]

So far, no secure evidence for ceramic production in the towns of Deultum and Nicopolis ad Nestum has been published and although several ceramic centres were studied in the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum (Sultov 1985), none of them has been excavated inside or near the town. Still, 21 magnetic anomalies, detected during a survey of the northern *extra muros* area, have been identified precisely as ceramic kilns (Falkner 1999, 112, note 2).

While the town together with its hinterland has been pointed out as a possible major producer of the so-called Macedonian *terra sigillata* (Staikova 1991, 275-284), the small number of kilns found in Pautalia was dated to Late Antiquity (Кацарова 2003, 105-111). The kilns and workshops discovered during archaeological research in the towns of Serdica (see Динчев / Гатев 1999, 49-61; Козарев 2004, 87-90), Anchialos (Карайотов / Бонева 1989, 86-87), Mesambria[2] (Божкова et al. 2008, 304-307) and Apollonia (Лещаков et al. 2015, 76-78) were also used in the time between the 4th and the 6th c. AD.

[1] Although the title of the article implies that only information about urban workshops in Thrace dating to the period of the Principate (27 BC – AD 284) would be included, some of the potteries described below are dated to the 3rd – 4th c. AD or to the second half of the 3rd – 4th c. AD. This is due to the possibility that they had been established before the reign of Emperor Diocletian.

[2] Mesambria became part of *provincia Thracia* around AD 193, while at the same time the towns of Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis were transferred to the administrative territory of *Moesia Inferior* – see Тачева 2004, 42.

During the 1950s, a pottery workshop of an unspecified date was uncovered outside the northern fortification wall of the Roman city of Marcianopolis, but the results were not published (Мирчев / Тончева 1956, 69-79). A collective find of ceramic lamps discovered inside the fortified area of the settlement in the 1970s was supposedly locally manufactured during the first half of the 3rd c. AD (Minčev / Georgiev 1991, 223).

Ceramic kilns were studied at two different locations in Marcianopolis – inside the city and near the outer face of the southern fortification wall. The two sites in question were dated to the 4th – 5th c. AD (Minčev / Georgiev 1991, 223-244).

Four workshops dated to the 2nd – 4th c. AD were excavated on the site of Roman Philippopolis (**fig. 2**). The first one (**fig. 2.1**) was located in the southeastern part of the city, adjacent to the inner face of the later built southern fortification wall. It comprised several kilns, clay depot, waste pits and two wells, all situated in and near one building with a central yard. Domestic pottery, terracotta figurines and lamps were produced in this workshop from the beginning of the 2nd until the beginning of the 3rd c. AD (Мартинова-Кютова 2011, 341-342) or up to the 170s (Харизанов 2015, 39), when the new city's fortification wall was built (see Topalilov 2012, 375).

The second *officina* (**fig. 2.2**) was discovered not far from the first one, near the outer face of the same part of the city's fortifications. It was organised on top of the ruins of private houses around the end of the 2nd c. AD. Three kilns situated around a common working platform, two wells and an area with ceramic wasters were uncovered (Колев 1973, 4). This workshop probably functioned until the mid- 3rd c. AD, when the city was besieged and ransacked by the Goths (for the latter see Topalilov 2012, 375). At least one part of its production output was dedicated to table wares (see Чернева 2006, 285-286).

The third atelier (**fig. 2.3**) was located close to the outer face of the eastern fortification wall and was also established on the remains of private houses and a street, after they were both ruined, probably during the abovementioned Gothic siege of Philippopolis. The production facilities preserved *in situ* comprised one pottery kiln (with two building periods), basin for clay preparation, ceramic pipeline, clay depot, two sheds and several waste pits. Kitchenware, flat-bottomed *amphorae* and amphora stoppers were certainly produced on the site, possibly together with terracotta figurines, lamps and tableware (Боспачиева 1991, 87-109; Bospatchieva 2004, 89-104). According to the researcher of the site, the workshop was in operation during the 3rd and early 4th c. AD (Bospatchieva 2004, 93).

The fourth workshop[3] (**fig. 2.4**) was excavated in the vicinity of the Roman city, south of its habitation area. Four kilns (one from the first and three from the second building period on the site), two wells, two waste pits, clay depot, clay extraction pits and possible sheds were studied. The production repertoire included mostly kitchenware, with smaller quantities of tableware and flat-bottomed *amphorae* (Божинова / Христева 2014, 390-393). According to the dating of the discovered coins (see Божинова / Христева 2014, 393), this *officina* probably functioned from the second half of the 3rd c. to the second half of the 4th c. AD at the latest.

[3] I would like to express my gratitude to Elena Bozhinova for providing me with additional unpublished information for the site. A more exhaustive study of the excavation results is currently in preparation by the same colleague and her team.



Fig. 1. The Roman province of Thrace (AD 136-193). Provincial border after Тачева 2004, 40, обр. 2; additions by A. Harizanov

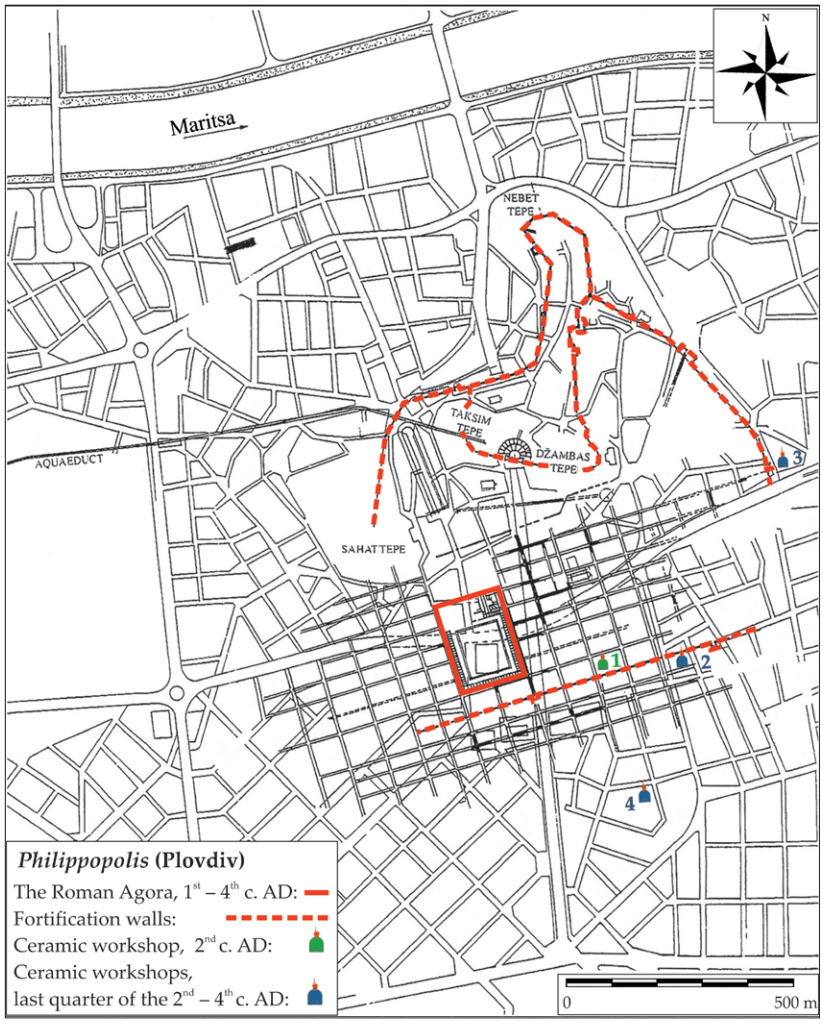


Fig. 2. Ceramic workshops in the city of Philippopolis. General plan after Bospačieva 2005; with workshops location, additions and corrections by A. Harizanov

Four kiln sites were studied within the margins of the Roman town of Augusta Traiana (**fig. 3**). The first one (**fig. 3.1**) was located in the southwestern necropolis, where seven kilns and two waste pits were excavated. Tableware, lamps and kitchenware were produced there from the beginning of the 3rd to the first decades of the 4th c. AD, more or less simultaneously with the use of the graveyard (Kalčev 1991, 245-247).

The second site was found in the territory of the eastern necropolis (**fig. 3.2**), where a pottery kiln and a water basin were uncovered. These structures were employed in the production of table and kitchen wares, in the time between the rule of Septimius Severus and that of Constantine I (Kalčev 1991, 247-248).

Remains of another atelier were excavated inside the fortified area of the town, close to its southern gate (**fig. 3.3**). The discovered kiln was also used for the firing of table and kitchen wares, at some point between the beginning of the 3rd and the third quarter of the 4th c. AD (Kalčev 1991, 248).

The last workshop was found in the western part of the fortified zone (**fig. 3.4**). One kiln, few pits and a building with stone walls were excavated. The site was dated to the 3rd – 4th c. AD (Камишева 2007, 302-304). In 2005, a large number of ceramic lamps dated to the middle and the second half of the 3rd c. AD were discovered to the west of the same workshop, near the inner face of the town's western fortification wall. The close proximity of the two excavation sites led to a suggestion that the abovementioned kiln was part of a production centre, specialised (but not exclusively) in the manufacture of oil lamps (Камишева 2010, 242).

Results

The complex analysis of the presented data on the urban ceramic workshops in the province of Thrace, excavated in the modern territory of Bulgaria, led to the following results.

Location and dating

The earliest urban *officinae* in Thrace were situated within or in the immediate vicinity of the towns' living quarters. For now, the only known example is the first described workshop from Philippopolis, established around the beginning of the 2nd c. AD.

Later on, after the fortification of Thracian towns in the time of Marcus Aurelius (see Lozanov 2015, 87), the production activities during the last quarter of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd c. AD were carried out on the outskirts of the populated areas, often near or within necropoleis. The second workshop from Philippopolis was built close to the outer face of the southern fortification wall around the end of the 2nd c. AD, while the first kilns in Augusta Traiana, dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd c. AD, were located within the limits of the Southwestern and the Eastern necropoleis of the town. Having the latter in mind, the kilns and workshops localised outside the northern fortification walls of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum could most probably be dated to the same time period.

After the devastating Gothic invasions of the mid-3rd c. AD (see Boteva 2001, 37-44) the ceramic ateliers in some of the towns were moved inside their fortified zones, which was probably the case with



Fig. 3. Kiln sites in Augusta Traiana. After Kalčev 1991, 251, Abb. 1; additions and corrections by A. Harizanov

the two intramural workshops excavated in Augusta Traiana and a 4th c. AD kiln site excavated in Marcianopolis (for the latter see Minčev / Georgiev 1991, 224). On the contrary, according to the available evidence from Philippopolis, it could be suggested that the southern and eastern outskirts of this city were its most important areas for ceramic manufacture during the second half of the 3rd c. and at least the first half of the 4th c. AD.

Layout and production facilities

Two types of internal organisation were attested in the potteries of Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana. According to the first one the production facilities were situated in or near a permanent building, which might have been also used as a dwelling. Two or three of the excavated workshops were settled in this manner – workshop # 1 from Philippopolis, the fourth and probably also the third of the mentioned ateliers from Augusta Traiana, dated to the 3rd – 4th c. AD.

The production process at the rest of the excavated kiln sites in the two urban settlements was organised in more or less open areas, separated of the potters' living spaces. At these locations the indoor-related activities were most probably carried out under wooden sheds. Remains of such constructions were found in the last two potteries in Philippopolis, dated to the second half of the 3rd – 4th c. AD.

The workshops in the two settlements comprised also pottery kilns (from one to several), clay pits, clay preparation basins, clay depots and waste pits. Wells, pipelines and basins were used for water supply and storage. The discovered kilns had more often circular combustion chambers, while the several structures with rectangular ground plan had overall modest dimensions, similar to those of the circular ones.

Production repertoire

The repertoire of the abovementioned urban ateliers in Thrace included table and kitchen wares, lamps, smaller amounts of flat-bottomed

amphorae and terracotta figurines, which satisfied most of the daily needs of the town dwellers.

The workshops at Philippopolis produced mostly tableware and kitchenware, also lamps, terracotta figurines, and flat-bottomed *amphorae*. Similar was the output of the potteries at Augusta Traiana where the most attention was paid to the production of table and kitchen wares, supplemented in at least one or two of the known ateliers with the manufacture of oil lamps.

Discussion

When compared to urban potteries from other provinces of the Roman Empire, the ateliers from Thrace show similar lines of development in terms of location, internal organisation, types of used production facilities and manufactured items.

Location and dating

Workshop location attested in Thrace was also common in the rest of the Roman provinces. Similar to the case of the workshops ## 1 and 2 in Philippopolis is for example that of the two 1st c. AD workshop facilities in Pompeii, located next to the populated areas of the town, in its intra- and extramural part (see McCallum / Theodore Peña 2010, 229-238). Almost identical is the situation with the ceramic ateliers of Oppidum Ubiorum (the pre-dating Colonia Agrippinensium Roman town, underneath nowadays Cologne), which were active during the first half of the 1st c. AD (Carrol 2004, 75-88).

So far, almost no evidence was found for an intramural location of production facilities during the period from the end of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd c. / beginning of the 4th c. AD, demonstrated by the last two potteries at Augusta Traiana. This fact could be attributed both to common safety regulations or to the small amount of published archaeological data for urban ceramic workshops of that time, as in the cases of the ones at Lugdunum (see Desbat 2010, 56), Cologne (see below), etc.

The peripheral position, more or less separated from the habitation zone, of the other ateliers in Thrace was much more popular in the territory of the Roman Empire. The 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD workshops at Pergamon (Bergama) were grouped in a potters' quarter, located in the valley of the river Ketios, immediately to the east of the town (Poblome et al. 2001, 151-156). At Lugdunum (Lyon) most of the excavated workshops, dated to the last decades of the 1st c. BC – beginning of the 2nd c. AD, were located on the bank of the river Saone, to the north / northeast of the habitation area of the settlement, while the only known workshop of later date (the 4th c. AD) was found further to the north (Desbat 2010, 56-63). The potteries of Colonia Agrippinensum, dated to the second half of the 1st and the 2nd c. AD, were situated to the west, south and north of those of the *oppidum*, in relation to the growth of the city during the same period. The major part of the production activities at that time were carried out on its western outskirts, where the main deposits of clay were located. Only two sites of a later date were discovered in Cologne – one from the 3rd and one from the 4th c. AD (Höpken 2001, 133-136). The manufacture of pottery at Camulodunum (Colonia Claudia Vitricensis, nowadays Colchester) during the second half of the 1st c. AD and until the first

decades of the 4th c. AD was also organised in the extramural parts of the settlement, to the northwest, southwest and most of all to the west of its fortified zone (Hull 1963). The Roman town of Romula (modern day Reşca) had its 'Industrial quarter' situated outside the northern fortification gate, along the road to Acidava. The pottery workshops there were active between the middle of the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd c. AD (Popilian 1997, 7-8).

Layout and production facilities

The two types of internal organisation demonstrated by the urban workshops of Thrace were also conventional for the ateliers in the rest of the Roman provinces during the Principate.

The described potteries from Pompeii were situated within permanent buildings, where all of the production facilities were located. The latter comprised pottery kilns (two in each workshop), areas for forming and drying of the production, clay preparation basins and pits, stores for pottery display and trade. Water was supplied through pipelines and wells (McCallum / Theodore Peña 2010, 229-233).

The Potters' quarter of Pergamon included individual ateliers surrounded by stone walls. Within these enclosures most of the used pottery kilns (at least two and no more than four or five) were located, together with clay preparation basins, depots, paved areas for forming / drying of the production and store rooms. *Pithoi*, pipelines and cisterns were used for the supply and storage of water (Poblome et al. 2001, 151-156).

Also within stone wall enclosures, but with less covered areas available, were organised some of the better preserved potteries at Lugdunum. The production facilities consisted of pottery kilns (one to four), clay preparation areas, basins and depots, places for forming and drying of the manufactured items. Wells and pipelines were used for water supply (Desbat 2010, 56-63).

Parallel to the organisation of the extramural workshops in Thrace, the ones at Cologne, Camulodunum and Romula were also settled in more or less open areas, while in contrast to the former most of the production facilities of the latter were clustered in groups.

Kilns, clay depots / pits, waste pits and remains of wooden sheds were amongst the preserved structures found in Cologne. Apart from the sites where a single kiln or only wasters were discovered, the rest of the areas with traces of ceramic manufacture comprised mostly clusters of kilns (up to 19 at one site) which might have belonged to more than one workshops (Höpken 2001,133-135; Carrol 2004, 75-81).

The discovered facilities at Camulodunum also included clusters of kilns, with the addition of clay pits / depots, one 'stone building' waste pits, ovens and possible sheds. Some of the kilns were situated within stone wall enclosures (Hull 1963).

The workshops excavated within the Industrial quarter of Romula comprised clusters of two to four kilns, also clay pits and waste pits. Permanent buildings, identified as workshops facilities, were situated near two of the kiln groups. Another stone wall building with central yard and a room with hypocaust system was discovered nearby. It was identified as the '*villa suburbana*' of the owner of the potteries (Popilian 1997, 7-11), but it would be much more plausible to suggest that it was used as a potter's atelier.

Production repertoire

The two major categories of ceramic vessels – tableware and kitchenware – produced by the Thracian urban workshops were likewise the most common items manufactured in the other Roman *officinae,* situated in towns and cities. *Lucernae, amphorae* and terracotta figurines were also made there in overall large quantities, while the production of *dolia* and *mortaria* was much less frequent.

The potteries at Pergamon were specialised in the production of fine wares, including the so-called Eastern Sigillata C (Poblome et al. 2001, 156-158). A small number of pottery items was made by the ones in Pompeii – coarse / cooking wares by the extramural workshop, oil lamps and *fritilli* (used as dice cups) by the intramural one (McCallum / Theodore Peña 2010, 237). *Terra nigra*, colour coated and coarse wares were part of the production repertoire of the workshops at Cologne, together with *dolia*, oil lamps, thin-walled cups and Gallo-Belgic ware (Höpken 2001, 134; Carrol 2004, 82-84). The ateliers at Lugdunum manufactured various kinds of fine wares (*sigillata*, *sigillata* imitations, thin-walled vessels etc.) supplemented by domestic wares, lamps, *mortaria*, *amphorae* and terracotta figurines (Desbat 2010, 57). While a major portion of the industry at Camulodunum was also dedicated to Samian ware, its workshops were producing other fine wares, kitchenware, lamps, *amphorae* and *mortaria* as well (Hull 1963). One of the workshops at Romula was involved in the fabrication of building ceramics, while in the rest fine wares, domestic pottery (wheel- and handmade), terracotta figurines and lamps were made (Popilian 1997, 12-14).

Conclusions

While the so-called urban nucleated industries appear to be more common in the Roman Empire, the individual workshop (see Peacock 1982, 90-103 for the terminology) proves the most popular mode of production amongst the urban *officinae* in *provincia Thracia*.

In general, the potteries of Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana could be characterised as small to middle scale enterprises with regard to occupied area, number and types of used production facilities. However, the variety of manufactured pottery items together with their supposed output was probably almost equivalent to that of the large ceramic centres located in the countryside, especially during the 3rd c. and the first half of the 4th c. AD.

The production of building ceramics on the other hand seems to develop as an urban industry in the region much later, during the 4th or in some cases even the 5th c. AD. The occasional discoveries of tile kilns of an earlier date in such context should be attributed most of all to activities initiated by the city or the state authorities, as for example was the fortification of the Thracian towns during the 170s.

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Thracian City Economy as Part of the Global Sinopean Wine Trade

Diana DOBREVA

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the widespread diffusion of Sinopean wine and its importance as evidence for economic and social exchange in Thrace during Roman and Late Roman times. The study analyses, through using *amphorae* as key-evidence, the phenomena that controlled trading networks and long-distance maritime routes in particular, since these would have been conditioned by political and economic evolutions. Evidence from various sources has been used in order to map what we know about the distribution of Sinopean wine, in particular in two specific regions within the Roman Empire: the western coast of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube territory. After analysing some regional contexts, a wider view on distribution patterns is considered. The analysed deposits indicate the significant role that the Thracian market played for the Sinopean wine trade. Thrace seems to be part of a broader mechanism that included also the territories along the Lower Danube.

Key words: Sinopean *amphorae*, wine trade, western Black Sea coast, Lower Danube *limes*, Roman and Late Antique periods.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the widespread diffusion of Sinopean wine and its importance as evidence for economic and social exchange in Thrace during Roman and Late Roman times. Although some recent studies treat the presence of Pontic wine in Mediterranean sites, we are still far from outlining a comprehensive model that would explain the usual patterns existing in Antiquity.

This investigation will analyse, through using *amphorae* as key-evidence, the phenomena that controlled trading networks and long-distance maritime routes in particular, since these would have been conditioned by political and economic evolution. In the first part of this study will be considered three groups of *amphorae* that were used to transport Sinopean wine from the mid-1st century BC to the early 6th century AD. Following on, evidence from various sources will be used in order to map what we know about the distribution of Sinopean wine, particularly in two specific regions within the Roman Empire: the western coast of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube territory. After analysing the regional contexts, a wider view on distribution patterns will be considered.

The role of Sinope within the Pontic trading networks

The diversity of cultures and available resources along the coasts of the Black Sea provided strong incentive for exchange. One of the main commodities had to be wine, as proved by the big quantity of wine *amphorae* found during archaeological excavations or kept in the local

museum collections. In this wide-ranging context Sinope assumed a strategic role, inasmuch it owned a territory that was especially favourable for viticulture, whereby it was associated with an important production activity during the Classical period. The prosperity of Sinope in Antiquity came certainly from its favourable location on the northern Anatolic coast. Situated on a promontory that is cut off from mainland Anatolia by the forbidding Pontic Mountains, the city benefitted from moderate weather conditions, while its two harbours offered a safe position for the ships that were sailing in the Black Sea, famous to be quite a difficult sea because of its many surface currents. Since the trade was dependent on the currents, it followed a coastal navigation along the eastern and western Black Sea coast, or a road going from Sinope directly to the Crimea. Sinope, being established in the middle of the southern coast, enjoyed an excellent location since it was founded at the crossroad of Pontic trade routes and it had the only safe harbour on the southern Black Sea coast (de Boer 2006, 39-40). One of the main economic resources for the city was related to the sphere of agriculture and fishing, well documented by the literary sources (Strab. 12.3.11-12). According to Strabo, there were many olive-trees in the vicinity and also intensive tuna fishing was practiced. Already in Classical and Hellenistic times Sinope developed an important *amphorae* production, traditionally considered to be a demonstration of a flourishing viticulture and wine-making, as well as olive oil production.

Sinopean *amphora* production in Roman times

Since the middle of the 1st century BC and until the mid-/end of the 1st century AD on the southern coast of the Black Sea started an *amphora* production activity which manufactured copies of the famous Koan containers in order to face the local demand of wine commercialisation. The pseudo-Koan *amphorae*[1] of Sinopean production are distinguished by the typical bifid handles, the cylindrical neck, the rounded shoulders, and the slender body that ends in a cylindrical or troncoconical toe. The *amphora* type amounts to 14-15 lt of capacity (**fig. 1**). These morphological features are also common to the *amphorae* manufactured at Heraclea Pontica, another important production centre located on the southern coast of the Pontus Euxinus[2]. In order to recognize the two productions, it is necessary to take a closer look at their fabric. In the case of Sinope, the fabric is hard and the colour ranges from light grey to yellow-greenish; there is an orange- to red-coloured surface, which appears coarse-grained on touch. The inclusions of pyroxene in the fabric show one of the typical elements that characterise all Sinopean productions, but are not an exclusive resource of its territory. The so-called 'black sand' seems to be common along the entire coast of the southern Black Sea, as well as to part of its eastern one, suggesting also other manufacture centres.

During the 2nd century AD in the bay of Demirci, 15 km south of Sinope, *amphora* production was established. The excavated area shows kilns that manufactured series of *amphorae* types, in use till the 6th century AD (Kassab Tezgör 2010). The most typical *amphora* of the 2nd and the 3rd centuries AD presents a barrelled rim and a cylindrical neck signed before firing by one or two incised lines on it. The body has a pear-shaped profile that ends in a little conical toe. Based on the

[1] The type is also known as Dressel 2-4 of Eastern production; Dressel 5; Vnukov Sin III; Black Sea pseudo-Koan; Zeest 61, 62b; Popilian I; Brukner 6; Opaiț 1987 type IV, see Dobreva 2017.

[2] The production centre lies 12 km south of Ereğli (Turkey), see Внуков 1993; Arsen'eva et al. 1997, 191, fig. 1.

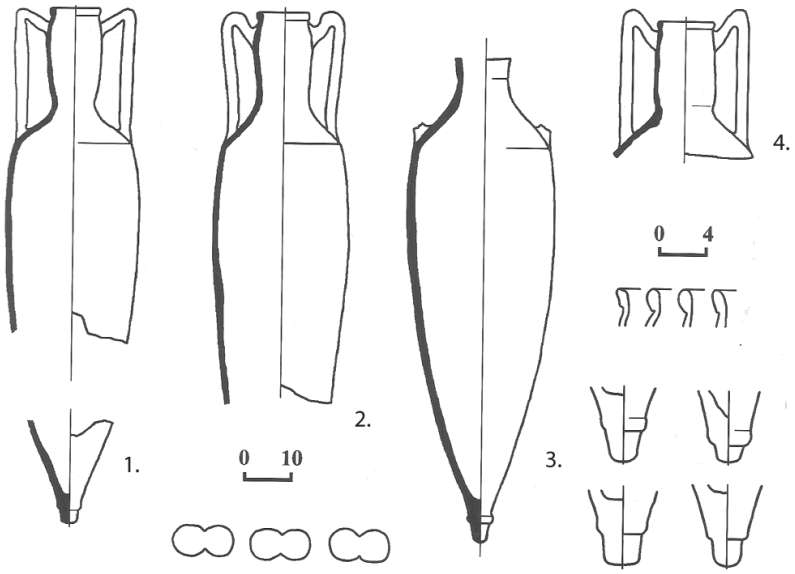


Fig. 1. Pseudo-Koan *amphorae* type Vnukov Sin III (Vnukov 2004, fig. 2)

materials excavated in the production centre of Demirci, Dominique Kassab-Tezgör isolates three variants that differ mainly by the form of the neck and the shoulder (B Snp I-II-III)[3]. To the different variants occur diverse dimensional models, while the average capacity of the form could reach 70 lt (**fig. 2**). The fabric of the *amphorae* manufactured at Demirci varies in colour from rose to light orange and beige, rich in pyroxene, which presents as small black inclusions (Erten et al. 2004, 103-104).

Another group of Sinopean *amphorae* includes a repertoire of types that precede and identify the so-called 'carrot-form' *amphora*. The shape is very common for the Black Sea coast and appears variously classified in the existing literature (Zeest 100; Sazanov 12, 14; Delakeu type; Rădulescu 9; Scorpan XVII-R; Opaiţ 1980, type IX; Opaiţ 1991, type E I-a, b, d; Böttger I-6; Kuzmanov X, XI; Antonova III; Bjelajac XXIII; Brukner 19; Zemer 40, see Dobreva 2017). All subtypes of the group are characterised by a cylindrical rim with the top and the exterior having wide grooves, conical body evolving from a bulkier to a slimmer 'carrot' shape. The vessel ends in a conical base[4]. The fabric varies from orange-red to light red and is very rich in pyroxene, visible on the surface of the neck and of the handles. These black inclusions are more infrequently on the shoulder and on the body. The archaeological investigations at Demirci confirmed their production from the beginning of the 4th to the early 6th century AD[5] and allow recognising three types C Snp I-II-III that differ mainly by the shape of the rim and the neck and concur to three dimensional models (**fig. 3**). Their capacity ranges between 6 and 36 lt (Kassab Tezgör 2010, 127-131, 139).

For all of the three groups of *amphorae* it is generally accepted that they transported wine[6], a hypothesis mainly based on their formal characteristics and traditions, as well as on some pitched examples discovered at Sinope (Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, 177; 2010, 127, note 39).

Regional contexts

In order to examine the distribution patterns of Sinopean wine in the Black Sea, regional studies have been taken into consideration. Sample

[3] Kassab Tezgör 2010, 125-127, 138, Pl. 15, 1-4. Similar forms are classified also as Knossos 26-27; Zeest 68, 84b, 85; Krapivina 18; Popilian VI; Scorpan X-D; Rădulescu 4; Opaiţ X; Bjelajac XVIII; Dyczek 33; Kuzmanov VI, see Dobreva 2017. For the morphological similiarities between the Sinopean production (B Snp I-II-II) and Knossos 26-27 type, see Abadie-Reynal 1999, 260, fig. 10 and the discussion in Rizzo 2014, 348-350.

[4] This *amphora* group was studied by A. Sazanov who distiguished two variants within their morphological evolution (cf. Sazanov 1997, 89-90, type 12 and 14, figs. 1, 12, 14) and by A. Opaiţ who diversified three subtypes, Opaiţ E-1a, b and d (Opaiţ 1991, 147-148, pl. 20, 115-116, additionally reclaimed in Opaiţ 2004, 29-30). Furthermore, see Шаров 2007.

[5] Another production centre was probably located at Gudava, on the eastern Black Sea coast (Kassab Tezgör et al. 2007, 204-205, # 23, figs. 31, 40), just as was proposed for the northern part (Opaiţ 2004, 30).

[6] In contrast, according to P. Reynolds, Sinope transported mainly fish sauces in its *amphorae* (Reynolds 2011, 90), while according to S. Vnukov, these are probably used for olive oil shipping (Vnukov 2011, 368).

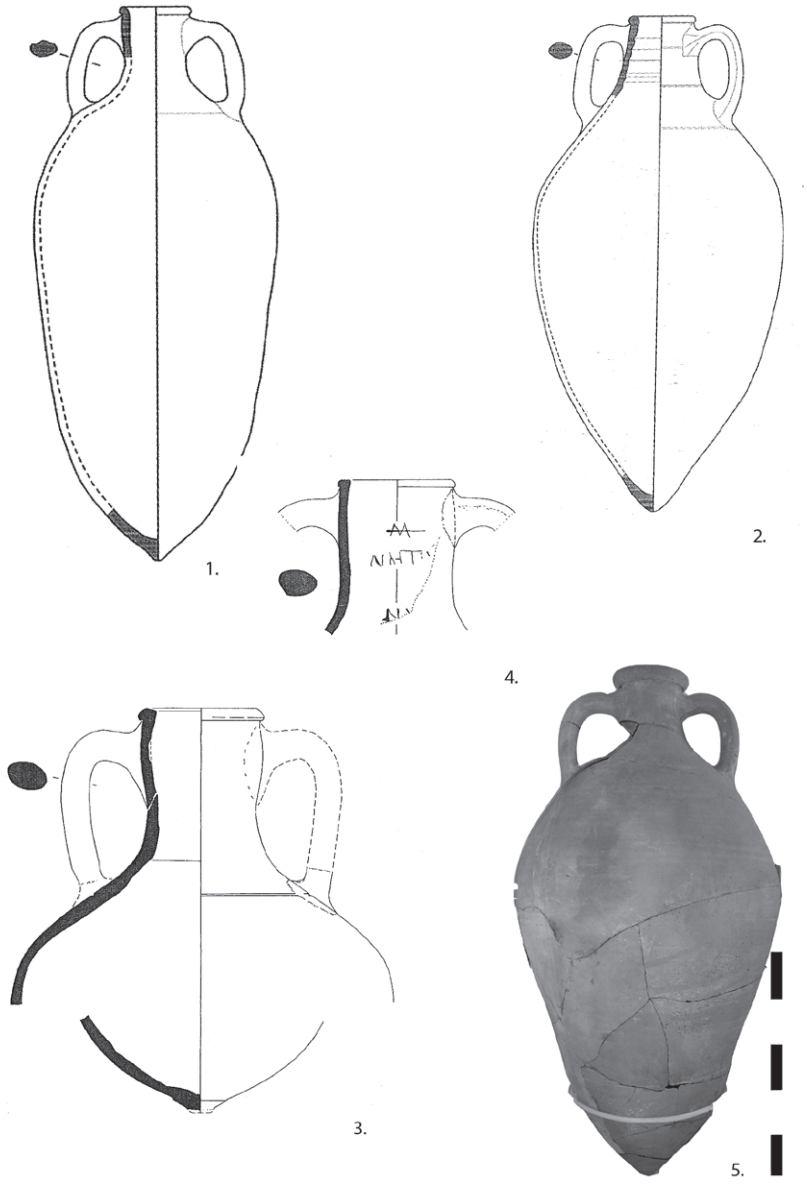


Fig. 2. Mid-Roman Sinopean *amphorae*: **1** B Snp II; **2** B Snp III (Kassab Tezgör 2010, Pl. 15, 2b and 4); **3-4** Knossos 26-27 (Hayes 1983, fig. 24, 67-68); **5** Anchialos. *Amphora* of Sinopean production (photo by the author, courtesy of Burgas Archaeological Museum)

distribution maps of Sinopean *amphorae* (**figs. 4-6**) in the western Black Sea coast zone, together with the Lower Danube territory have been put together using published and unpublished materials, in order to demonstrate transportation trends. Tracing networks in these regions is strongly conditioned by the presence of two important communication routes: the Danube River and the Black Sea, which often integrate one another.

By necessity, for the two regions chosen similar statistical approaches have been used and can effectively be employed to ask different questions, and broad comparisons of their conclusions can be attempted.

The western Black Sea coast

The distribution map of the western Black Sea coast region has been put together using an extensive study of *amphora* finds discovered during regular and rescue excavations in some sites, chosen as case studies for this research. As a result, we can date to the late 1st century BC the earliest presence of Sinopean imports in the western Pontic zone, as proved

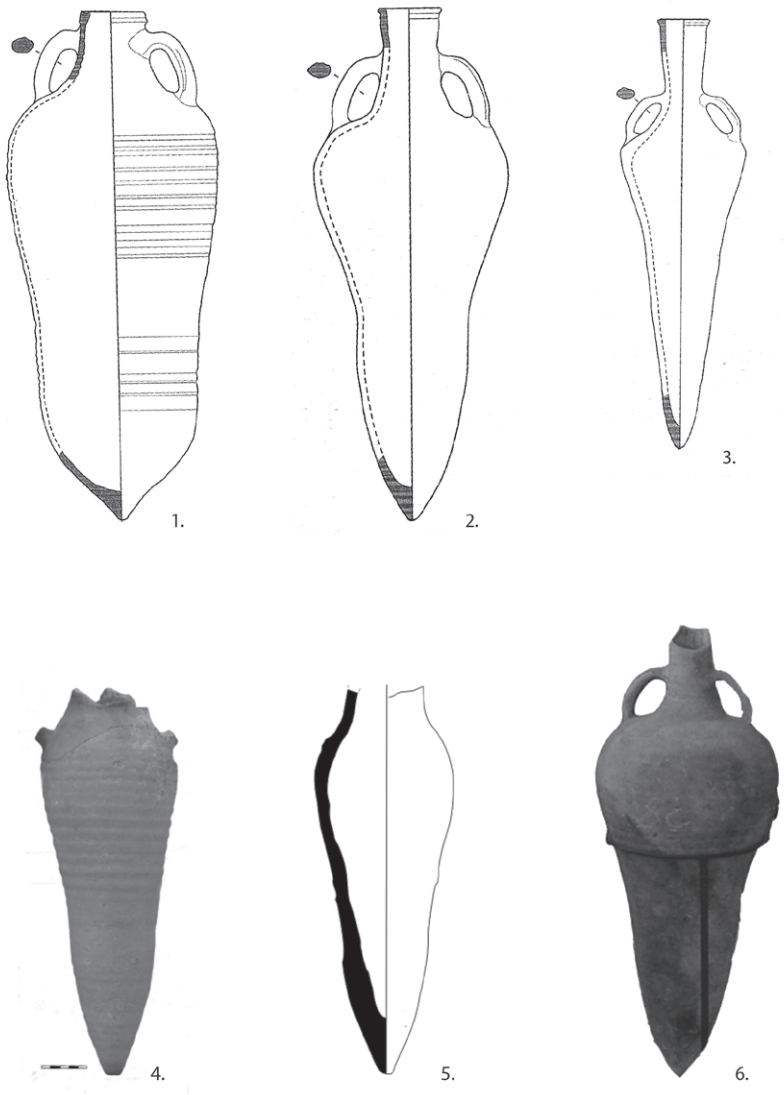


Fig. 3. Late Antique Sinopean *amphorae*: **1** C Snp I; **2** C Snp II; **3** C Snp III (Kassab Tezgör 2010, Pl. 18, 1, 6 and Pl. 19, 6); **4-5** Deultum, C Snp *amphora* (photo and drawing by the author, courtesy of Sredets Historical Museum); **6** Apollonia Pontica, C Snp *amphora* (photo by the author, courtesy of Sozopol Archaeological Museum)

by some pseudo-Koan *amphorae* found at Histria (Suceveanu 1982, 104, pl. 10)[7], Bizone, Kaliakra (Кузманов / Салкин 1992, 31-32, табл. II, кат. # 23-26)[8] and Odessos (Лазаров 1973, 43-44, табл. XXIV, 201). From the coast, Sinopean wine had an easy access to inland Thrace through the Tonzos River reaching Kabyle (Dyczek 2001, 59) (**fig. 4**). From the middle of the 1st century AD the pseudo-Koan containers are registered in big quantities in the late Scythian settlements of the Crimea. In other parts of the northern Pontic coast Sinopean imports appear mainly between the 1st and the 2nd century AD[9]. In the same period this *amphora* type is known also at Tanais, on the right bank of the Don River, and at Apsaros, an important urban site located on the eastern coast (Дашевская 1991, 20, табл. 29/3-10, 31/1-5; Крапивина 1993, 96, фиг. 29/27-29; Arsen'eva et al. 1997, 189).

The remarkable presence of light fabric *amphora* types Šelov A and B in funerary contexts in Thrace (in Odessos and in Kabyle) make us presume that from the middle and late 1st century AD the supremacy of the Sinopean wine would have been rivalled only by that originating from Heraclea Pontica[10].

During Middle Imperial ages the presence of Pontic *amphorae* continues to be constant, as revealed by Odessos contexts where,

[7] Other three examples come from destruction deposits dated back to the mid-1st century BC, see Opaiţ 1987, 153, note 23.

[8] Three of the examples resulted here identified as Zeest 51-53 and Zeest 54.

[9] At Kerkinitis, Beregovoe, Airchi, Yuzhno-Donuzlavskoe, Belyaus, Kul'chuk, Lazurnoe, Tarpanchi, Dzhan-Baba, Karadzhinskoe, Kalos limen, Vladimirovka, see Vnukov 2007, 272, fig. 1.

[10] About Heraclean wine imports in Thrace see Dobreva 2017.

among the Pontic productions, are attested *amphorae* B Snp I, II and III (Кузманов 1985, 13, тип VI, # A 37-38). The wine of Sinope seems to have reached other towns along the western coast, like Histria, Tomis, Kallatis, Bizone, Tirizis-Kaliakra[11], Anchialos[12] and Deultum[13], as well as inland Thrace, in Abritus[14] (**fig. 5**).

The commercialisation of these *amphorae* involves mainly the southern coast of Pontus, as demonstrated by the evidence in Demirci and Sinope, and in almost all museum collections of the Turkish coast (Kassab Tezgör / Tatlican 1998, 424, fig. 5; Kassab Tezgör 2010, 125-127, Pl. 15, 1-4, nt. 28). They are also present in the main settlements along the eastern coast (at Gudava)[15]; on the northern seaboard (at Olbia)[16], and on the Crimea (Chersonesos, Kimmerikon, Myrmekion, Pantikapaion)[17], as well as on the Taman peninsula (Gorgippia) and on the Lower Don (Tanais)[18].

Between the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century AD the distribution of the Sinopean wine passed the borders of the Black Sea and reached the Eastern Mediterranean (at Knossos and Gortyn on Crete, and in Berytus)[19], the Cisalpine Gaul and the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts (in Concordia Sagittaria, Aquileia, Milan, Turin, Trieste, Brindisi, Ostia, Rome and Naples, see Belotti 2008, 280-281; Rizzo 2014, 348-349).

During Late Antiquity, in western Black Sea contexts dated between the late 4th and the early 6th century AD, a high presence of Sinopean imports can be observed (C Snp I-II-III): at Tomis, Kallatis, Tirizis-Kaliakra, Mesambria (Tomis: Opaiţ 2004, 30; Kallatis: Böttger 1982, 51, 93; Tirizis-Kaliakra: Кузманов / Салкин 1992, 42, кат. # 49, табл. V; Mesambria: Кузманов 1985, 17, A 63, 65-66, табл. 7), Deultum and Apollonia Pontica (Dobreva 2017) (**fig. 6**). Their diffusion involves almost all main cities along the coast and is also registered in the coastal cities of the southern[20], as well as the eastern[21] and northern seaboard, including the settlements of the Chernyakhov culture (at Olbia, Tyras, Chersonesos, Pantikapaion, Gorgippia, Dalakeu) and the Lower Don (at Tanais)[22]. This *amphora* shape became very popular and was widely imitated in the Bosporian region and probably along the eastern coast.

The peak of the imports of Sinopean *amphorae* in the Mediterranean was during the 5th century AD, a period when the city was extremely active not only on the western and northern Black Sea coasts, but also in the Aegean and Mediterranean in general. Recently *amphorae* of the C Snp group have been recognised at Athens[23], Ephesus[24] and Limyra[25] and also in some sites of Northern Italy: at Treviso, Verona[26] and Padua[27]. In the same period Sinopean trade expanded, reaching even the Atlantic coats, as reveals an *amphora* found in a 5th century deposit at Troia (in Portugal)[28].

The Lower Danube territory

Moving to the Lower Danube, significant is the case of Novae where the presence of pseudo-Koan containers is remarkable, although exceeded by the Pontic productions, mostly represented by the *amphora* type Šelov A. The analysed contexts from Novae exemplify in an excellent way the situation in the territories along the Lower Danube, where the Sinopean products are registered also in Sexaginta Prista (Dobreva 2017). Except for Novae and Sexaginta Prista, evidence of south Pontic

[11] For Histria see Dyczek 2001, 241, fig. 160; Paraschiv 2006, p. 25. The *amphorae* from Tomis are published in Scorpan 1976, 164, pl. X, 1-2 and in Rădulescu 1976, 103-104, pl. III/3, also in Opaiţ 1980, 247, 256, fig. 3, 1-2, cat. ## 8-9. For the finds of Kallatis see Opaiţ / Ionescu 2016, 59-60, Pl. II/10. The finds from Bizone and Tirizis-Kaliakra are dated to the 2nd and 3rd century AD, cf. Кузманов / Салкин 1992, 38, ## 44-45.

[12] In 2nd and 3rd century contexts, see Preshlenov 2008, 302, fig. 15. Three other examples are now kept in the storerooms of Burgas Archaeological Museum and in the Municipality Museum of Pomorie. Special thanks go to Dr. K. Gospodinov, Dr. M. Gjuzelev and Assoc. Prof. S. Torbatov for granting me permission to use these materials.

[13] The *amphorae* are residual, being recovered in layers dated to the end of 4th and 5th century AD, see Dobreva 2017.

[14] The container was found in a 6th century deposit, see Кузманов 1985, 13, бел. 21.

[15] See Kassab Tezgör et al. 2007, 200-201, ## 1-6, fig. 10-14, 33-35.

[16] Dated to the 4th century AD – see Крапивина 1993, 98.

[17] For Chersonesos and Kimmerikon, see Dyczek 2001, 240. Myrmekion and Pantikapaion – Зеест 1960, 111, 116, табл. XXIX, тип 68 and табл. XXXV, тип 84б, where one example from Ilurat is also cited.

[18] Зеест 1960, 171, табл. XXXV, тип 85; Böttger / Šelov 1998, 32-34, Abb. 1.5.

[19] For Knossos see Hayes 1983, 151, fig. 24, A 67-70; for Gortyn – Portale / Romeo 2001, 296-297, tav. LXVII, ##. d-e. The *amphora* from Berytus comes from an early 3rd century context (Reynolds 2011, fig. 2e).

[20] At Demirci and Sinope: Garlan / Kassab Tezgör 1996, 326, 331, fig. 9; Kassab Tezgör 1996, 349; Kassab Tezgör 2010, 128-129, Pl. 16/1-6, 18/1, 3-4.

[21] Kassab Tezgör et al. 2007, 202-204, ## 7-9, 11, 13-19 (for Gudava) and ## 10, 12, 16-17 (for Ilori), figs. 15-27, 36-39.

[22] Зеест 1960, 120, табл. XXXIX, тип 100; Крапивина 1993, 98, табл. 31/4-6; Sazanov 1997, 90, fig. 1/12; Krapivina 2010, 408-409, pl. 303-305, L-381-387; Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, 177, notes 48-49.

[23] Examples of C Snp I and C Snp III *amphorae*, see Opaiţ 2010, 113-114, figs. 12-14.

[24] Bezeczky 2013, 176-177, pl. 36, 83, ## 402-403 and pl. 48, 93, # 626.

[25] Bes 2014, fig. 6 and Bes 2015, fig. 7.

[26] Type C Snp III: Belotti 2008, 282-283.

[27] Pers. comm. Silvia Cipriano.

[28] It is about a rim of C Snp III *amphora*. Pers. comm. Ines Vaz Pinto.



Fig. 4. Distribution map of pseudo-Koan *amphorae* between the late 1st century BC and the early 2nd century AD

[29] At Troesmis, Peceneaga, Barboşi, Noviodunum, Aegyssus, Halmyris, see Paraschiv 2006, 79, notes 23-24; Sanie 1981, 130-131, pl. 31/8; Sanie 1992, 71-80, pl. I-VI; Baumann 1995, 237, pl. XIV/14; Opaiţ 1987, type V, 151-153, fig. 5, 6-10.

[30] About the regular military wine supply in Pannonia in the period between the middle of the 2nd and the third quarter of the 3rd century AD, see Magyar-Hárshegyi 2016, 630.

[31] At Arrubium and Troesmis in 2nd-3rd century AD levels (Paraschiv 2006, 25), Sucidava (Popilian 1974, 142-143, pl. 2, 1), Tropaeum Traiani (Dyczek 2001, 241, fig. 160), Oescus (Кабакчиева 2000, 183, кат. # 55), Iatrus (Conrad 2007, 256, 263, Abb. 54), Novae, Trimammium and Sexaginta Prista (Dobreva 2017).

[32] At Halmyris, Argamum, Sarichioi-Sărătura, Aegyssus, Noviodunum, Revărsarea, Teliţa-Valea Morilor, Isaccea-Suhat, Ibida. All *amphora* finds are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, see Paraschiv 2006, 25. For Halmyris and Argamum cf. also Opaiţ 2004, 31, pl. 20, 1, 5-6.

[33] One example from Aquincum and one from Brigetio have been recently identified. Thanks to P. Hárshegyi for this pers. comm.

[34] For Viminacium and Singidunum see

imports is traceable in the *castra* of Oescus and Dimum (Dyczek 2001, 59), in the area between the Danube Delta and the Black Sea and in the provinces of Dacia[29] (**fig. 4**).

In the Middle Imperial deposits of the Lower Danube territory, the Pontic *amphorae* are attested almost as much as the Aegean and the Asia Minor imports. At Novae, in 2nd and 3rd century levels, half of the containers can be referred to the B Snp type. In those at Sexaginta Prista the wine *amphorae* originating from Sinope represent 22% of the total, compared with 15% for the Aegean ones. The significant presence of the wine *amphora* Kapitän II in these sites, attested with over 14%, is probably connected to the military supply of the troops stationed along the Danube *limes* (Dobreva 2017). The stratigraphy of the *castra* located along the Middle Danube and its tributaries[30], and the ones situated on the *limes Transalutanus*, just as inland Dacia, confirms this hypothesis (Negru et al. 2003, 213).

Despite the competition with Aegean wine, the products of Sinope seem, however, to have played a considerable role in the markets of the Lower Danube *castra*[31]. The finds of B Snp *amphora* type are also reported in the area between the Danube Delta and the Pontic coast[32]. The distribution of Sinopean wine also reached the Middle Danube territories, as confirmed by the evidence found in Pannonia[33], Upper Moesia[34] and in some sites of Dacia[35] (**fig. 5**).

During Late Antiquity the status of the Pontic wine was threatened by the extra-regional imports, particularly from the Syro-Palestine territory, as attested in the contexts of the military camp of Trimammium[36].

The supremacy of Sinopean wine, recorded by the plenty of finds of *amphorae* group C in many settlements of the Lower Danube in



Fig. 5. The diffusion of Sinopean wine *amphorae* in the 2nd and the 3rd century AD

Moesia Secunda and Dacia Ripensis[37], covered also the inland areas of Moesia[38], the areas between the Danube Delta and the coastal Pontic area in Scythia[39], reaching the middle course of the Danube, as attested at Sirmium (Brukner 1981, 125, cat. # 85, pl. 64) and Ravna (Bjelajac 1996, 79, Sl. XXVII, # 151). The wide-spread diffusion of these *amphorae* was also evident in the territories north of the Danube, as demonstrate the Sucidava and Hinova finds (Ardeț 2006, 150-151, fig. 84, where the form is considered as imported from Egypt; Stîngă 2005, 94, pl. L/1-2) (**fig. 6**).

Conclusion

Studies of the distribution of ceramics provide invaluable information for the reconstruction of trade patterns. With distribution maps it is important always to bear in mind that they simply represent the state of our knowledge and not true values. Another difficulty is related to the impossibility to distinguish imitations of Sinopean productions, especially when analysing published materials. However, the aim of this paper is to look for general distribution trends and to characterise different types of trade routes and why they developed. The analysis of regional context distribution of Pontic *amphorae* first of all highlights the clear supremacy of the containers manufactured along the southern coast of the Black Sea, as compared to those of northern and eastern Pontic origin. This massive dominance can be explained by the setting of a preferential route with the production centres of Alaplı nearby Heraclea Pontica and those in the vicinity of Sinope, active still in the second half of the 1st century BC. Exchange with the southern Black Sea coast continued developing in an intensive way up to the end of

Bjelajac 1996, 62-65, type XVIII, Sl. XX, XXI, ## 102-104, 106, 109.

[35] At Romula, Drobeta and Tibiscum, see Popilian 1974, 142-143, pl. 2, ## 2-4; Benea 2000, 435-437, fig. 1, ## 2-4.

[36] It concerns the imports of LRA 4, see Dobreva 2017.

[37] At Novae, Iatrus, Ratiaria, Castra Martis, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Dichin, see Majewski 1981(1984), 124, 12, ryc. 55, 6; Böttger 1978, 429, Pl. 1/6; Böttger 1982, 44-45, 96, 105-106, cat. ## 14-16, 130-134. pl. 21; Böttger 1991, 163, cat. # 683, pl. 47; Кузманов 1985, 17, A 64, табл. 7; von Bülow 2000, 212, fig. 1; Conrad 2007, Abb. 1-3; Kuzmanov 1987, 115, tabl. XXX, 37; Кузманов 2005, 148, кат. # 182; Falkner 1999, 257, cat. # 1099, fig. 9. 54; Кузманов 2009, 175, # 208, табл. XXI; Swan 2007, 841, fig. 3, # 19.

[38] In the territory of the *villa* near Odărci, see Дончева-Петкова 1989, 45, табл. III/1, 3-5.

[39] Halmyris, Ibida, Babadag – Topraichioi, Baia, Teliţa-Amza (in the territory of Noviodunum), Dinogetia and Troesmis, see Böttger 1982, 51, 93; Baumann 2003, 206-207, cat. # 106; Opaiţ 1980, 306, 308, pl. X/3, XII/4; Opaiţ 2004, 29-30, Pl. 18, 5a; Paraschiv 2006, 29.



Fig. 6. Distribution map of Sinopean *amphorae* C Snp during the late 4th – the early 6th centuries AD

the 6th century AD, when the latest productions of Demirci[40] are dated. The presence of Sinopean wine in Thrace is by no means a result of the development of a global exchange phenomenon that involved not only the Black Sea area, but also in the Eastern Mediterranean in general (as evidenced in Crete, Athens, Ephesus, Limyra and Berytus), and from the 3rd century AD – part of the Western Mediterranean coast. The analysed deposits indicate the significant role that the Thracian market played for the Sinopean wine trade. Thrace seems to be part of a broader mechanism that included also the territories along the Lower Danube. But what was the impact of Sinopean wine on the local Thracian economy? The data based on *amphora* finds shows clearly the important presence of this product still during Early Imperial times. As a matter of fact, about 35% of the imported wine *amphorae* in the studied contexts come from Sinope (calculations made on 31 vessels)[41]. On the contrary, the pit sanctuary at Sexaginta Prista on the Danube *limes*, dated between the late 2nd BC and the third quarter of 1st century AD, shows that only 17% of the imported wine originated from Sinope (for this research, a total amount of 49 vessels have been considered). Further on, the contribution of Sinopean containers to the Thracian deposits began to be more relevant, and during 2nd and 3rd century AD their number slightly increased, thus reaching 39% of all imported wine *amphorae* (based on 31 vessels). Compared to the low number of Sinopean *amphorae* that are attested along the Lower Danube River, a possible explanation can be that many of the wine *amphorae* imported there come from the Aegean or have been supplied locally. In fact, in the 2nd and 3rd century levels at Novae only 10% of the total amount of *amphorae* are Sinopean and about 14% of the wine originated from the Aegean (perhaps Samos), contained in Kapitän II (from 50 vessels estimated). During Late Antiquity the wine from Sinope that reached the western Black Sea coast still remains better documented, registered up to 35% of the total amount of imported wine containers (54 estimated vessels). Similar proportion can be observed also for the sites of the northern coast of the Black Sea. The Bosporus contexts from the first half of the 5th century AD reveal that about 20-30% of the total amount of *amphorae* are of Sinopean origin (Smokotina 2016, 715). On the other hand, between

[40] At Deultum Sinopean *amphorae* C Snp I are very common in some domestic contexts dated from the second half to the end of 5th century AD, while some C Snp II are attested in late 6th century deposits, see Dobreva 2017.

[41] To count the number of vessels estimated, I have used the number of minimal individuals method (NMI), see further Dobreva 2017.

the middle of the 4th and the end of the 6th century AD only one tenth of the *amphorae* that reached the Lower Danube *limes* and the territories around came from Sinope. At Trimmamium, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Dichin, to the much smaller number of Sinopean containers corresponded the quite high percentage of Late Roman 1 wine *amphorae*, mostly of Cypriot and Cilician production (Falkner 1999; Swan 2004 and 2007). The wine supply along the Danube border in the 5th and mainly in the 6th century AD is strongly conditioned by *quaestura exercitus*, established by the Emperor Justinian (Torbatov 1997). With the inclusion of Caria, Cyprus and the Cycladic Islands, it provided food supply to Moesia Secunda and Scythia. The western coast of the Black Sea received considerably bigger quantity of Sinopean *amphorae* than the Lower Danube region. Here the proportion of the containers that arrived from Sinope remained relatively stable, as compared over the centuries. So it seems that the Sinopean wine was a constant factor in the local consumption behaviours and eating practices in Roman and Late Antique Thrace. It played a considerable role, including about one third of the whole wine trade reaching the Thracian market. How can we explain this fixed trend? The possible explanation has to evaluate several key factors, one of which is most likely related to the quality/price ratio that made Sinopean wine competitive to Aegean and other Pontic wines. On the other hand, its success could also be related to the fact that it suited the local taste. This peculiarity can justify the 'global' market establishment of the Sinopean wine. Taking into consideration the distribution maps, another question stands out: was Sinopean wine equally distributed in Thrace? The topography of the finds shows the wide-spread diffusion of Sinopean imports, limited mainly to ports and coastal regions and to those sites located near rivers. It concerns maritime routes that involve ports and coastal cities receiving many of the Sinopean *amphorae* from where, via navigable rivers and ship canals (as Hebros, Tonzos, Strymon, Nestos etc.), the production could penetrate inland to well-connected locations. Distribution maps regarding the Lower Danube territories demonstrate that most of the military camps received Sinopean imports, thus pointing out the importance of the Danube River not only as a commercial route, but also as an access point to the Pontic trade network.

In closing, the case of Sinopean wine in the context of tracing networks in the Black Sea has been already observed for the Classical and Hellenistic period, and now we can emphasize its significant role also for the Roman and Late Antique times. Further research in this area, including the production site information at the Turkish coast and more analysis of assemblages around the Black Sea, is necessary in order to clarify this point.

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Roman Lamps from Abdera

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Abstract: In the course of sixty-five years of excavations in the ancient city of Abdera, over one thousand three hundred lamps have been found. A large number of them come from the South Enceinte and mainly from the buildings of the last chronological phases. This preliminary study focuses on the basic groups dated from the 1st c. BC to the 4th c. AD. The discussion is subdivided on the basis of typology, date, technique, and the relationship with the production centers, namely Italy, Corinth, Athens, Ephesos, and Knidos. The influence of the famous workshops, as well as the imported and the local products are also examined[1].

Key words: Abdera, South Enceinte, Roman lamps, local production.

Introduction

Abdera, the Ionian colony on the Thracian coast, evolved to a significant city in the center of marine trading routes in the north Aegean and the rich Thracian inland during the Classical Period. After the Second and the Third Macedonian Wars and the occupation of Macedonia and Thrace by the Romans, Abdera remained a *civitas libera*[2]. During the following centuries the situation changed. New cities, such as Topeiros, Anastasioupolis and Maximianoupolis, were founded along the *Via Egnatia* and became important residential, administrative and economic centers. The new orientation of the Roman policy focused on the control of the passages towards the interior of the Balkans (Adams 1997, 135; Chryssanthaki 2004, 317; Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005, 166).

As a result, the Greek city gradually turned into a small settlement. During the reign of Trajan, the northern part of Abdera's land was granted to Topeiros (Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005, 167, 255, 263; Καλλιντζή 2011, 107). In the late 3rd – early 4th c. AD, after the administrative reforms of Diocletian, the city and the *chora* of Abdera were incorporated into the province of Rhodope in *Dioecesis Thraciae* (Αβραμέα 2000, 137-138; Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005, 167; Καλλιντζή 2011, 107).

The successive floods of the river Nestos caused geomorphological changes, such as extended marshes to the west of the city and the rising of the ground-level. The city walls were destroyed and the new houses were built outside the walls, off the old town plan, the well-known Hippodamian system. Part of the population moved to the hill of the ancient acropolis (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 395; Καλλιντζή 2011, 108). A major catastrophe occurred in the ancient city during the reign of Constantine the Great, and the area of the Western Gate was abandoned and turned into a cemetery.

General Observations

Among the aims of this preliminary study is to present, analyze and classify the characteristic groups of the Roman lamps from Abdera.

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to K. Kallintzi for her support and encouragement to study the lamps from Abdera. I would also like to thank warmly my dear colleagues K. Chatziprokopiou and V. Demou for their precious observations on the final text.

[2] Plb. *Hist*. 22.48.2; Plin. *Hist*. *Nat*. 4.42-43. For further study: Malamidou 2000, 3.41-44; Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005, 164-167; Chryssanthaki-Naggle 2007, 311-317; Καλλιντζή 2007, 7-11; and Καλλιντζή 2011, 106-108.



Fig. 1. South Enceinte of Abdera. Area of the Western Gate (photo: the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi)

Unfortunately, the publications of similar material found in the area of Aegean Thrace are limited (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010b, 386-401; Κοκκοτάκη et al. 2010, 367-385; Τσόκα 2011, 833-842). This work deals with lamps that come mainly from the buildings of the last chronological phases of the city. Around 1300 lamps have been inventoried in the catalogues of the Archaeological Museum of Abdera[3]. The vast majority, 98 percent of the lamps, come from the city, and only 2 percent from the cemeteries and the *chora*. A large number of them (around 1200) were found in the South Enceinte (**fig. 1**) and they are dated from the 6th c. BC to the 4th c. AD. Almost exclusively mould-made lamps appear throughout the Roman period, 624 lamps in total (52 percent) (**fig. 2**). Another huge group is the mould-made Ephesos type lamps (32 percent) dated from the 2nd c. BC to the 1st c. BC

Complete examples and some characteristic fragments of the material have been included in this presentation. The study focuses on the main groups dating from the 1st c. BC to the 4th c. AD, according to date, shape, size and decoration. The relationship with the famous workshops, their influence on the local production, the imitations, the archetypes and imported lamps are also examined.

Group A. 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD

Mould-made glazed Italian lamps and their imitations

During the Early Roman period the imported lamps in Abdera are of different origins. They are mainly imports from Italy or influenced by Italian workshops. The Early Roman activity in the city was also testified by epigraphic sources from the 2nd c. BC (Chrysanthaki 1995, 147; Malamidou 2000, 3-42; Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005, 200-210, Ε7-Ε10). The *negotiatores* and other Italian groups probably transferred and diffused the prototypes of the lamps. Three subgroups are distinguished: mould-made glazed lamps with handle-shields, lamps with volutes on the nozzle and discus relief, and their imitations.

A1. Lamps with handle-shields (Broneer type XXI)

The handle-shield lamps are usually a cheap imitation of the metal lamps. This type of handle occurs commonly on lamps with volute-nozzles. It is possible to group two distinct varieties. The unique

[3] There are also a large number of uninventoried lamps.

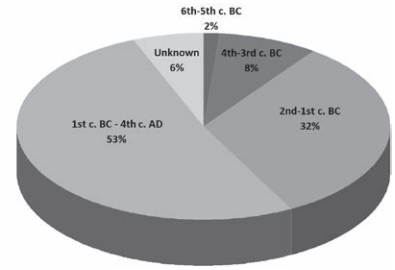


Fig. 2. Dating of the lamps from the South Enceinte (graph: Maria Chryssaphi)



Fig. 3. MA 5959.Triangular handle-shield (photo: the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi)

crescent-shaped shield from Abdera, MA 1124, is similar to lamps from the Athenian Agora and Corinth (Broneer 1930, type XXI # 396; Perlzweig 1961, # 30; Bailey 1975, Q1142; Χριστοδουλίδου 1998, 259, ΓΑΛ 19). MA 5959 is another handle-shield lamp preserving only the triangular handle attachment with a palmette springing from acanthus *rinceaux* in relief[4] (**fig. 3**).

A2. Volute lamps (Broneer type XXII)

Volute lamps with a decorated discus were very popular in Italy and the other Roman provinces during the 1st c. AD (Zhuravlev 2007, 216). Only two examples preserve big parts of the body, with an angular volute nozzle. Lamp MA 639 has a narrow grooved rim with volutes on the shoulders. On the discus is represented a bear attacking an ox to the right. Lamp MA 4892, is decorated with a crown of myrtle[5]. A large number of fragments, mostly from discus reliefs, increase the significance of this subgroup. Figures such as a gladiator to the right (MA 5965), a naked man (probably Heracles, MA 5303), Victory bearing shield (MA 3923; Perlzweig 1961, # 52), a saddled horse to the right (MA 5465; Broneer 1930, # 446), a rosette of six petals (MA 4632γ), two horses galloping to the left, a circus rider (desultory, MA 11.361)[6], with similar fabric and glaze must belong to the same imported category. Other fragments preserve only parts of the rim and the volutes (MA 7511α, MA 584, MA 4696α, MA 4735γ). The lamp MA 4995 was made without handle. On the discus there is the rare figure of Heracles to the left with a club in the raised right hand and a bow in the left hand. The part of the discus in front of the figure unfortunately has not been preserved. The same iconographic type appears in a parallel from Chersonesos Taurica with a rounded nozzle, dated to the 1st c. AD (Zhuravlev 2007, fig. 7, # 4, 216-217).

A3. Imitations

The large circulation and fame of volute lamps in the Mediterranean provoked their imitations. Three examples can be named, MA 5506, MA 5973 and MA 612/10.435. The clay is dark grayish brown and the glaze brown to orange. The discus is with a channel to the nozzle and bears a relief: the figure of a man with a big bow, probably Heracles, an ox and a lion, all to the left. The production center of these lamps remains unknown.

Group B. 1st – 2nd c. AD

Tradition of Italian, Eastern Mediterranean and local workshops

This group includes lamps that express the evolution of the famous Italian types by the addition of new small changes. It also testifies to the appearance of Eastern Mediterranean workshops on the market. On the other hand, the present research has given the opportunity to open the discussion about the existence of a local workshop in Abdera.

B1. Tradition of the Italian workshops

From the end of the 1st c. AD to the 2nd c. AD, the decrease of imported Italian lamps is obvious. Only one example (MA 711) is certainly imported from Italy, dated to the second half of the 1st c. AD[7]. There is an ovule pattern on the rim, the discus is plain, the nozzle is with single volutes, and the handle is grooved. The tradition of Italian lamps is continued in a few lamps of the subgroup B1 with the same characteristics (semi-volutes, ovules on rim, short rounded nozzles), but they

[4] Similar: Broneer 1930, type XXI, # 400; Perlzweig 1961, # 27.

[5] Similar decoration can be seen in a double nozzle lamp from Thessaloniki, see Χριστοδουλίδου 1998, 258, ΓΑΛ 15.

[6] Similar: Perlzweig 1961, # 99.

[7] Similar: Broneer 1930, type XXIV, # 463.

are all different in terms of fabric and glaze. The Italian influence appears in the lamps MA 8712[8], MA 4638a (Hellström 1965, # 61, 51), MA 10.261[9].

B2. Various workshops from the Eastern Mediterranean

During the 1st c. AD, products of main workshops, such as Corinth, Ephesos and Knidos, also appeared in the city of Abdera. They belong to Broneer types XXIV and XXV. These lamps preserve some characteristics of the Italian lamps (the ovule pattern on the rim, plain or discus relief), but they form new types (heart-shaped or U-shaped nozzles). The glazed lamp MA 8045 with a plain discus, ovule pattern on the rim and a heart-shaped nozzle, is probably a provincial workshop's imitation of the well-known type[10]. The glazed lamp MA 3260, with an ovule pattern on the rim, a figure of Eros on the discus, and a U-shaped nozzle belongs to a similar type. Two examples are unglazed, with ovules on the rim: the impressed rosette-patterned lamp MA 4209 with a heart-shaped nozzle, and lamp MA 5462 with a bird biting a snake on the discus. They are probably both early imitations of the Italian types by a Corinthian workshop.

One more innovative step are the lamps with a plain rim, a rosette on the discus and a U-shaped nozzle (MA 12.243, MA 9623, MA 7510). The lamps MA 4797β and MA 4613α are the only fragments of "red on white" lamps found at Abdera. This rare kind of coating has been attributed to the workshops of Ephesos (Perlzweig 1961, ## 155-204, 5-6; Hellström 1965, # 63, 51). Another peculiar type is the heart-shaped discus lamp (MA 3032, **fig. 4**), with a volute on the nozzle, a columned base and an Ionic capital, dated to the mid-1st c. AD[11].

The mould-made head used as a filling-hole cover (MA 5975)[12], and lamp MA 5437, with a rosette-patterned discus, flat narrow rim and a large voluted nozzle, are also unique[13]. They probably come from the Eastern Aegean.

B3. Local workshop (?)

The lamps made of similar fabric, with a plain sloping rim, a heart-shaped nozzle, a loop handle and a plain or relief discus, constitute the largest subgroup of the Roman period. Most of them have been found intact. They are probably all local products, as we can infer from the poor quality of the clay and glaze, the similarities in shape and size, and the repetition of the same pattern. A few examples were made by a much used mould. Traces of fire have not been observed on seven lamps. The rich repertory of patterns on the discus features a rosette (MA 7501), a sea shell (MA 11.649, MA 8086, MA 6788, MA 4624, MA 4219), a man walking to the right (MA 7503), an eagle (MA 9424), a cluster (MA 7550, MA 7507), and a *kantharos* or a *krater* (MA 8441, MA 630). A plain discus appears in lamps MA 5970, MA 3029, MA 7500 (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 394, 401), MA 7692 (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 394, 401), MA 9622 and MA 2127ε) (**fig. 5**)[14]. The subgroup can be dated generally to the 2nd c. AD.

We can identify fourteen imported lamps related to the local subgroup. They present better quality of the glaze and the clay. Two spiral-leaves spring from the center of the clear heart-shaped nozzle in some cases. The handle is pierced, grooved at the front and at the back. The size is slightly bigger. Lamps MA 727, MA 4612,

[8] This lamp from Abdera must be an imitation of the Italian lamp of the type Athenian Agora # 36 (Perlzweig 1961). The figure of a frenzied Maenad wearing a chiton is represented on the discus. The glaze and semi-volutes are different, so is the fabric. They probably date from the late 1st – early 2nd c. AD. See Hellström 1965, # 61, 51.

[9] Only part of the discus is preserved with Athena to the left, armed with a shield.

[10] Broneer 1930, # 463 type XXIV; similar lamp with a different nozzle in Perlzweig 1961, # 134; Hellström 1965, # 66.

[11] Perlzweig 1961, # 90 is a similar example without a stand.

[12] A filling-hole cover in the shape of a mask of a comic actor can be seen in Perlzweig 1961, # 15.

[13] Similar lamp with two nozzles: Broneer 1930, ## 383, 409, type XXI, 167, pl. VIII and XXX; Perlzweig 1961, # 16.

[14] For a similar local production at Istria see Rusu-Bolindeţ 2010, 401-410.



Fig. 4. MA 3032. Heart-shaped discus lamp (photo: the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi)

(plain discus), MA 2559α, MA 9630 (rosette pattern) MA 9428, MA 4219, MA 6601γ (sea shell), MA 953β, MA 5441, MA 12.133, MA 10.414 (eagle) and MA 5614 (*kantharos*) must have inspired the local lampmakers. They present similarities with the Loeschcke type VIII (Loeschcke 1919, 237), Broneer type XXV[15] and the lamps from the Athenian Agora[16]. Lamp MA 587, with a Dionysiac head facing, crowned with a wreath of ivy leaves and berries (Perlzweig 1961, # 160), and lamp MA 2127στ, with a facing head of Selene crowned with a crescent[17], belong to the same subgroup dated from the late 1st c. to the 2nd c. AD.

At the present stage of research we cannot testify with certainty the existence of a lamp workshop in Abdera. No pottery kiln has been discovered in the excavated area. A petrographic analysis could offer precious information to the study. Finally, the integrated examination of the archaeological data will enlighten the matter.

Group C. 2nd – 3rd c. AD

Greek workshops and local imitations

At the end of the 1st to the early 2nd c. AD began the production of Corinthian lamps. There are only two examples that can be related to the famous workshops with certainty. The Attic lampmakers also revived the old industry from the beginning of the 3rd c. AD (Slane 1990, 17). Some of the lamps found in Abdera can be identified as Attic and others as their imitations.

C1. Corinthian lamps (Broneer type XXVII)

The fragments of lamps MA 9632 and MA 9423 belong to the second subgroup of Broneer type XXVII (Broneer 1930, # 570; Slane 1990, ## 21-24) with the well-known vine-and-ray pattern and Corinthian fabric[18]. This famous pattern appears in Abdera and later in the 3rd – 4th c. AD in glazed lamps with incused decoration (group D1).

C2. Attic lamps (Broneer type XXVIII)

Five parts of lamps present the characteristic features of the unglazed Attic lamps under the influence of Corinthian models (Perlzweig 1961, 18; Slane 1990, 18): two framing rings around the relief discus and relief rim patterns (dot rosettes, herringbone, spiral). The reliefs on the discus vary: an old man observing an erotic *symplegma* (MA 5438; Perlzweig 1961, # 808, dated to the second half of the 3rd c. AD), a cock pecking at a lizard (?), above right, a cat (MA 5439; Perlzweig 1961, # 921, dated from the late 3rd to the early 4th c. AD), and a bull to the left (MA 5463; Perlzweig 1961, # 908)[19]. The discuses of lamps MA 6993 and MA 4810 are not preserved. Two more fragments (MA 9627 and MA 12.336) glazed with spiral patterns on the rim must be attributed to provincial secondary workshops.

C3. Globule lamps

A series of unidentified lamps from Abdera is the MA 7651 (**fig. 5**), MA 4814α and MA 4796α (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 393-394, 401) with globules on the rim only and discus framed by three rings. They are similar with lamps ## 427, 418 and 433 of the Athenian Agora (Perlzweig 1961, to Alpha globule lamps, 15, 107) dated to the late 1st and early 2nd c. AD. Nevertheless, the lamps from Abdera do not have an *alpha* in relief on the base, and their nozzle is kite-shaped – elements that reveal a different origin and a later date.

[15] Specially ## 505-509.

[16] Generally in the shape and the decoration see: Perlzweig 1961, ## 160, 162, 164.

[17] Similar: Perlzweig 1961, # 125. For a similar, but different in terms of the figure of Selene, lamp from the workshop of LMVNS (Lucius Munatius Successus), see Χριστοδουλίδου 1998, 260, ΓΑΛ 33.

[18] Unglazed lamps with pale yellow or buff clay.

[19] The representation appears on Attic lamps in the mid-3rd c., Broneer 1930, 108, ## 1185, 1241.

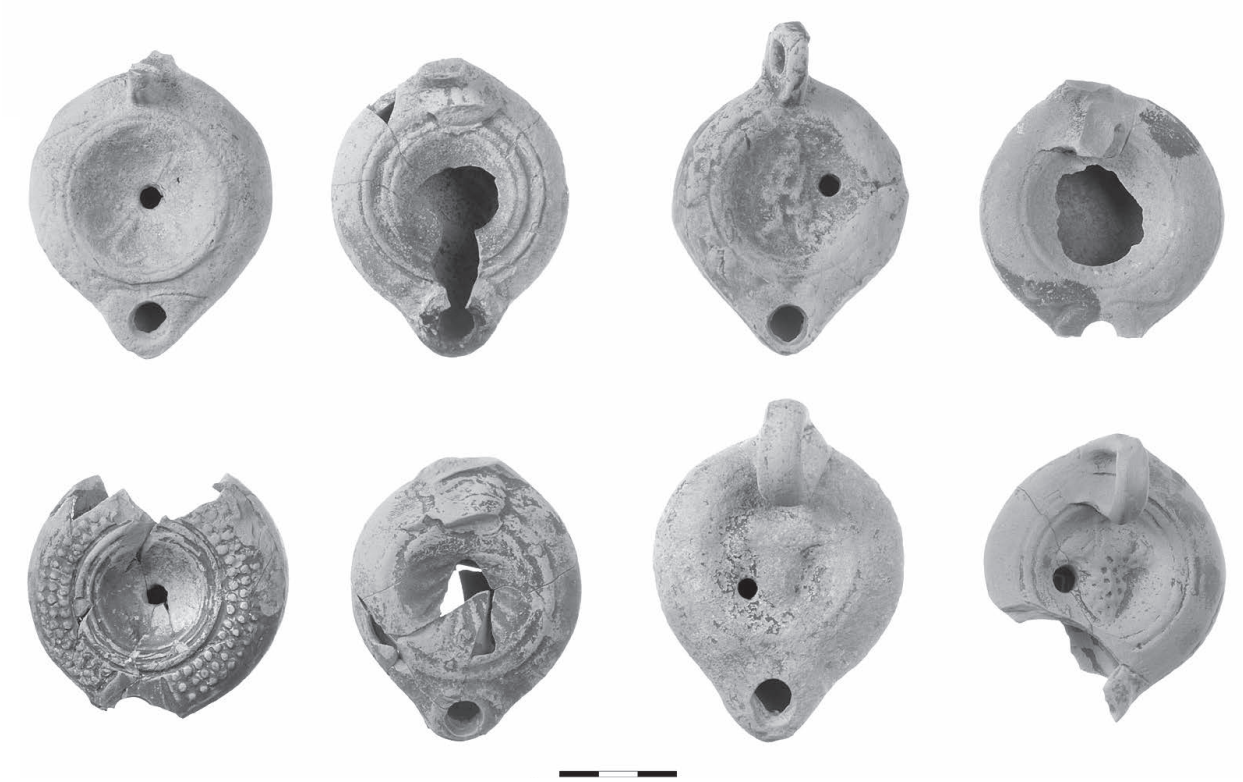


Fig. 5. Lamps of Group B3 and C3 (photos: the Ephorate of Antiquities of Xanthi)

Group D. 3rd – 4th c. AD

Attic lamps and local imitations

D1. Vine-and-ray lamps

The vine-and-ray lamps were very popular on the markets of the 3rd and 4th c. AD. This pattern was known from the Corinthian workshops (Abdera group C1, Broneer type XXVII) and their Attic imitations (Broneer type XXVIII). The appearance of this type in Abdera is probably related to a local production. Six lamps, MA 623 (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 393, 400), MA 8157, MA 8145, MA 4696β, MA 10644, one from Sector L, belong to this subgroup. The remarkable features among the lamps are the rim with an incused pattern of three circles between the vine leaves, the ray-patterned small discus, the double groove on the side of nozzle, the impressed circles on the base, and the traces of red glaze in some cases. Glazed vine-and-ray lamps appear in the Athenian Agora (Perlzweig 1961, ## 1512, 1516) and Corinth (Broneer 1930, 108, # 925; Slane 1990, # 54, 19-20, 34).

D2. Plain rim and discus, U-shaped nozzle

Another series of lamps have a plain rim and a plain discus with three framing rings, and a U-shaped nozzle (Perlzweig 1961, ## 1145-1146, 1166, dated in the late 3rd c.): MA 5436, MA 3031, MA 596 (Καλλιντζή et al. 2010, 393, 400-401). They have the same feature on the base as the vine-and ray lamps: seven impressed circles with dots inside, around a central similar circle. This element usually is linked to the workshop. The lamps of the Athenian Agora (## 1145, 1146) have two or three rings with a central boss and are dated in the first half of the 3rd c. AD.

It is possible that the two subgroups (D1 and D2) were produced by a local workshop, in the 3rd c. AD.

D3. Lamps of the 4th c.

There are only a few lamps dated with certainty to the 4th c. AD. Two fragments are imported from Athens and are dated to the first half of the 4th c. AD: the fragment of a discus with a boat, MA 7029 (Perlzweig 1961, # 1029, 132), and the part of a discus and rim MA 12.136 with one framing ring and decoration of eight leaves (Perlzweig 1961, ## 1641-1642).

Conclusions

As we can see from the present preliminary study, during the Early Roman period the *civitas libera* of Abdera became part of a great international market. The famous Italian products dominated in the Eastern Mediterranean world and influenced the local workshops while Italy was the new political power. From the end of the 1st c. AD to the 2nd c. AD we observe an increase in the provincial lamp production. Some characteristics of the Italian lamps survived. The Ephesos, Knidos and Corinth ateliers also appeared. The activity of a local workshop probably began in the 2nd c. AD and continued in the 3rd c. AD. The lampmakers used the well-known lamps from Athens and Knidos as an archetype or they formed new similar moulds. During the 3rd and the 4th c. AD the imported Italian lamps almost disappeared. New forms, patterns and shapes replaced the old ones. The presence of Attic and Eastern Aegean workshops indicates close contacts with Abdera. Although the quantity of the lamps shows clearly the decrease of population in the area of the Western Gate of the ancient city.

Another issue related to this subject is the connection of the assemblages with the architectural finds, pottery, coins, artifacts and generally the archaeological contexts. The study of Roman pottery from the same area has proved that the most important source for fine pottery was Asia Minor (Malamidou 2005). Italian *sigillata* wares did not seem to be very popular. The presence of Eastern *sigillata* A and B, and mainly Çandarlı wares later, indicates the domination of the Eastern workshops over the local market. The monetary history of the city during the Roman period starts with the provincial coinage under Tiberius (AD 14-37) and stops in the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) (Chryssanthaki 2004, 317; Chryssanthaki-Naggle 2007, 325). The griffin, the old emblem of the city, is completely abandoned. Only the legend of the ethnic *Abderitai* exists. During the end of the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD we observe the establishment in Thrace of a common monetary system. The decline of the monetary circulation provoked probably the development of the local workshops.

The study of the lamps indicates the commercial and economic activity of Abdera and the relations with the neighboring cities during the Roman period. It also confirms the presence of an active population around the area of the Western Gate while Abdera was a *civitas libera*.

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Roman Glass from Serdica

Kristina KOSEVA

Abstract: The article presents unpublished glass finds, dated to the 1st – early 3rd c. AD, discovered during the 2010 archaeological campaign in Serdica (present-day Sofia, Bulgaria). The fragments are arranged in groups according to the technique of manufacture. Their dating is then examined in the context of the chronological distribution of the forms, to which they have been assigned, referring to published parallels from sites both in the modern territory of Bulgaria and throughout the Empire.

Key words: glass vessels, Roman period, Serdica, Bulgaria.

Introduction

The large-scale excavations conducted over the last several years on the site of the Roman town of Serdica (present-day Sofia, Bulgaria) provided a significant amount of new archaeological data. The current study includes unpublished glass finds that belong to well-defined vessel types, manufactured using a range of glass-working techniques, thus, demonstrating the distribution of particular Roman glass vessels in this part of Thrace.

The archaeological site

During the rescue investigations, carried out between 2010-2012 and 2015, several urban *insulae* from the 2nd – 6th c. AD were uncovered, while the earliest contexts were related to the earth and timber period of the site, dated to the 1st c. AD. The great amount of finds associated with the first two centuries of occupation in the area included imported pottery and glass vessels, as well as other luxurious items (Иванов 2013a; Иванов 2013b).

The glass assemblage

The article presents a selected part of the glass assemblage uncovered during the 2010 campaign[1]. The fragments are arranged in groups according to specific technique of production and, in cases when possible, are assigned to certain forms referring to the classification of Clasina Isings (1957).

Mould-formed glass vessels

Developed originally in the Hellenistic period, the technique of transforming heated disk or hot cake of glass into a vessel by using convex formers is still quite popular during the last decades of the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD (Grose 1989, 195, 244-246; Weinberg / Stern 2009, 33). One of the most common forms manufactured using this technique is the ribbed bowl – Isings form 3. The Roman varieties of this pre-Roman vessel form have an improved and standardized appearance, although the irregularities characteristic of the Hellenistic tradition can often be

[1] All the data regarding the date of the contexts along with other relevant information needed was kindly provided by the director of the site Dr. Mario Ivanov, NAIM-BAS.

found in some later examples, as well (Weinberg / Stern 2009, 34). There are different theories about the exact method used to produce these vessels. It is generally assumed that the initial stage of the process includes sagging heated glass disk onto a convex mould. There is an ongoing discussion regarding the part that follows, but the most recent theory suggests that the former is placed on a wheel and the glass is tooled with a metal rod while it flows down. If accepted, such a reconstruction would explain the above stated irregularities that involve uneven size and shape of the ribs with their tips pointing to one side sometimes, tool marks, etc. (Grose 1989, 246; Lierke 2009, 52-55; Weinberg / Stern 2009, 33-36). The early examples of the ribbed bowls, part of the Roman traditions of manufacture, made in either bichrome / polychrome or monochrome strongly-coloured glass become progressively rare by the Flavian period after which the form is represented mostly by its naturally coloured (blue-green) version (Cool 2016, 104). All of the examples listed below fall into the group of naturally coloured ribbed bowls (**fig. 1/1-6**).

1. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; upright rim fragment with parts of two ribs remaining on upper body; wheel-polished interior and the exterior of the rim area; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

2. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; upright rim fragment with part of one rib remaining on the upper body; wheel-polished interior and the exterior of the rim area; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

3. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; upright rim fragment with part of one rib remaining on the upper body; wheel-polished interior and the exterior of the rim area; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Trajanic – Hadrianic period.

4. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; wall fragment with part of one rib; wheel-polished and two wheel-cut lines on interior; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

5. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; wall fragment with part of one rib; wheel-polished and two wheel-cut lines on interior; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Hadrianic – Early Marcus Aurelius period.

6. Ribbed bowl / *Rippenschale*; base fragment with parts of seven narrow ribs running to centre; wheel-polished interior; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Trajanic – Hadrianic period.

Another technique, also popular in the Hellenistic period but rather characteristic of the Roman glass production, involves the use of prefabricated polychrome canes cut into small pieces and arranged in a desired pattern that, when heated, form a mul ti-coloured glass disk ready to be finally shaped. The early Roman examples appear during the last quarter of the 1st c. BC (Cool 2016, 109). The bowl fragment from Serdica (**fig. 2/7**) represents a specific floral pattern – *millefiori*, achieved by the combination of rosette-forming / shaping slices of coloured glass rods.

7. Shallow bowl; two joining rim fragments; polychrome floral patterns (millefiori) – dark brown background with large opaque orange spots surrounded by 2 rings of opaque yellow specks combined with dark green-blue background with

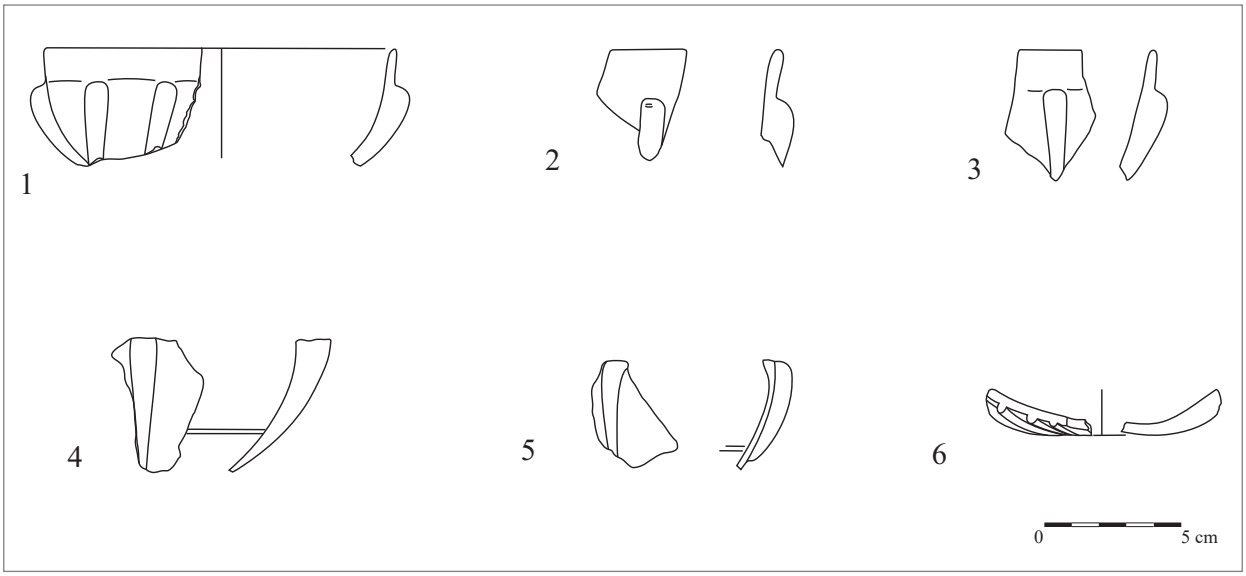


Fig. 1. Mould-pressed glass vessels, ## 1-6 (drawings by the author)

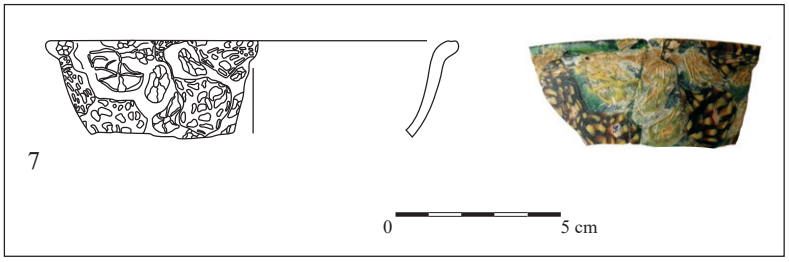


Fig. 2. Mould-pressed glass vessels, # 7 (drawing and photo by the author)

5/6-petalled opaque yellow and blue-green flowers with central opaque orange spot.

Date of the context: middle – third quarter of the 2nd c. AD.

Blown glass vessels

The invention of glassblowing is generally placed ca. 50 BC, in accordance with the earliest archaeological evidence from a workshop in Jerusalem (Israeli 1991, 46-55). The technique quickly becomes popular but it is not until the Augustan / Tiberian period when its use is attested by considerable quantities of blown fragments found in archaeological contexts (Stern 1999, 441-484). The different stages in the development of the new technique, regarding tube-blowing, chunk gathering, the use of a blowpipe and later on of a pontil rod, along with the impact that it has on the Roman glass industry in general, have been discussed in detail by M. Stern (1995, 37-44; 1999, 442-454).

Mould-blown glass vessels

According to the dated finds, it is usually assumed that mould blowing developed during the early 1st c. AD either on the Syro-Palestinian coast, or in the West, probably Italy (Stern 1995, 65-66; Price 1991, 64, 71). The technique involves the use of two- or multi-part mould and allows obtaining specific shape and vessel decoration. Only three examples belong to this group (**fig. 3/8, 9**), all parts of conical beakers with decoration of almond-shaped bosses in relief – Isings form 31. Two of the fragments, made of yellow-brown glass, most probably belong to one and the same vessel. The third example is from a naturally coloured beaker, slightly bigger in size than the previously mentioned one.

8. Cylindrical beaker; two joining wall fragments with preserved

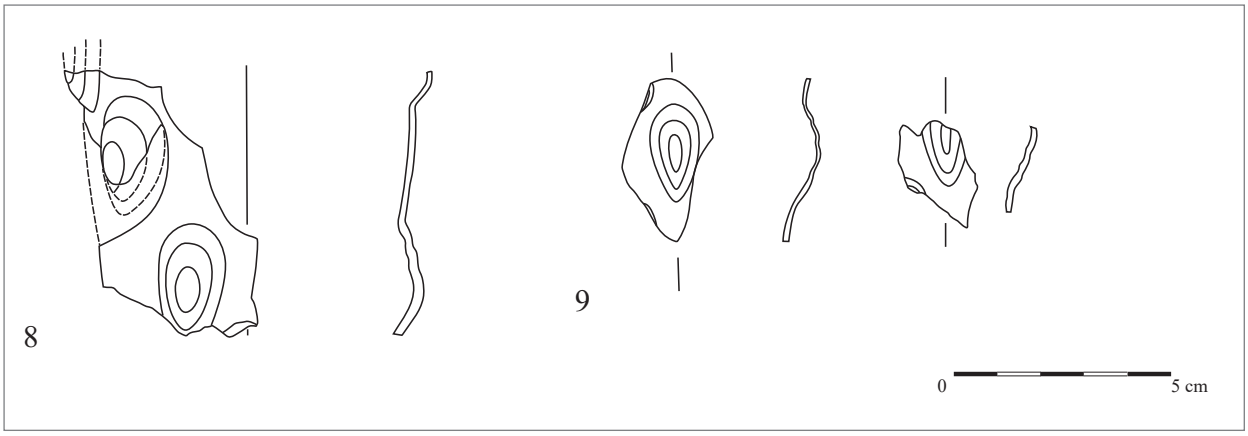


Fig. 3. Mould-blown glass vessels (drawings by the author)

parts of three rows of almond-shaped bosses; blue-green glass.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

9. Cylindrical beaker; two wall fragments with preserved one almost complete and half of another almond-shaped bosses; yellow-brown glass.
Date of the context: second quarter of the 2nd c. AD.

Free-blown glass vessels

The free-blown glass group from the Serdica assemblage includes nine examples representing not only plain vessels such as the toilet / unguent bottle (**fig. 4/14**) but also tableware decorated with "hot" (forming of ribs and indents) or "cold" (wheel-cutting, facet-cutting) glass working techniques.

The blown variety of the ribbed bowl, decorated with sharp pinched out ribs, also known as *zarte Rippenschale* – Isings form 17, is one of the earliest shapes manufactured by this technique, with suggested appearance in the Augusto-Tiberian period and most commonly found in contexts of Tiberian or Claudian-Neronian date (Rütti 1991a, 43, AR 28). Although the vessels are more often made in bright colours with additional decoration of opaque white glass trail, the naturally coloured variety is also found, along with monochrome brightly coloured examples, lacking the applied decorative trail, as evidenced by the bowl from Serdica (**fig. 4/10**).

10. Small ribbed bowl / *zarte Rippenschale*; rim fragment with parts of three ribs remaining on upper body; cobalt blue glass.
Date of the context: Claudian – Late Flavian period.

The indented beakers / *Faltenbechern* are represented in the 2010 assemblage by rim fragments of two vessels (**fig. 4/11, 12**), discovered along with wall fragments from different parts of their bodies (not included). They most probably belong to the variant with concave base – Isings form 32. The next example might also be related to the same vessel shape (**fig. 4/13**) – small round concave base made of yellow-brown glass, transforming into a four-sided body in its upper part (Isings 1957, 46).

11. Indented beaker / *Faltenbecher*; upper body fragment with fire-rounded rim; naturally coloured / almost colourless glass with slight blue-green tint.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

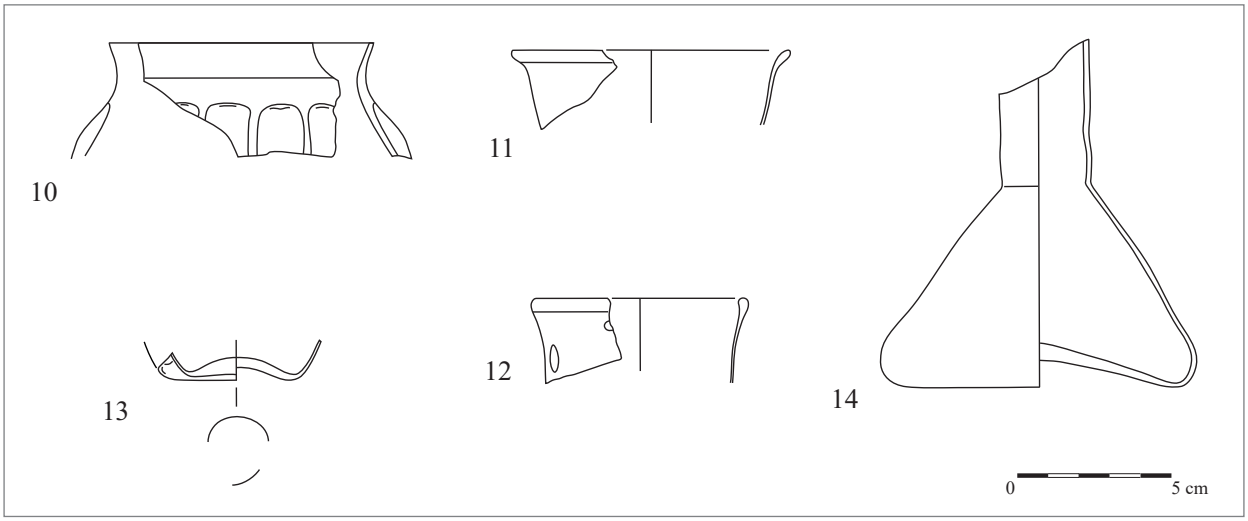


Fig. 4. Free-blown glass vessels, plain and decorated with "hot" glass working techniques (drawings by the author)

12. Indented beaker / *Faltenbecher*; upper body fragment with and fire-rounded rim; naturally coloured / almost colourless glass with slight blue-green tint.
Date of the context: Late Flavian – Trajanic period.

13. Indented beaker / small toilet bottle; small round concave base with parts of the lower four-sided body; yellow-brown glass; a pontil scar on the base.
Date of the context: second quarter of the 2nd c. AD.

The glass *unguentaria* are represented here by only one example – Isings form 28/82 A2, made of saturated green glass that most probably belongs to the earlier development of the type[2].

14. *Unguentarium*; almost entirely preserved lower part of the body with slightly concave base; dark green glass.
Date of the context: second quarter of the 2nd c. AD.

Colourless glass became quite popular around AD 70 and combined with the new technique of cold-processing of the material – facet-cutting, defines the appearance of a new group of high-quality tableware (Weinberg / Stern 2009, 51, 87). The earliest drinking vessels decorated with this technique are the conical beakers Isings form 21 common from the Flavian period until the early 2nd c. AD (Oliver 1984, 35-58). The example present in the Serdica assemblage (**fig. 5/15**) belongs to the thin-walled variety of the form with separate elongated shallow facets (on the technique see Oliver 1984, 35-58; Lierke 2009, 75).

Another group of vessels made of colourless glass with zoned facet-cutting and wheel-cutting are the hemispherical bowls – Isings form 96[3]. The different decorative patterns of the vessels consist of various shapes and combinations of the facets. In the case of **# 16** they are either rice-shaped or circular, or both (**fig. 5/16**). The last example from the assemblage and the present group (**fig. 5/17**) has less complicated decorative design.

15. Conical beaker; upper body fragment with curved rim, edge cracked-off and ground; two horizontal wheel-cut lines below the rim edge forming a rib; two horizontal wheel-cut lines separating the plain area below the rim from two rows of

[2] On the dating of the forms in general see Isings 1957, 41-43; 97-98.

[3] For comments on the earliest examples see Isings 1957, 104.

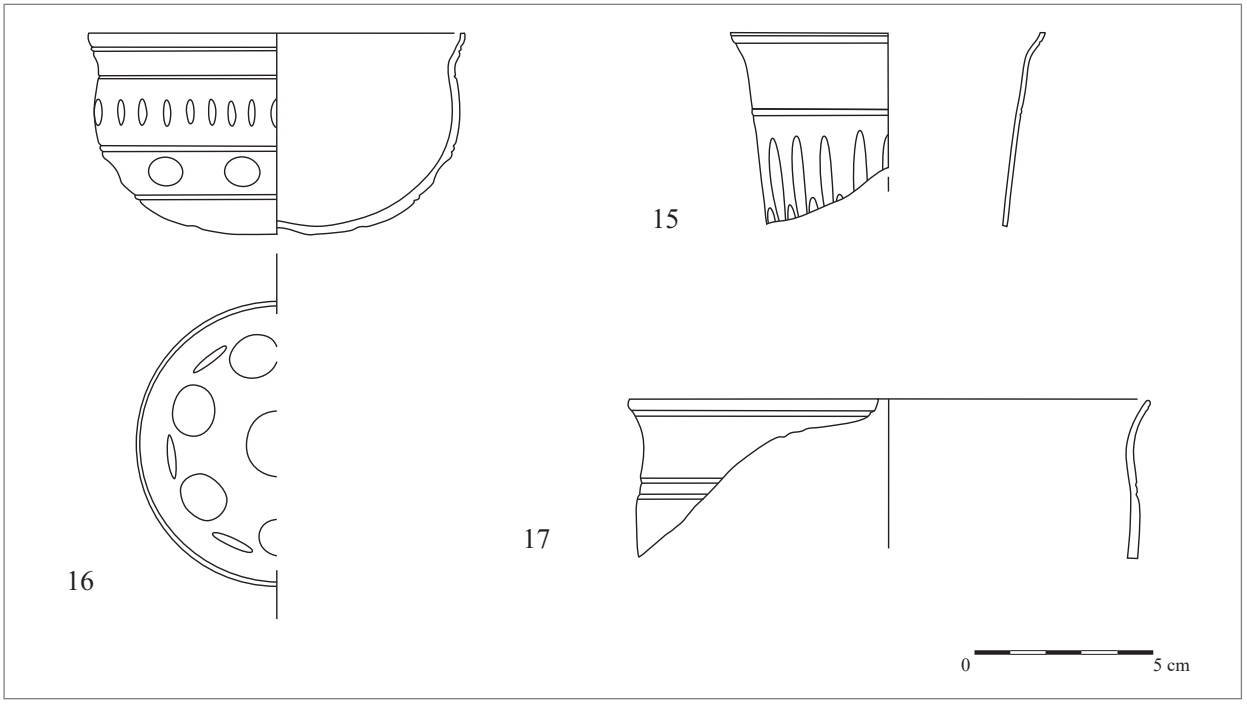


Fig. 5. Free-blown glass vessels, decorated with "cold" glass working techniques (drawings by the author)

vertical separate elongated shallow facets; all other surfaces (inside and out) are left as blown, without additional manipulation; colourless glass.
Date of the context: middle – second half of the 3rd c. AD.

16. Small hemispherical bowl; a fragment representing the entire profile of the vessel; cracked-off and slightly ground rim; two horizontal wheel-cut lines below the rim edge; on the body: a zone of vertical rice-shaped facets followed by one with circular facets, both framed/separated by horizontal wheel-cut lines; on the slightly concave base: central circular facet surrounded by alternating circular and horizontal rice-shaped facets; colourless glass.
Date of the context: late 2nd – beginning of the 3rd c. AD.

17. Bowl; upper body fragment with cracked-off and slightly ground rim; horizontal wheel-cut lines right below the rim edge and on the body; colourless glass.
Date of the context: late 2nd – beginning of the 3rd c. AD.

Discussion

The first technological group, of mould-formed glass vessels, includes seven examples, six of which belong to the naturally coloured variety of the ribbed bowl that becomes more common around the middle – second half of the 1st c. AD, but it is also found in 2nd c. AD contexts. These vessels are quite common for the early Roman glass production and their wide distribution is very well attested in many archaeological sites in different parts of the Empire. To mention but a few – Augusta Raurica (Rütti 1991a, 31, Abb. 11, 12; Rütti 1991b, 15-31), Colchester (Cool / Price 1995, 15-26), Nijmengen (Isings 1980, 299-301, fig. 10, 11), Pompeii (Cool 2016, 104-109, fig. 5/3), the Athenian Agora (Weinberg / Stern 2009, 33-36). Dated finds from Bulgaria are known from the legionary camps of Novae – pre-Flavian context,

(Генчева 2002, 47, кат. ## 304, 305, 337, табл. XLVIII/2-4) and Oescus – Flavian period / second half of the 1st c. AD (Кабакчиева 2000, 42, кат. ## Г. 8-10, табл. V/8-10), but are also found as grave goods in closed complexes, dated to the first three quarters of the 2nd c. AD (see Чолакова 2006, 210-212). The ribbed bowls from the Serdica assemblage appear on the site mainly in Late Flavian – Trajanic contexts (**fig. 1/1, 2, 4**), however there are examples found in layers dated up to the Late Hadrianic – Early Marcus Aurelius period (**fig. 1/5**).

The last glass find included in this group is the rim fragment of a mosaic bowl with polychrome floral patterns (**fig. 2/7**) discovered in a context dated to the middle – third quarter of the 2nd c. AD. Other published parallels from Bulgaria are known from Philippopolis, Oescus and Novae (Чернева-Тилкиян 1993, 98, 100, обр. 6, кат. # 5; Кабакчиева 2000, 40-41, кат. # Г. 1, табл. V/1; Генчева 2002, 47, # 336, табл. XLVIII/1). Although the vessels manufactured with this technique have been considered characteristic of the early Roman glass production for many years and the date of the Serdica *millefiori* find might appear a bit later (disturbed context?), nowadays there are good examples, securely dated to the period in question (and later), demonstrating the later development and distribution of the technique (Rütti 1991a, 121-134; Nenna 2002, 153-158).

The conical beakers Isings form 31, dated to the second half of the 1st c. AD and characteristic of the Flavian period, are represented here by two examples included in the group of blown vessels, or mould-blown glass in particular. All of the published examples from Bulgaria fall into the same time span (Чолакова 2006, 213). One of the finds from the Serdica assemblage is discovered in Late Flavian – Trajanic context (**fig. 3/8**) and the other one made of yellow-brown glass is found in context dated to the second quarter of the 2nd c. AD (**fig. 3/9**). A fragment of the same shape and colour is known from the sanctuary at Telerig, Dobrich region (Belivanova 1999, 38, fig. 14; Чолакова 2006, 216). The distribution of the form throughout the Empire is confirmed by the published finds from different sites (Isings 1980, 292-293, fig. 7; Weinberg / Stern 2009, 67-68; Stern 1995, 103-104).

The blown ribbed bowl – *zarte Rippenschale*, is one of the good examples characteristic of the early Roman glass production. Popular during the second and the third quarters of the 1st c. AD, the chronological distribution of the form in Bulgaria (Кабакчиева 2000, 41, кат. # Г. 3; Belivanova 1999, 39, fig. 17), including the find in question (**fig. 4/10**), coincides with the one confirmed by dated finds from other parts of the Empire (Weinberg / Stern 2009, 45-46; Rütti 1991a, 33, Abb. 16; Rütti 1991b, 46-47; Cool 2016, 131-133). The bowl from the Serdica assemblage differs from the two already published examples from Bulgaria not only by the colour of the glass (cobalt blue), but also by the fact that it belongs to the monochrome variety of the form, in contrast to the vessels from Oescus and the sanctuary at Telerig, Dobrich region – yellow-brown with opaque white trails (Кабакчиева 2000, 41, кат. # Г. 3; Belivanova 1999, 39, fig. 17).

Another group of early Roman free-blown vessels is represented here by two, possibly three finds (**fig. 4/11, 12, 13**) – the beakers with indented decoration (Isings form 32)[4]. Published examples are known from different sites in Bulgaria, all dated to the 1st – the middle of the 2nd c. AD (see Чолакова 2006, 224), similarly to the finds from

[4] Although the shape of the vessels (**fig. 4/11-12**) is not fully reconstructed, the preserved fragments (not included) allow the supposition that they most probably belong to the variant of the form without a base ring.

Serdica. These beakers are found on many sites throughout the Empire (Isings 1980, 298, fig. 9, 10; Cool / Price 1995, 69-71; Lazar 2003, 98; Weinberg / Stern 2009, 47-49).

The *unguentarium* (**fig. 4/14**) belongs to Isings forms 28/82 A1, both commonly found on different sites in Bulgaria, either by their early or later varieties, but generally dated to the 1st – 3rd c. AD (Чолакова 2006, 231-232, обр. VII). Considering the specifics of the shape and glass colour of the vessel, as well as the date of the context (the second quarter of the 2nd c. AD), the Serdica example could most probably be compared to the *unguentaria* from Brezovo and Tulovo, dated to the 1st – 2nd c. AD (Чернева-Тилкиян 1997, 48-49, кат. ## 7, 21, 22; Табакова-Цанова / Гетов 1969, 31-32, обр. 7).

The last technological group included in the present study and belonging to the colourless glass vessels decorated by techniques of cold-working features one example of the conical beaker Isings form 21 popular during the Flavian – Trajanic period (**fig. 5/15**). Published artefacts from Bulgaria are known from Oescus, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Philippopolis, the sanctuary at Telerig, Madrets, Stara Zagora region, the latter found in a grave dated to the late 1st – early 2nd c. AD (Кабакчиева 2000, 43, кат. ## Г. 14-16; Shepherd 1999, 359, # 11, 314; Belivanova 1999, 39, fig. 19, 21, 18). The Serdica example belongs to the thin-walled variety of the beakers, with shallow facets and both surfaces left as blown (Oliver 1984, 42-43). Despite that these vessels are occasionally considered representatives of the later development of the vessel type, the date of the context of the find from Serdica is still noticeably later – the middle – second half of the 3rd c. AD (re-deposited?). Dated examples of Isings form 21 are known from all over the Roman Empire (Harden 1936, 149, # 409, pls. IV, XV; Davidson 1952, 81, # 641, fig. 8, 101; Oliver 1984, 43).

The same decorative technique can be seen on the bowl Isings form 96 (**fig. 5/16**), however associated with the later development of the decorative patterns. Although usually related to finds of a later date, as pointed out by C. Isings (1957, 104, examples included), there are vessels representing the early characteristics of the form (Davidson 1952, 93-95, # 592, fig. 6). One of the early examples of the form, discovered in Bulgaria, is supposedly originating from Butovo, Veliko Tarnovo region (Беливанова 1998, 118-120, обр. 1, 125). Vessels that are more closely comparable to the one from Serdica, regarding their size and decorative pattern, are the bowls from Augusta Raurica (Rütti 1991b, 68, # 1335, 272, Taf. 60), Nicopolis ad Istrum, dated to the second half of the 2nd c. – 3rd c. AD (Shepherd 1999, 359-360, # 12, 315), and the one from Mlekarevo, located near the town of Nova Zagora, found in a grave dated to the 2nd – 3rd c. AD (Велков 1996, 128, # 3, табл. II/1).

The last representative of this technological group is also a bowl fragment (**fig. 5/17**) that falls into the category of colourless vessels with less complicated decorative pattern. Similar finds are known from Dura-Europos and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Clairmont 1963, 96, ## 426, 427, pl. X; Shepherd 1999, 368, # 113, 325).

Conclusion

Although this article is focused on selected finds from the 2010 glass assemblage, the artefacts cover the range of glass manufacture techniques characteristic of the period under discussion. Despite their

fragmentary state, they can be assigned with certainty to well-defined vessel types or at least to a particular technological group. The new data from Serdica enriches the number of already published examples of luxurious imports, typical of the 1st and the 2nd c. AD, discovered on different archaeological sites in Bulgaria and at the same time demonstrates their distribution as a group, evidenced so far mostly in the legionary camps of Oescus and Novae.

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Roman Glass Finds from Yurta-Stroyno. A Preliminary Report*

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Abstract: During the first two excavation seasons (2014–2015) at Yurta-Stroyno site numerous glass items were found – approximately 510 fragments. The majority of the glass pieces found have higher fragmentation that could be caused by material deposition in Antiquity or in modern time. The glass items were divided into several basic groups: glass vessels, window glass, personal decoration, glass production waste. The typological classification of the glass beads and vessels is listed below. Several massive glass pieces in blue-green color were identified as examples of raw glass that was used for secondary glass production. Moreover, there are a number of so-called production wastes (threads and trails) from various stages of the glass-working processes. The method of XRF analysis was chosen in order to complete the data needed to interpret the finds.

Key words: Yurta-Stroyno, Roman glass, Late Roman / Early Byzantine glass, raw glass, XRF analysis.

Introduction

During the first two excavation seasons (2014-2015) at Yurta-Stroyno site, located in Elhovo Municipality, Southeastern Bulgaria[1], different glass fragments were found that could be divided into several main groups: glass vessels, window glass, personal decoration, glass production waste, and others. From the first two seasons, approximately 510 glass items were found, with a predominant amount of glass vessel body fragments. Most of the glass found during the excavation of Yurta-Stroyno comes from disrupted contexts – either from the levelling layer of the site, or from the soil excavated by treasure hunters which could have caused high fragmentation of all material. The higher fragmentation, however, could be caused also by material deposition in Antiquity, making the identification of different glass objects and reconstruction of vessel shapes difficult. However, based on repeated refinement of the morpho-typological, compositional and contextual data (Shepherd 1999, 41-48), specific groups of identifiable fragments were proposed. Every glass fragment was documented into the primary database; consequently, every significant fragment had its own unique SF (small find) number, and appropriate documentation. The method of XRF analysis was chosen in order to complete the data needed to interpret the finds. The general amount of glass items suggests that, beyond pottery, glass vessels were frequently used in Yurta-Stroyno during the Roman and Late Roman periods (Gomolka-Fuchs 1992, 264).

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[1] For more details on the site, see: Бакърджиев / Козарев 2014; 2015; Tušlova et al. 2014; 2015; forthcoming.

1.1. Glass beads

We have a collection of Roman glass beads from both seasons: a cylindrical bead with hexagonal section, a flat round bead, and an annular bead with eyes. The colours of the cylindrical and flat round beads are limited to white and light blue; the glass mass, based on visual assessment, is opaque. These types were extensively spread all over the territory of Roman provinces, with a higher concentration in the area of the Western and Balkan provinces; the popularity of these beads grew higher during Late Antiquity (Swift 2000, 90-94). The establishing of the chronology of these beads, considering the expansive territory and the long period of occurrence, could be problematic.

Flat round beads (Tempelmann-Maczyńska Group IX/89-90 Type, Benea Type I), usually produced from matte glass (**fig. 2**, SF14_177). The beads were ablated by knife or other flat instrument. This type was found in *Barbaricum*, where the beads are usually dated to the 2nd century AD and are connected with the Wielbark culture (Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985, 33). In the context of the Western Roman provinces, flat round beads continued to be produced during Late Antiquity (4th–5th c. AD) (Swift 2000, 90).

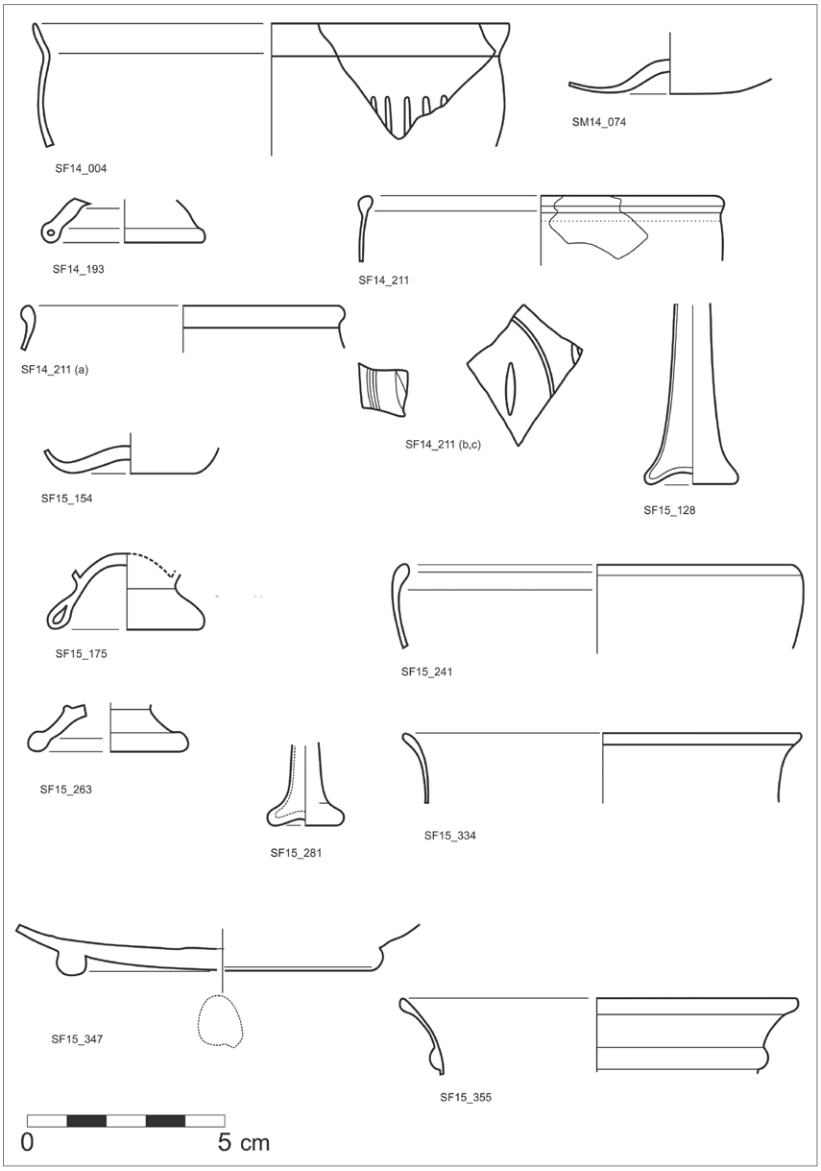


Fig. 1. Selected glass finds from Yurta-Stroyno (drawing: V. Doležálková)



Fig 2. Selected glass-working indicators from Yurta-Stroyno: raw glass and traces of glass production waste – cullet (photo: J. Tlustá)

Cylindrical beads of a hexagonal section (Tempelmann-Maczyńska Group XVI/ 145, Benea Type II; Гопкало 2008 Monochromic beads VIII/2), of matte and translucent glass (**fig. 2**, SF14_203). The glass is entwined on a stick and is formed to a hexagonal shape and cut to the requested size. These beads have a long chronology: in Barbaricum Period C2 (2nd – beginning of 4th c. AD) until D (5th c. AD), in the Tibiscum workshop this type appeared after the Marcomannic wars (late 2nd–3rd c. AD) and probably continued throughout the 4th century (Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985, 35; Benea 2004, 100-101; Гопкало 2008, Tabl. II).

The round shape bead with decorative dots (Tempelmann-Maczynska Group XX/198, Benea Type IX; Гопкало 2008 Polychromic beads I/10) (**fig. 2**, SF15_236). The annular beads with decorative dots appeared in B2 (the end of the 1st till the 2nd c. AD) and continued until C2 (mid-3rd c. AD). During the Roman period this type was not very popular in Barbaricum (only15 examples found), however, similar beads are often found in archeological context dated to the Migration

Period. In Balkan territory these beads are mainly dated to the period after the Marcomannic wars – the 2nd–3rd centuries AD (Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985, 47-48; Benea 2004, 107-110; Гопкало 2008, Tabl. I). Big annular beads with dots are known from Pannonia, a territory along Rhine river and mainly beyond Roman borders during the period of Late Antiquity (Swift 2000, 107).

The glass beads used to be distributed over a large area, a fact that led to the diffusion of these types all around the Roman world. The extremely homogeneous "Roman fashion" could be another reason for the widespread occurrence of the same types across the Roman Empire. One of the closest glass beads workshops was found in Roman Tibiscum (Dacia), where the glass making atelier was part of the *vicus*. Based on epigraphic sources, it is reasonable to assume that craftsmen from the Eastern provinces, particularly from Palmyra, worked in Tibiscum (Benea 2004, 144-145; Stawiarska 2014, 30).

1.2. Glass fragments from Yurta-Stroyno

The majority of the glass fragments have a "natural" green-blue colour, which indicates the natural presence of iron oxide and no use of decolourisers, to which glass owes its transparency and lack of colour. Nevertheless, colourless thin-walled fragments with a low content of inclusions / bubbles belong to a relatively numerous group. The colourless vessels became fashionable during the late 1st – beginning of the 2nd centuries AD, and were commonly used until Late Antiquity, when the quality of glass production was in decline (Shepherd 1999, 301; Shepherd / Wardle 2009, 9, 57). Examples of coloured glass are rare and in most cases are represented by glass beads, but several orange-brown fragments were also found (**fig. 2**, SF14_232, SF15_312). It is possible to define the group of fragments with greenish or light olive-green tint, the colour that is typical for Late Roman and Early Byzantine glass (Gomolka1992, 162). Most of the glass fragments have no decoration and are free-blown; several fragments have marks of wheel-cut lines or facete decoration that was popular during the 1st and the 3rd centuries AD (**fig. 1**, SF14_004, SF14_211 (b,c)) and continued to be in use during the Late Roman period (Whitehouse 1997, 221). Just a few fragments have relief decoration and were made in mold-blowing technique, which was still in use during the Late Roman / Early Byzantine period (Whitehouse 2002, 110-111).

A significant number of glass rims belong to the deep or shallow thin-walled beakers or bowls with polished or fire rounded rim (**fig. 1**). On the site were found fragments of rounded thickened rims made by outwards bending of the wall, the shape is open and slightly everted. Similar rims could belong to the shallow conical bowls that are also known from the context of other Late Roman / Early Byzantine sites in Bulgaria[2]. Fire rounded rims could be part of beakers or small bowls and are recognized by a straight, slightly everted or closed shape. The majority of these fragments are thin-walled, made from colourless or blue-green glass. Due to the high fragmentation, the reconstruction of the original shape is problematic, however, it is possible to assume that part of the rims could be part of forms Isings 111[3], Isings 106[4], or similar ones (Чолакова 2009, 304), the vessel types that are typical for the Late Roman / Early Byzantine period. Several fragments (for example, **fig. 1**, SF15_175) with pushed-in profile and outsplayed, flattened hollow tu-

[2] In the context of Gradishteto similar bowls are dated to the 5th c. AD (Чолакова 2009, 304), close types were found in Nicopolis ad Istrum (Sheperd 1999) and Iatrus (Gomolka-Fuchs 2007, Taf. 51).

[3] Stemmed goblets (Isings 1957, 139).

[4] A large group of conical beakers (Isings 1957).

bular base ring most likely belong to conical beakers; similar finds from Nicipolis ad Istrum were dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD (Shepherd 1999, 324). However, analogous glass fragments from Kaiseraugst and other Roman sites were identified as a conical beaker on a foot – type Ising 109a/b, dated to late 3rd–4th centuries (Ising 1957, 136-137; Rütti 1991, 78). To a separate group belong the small toilet bottles – *unguentaria*, which were widely used throughout the Roman period for perfumes, medicines, oils and other liquids (Stern 1977, 100). The glass material of bottles is of low quality, with a high concentration of bubbles or other inclusions. Several fragments (for example, **fig. 1**, SF15_281, SF15_128; and **fig. 2**, SF14_159) from Yurta-Stroyno can be connected with the group of "candlestick *unguentaria*" – 82 B1-B2, dated from the 1st to the mid-3rd century AD (Isings 1957, 97-99; Шабанов 2015, 19-20). Therefore, one cannot preclude the possibility that the presented fragments belong to a later group. Another fragment belongs to a base which could be part of a stemmed goblet with a pushed-in base – type Ising 111 (**fig. 1**, SF14_193). The type is a characteristic shape for the Early Byzantine period and is usually dated to the end of the 4th– 6th centuries (Stawiarska 2014, 60; Чолакова 2009, 274-277; Shepherd 1999, 337-339). The provenience of the stemmed goblets is disputable, but in North Bulgaria this type could appear during the end of the 3rd – 4th centuries AD. The goblets of this type belong to frequent finds in the Late Roman / Early Byzantine contexts (Чолакова 2009, 275)[5].

1.3. Raw glass and glass-working indicators

Among the most important finds are the glass fragments related to local glass production. Several massive glass pieces of blue-green colour were identified as examples of raw glass that was used for a secondary glass production (SF15_335, SF15_350, and SF15_362 in **fig. 2**). The raw natron glass was a famous trading commodity during the Roman period, which was imported from the primary workshops located in the territory of the Near East – the Levantine coast and Egypt – Alexandria (Gorin-Rosen 2000, 49; Henderson 2013, 351-354). The theory of the existence of primary glass workshops in the territory of the Western provinces has not been proven yet, however, there are several indications that the primary production could have taken place in the territory of the Western provinces and Italy (Nenna 2015, 1-2). The finds of glass production waste is another argument supporting the existence of a local workshop. From Season 2015, there are numbers of so-called production indicators as threads and trails from various stages of the glass-working processes (**fig. 2**, SF15_351), such as added hands or trail decoration, and strands of glass that were used to test the viscosity of the hot glass itself (Shepherd / Wardle 2009, 39). Even though we are not able to reconstruct the structure of the glass workshop, these fragments could be used as evidence of glass production at the site (Чолакова 2008, 471).

Most glass ateliers from present-day Bulgaria were found in the territory of Moesia Inferior and are generally dated to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. An increase in the number of glass workshops during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period had also taken place in other Roman provinces (Hartmann / Grünewald 2010, 24). Glass production is often documented in the context of rural settlements, as in the case as of the Early Middle Ages glass workshops. The first glass workshops appeared for the first time in the regions

[5] Novae (Olczak 1998, 44-48), Nicopolis ad Istrum (Sheperd 1999, 337), Iatrus (Gomolka 1979, 164; Gomolka-Fuchs 2007, 299-300), etc.

with Roman presence. A group of production complexes with remains of furnaces were discovered in Novae, the glass workshops probably functioned from the second half of the 2nd until the 6th–7th c. AD; however the production of the first workshop is still not well attested. The traces of the glass production workshop were detected outside the city wall, in the *vicus* – Ostrite Mogili (Olzcak 1978, 176-177; Olzcak 1998, 12-13, 87). Another important center of glass production was identified in Oescus, where ruins of six furnaces were found. The possible existence of a local workshop in Iatrus lacks direct evidence, although the groups of certain vessel types could have been produced in a local workshop dated to the 4th–5th centuries (Gomolka 1978, 26-28; Stawiarska 2014, 64). The rich glass collection from Nicopolis ad Istrum presents the glass types dated from the end of the 1st till the 6th century. The finds of glass-working debris (pot or tank metal moils and droplets) were also found (Shepherd 1999, 377-378). The discovery of raw glass and chunk glass fragments may also indicate the local glass working activities at Golemanovo Kale (Drauschke / Greiff 2010, 26). The possible workshops could be located in Sandanski and dated to the 5th century (Stawiarska 2014, 65); Roman workshops were located in Philipopolis, Gabrovskoto gradishte, Gradishteto near Lozarevo (Чолакова 2008, 472), a possible workshop could be located in Odessos (Минчев 1988, 50-51). A glass workshop was found in the context of a Late Roman villa in Bela Voda, dated to the 4th–5th c. AD. Among the finds, there was a large number of fire deformed glass fragments, glass "tears" and sections of threads; however, no furnace or crucibles were found (Stawiarska 2014, 66). A similar situation is identified in a fortress near Dichin, where another local Early Byzantine glass workshop could be located (Чолакова 2008, 474).

2.1. XRF analysis – methods

XRF analysis with an ARL 9400 XP sequential WD-XRF spectrometer was used for the determination of glass chemical composition. All peak intensity data were collected by WinXRF software in vacuum. To validate the analytical procedure, the reference standard (Corning Glass B) was measured.

2.2. Results and discussion

The studied samples of final products are sodium-lime-silica with sodium oxide content between 15.8-22.8 %, calcium oxide content 5.3-9.7 %, and silicon dioxide content 62.5-71.1 %. All 40 pieces of product fragments (rims, bases, bodies) were determined as natron type; characterized by low levels of magnesium and potassium oxides (up to 1.5 %; **fig. 3**).

2.2.1. Fragments of glass vessels

Two fragments were distinct from others – SF14_232 (yellow colour) with 0.08 % MgO and K_2O content bellow the limit of quantitation, and a slightly greenish sample SF14_159 with higher MgO content (0.96 %).

It is evident that natron was used as a flux. The major component to influence the composition of natron glass type is silica. Silica could be added in glass in the form of pure quartz pebbles or by sands containing different impurities (introducing in glass mainly Al_2O_3, Fe_2O_3, TiO_2). These impurities influence the final glass composition and the differ-

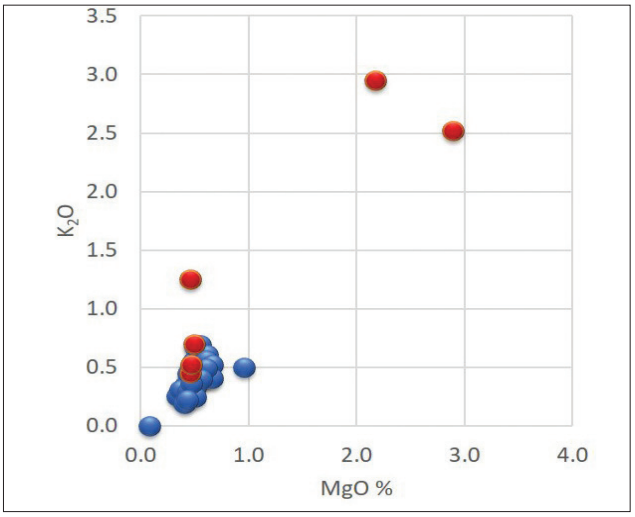


Fig 3. Potassium and magnesium oxide content of analysed samples; blue points – final products, red points – glass-working debris

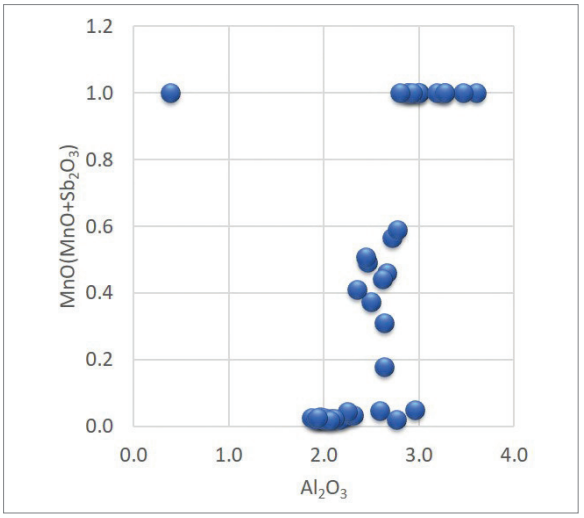


Fig 4. Plot showing groups according decolourants used: Mn-decolourised glasses (at the top), Sb-decolourised glasses (at the bottom of the plot). Group of mixed glasses contain both decolourants (between Mn- and Sb-decolourised glasses). Type of plot reproduced from the following reference: Schibille et al. 2016

ences between the sand types used reflect the differences between the glass groups described in the literature (Schibille et al. 2016; Freestone, in print), accordingly, there are differences between primary production centres (Freestone, in print). Glass was melted from raw materials (natron and sand) in a small number of primary production centres from where raw glass was distributed to secondary workshops (Freestone, in print).

The content of aluminium oxide is 1.9-3.6 %. Glass with higher aluminium content can be described also as the Na_2O-CaO-Al_2O_3-SiO_2 glass type studied in literature (Lesigyarski et al. 2013, 1608; Kuleff 2002, 102). The exception is the sample with a surprisingly low Al_2O_3 content (the previously mentioned SF14_232 with 0.38 % Al_2O_3 and also with a low level of Fe_2O_3 – 0.09 %). The aluminium oxide content of the majority of samples corresponds well with its level in Roman glass – Al_2O_3 in the range of 2-3 %, and specifically 2-2.5 % in European Roman glass (Lesigyarski et al. 2013, 1611). Samples from Southeastern Bulgaria with a higher content of Al_2O_3 are described by Lesigyarski et al. (2013, 1611). These samples are dated mostly to the 4th–6th centuries. Higher Al_2O_3 amount was found in a few samples coming from Yurta-Stroyno with dark green colour. In addition to high aluminium content, these samples were found to have a high content of manganese (average value of 1.65 %).

It was possible to distinguish at least three groups based on data related to the decolourants used – manganese-decolourised glasses, antimony-decolourised glasses and mixed glasses (**fig. 4**).

Specific groups are described below:

Group 1 – samples with zero concentrations of Sb_2O_3 or under the XRF detection limit, and MnO with a maximum value of 1.88 %; there are samples with different colours. Samples with the highest MnO concentrations (over 1.43 %) are dark green. We can conclude that decolourisers were probably used unsuccessfully. The MnO level below 0.5 % could be due to impurities in the raw materials (Jackson

2005, 764); samples SF15_130, SF15_175, SF15_188, SF15_290. The sample with a really low Al_2O_3, MgO and Fe_2O_3, SF14_232, could be considered as outlier.

Group 2 – majority of samples with Sb_2O_3 in the range of 0.36-0.76 % and low MnO concentrations (below 0.01 %); mainly colourless and slightly greenish samples. Only one sample contains a higher amount of Sb_2O_3 (1.52 %; sample SF15_001). There are three samples that differ from others by higher MgO, Al_2O_3 and Fe_2O_3 – SF14_159, SF15_001, SF15_281.

Group 3 – samples containing Sb_2O_3 and MnO; there are colourless and slightly greenish samples in group 3. This type of glass was produced probably through recycling and mixing of two glass types – rich in antimony and rich in manganese (Schibile 2016).

Manganese and antimony were used simultaneously in colourless and slightly coloured glass from a workshop discovered in Oescus (Kuleff 2002, 106). The addition of either only antimony or manganese was described about glass from Varna, Kaliakra and Armira (Kuleff 2002, 106). Most Roman glass contains Fe_2O_3 (in excess of 0.3 %) coming from the sand used (Freestone, in print). The presence of iron in reducing atmosphere leads to a greenish-blue colour of the glass. Adding decolourisers (manganese dioxide MnO_2 or the more powerful antimony trioxide Sb_2O_3) to the glass melt results in inhibition of the greenish-blue colour and the undesirable natural tint is replaced by a yellowish colour or appears almost colourless (Smrček / Voldřich 1994, 288; Freestone, in print). There was one blue sample in our set from Yurta-Stroyno. Blue colour was achieved with CuO (0.41 %) and CoO (0.04 %); higher levels of Fe_2O_3 (0.63 %) and MnO (0.59 %) could influence the final shade. Samples of yellow/brownish colour contain manganese, probably in the form of MnO_2.

These groups were compared with the results dealing with natron glass groups published by Freestone (Freestone, in print). A report by Schibille and co-workers (Schibille et al. 2016; Freestone, in print) has shown that a plot representing the ratios of TiO_2/Al_2O_3 and Al_2O_3/SiO_2 is very useful for distinguishing most of the major groups of natron glass of the first millennium AD (**fig. 5**).

Glass finds from Yurta-Stroyno seem to have two basic origins – group 1 (Mn decolourised glasses) is probably coming from the Levantine region, and group 2 (Sb decolourised glasses – group Roman Sb) from the Egyptian coastal region (in literature dated to 1st–3rd century AD) (Freestone, in print). As an outlier could be described the aforementioned sample SF14_232 and a more accurate determination will be the subject of further work.

Further assignment to specific groups can be based on alumina content. The provisional limit for distinguishing Roman-Mn and Levantine I group used in Schibille's work (Schibille et al. 2016) is 2.69 % Al_2O_3. Al_2O_3 content of ≥ 2.69 % is described for samples dated to the fourth century or later and assigned to the Levantine I group. All Yurta-Stroyno samples of group 1 have Al_2O_3 content higher than 2.69 % and so we can conclude that samples can probably be dated to the 4th century or later. Such an assumption can be confirmed by the evaluation of glass found in Bulgaria (Lesigyarski et al. 2013, 1611). However, majority of samples contain a higher MnO content. Manganese was used in the 4th century but it is not typical of 6th-7th century

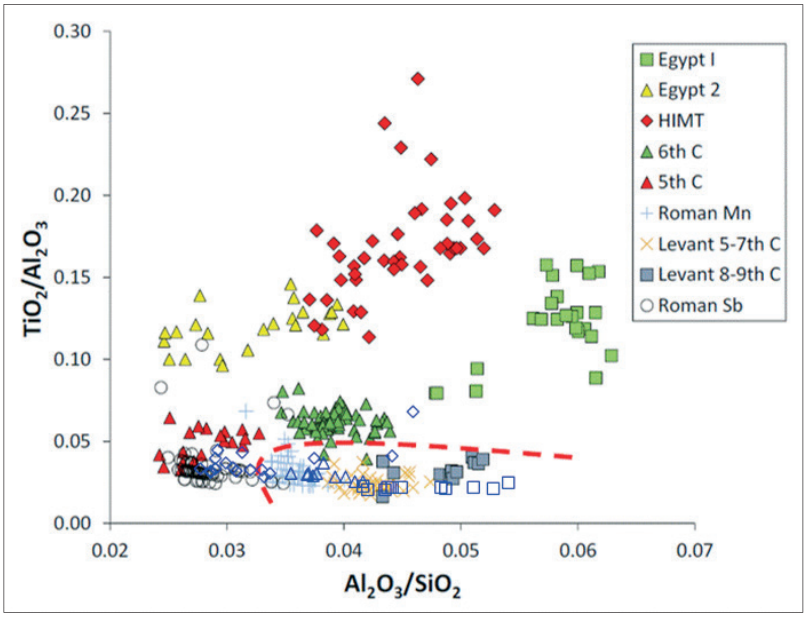


Fig. 5. Comparison of glasses from Yurta-Stroyno (blue square – group 1, Mn-decolourised glasses; blue rhombus – group 2, Sb-decolourised glasses; blue triangle – group 3, mixed glasses). Origin plot with major natron glass groups taken from Freestone, in print. Dashed line indicates an approximate boundary between Egyptian (above, left) and Levantine (below, right) compositions

Levantine I glass from the primary furnaces in Syria-Palestine (Schibile 2016; Freestone, in print). The period from the late 4th to the 5th century probably determines the upper limit of our sample dating.

The majority of glass finds from Southeastern Bulgaria characterised by Lesigyarski et al. (2013, 1614) originate from the Palestine coast. Through a comparison of the glass from Yurta-Stroyno with other finds from the northern Bulgarian archaeological site Dichin (dated to the Late Roman / Early Byzantine period; Rehren / Cholakova 2010) we found considerable differences. Dichin glasses are classified (Rehren / Cholakova 2010) into or close to the HIMT (High Iron, Manganese and Titania; origin from Northern Egypt) glasses. Several samples were described as glasses of HIT group (without elevated manganese level). Dichin samples of HIMT and HIT groups (Rehren / Cholakova 2014, 86) have more than 1.4 % Fe_2O_3 in comparison with Yurta-Stroyno glass samples with an average value 0.4 ± 0.1 % (outliers were not included in this value) and more than 0.4 % TiO_2 compared to a maximum value 0.1 % for Yurta-Stroyno glasses.

2.2.2. Glass-working indicators

All samples of production indicators have blue-green or green colour. Samples can be divided into two groups – natron glass of Levantine origin and, surprisingly, plant ash glass with K_2O and MgO above 2 % (samples SF15_362 and SF15_351_3s).

Indicators of natron type glass can be classified according the content of decolourisers to two sub-groups. Glasses in the first one have almost no antimony and a lower content of manganese (around 0.5 %). The second group represents the sample containing Sb_2O_3 (0.27 %) and MnO (0.38 %) – our group 3 (according to the distribution of the samples above).

Halophytic plants were probably used as a flux, as samples of glass-working debris contained a higher level of MgO and K_2O. The Sb_2O_3 content is around 0.2 % and the content of MnO is rather low (to 0.44 %) in these samples. However, the use of plant ash for glass making is linked with the 8th–9th century (Freestone, in print). The sample of similar com-

position (plant ash type glass) is described by Lesygiarksi et al. (2013, 1611) and dated to the 2nd – 4th c. AD (greenish bowl; found in Sozopol). Authors explain this to be due to the use of higher amount of limestone containing dolomite (bringing Mg). However, it does not explain the higher content of potassium and in glass indicators from Yurta-Stroyno higher phosphorus content was found. The addition of ash is surprising, but it seems possible. The use of soda plant ash in glass production before 8th century is discussed by Ceglia (Ceglia et al. 2015)[6].

Conclusion

The higher fragmentation of the glass collection makes the identification of different glass objects and reconstruction of vessel shapes difficult. However, we were able to compare the glass from Yurta-Stroyno with glass finds from contemporaneous sites across Bulgaria and other selected sites. The shapes cover a broad spectrum, but most represented are beakers and bowls of various sizes. The limitation of the glass shapes and preferences of table ware shapes as beakers and bowls is characteristic for the Late Roman period, when the production was focused on several of the most used shapes (Stern 2015, 90-91; Чолакова 2009, 266; Olczak 1995, 76). The main goal of the chemical analyses was to propose a general chronological interpretation of the glass collection. The manufacturing specifics and provenience will be the topic of future research. The glass from Yurta-Stroyno could be divided into two main chronological groups, which were distinguished by their elemental composition and morpho-typological analysis. The majority of the fragments could be associated with the glass composition typical for the Roman period (1st–3rd c. AD), the group of the Late Roman / Early Byzantine glass is also indispensable. Several glass-working indicators surprisingly contain plant ash glass with K_2O and MgO above 2 %. According to an established paradigm, the halophyte ashes started to be used only in the Early Islamic Period. Opinions on this subject have become less categorical over the past years. Sodium glass was clearly the dominant group during the Roman period, but the presence of other types of glass needs to be noted. Between the 2nd and the 6th centuries AD, the plant ash glass occurs in the area of Iran and Iraq, where it must have been fused from raw material (Henderson 2013, 88; Stawiarska 2014, 17).

In the case of Yurta-Stroyno, we can assume that the origin of the raw glass fragments could be connected with the Near East – the Levantine coast area (Jackson / Foster 2015, 48-49). The fact of trade and political contacts between Asia Minor and Balkan areas during the Roman period supports the eastern origin of raw glass or even workers in the local workshops. Glass in the form of cakes, slabs and rods must have been traded widely in Europe and the Near East, the large-scale trade with raw glass has been confirmed by the discovery of many different ship wrecks dated from the Bronze Age to Early Medieval period (Stawiarska 2014, 38). Traces of glass production waste – cullet – are another argument in support of the existence of a local workshop. From Season 2015 there are a number of so-called discarded fragments, such as threads and trails from various stages in glass-working processes. Several fragments were identified as moils – parts of the small cylinder left after the vessel had been detached from blowing iron (Shepherd / Wardle 2009, 39). Even though we are not able to reconstruct the structure of the glass workshop, these frag-

[6] However, contamination from the furnace can not be excluded, either.

ments could be used as evidence of glass production at the site. In the case of the Yurta-Stroyno collection, it is possible to assume a technology transfer from Antiquity to the Late Roman / Early Middle Ages for glass workshops. Similar examples are known from other parts of Europe, especially in the case of the glass production centers in northern Gaul and the Rhineland (Hartmann / Grünewald 2010, 15-24).

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Conflict and Transition

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Town and Church in Late Antiquity. Architectural and Urbanistic Dimensions

Ventzislav DINTCHEV

Abstract: In the 4th c. AD the number of Christian religious buildings in the old cities of the dioceses Thracia and Dacia is small, and their appearance rather humble. The first Christian buildings were usually erected in the *necropoleis* and the suburbs. When inside the cities, they are situated outside the central squares, dominated by the still functioning public buildings, symbols of the towns' autonomy of the previous centuries.
In the old centers the abandonment of the buildings related to *polis* autonomy happens in the end of 4th c. – first half of the 5th c. AD. Similar is the final date of the earlier structure-defining units in the large military camps of the Principate which are in the process of transformation into civic centers in the 4th c. AD. Significant is the fact that the first large bishop churches appear simultaneously with the decline of the old architecture linked to the old *polis* or military organization.
Despite the negative tendencies in urban life around and after the mid-5th c. AD, the construction of Christian religious buildings is impressive. In the end of the 5th – 6th c. AD. Christian churches heavily dominate in the urban structures.

Key words: Late Antiquity, cities, public buildings, Christian buildings, bishops.

The political system, the social relations and the basic ideological values of a society are a direct expression of its way of life. In view of settlement life, the most developed form – the cities – are indicative for trends in social development. This article is an attempt to illustrate the trends in social development through the changes in urban planning and architecture in the Late antique dioceses of Thracia and Dacia (**fig. 1**).

In the time frame of Late Antiquity (AD 284-610), it would seem appropriate to make a distinction between the Late Roman and the Early Byzantine eras, the border between them being in AD 395.

In the Late Roman era (LRE) the dioceses of Thracia and Dacia were a geopolitical priority for the still united Empire. Despite the general stagnation of civic self-government, city life here prospered. This is not only true for the capitals of the new provinces, but also for most of the other cities. In many places at the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th century the buildings in central city squares (*fora*, *agorai*) were refurbished and reconstructed – e.g. the *bouleutēria* in Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), Serdica (**fig. 3**) and Nicopolis ad Istrum, the civic basilicas in Oescus and Nicopolis ad Istrum, the square porticoes and shops in Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), etc. At that time the square complex at the west gate of Augusta Traiana was built or at least reconstructed.

The street networks, water supply and sewage system were maintained in good operating condition. New large public baths and



Fig. 1. The Balkan Peninsula in the 6th c. (after *Villes* 1984; with my – V. D., additions)

warehouses were built. The amphitheaters in Serdica (**fig. 3**) and Marcianopolis (**fig. 5**) were constructed. Many of the finest buildings discovered until now in the local antique centers date from the LRE (e.g. **figs. 2, 5**). Probably some of them were residences (*praetoria*, *palatia*) of senior representatives of the new imperial administration.

At the beginning of the LRE military reforms were also implemented, which caused significant changes in the stationary organisation of the military units. The large military camps from the previous epoch, such as Singidunum, Viminacium, Novae (**fig. 7**), Durostorum, were transformed into centers of civilian habitation, in which the headquarters of the respective legions and limited military detachments still resided. At the same time, ancient towns, in which the presence of military in the previous epoch was limited, received significant garrisons (e.g. **fig. 3**).

In the LRE the fortresses of ancient cities and of large former military camps were refurbished, and this increased their protection capability. It is indicative that many of them significantly increased their protected areas with new walls – e.g. Serdica (**fig. 3**), Ratiaria, Oescus, Tropaeum Traiani (**fig. 6**), Odessos, Novae (**fig. 7**). In other places, satellite military fortresses were built – Pautalia (**fig. 4**), Durostorum.

In the LRE new large centers also appeared in Thracia and Dacia. Most of them were in the border provinces of the two dioceses – Ibida, Zaldapa, Abritus and others (**figs. 1, 9, 10**). Today there is no evidence for the existence of *polis* organization in them. They had powerful fortresses and architecture, pointing to their specific military role and their function as food and supply bases. In some of them, relevant

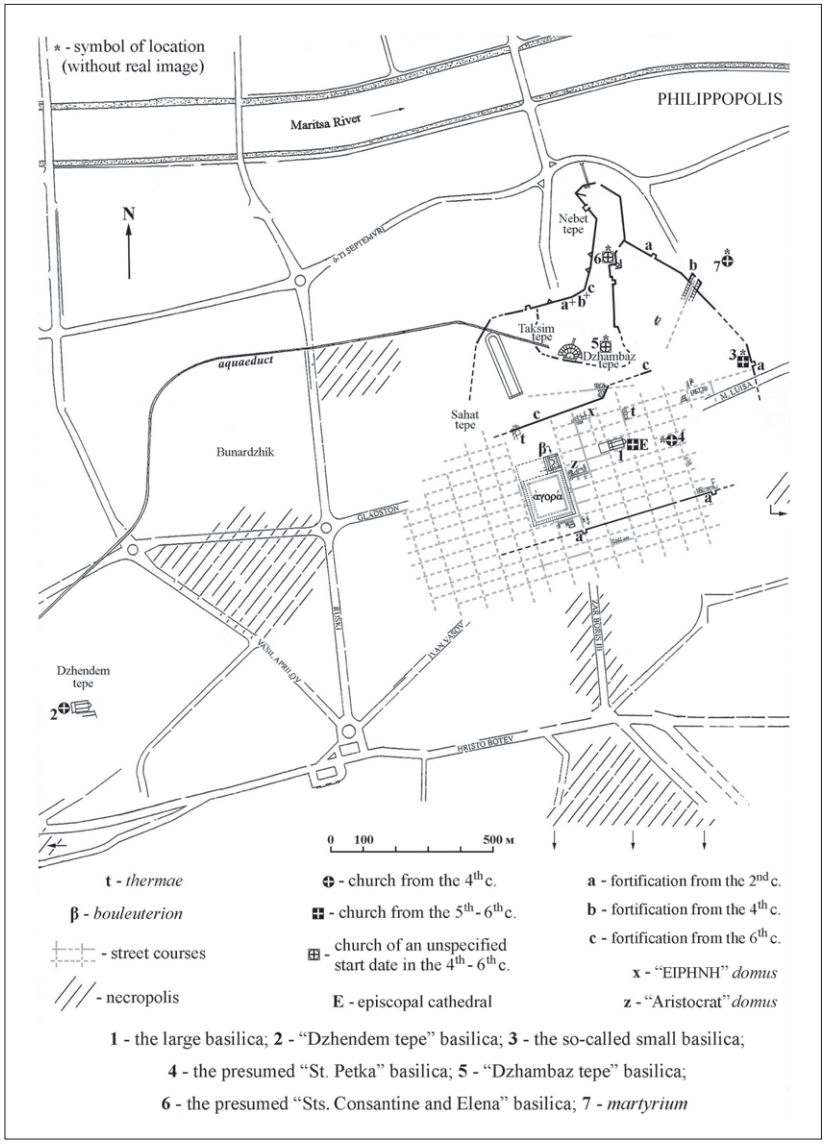


Fig. 2. General plan of the known remains of Philippopolis (after Bospačieva 2005, Abb.1; Ботушарова / Танкова 1982, прил. 1; Кесякова 2008, обр. 1; Topalilov 2012, fig. 8; with my – V. D., additions and design)

management administration was established – for example in Abritus, as the *praetorium* explored there shows (**fig. 10**). The initial presence of large open spaces in these centers suggests that they were designed also as gathering points for the population of the surroundings in case of danger.

One new large center was Diocletianopolis, which, unlike the above mentioned city, was situated south of the Haemus mountain (**fig. 1**) and contained an urban component in its name. In view of planning, streets (**fig. 11**) and water supply, it did not differ from ancient cities. For now, however, no buildings related to ancient civic autonomy have been found. The remains of luxury residences and an amphitheater have been unearthed. Large public baths that used local mineral springs have been studied. Another special feature of this center is the strong military presence in it. But the location of its big barracks along the fortress walls (**fig. 11**) does not correspond to the scheme of a Roman military camp.

In terms of religion and ideological values, the LRE was a special time. With the Edict of Milan of AD 313 Christianity was officially recognized, but did not gain monopoly on religion and social

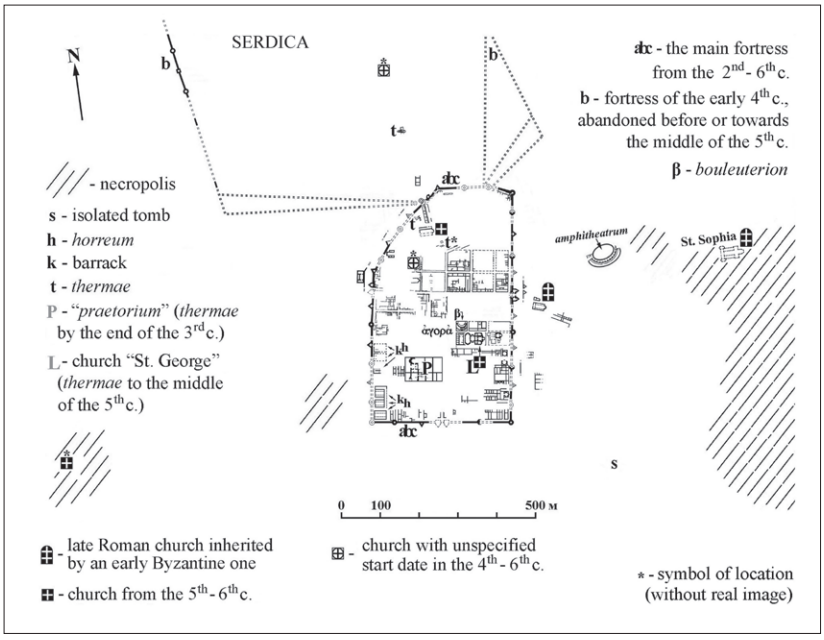


Fig. 3. General plan of the known remains of Serdica (after Бобчев 1981, обр. 1; Шалганов / Кирова 2010, обр. 3; Ivanov 2014, fig. 1; Динчев 2014, обр. 1, 12; with additions)

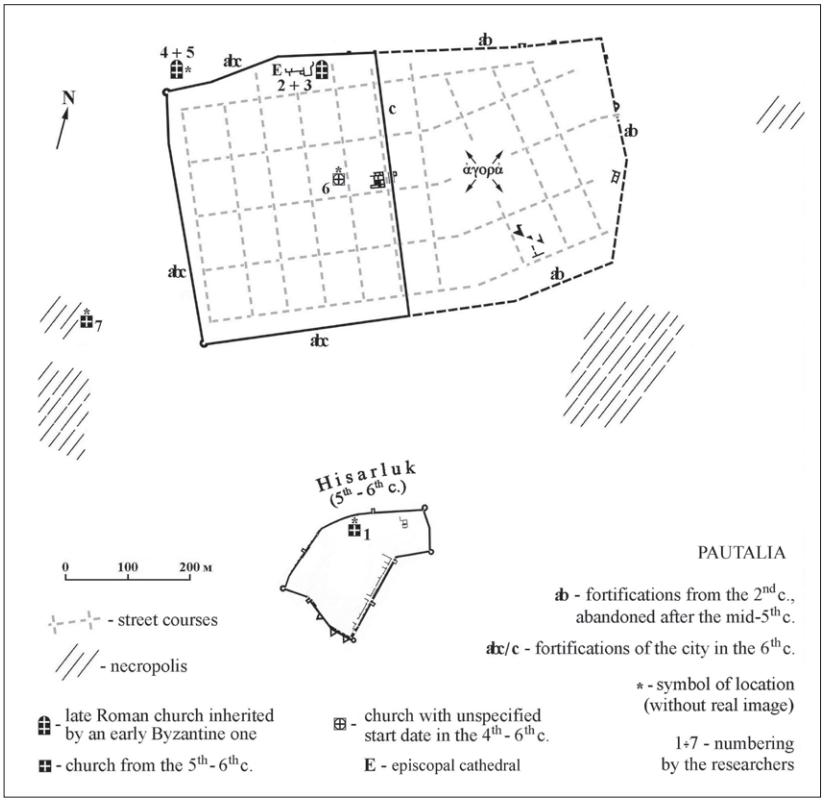


Fig. 4. The fortresses and the known cult buildings of Late antique Pautalia (after Слокоска 1989, обр. 1; Стайкова-Александрова 2002, обр. 3; Кацарова 2005, обр. 60, 63; with my – V. D., additions and design)

ideology. New laws passed in the next decades affirmed Christianity at the expense of pagan cults, but its enforcement as the only official religion, respectively – the permanent incrimination of pagan cults, became irreversible and uncompromising policy only during the reign of Theodosius I (AD 379-395). This ideological specificity of public life in the 4th century can be illustrated well by the synchronous architecture and design of cities and other major centers of Thracia and Dacia.

In the 4th century the number of Christian religious buildings in the cities was relatively small, and their appearance – comparatively modest. The first urban Christian buildings were erected usually in

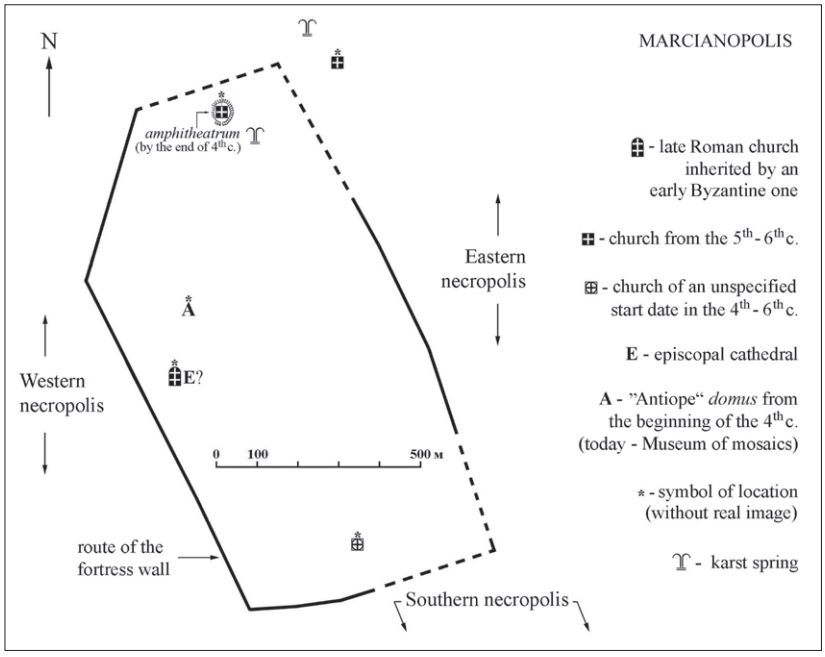


Fig. 5. Situational plan of the more significant known monuments of Marcianopolis (after Ангелов 1999, 6 /Hartl 1898/, 29; Minchev 2007, 63, fig. 2; with my – V. D., additions and design)

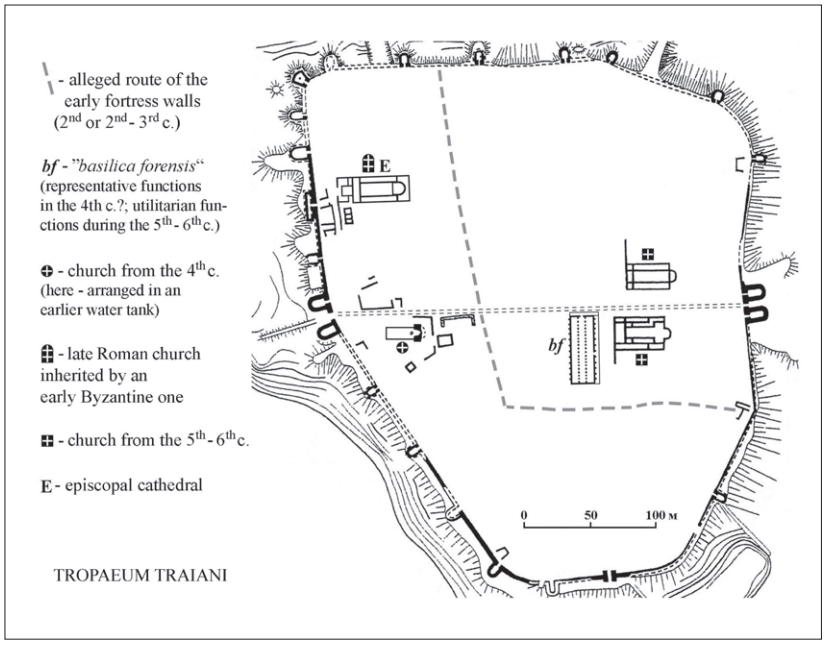


Fig. 6. The Late antique Tropaeum Traiani (after Barnea et al. 1979, fig. 23; Papuc 2008; Cârstoiu / Apostol 2016, 33, 77, fig. 1, 37; with my – V. D., design)

cemeteries and suburbs – e.g. the "Dzhendem tepe" basilica to the west of the fortress of Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), or the single-nave church near the east gate of Serdica and the first religious building under St. Sophia basilica in the most significant *necropolis* of the same city (**fig. 3**). Built in protected areas, they were away from the central city squares with public buildings, symbols of the civic autonomy of previous centuries, still in use – e.g. the presumed Basilica under the modern-day St. Petka church in Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), basilica # 3 in Pautalia (**fig. 4**), and the single-nave church set up in a former water tank in the western sector of the Late Roman Tropaeum Traiani (**fig. 6**). Limited in number, of modest size and at a peripheral location were the first Christian buildings of the new Late Roman centers – for instance, those of Diocletianopolis (**fig. 11**). So far in Thracia and Dacia, not a single Christian religious building is known to have been erected upon

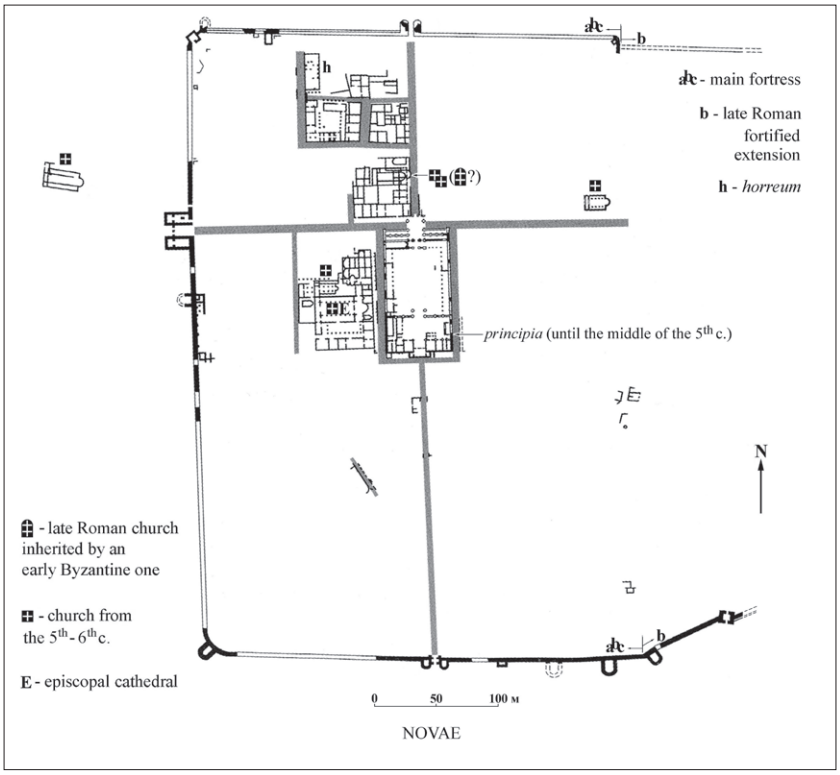


Fig. 7. The Late antique Novae (after Сарновски 2014, 92, фиг. 1; with my – V. D., additions)

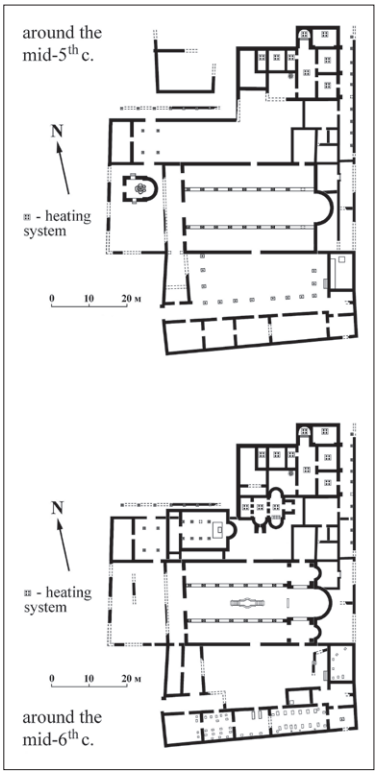


Fig. 8. The episcopal comlex of Novae in the 5th c. (above) and the 6th c. (below) (after Biernacki 2013, 45, fig. 10/II, V; Czerner 2013, 85, 88; with my – V. D., design)

a ruined city pagan temple before the last quarter of the 4th century.

At the end of the 4th – the first half of the 5th century the leading trends in urban development changed. The class of *curiales* – the economic and social mainstay of the ancient *polis*, declined and disappeared as a major social factor. *De facto*, the authorities of the old civic self-government disappeared as well (e.g. Jones 1994, 242-247; Liebeschuetz 2001, 104-109). The last legislative acts connected with the old city councils in the dioceses of Thracia and Dacia were from the end of the 4th – the beginning of the 5th century. The laws incorporated the dwindling number of *curiales* in the imperial administration and aimed to keep them as implementors of certain service obligations, but apparently these regulations were not met with success (e.g. Велков 1959, 69-70, 214-216).

Meanwhile, at the end of the 4th – the first half of the 5th century the territorial-administrative organization of the church, which doubled that of the state, became fully developed. The bishoprics were established primarily in the cities and were grouped according to the existing provinces and dioceses. Already in the year AD 409, the Emperor Honorius declared the bishop as a leading figure in the election of *defensor civitatis* (*Cod. Iust.* 1.55.8). The respective edict was the first step in the implementation of post-curial city management (Liebeschuetz 2001, 110, 149-150). Among the important decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of AD 451 was the establishment of Episcopal chairs in the newly constituted cities (Jones 1994, 253). The well-known law of Emperor Zeno (*Cod. Iust.* 1.3.35) that decreed "*every town ... to have at any price a separate and own bishop*", and yet,

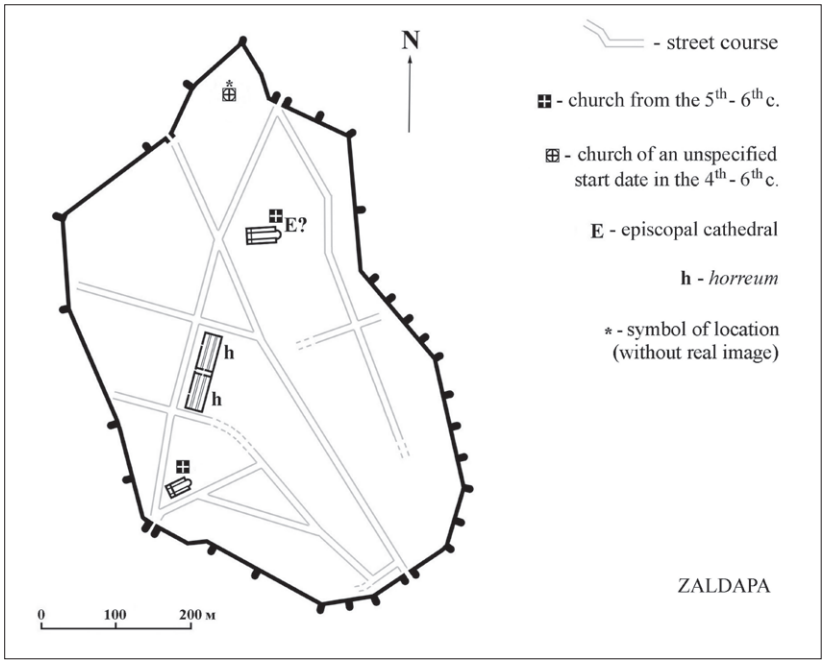


Fig. 9. The Late antique Zaldapa (after Торбатов 2000, 35, обр. 18; with my – V. D., additions, incl. from Атанасов et al. 2016, обр. 1)

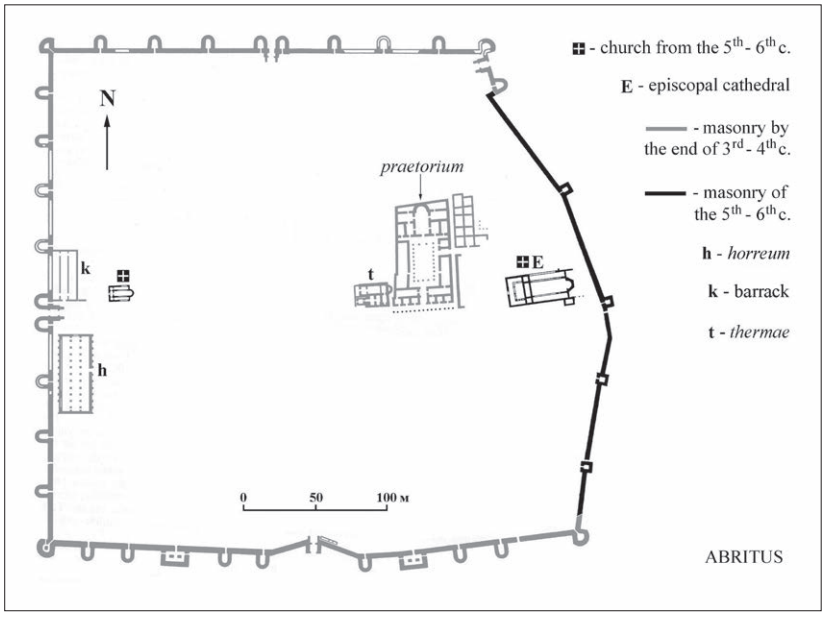


Fig. 10. The Late antique Abritus (after Radoslavova 2011, Abb. 2; with my – V. D., additions, incl. from Радославова / Дзанев 2015, обр. 1, 2)

"*not anybody ... can be allowed even by imperial order to deprive any city of the right to own bishopric, of the right of its assigned territory or of any other right*", testifies clearly to the leadership of the bishop in city life and demonstrates the importance of the Episcopal institution as a major factor in the legitimation of urban status at the end of the 5th century.

Legislation of the 6th century affirmed this role; the functions and rights of bishops in the worldly affairs of the cities expanded. Thus, in AD 505, Emperor Anastasius ordered the ubiquitous establishment of an urban government body headed by bishops who must elect a *curator* (λογιστής) and a *sitona* (σιτώνης) – magistrates, involved in the management and subsistence of the city (*Cod. Iust.* 1.4.17). Unlike the edict of AD 409, the one from AD 505 did not mention *curiales*. In AD 545 Emperor Justinian issued a novella that confirmed and expanded the power of that governing body, including the bishop and

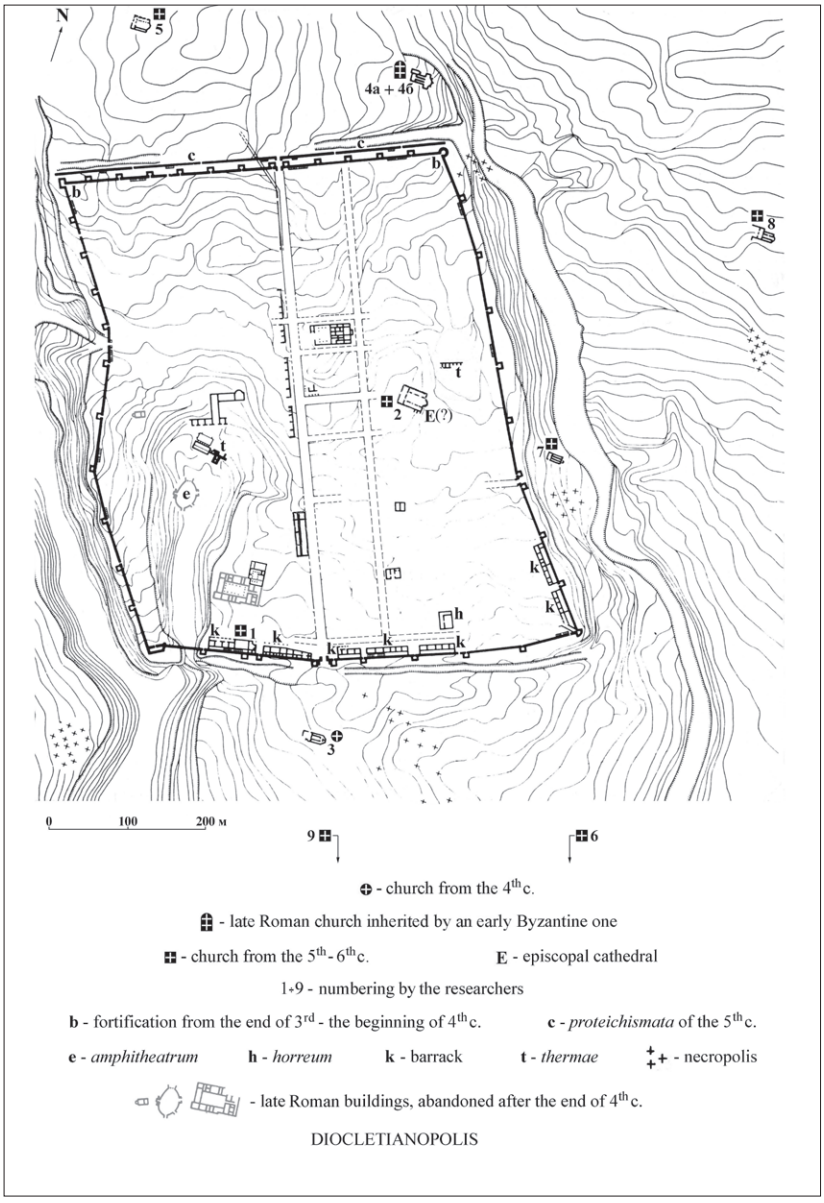


Fig. 11. The Late antique Diocletianopolis (after Маджаров 1993, 69, обр. 9; with my – V. D., additions)

the so called notables – *primates* (πρωτεύοντες), *possesores* (κτήτορες) in it (*Iust. Nov.* CXXVIII). At that time, the bishops had some control functions over representatives of the imperial administration, such as metropolitans over provincial governors (e.g. Liebeschuetz 2001, 110-111, 150-153; Rapp 2005, 274-289).

The presented trends are illustrated well by the data on urban architecture and townscape in Thracia and Dacia. The first decades of the Early Byzantine era (EBE) were the last for the functioning of most public complexes and buildings from the previous epochs. In the old centers (**figs. 2-6**) the abandonment of buildings related to city autonomy and other monuments symbolic for the *polis* status took place at the end of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. Similar is the final date of the formerly significant structures in the large military camps from the Principate. For instance, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the use of the *principia* in Novae (**fig. 7**), the most explored among these centers, do not go beyond the middle of the 5th century.

At the same time, in the first decades of the EBE began the actual Christianization of the architectural landscape of the old civic

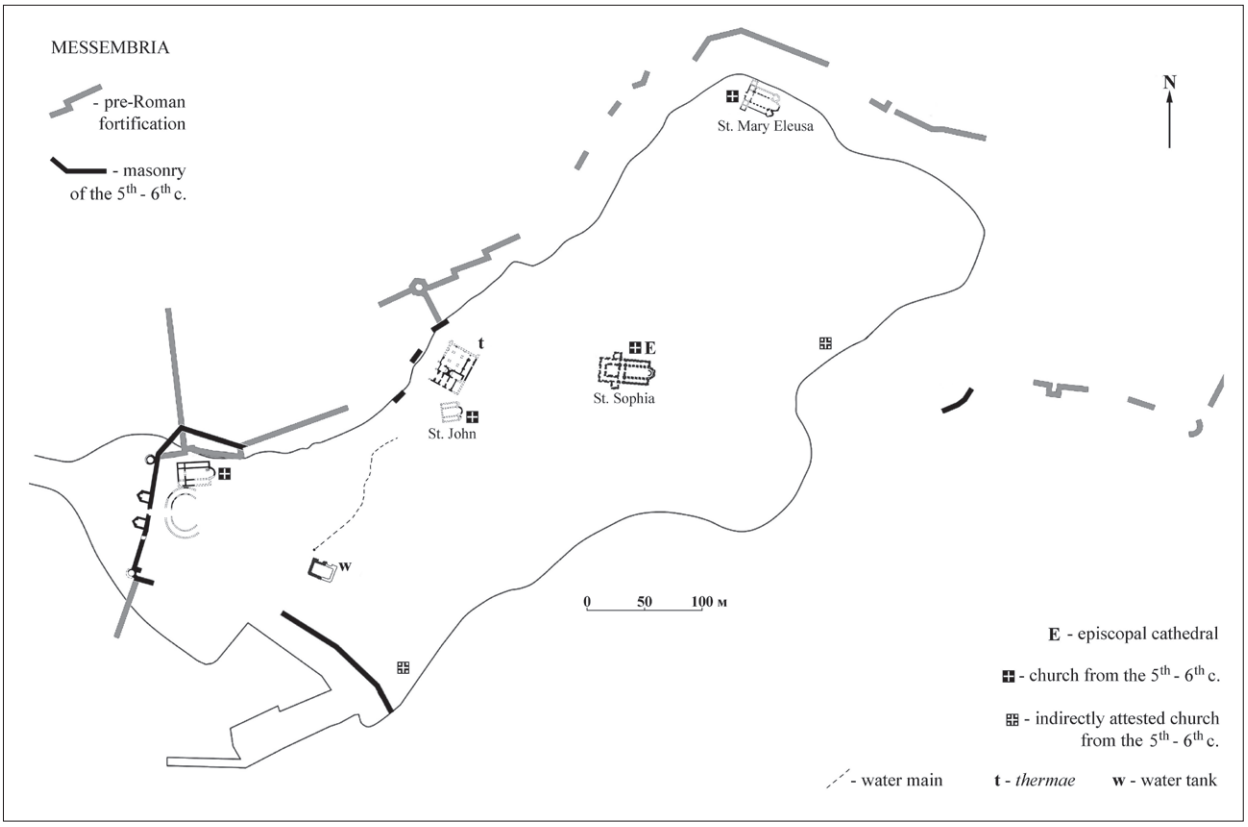


Fig. 12. The main monuments of Early Byzantine Messembria (after Preshlenov 2012, 503, fig. 6; with my – V. D., additions, incl. from Марваков et al. 2014, 233, обр. 1)

and military centers of Thracia and Dacia. Significantly, at the time of abandonment of complexes and buildings associated with the old *polis* or military patterns, the first large episcopal temples appeared. These were basilicas erected away from the old squares. With proven or supposed identification today are the first episcopal basilicas in Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), Pautalia (**fig. 4**), Tomis, Marcianopolis (**fig. 5**), Odessos, Tropaeum Traiani (**fig. 6**), Istros, etc. The identification becomes irrefutable when an episcopal residence (*episkopeion*) has been ascertained near the basilica – for example in Novae (**figs. 7, 8**). The episcopal complex replaced the *polis* square (*forum*, *agora*) as a structural urban core and this replacement is a clear indicator of changes in the governance and the social organization of cities.

In the development of most of the old centers of dioceses of Thracia and Dacia in the second half of the 5th – 6th century there are certain negative trends resulting from the deteriorating political situation. Thus, the standard of private housing gradually declined. The state of the road networks, water supply and sewage facilities decreased in quality. Fortification became priority in utilitarian public works. A clear indicator of the general state of the old centers towards and after the middle of the 5th century is the fact that many of them significantly reduced their protected areas – e.g. Viminacium, Singidunum, Nicopolis ad Istrum (**fig. 1**), Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), Serdica (**fig. 3**), Pautalia (**fig. 4**), etc. On this ground, the intensive construction of Christian religious buildings was impressive and no less indicative of the development of urban life. Examples are provided by the provincial capitals – Philippopolis (**fig. 2**), Serdica (**fig. 3**), Tomis, Marcianopolis

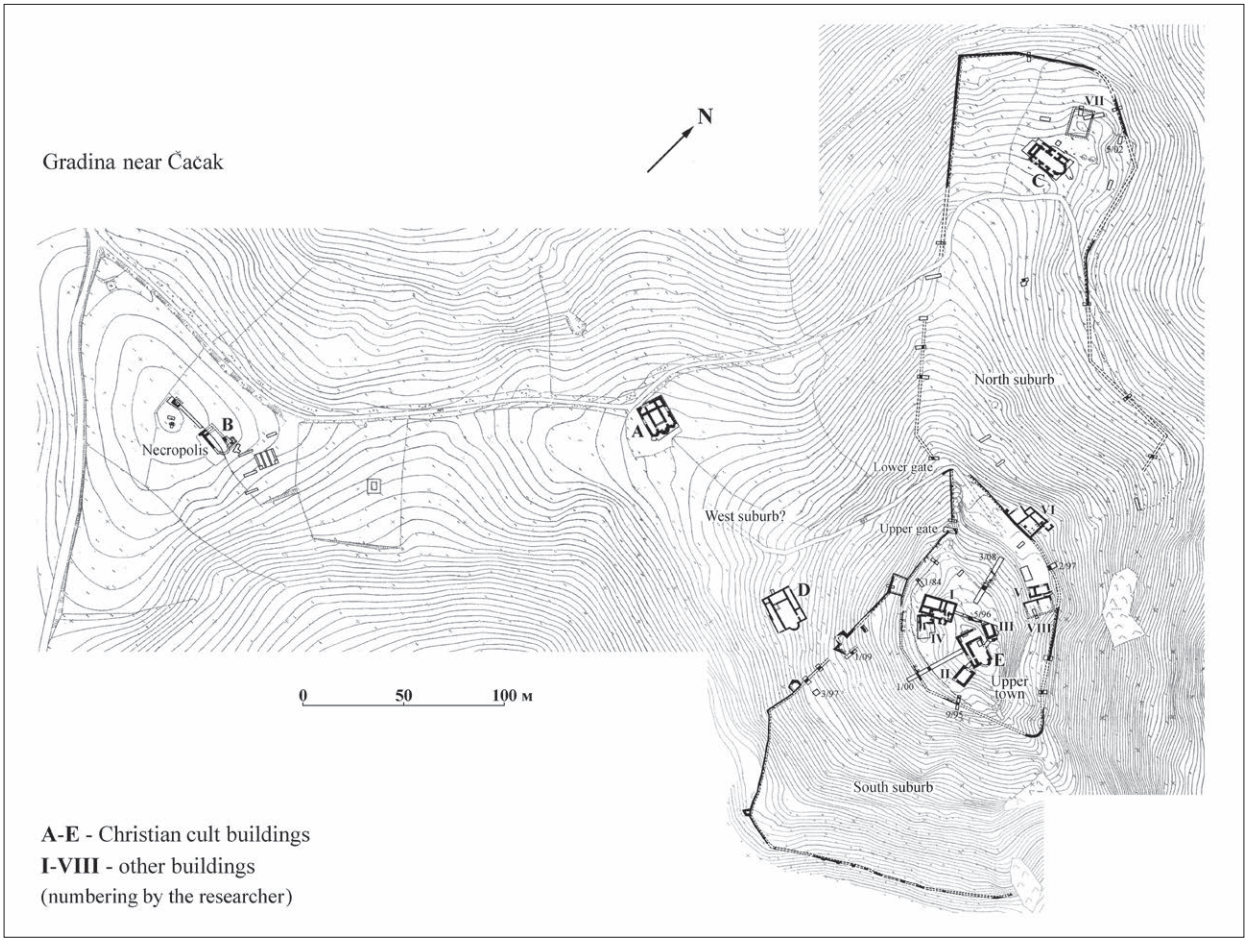


Fig. 13. The Early Byzantine fortified site Gradina on the ridge Jelica near Čačak (after Милинковић 2010, 24-25, сл. 8)

(**fig. 5**), and other old centers – Odessos, Pautalia (**fig. 4**), Tropaeum Traiani (**fig. 6**), Novae (**fig. 7**), etc. At the end of the 5th – 6th century the Christian temples strongly dominated in the cities and were almost the only kind of lavish public architecture. The known basilicas and episcopal residences with an earlier inaugural date experienced construction periods in the 6th century (**fig. 8**) that enhanced their architectural value and their importance as structural urban cores.

The large Late Roman centers, in principle alien to the ancient *polis* organization, gained city status in the EBE notably through the church. The construction of Christian temples there was also of growing intensity in the course of the 5th – 6th century. The best example till now is Diocletianopolis, where nine religious buildings with different foundation dates, but synchronously functioning in the 6th century, have been excavated. Most of them were out of the city ramparts, but the largest and most representative – Basilica # 2 – was in the central zone (**fig. 11**) and it could be assumed that it was the cathedral of the local bishop. Large Christian basilicas, likely episcopal cathedrals, were found recently in Zaldapa (**fig. 9**) and Abritus (**fig. 10**). Christian basilicas were the most presentable Early Byzantine buildings discovered in other Late Roman centers like Ibida, Tzoida (**fig. 1**), etc.

A special case is presented by the old Greek colonies Messembria and Apollonia (Sozopolis) (**fig. 1**), politically neglected during the Principate. In the EBE, however, they were again flourishing centers.

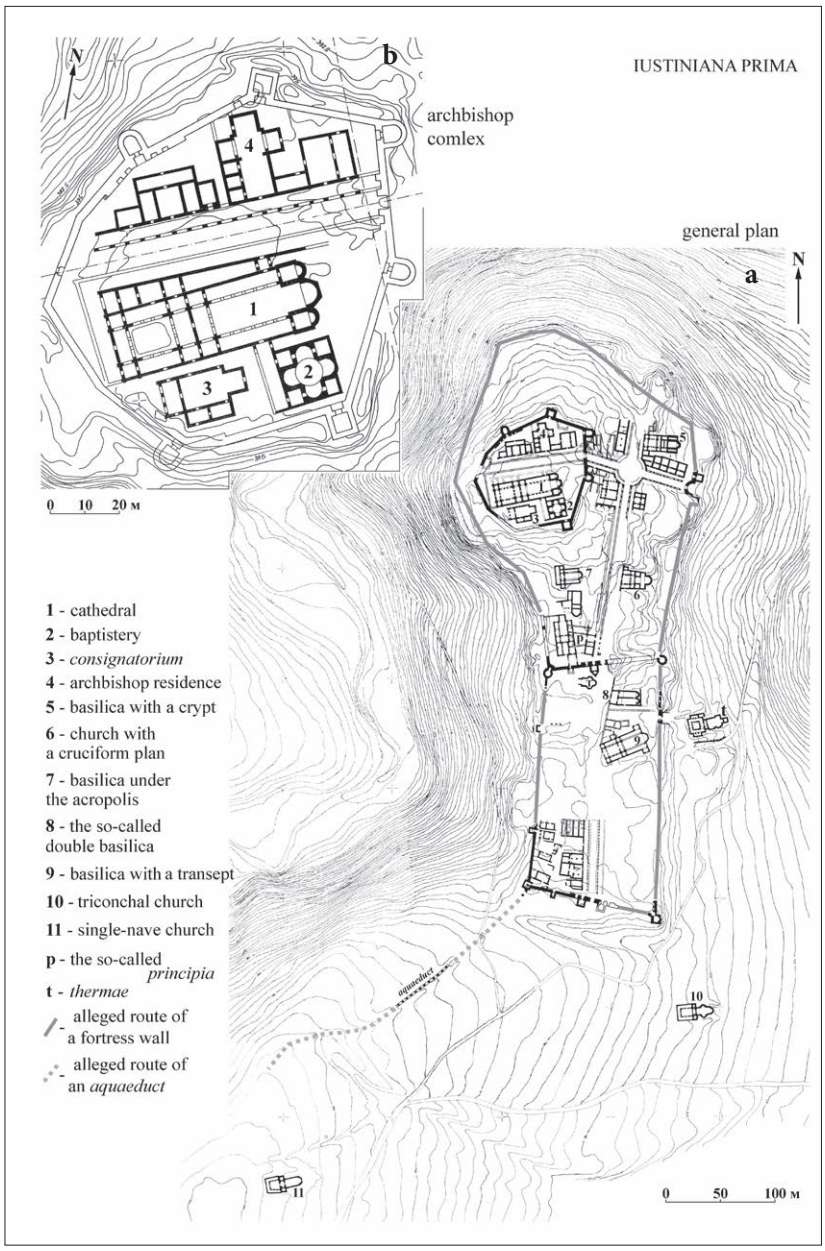


Fig. 14. Iustiniana prima ("Caričin grad")
a general plan (after Ivanišević 2010, 749, fig. 2);
b plan of the archbishop complex (after Duval et al. 2010, 629, fig. IX, 7).

Today we know more about the Early Byzantine Messembria, which possessed a solid fortress and water supplies. There were also large public baths. Definitely prominent, however, were the Christian cult buildings. Already in the 5th century, the St. Sophia basilica was erected, also known as "the old metropolitan church", i.e. the local episcopal cathedral. Better or worse preserved remains of representative religious buildings of the 5th – 6th century have been discovered in all areas of this large city (**fig. 12**).

In the dioceses of Thracia and Dacia there were new Early Byzantine cities as well. Some of them were also on the western Black Sea coast, but the relevant studies so far are too limited in scope. New significant, but still unidentified centers are the so-called Gradina on the ridge Jelica in today's western Serbia (province of Moesia prima), and the so-called Golemo gradište at the village of Konjuh in present-day northern Macedonia (province of Dardania) (**fig. 1**). They date to the 6th century. These cities were located on the hills and included several

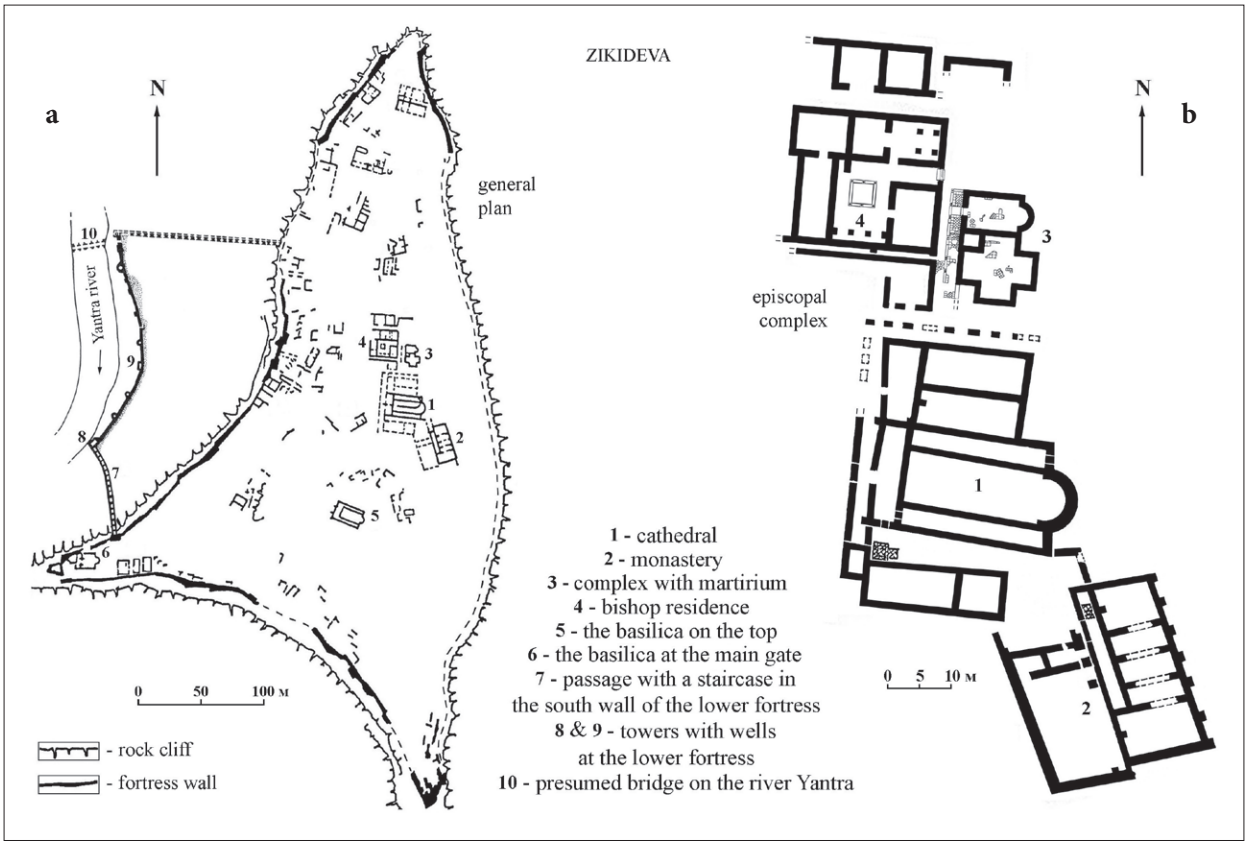


Fig. 15. Zikideva (the Early Byzantine city on the Tsarevets hill, Veliko Turnovo)
a general plan (after Динчев 2013, 492, обр. 8);
b plan of the episcopal complex (my – V. D., compilation of known plans of the individual buildings)

fortified areas. In and around them, certain buildings and facilities have been explored. Undoubtedly outstanding in number, location, size and decoration are the Christian cult buildings (**fig. 13**).

Among the best examples of new towns within the borders of the Empire in general were Iustiniana Prima (so-called Caričin grad near Lebane, in present-day southern Serbia) and Zikideva (on Tsarevets hill in Veliko Turnovo, in present-day northern Bulgaria) (**fig. 1**). At the same time they demonstrate different approaches in the founding of new cities in the EBE.

According to the novels of the years AD 535 and 545 (*Nov. Iust.* XI, CXXXI) and the records of Procopius (Proc. *De aedif.* 4.1), Iustiniana Prima was a city founded by Justinian I in order to perpetuate imperial glory, but also as the capital of the northern part of the prefecture of Illyricum, including the diocese of Dacia. Longtime archaeological research proved it as a "*ville byzantine importante ... qui soit une fondation du VI*[e] *siècle, parfaitement artificielle*" (Bavant 1984, 272). It was situated on a hill dominating the surroundings. The solidly fortified area of its three separate zones – the so-called *acropolis*, the upper and the lower town – amounts to a total of about 8 hectares. In its design and its original form the urban structure included primarily public buildings and complexes, and luxury housing. At that time the ordinary population behind the fortress walls was sparse. Among the public buildings there were baths, "*principia*" (probably the residence of the imperial magistrate), utilitarian buildings and facilities, but most

numerous were the cult buildings (**fig. 14a**). Undoubtedly prominent was the so-called *acropolis*, where the complex of the archbishop of Iustiniana Prima was arranged, including a cathedral (a large and richly decorated basilica), a residence and other components (**fig. 14b**).

The invasions of the 5th century in the province of Moesia secunda, and in the territory of the ancient Nicopolis ad Istrum in particular, stimulated the flow of people to the previously small settlement Zikideva on the inaccessible Tsarevets hill. Its transformation into a real city, i.e. the construction of the main fortress on the hill, the first public buildings and part of the houses, took place at the end of the 5th – the beginning of the 6th century. By the middle of the 6th century, the plan and structure of the city acquired their finished state. The smaller lower fortress ensured the water supply. The total area of both fortresses was about 15 hectares. In the main upper fortress there were separate areas with different public and / or housing buildings. Unquestionably, its cult complexes and buildings were dominant in the structure and the general architectural silhouette of the city. A solid basilica stood at the front of the main gate and served as an ideological support for this key place of the urban stronghold. Another monumental basilica rose on the top of Tsarevets hill. A great cult ensemble occupied the most suitable for construction downtown area (**fig. 15a**). In its final phase, it contained three interconnected complexes, including the episcopal residence and a monastery with a large basilica which probably served also as an episcopal cathedral (**fig. 15b**).

Iustiniana Prima and Zikideva are excellent examples of the emergence of Early Byzantine towns at the initiative, respectively, "from the top" and "from the bottom". Studies there have shown that, despite differences in their origins, they had similar structures, dominated by religious buildings. The undeniable structural cores in both cases were the bishop complexes (archbishop in the case of Iustiniana Prima). These centers reflected in the purest way the most important trends in urbanization and the role of the church in urban life in the EBE.

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No City is an Island: The Impact of the Cities of Late Antique Thracia on Provincial Ecclesiastical Construction

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Abstract: Although the study of Late Antiquity has experienced a great deal of growth in recent years, there is still relatively little attention given to the economically and strategically important provinces of central and southern Thrace. Most studies of urbanism in the eastern Balkans have focused on the Danubian frontier area, particularly due to the influence of the excavations at Nicopolis ad Istrum. These studies, however, are inherently shaped by the heavily-militarized nature of the *limes* and its direct opposition to external threats to the empire; such factors cannot be assumed for cities located in the non-riparian provinces of Thrace south of the Stara Planina. This paper, therefore, analyzes the position of three inland Thracian cities – Philippopolis, Beroe, and Diocletianopolis – in the landscape and their effect on the ecclesiastical construction throughout the province of Late Antique Thracia. Specifically, it considers the archaeological data collected in the *Tabula Imperii Romani* K-35/2 to determine the location and distribution of known religious architecture from Late Antiquity. The analysis also draws comparisons with similar data from the neighbouring province of Moesia Secunda in order to contextualize properly the results from Thracia. The results of this investigation reveal the comparative strength of ecclesiastical construction in the inland province and confirm the primacy of urban centres in the religious organization of Thracia, although it is clear their influence was not limited to the intramural area.

Key words: Late Antiquity, urbanism, ecclesiastical building, Thrace, landscape.

Introduction

The cities of Late Antique Thracia are described in written sources as important ecclesiastical centres. Philippopolis, for example, was the seat of the provincial metropolitan, and was also the city in which Arian bishops chose to hold a counter-synod in 343/4 as a response to the Council of Serdica (Soc. *HE* 2.20; 7.36-37; Soz. *HE* 3.11; Mansi 3.140). Similarly, Beroe was an episcopal seat as well, and a bishop of Beroe named Demophilos was even elected patriarch of Constantinople in 370 (Feder 1916, 78). Finally, Diocletianopolis was certainly an episcopal see by the 5th century, although it is possible a bishop of the city was present at the Council of Serdica in 343 or the Council of Ephesus in 431 (*ACO* II.1, 340; Beševliev 1964)[1].

Furthermore, the archaeological evidence recovered from excavations within the cities lends additional support to the conception of these urban centres as major religious sites. In Philippopolis, excavators have discovered the remains of four Christian basilicas, with construction dates ranging from the mid-4th century to the mid-6th

[1] A bishop of Diocletianopolis is present at Serdica and Ephesus, but it is not evident that this is Diocletianopolis in Thracia. The first definite attestation of a bishop of Diocletianopolis in Thracia is the bishop Epictetus at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

century (Кесякова 1999, 66-75; 2006, 147-148; Чанева-Дечевска 1999, 253-254; Bospachieva 2002; Topalilov 2007, 53-54). A *martyrium* was also located outside of the East Gate of the city, and another *extra-muros* early Christian complex may have served as a monastery (Bospatchieva 2001; Topalilov 2007). The situation is similar in Beroe, in which at least three Christian basilicas have been identified as well as a *martyrium* and another monastery complex (Николов 1965; Nikolov 1987, 104-107). Perhaps the most interesting results come from Diocletianopolis, where ten separate churches have been identified, ranging in date from the 4th to the 6th century (Маджаров 1993, 124-141; Madjarov 1989). Significant ecclesiastical construction, therefore, took place in each of the major urban centres of Thracia in Late Antiquity.

There are, however, problems with interpreting the religious importance of a site based on the apparent number of ecclesiastical buildings. An obvious example is Diocletianopolis. The city boasts the highest number of ecclesiastical buildings in Thracia during Late Antiquity, but it is clear from the historical sources that the see of Diocletianopolis was certainly subordinate to the metropolitan bishop of Philippopolis. As a result, in order to understand better the respective religious significance of the cities of Late Antique Thracia, this paper broadens the scope of analysis to examine the situation at a regional level. By considering the landscape surrounding the urban centres and drawing comparisons with other ecclesiastical centres in the province, it is possible to contextualize properly the status of Thracian cities within the regional religious organization.

Materials and methods

In addition to major urban centres such as Philippopolis, Beroe, and Diocletianopolis, many smaller settlements throughout Thracia were also occupied between the 4th and the 6th century. The various site reports and excavation results from these smaller settlements are often difficult to consult, but the results of most have been collected in a recent volume of the *Tabula Imperii Romani*, specifically K-35/2 – Philippopolis (*TIR* K-35/2). This paper, therefore, uses the results presented in the *TIR* K-35/2 to analyze the settlement pattern and distribution of ecclesiastical building in Late Antique Thracia.

Specifically, data has been collected about sites that were occupied during Late Antiquity – that is, roughly from the Tetrarchic period to the end of the 6th century. These sites include cities, fortresses, road stations, villas, other smaller settlements, and isolated buildings. A single type of site is not favoured over another in order to achieve a complete picture of settlement patterns across the province. Moreover, the sites included in the investigation must have demonstrated some archaeological evidence of occupation during the period of study. The most common form of such evidence is, not surprisingly, pottery and other ceramic material dated to Late Antiquity, but also includes coins, inscriptions, construction method, and the typological dating of structures.

From the total number of sites with evidence of occupation in Late Antiquity, the locations with ecclesiastical buildings were then determined. The ecclesiastical buildings identified in Thracia comprise primarily churches, but also include smaller chapels, *martyria*, and monastery complexes. In some cases, the exact purpose of a structure

is unclear, such as whether a basilica was an episcopal basilica or a *martyrium*. Nevertheless, this is a largely irrelevant concern for the present discussion; it is important that the building had a religious function, regardless of what the exact function was. A closer analysis of the exact nature of the ecclesiastical buildings of Thracia will likely yield further interesting results, but is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present discussion.

There is, however, a notable problem with using the data compiled in the *TIR* K-35/2. Specifically, the problem is one of dating. The chronological extent of this paper is purposefully extensive because there are very few cases in the *TIR* K-35/2 in which sites are dated precisely. What is more common is the categorization of sites or structures into broad periods without definition, such as a basilica at Dorkovo that is dated from the 2nd – 6th century or the "early Christian" basilica at Matenitsa (*TIR* K-35/2, 112, 217). Accordingly, it is difficult to examine processes in fine detail based on the data presented in the *TIR* K-35/2 and information such as precise dates of occupation is not available. As a result of this constraint, this paper necessarily focuses on long-term processes and addresses broad trends occurring in Late Antique Thracia. Nevertheless, the scope of the material in the *TIR* K-35/2 is impressive and provides a good starting point for an investigation of the landscape of Thracia in Late Antiquity.

Results

Based on the data available in the *TIR* K-35/2, a total of 236 sites in the territory of the province of Thracia demonstrate evidence of occupation in Late Antiquity. The major urban centres of Philippopolis, Beroe, and Diocletianopolis account for a small number of these locations, but the vast majority are much smaller and more modest sites. More significantly for this analysis, out of the total of 236 sites in Thracia, only 34 (14.4%) have any evidence of ecclesiastical construction. A summary of the sites with religious buildings in Thracia is presented in **Table 1**.

Taken on their own, these figures are interesting but convey very little significant information. It is not immediately clear, for instance, whether having 14.4% of occupied sites with religious buildings is abnormal. Thus, in order to contextualize properly the results from Thracia, it is necessary to compare the results to similar data from another province. Consequently, a similar analysis was conducted on the material in the *TIR* K-35/2 from Moesia Secunda. Moesia Secunda provides a good comparison since it is geographically adjacent to Thracia and also part of the Diocese of Thracia. Furthermore, the province's proximity to the Danubian border and its intense militarization are factors that may have influenced the character and development of the provincial organization in ways that are not relevant to an inland province such as Thracia, which may then become apparent in an analysis of landscape patterns.

Accordingly, after analyzing the data in the *TIR* K-35/2 from Moesia Secunda, a total of 432 sites were identified with archaeological evidence of occupation in Late Antiquity. Thus, nearly twice as many Late Antique sites have been investigated north of the Stara Planina. This is unsurprising, since the Danubian provinces have been the focus of a great deal of archaeological interest in recent decades due to a fas-

Modern name	Ancient name	Ecclesiastical building dates	*TIR* K-35/2 page #
Debrashtitsa		Early Christian?	89
Dolni Voden		4th – 5th century	110
Dorkovo		Early Christian	112
Dorkovo – Tsepina		6th century?	112
Golyamo Belovo		Early Christian	135
Gorno Novo Selo		4th – 5th century	138-139
Hisarya	Diocletianopolis	4th – 6th century	98-102
Hristo Danovo	Sub Radices	Late 4th century	366
Isperihovo		5th century	158-159
Isperihovo – Klisatepe		5th – 6th century	158-159
Kabile	Cabyle/Diospolis?	4th – 6th century	68-73; 103-104
Karanovo		Early Byzantine	171
Kostandovo		5th – 6th century	181-182
Kovachevo		5th – 6th century	183
Krasnovo		6th century?	187
Krepost		4th – 6th century	188
Lyubenovo		5th century	203
Matenitsa		Early Christian	217
Nova Mahala		5th – 7th century	255
Patalenitsa		3rd – 4th century?	283
Patalenitsa – Grancha		6th century	283
Perushtitsa		4th – 9th century	290
Plovdiv	Philippopolis	4th – 7th century	293-299
Plovdiv – Komatevo		5th – 6th century	301-302
Rupkite	Carasura	Early Christian	73
Sinitovo	Bessapara	4th century?	46-47
Spahievo		4th century?	356
Stamboliyski		4th – 6th century	357-358
Stara Zagora	Beroe/Augusta Traiana	4th – 6th century	29-32
Vasil Levski		5th – 6th century	423
Velingrad		Late Antique	425
Vinogradets		5th – 6th century	427
Yavorovo		Mid-4th century	436-437
Zlatna Livada		4th – 6th century?	446

Table 1. Sites with ecclesiastical buildings in Thracia (table by the author)

cination with the military organization of the Lower Danube (Băjenaru 2010; Biernacki / Pawlak 1997; von Bülow / Milčeva 1999; Mirković 2005; Poulter 1983; 2007; 2013; Sarnowski 1990; Zahariade 1999). The more significant figure is the number of sites with evidence of ecclesiastical building; from a total of 432 Late Antique sites in Moesia Secunda, only 37 (8.6%) had a religious building of some sort (**Table 2**). Thus, while there may be a larger absolute number of Late Antique sites that have been identified along the Lower Danube, there is a greater proportion of ecclesiastical construction in the province of Thracia.

Furthermore, considering the geographic location of the sites with ecclesiastical building within the province of Thracia reveals an interesting distribution pattern. As expected, there is a distinct concentration of ecclesiastical buildings in the major urban centres. Most sites

have evidence of only a single church, and a small number of cases have evidence of two, but the only locations with three or more religious buildings are the cities of Philippopolis, Beroe, and Diocletianopolis. The contextual evidence, therefore, suggests the level of attention devoted to ecclesiastical development within the urban centres was exceptional compared to the surrounding landscape. The higher number of churches and other religious buildings at urban sites may be a reflection of a higher population, but this again does not explain the reason for the remarkable number of churches at Diocletianopolis. Unfortunately, the reason for such attention is a matter for another investigation.

Even looking beyond the walls of the major urban centres, it is evident the cities of Thracia played a role in the shaping of the ecclesiastical landscape of the province. The largest grouping of sites with religious buildings is found in close proximity to Philippopolis, including sites such as the Red Church at Perushtitsa and a series of overlapping churches at Stamboliyski. Another grouping seems to surround Diocletianopolis, with religious buildings identified at Matenitsa, Krasnovo, and Vasil Levski. Interestingly, there does not seem to be a similar pattern around the city of Beroe, although this may be a result of methodological problems discussed below. Instead, the final concentration of religious sites appears to be distributed along the route of major roads. A line of sites with churches extends from Zlatna Livada in the north to Belitsa in the south, mirroring closely the route of the *Via Militaris* (Wendel 2005, 108-138). Furthermore, the sites with ecclesiastical building in the north-east of the province – specifically, Carasura, Karanovo, and Cabyle – are all located along the road that links the *Via Militaris* with Anchialos and the Black Sea, and which also passes through Beroe (Маджаров 2009, 103-109; Wendel 2005, 99, 104-107).

The distribution map also illustrates the prevalence of ecclesiastical construction at sites of high elevation. The majority of smaller settlements with religious buildings seem to be clustered in the northern Rhodope Mountains, the Sredna Gora range, or in the hilly terrain in the east of the province. This pattern may be explained by suggesting that religious leaders preferred to build churches in remote mountainous locations, but it is more likely that this distribution is simply a reflection of modern excavation preferences and methodological issues. Sites at high elevation are often more immediately visible than remains of similar structures in lower altitudes, particularly within alluvial plains where archaeological material can be covered quickly by large sedimentary deposits (Goldberg / Macphail 2006, 72-84; Rick 1976). This appears to be the case in the province of Thracia, where most of the identified sites from Late Antiquity are located in the surrounding highlands, and the centre of the province – that is, the rich agricultural landscape centred on the Maritsa River – is noticeably bare of archaeological evidence. Visibility factors may also explain the scarcity of evidence immediately south of Beroe, since the region is similarly at a low elevation and subject to large sedimentary deposits. This hypothesis is further supported by a similar pattern in Moesia Secunda, where the majority of archaeological evidence has been recovered in the Stara Planina and the hilly eastern region. Conversely, the relatively flat landscape in the west of Moesia Secunda, between modern

Modern name	Ancient name	Ecclesiastical building dating	*TIR* K-35/2 page #
Blaskovo		Late Antique	52
Bliznatsi	Erite	5th – 6th century	122
Bonevo		4th – 6th century	55
Cherkovna		4th – 6th century	77
Chomakovtsi	Zetnoukortou?	4th – 6th century	84
Dalbok Dol		Early Christian	87
Dalgopol		Early Christian	87-88
Devnya	Marcianopolis	4th – 6th century	213-217
Devnya		5th – 6th century	95
Dobri Dol		Late Antique	105
Draganovets		2nd – 6th century	113
Gabrovo		4th – 6th century	126-127
Golesh		4th – 6th century	133
Han Krum		4th – 5th century	148
Kilifarevo		6th – 7th century	174
Konstantinovo		Late Antique	178
Koshov		2nd – 4th century	180-181
Krivina	Iatrus	4th – 5th century	152-156
Krivnya		5th – 6th century	189-190
Krivnya – Kaleto		Late Antique, 5th century?	189-190
Lesicheri		4th century	194-195
Lomets	Sostra	4th – 6th century	354-356
Mogilets		5th century	238
Nikyup	Nicopolis ad Istrum	5th – 6th century	244-252
Onogur	Palmatis	Early Christian	279-280
Osenovo		Late Antique	275
Ovcharovo		5th – 6th century?	276-277
Ravna		Late Antique	319
Razgrad	Abritus	6th century	1-8
Shkorpilovtsi		5th – 6th century	343
Svishtov	Novae	Late 4th – 6th century	255-262
Targovishte		5th – 6th century	371-372
Tsarkvitsa		5th – 6th century	404
Varna	Odessos	5th – 6th century	266-270
Varna – Dzhanavar Tepe		5th century	419-421
Veliko Tarnovo	Zikideva	Late 5th – 6th century	443-444
Zaychino Oreshe		Late Antique?	440

Table 2. Sites with ecclesiastical buildings in Moesia Secunda (table by the author)

Veliko Tarnovo and the Danube, is largely devoid of archaeological remains – with a few notable exceptions such as Nicopolis ad Istrum.

The agricultural value of the lowlands may be another contributing factor to the relative absence of reported archaeological sites in the area between the Sredna Gora and Rhodope Mountains. As a result of the marked fertility of the Upper Thracian Plain, the region has been subject to consistent and extensive agricultural exploitation; in the early 20th century, the region was the foremost agricultural producer in Bulgaria across nearly every category provided, and in the early 21st century, it

continues to be the leading producer of wine, rye, and fruits (Agrarian Report 2014, 22-61; Beshkov 1939). The impact of such intensive agricultural operations on the archaeological record is substantial. Modern ploughs, in particular, not only disturb cultural layers but can also damage – or even destroy – more substantial remains, such as the walls or floors of smaller structures (Hinchliffe / Schadla-Hall 1980). Thus, it is entirely likely the most visible archaeological remains in the lowland areas of Late Antique Thracia have been damaged or displaced by the long history of agricultural development in the region and require more intensive investigations of the landscape to detect properly.

Conclusions

The analysis presented in this paper suggests several conclusions. The first is a confirmation of the importance of the cities of Late Antique Thracia as centres of ecclesiastical attention. This is evident in the sheer number of religious buildings erected in the cities, but also by the comparison with the state of ecclesiastical construction in the surrounding landscape. In stark contrast with the thriving development of the religious infrastructure in Philippopolis, Beroe, and Diocletianopolis, the smaller sites around Thracia demonstrate comparatively far fewer examples of ecclesiastical building. While the exact reasons for this difference of attention remain unclear, it is at least apparent that there was indeed a great deal of focus on the urban centres on behalf of the provincial clergy.

It is also clear the religious influence of Thracian cities was not restricted to the *intra muros* area. Clusters of smaller sites that have religious buildings are located primarily in close proximity to the cities of Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis, and are often no more than a single day's travel from the urban centres. A similar pattern may become apparent around Beroe with further archaeological examination.

Perhaps the most striking conclusion of this analysis is the clear need to conduct additional investigations in the area of central Thracia. Evidence from the region between the Rhodope Mountains and the Sredna Gora range is not nearly as immediately apparent to investigators due to archaeological and methodological difficulties, and it is likely that further evidence will be recovered as a result of any renewed effort to study the landscape.

As is often the case with archaeological investigations, this analysis has raised a number of further questions. Nevertheless, it is still possible to consider these questions through comparative and contextual analysis, and even to arrive at reasonable conclusions therefrom. The point of this paper, therefore, is to start a discussion about these topics and methods, and to start conceptualizing Thracian cities not as individual islands, but rather as part of a wider archipelago.

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Hard Times? Philippopolis in the Fourth Century

Stephen MITCHELL

Abstract: This paper offers an overview of the historical evidence for Roman Philippopolis and a study of the literary and archaeological evidence for the city in the fourth century AD. The city fortifications were critically important during this period as they protected Philippopolis against Gothic raids and the predatory incursions of Roman armies engaged in civil wars. Although Philippopolis is not explicitly mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus' detailed account of the Gothic wars of AD 376 to 378, it was clearly affected by these circumstances, and the possibilities of urban development were limited, at least until the Gothic-Roman *foedus* of AD 382. New building of churches and private housing is attested in the later fourth and early fifth century. The city recovered from hard times in the fourth century, but comparisons with other cities of the Roman East, in particular Galatian Ancyra, show that it was unable to achieve the status of a major urban centre of Late Antiquity.

Key words: Thrace in the fourth century, Goths, Ammianus Marcellinus, church building, Constantine and Licinius, Theodosius I.

It is a privilege and a great pleasure to be invited to take part in a major symposium on Roman and Late Roman Thrace at Plovdiv. What sort of a fresh look can a visiting historical outsider bring to a gathering of scholars who have studied the evidence for years, and indeed been responsible for discovering much of it? The answer may indeed be very little, but the aim of this presentation is to give a sketch of the available information about Roman Philippopolis, which may provide helpful historical orientation to other outsiders, and to offer some observations about the city's history during the upheavals and political turbulence of the fourth century AD.

The most explicit evocation of Roman Plovdiv comes from an unlikely source, the Greek essay-writer Lucian. Lucian's *Drapetai* ('The Runaway Slaves') is a satirical diatribe against contemporary Cynic philosophers, in which Zeus comes to the rescue of Philosophy, whose reputation has been destroyed by those who claim to be philosophers but in fact are greedy charlatans. Zeus sends Heracles and Hermes to accompany Philosophy and punish these molesters. Their destination is not Greece, home of true philosophers, but Thrace, whose gold and silver mines are described as an irresistible attraction to impostors. They find their quarry in the guise of runaway slaves at Philippopolis, and the city is described in an ironical encomium by Lucian:

> ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Φιλοσοφία, δύο μὲν ὄρη μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ὀρῶν ἁπάντων (Αἶμός ἐστιν τὸ μεῖζον, ἡ καταντικρὺ δὲ Ῥοδόπη) πεδίον δὲ ὑποπεπταμένον πάμφορον, ἀπὸ τῶν προπόδων ἑκατέρων εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενον, καί τινας λόφους τρεῖς πάνυ καλοὺς ἀνεστηκότας, οὐκ ἀμόρφους

τὴν τραχύτητα, οἷον ἀκροπόλεις πολλὰς τῆς ὑποκειμένης πόλεως. καὶ ἡ πόλις γὰρ ἤδη φαίνεται.

ΕΡΜΗΣ Νὴ Δί', ὦ Ἡράκλεις, μεγίστη καὶ καλλίστη ἁπασῶν.

'*Herakles*: You see those two greatest and most beautiful mountains (the big one is Haemus, and the one opposite is Rhodope) and the plain that spreads between them where everything grows, running to the very foot of each of them? These three absolutely splendid hill tops, quite comely in their ruggedness, how they stand out like multiple acropoleis above the city that lies beneath them; it's already in view! *Hermes*: 'By Hercules! It's the greatest and finest city of all!' (Luc., *Fug.* 25; see Sharankov / Cherneva-Tilkiyan 2002).



Fig. 1. Two of the three hills. View of Philippopolis from the south (photo: S. Mitchell)

The three rugged crests formed the Trimontium (**fig. 1**). This was the third of the three names of Philippopolis recorded by the elder Pliny: *Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta,* 'previously Poneropolis, then called Philippopolis after its founder, and now known as Trimontium from its location' (Plin. *NH* 4.11.41). The name Poneropolis, 'city of troubles', which was presumably coined as a joke, is first attested in Theopompus (*Fr.* 107) as early as the fourth century BC. By the time of the Emperor Vespasian, the Thracian / Greek city was presumably being called 'Triple Mountain' by Roman troops and their officers. Roman soldiers had given the same name to the British military fort of Newstead in the Scottish border country near Melrose (Ptol. *Geogr*. 2.3.6). The application of a descriptive Latin name to an old Greek city seems to be a unique phenomenon in the Greek East. The pervasive Roman influence at Philippopolis is also reflected by the fact that the city's Greek epigraphy is supplemented by many Latin inscriptions, largely of military origin.

In fact, the name Trimontium, applied to the settlement which spread around the outcrop of three hills south of the Hebros (Maritsa) river, was also a humorous soldiers' exaggeration. The modest hills of Plovdiv were nothing compared to the mountain ranges that ran north and south of the city. The site commanded a river crossing on the main route through the Thracian lowlands from Byzantium and Hadrianopolis. Westwards this route continued to Serdica and to Naissus. Philippopolis / Trimontium was separated by substantial distances from its neighbours: it was 120 kilometres to Serdica / Sofia;



Fig. 2. Philippopolis in context. The South-East Balkans and North-West Asia Minor (map source: <http://pelagios.org/maps/greco-roman>)

164 to Hadrianopolis / Edirne; and 440 km to Constantinople. The fifth-century historian Priscus in his famous account of an embassy to Attila the Hun, remarked that Serdica was thirteen days distant from Constantinople for a fast traveler (Prisc. *Fr.* 8.1)[1]. At this rate, the journey to Philippopolis would have taken ten days.

The extent of the city's ancient territory in a juridical sense is not precisely known, but effectively and in economic terms Philippopolis was the organizational centre of the entire Thracian plain north of the Rhodope Mountains, whose foothills began little more than ten kilometres south of the city. It was somewhat further away from the Stara Zagora (ancient Beroea / Augusta Traiana) hills, which formed an interim barrier before the higher mountain chain of Haemimontus. The Lower Danube valley was on the north side of these mountains. It is clear from the topography that Philippopolis was much better connected to the East, to the Black Sea and Constantinople, than to the western and the central Balkan regions (**fig. 2**).

This territory was the economic heartland of the Thracian peoples, not only because it had fertile agricultural land and was accessible by a good east-west transit route, but because of the forests and mineral wealth, especially gold, which was obtained from the mountain areas[2]. It is important to note that without the resources and protection offered by the mountains the fertile inland Thracian plain would have had no independent status, and simply served as an undifferentiated transit zone for the route that ran from central Europe to Asia Minor. Rhodope and Haemimontus provided the southern and northern boundaries of the fourth-century province of Thracia.

[1] Translated by R. C. Blockley.

[2] For modern gold resources in Bulgaria, see Gold Mining and Reserves in Bulgaria, Research on demand, March 2010 (https://seenews.com/static/pdfs/GoldMiningProcessingBulgaria.pdf; accessed 2 December 2016).

The western boundary of Thracia was marked by the lower passes that separated Philippopolis / Plovdiv from Serdica / Sofia, the capital city of Dacia Mediterranea. This was also the boundary that divided the western from the eastern Roman Empire, a division that became permanent after Valentinian and Valens took power in AD 364[3]. Philippopolis was on this frontier.

Like many cities of the Roman Empire, Philippopolis / Plovdiv had been a successful urban settlement for centuries before it earned a mention in historical annals[4]. Characteristically almost every mention of Philippopolis by ancient authors refers to the city during wartime episodes, usually when it was under siege. Philip V in his struggle to maintain Macedonian independence from the Romans, seized Philippopolis and secured it with a temporary garrison force, which was subsequently expelled by the native Odrysians:

> παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν προσαγορευομένην Φιλίππου πόλιν, φυγόντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἰς τὰς ἀκρωρείας, ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πᾶν τὸ πεδίον ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκπορθήσας, παρ' ὧν δὲ πίστεις λαβών, ἐπανῆλθε, φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου πόλει.
>
> 'Having arrived at the place called Philippupolis, he took possession of the city by an assault, after the inhabitants had fled to the mountain peaks. After this he raided the entire plain and having sacked some of the settlements, from which he took sureties, he retreated, leaving behind a garrison at Philippupolis.' (Plb. 23.8.5-6).

Under the Emperor Tiberius, another coalition of Thracian tribes, including the Odrysians, laid siege to Philippopolis, which had been occupied by the pro-Roman king Rhoemetalces.

> *nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellenus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellenum incusans popularium iniurias inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalesceret. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt.*
>
> 'After rulership had been split between Rhoemetalces and the sons of Cotys, who because of their youth were under the guardianship of Trebellenus, Thracia, being unaccustomed to Roman control, was reduced to conflict, accusing Rhoemetalces no less than Trebellenus of allowing injuries to its common people to go unavenged. The Coelaletians, Odrysians and Dians, powerful nations, took up arms under leaders who were diverse but well-matched in their lack of high status. This was the reason why they did not come together in a destructive war. Some of them stirred up matters in the immediate vicinity, others crossed Mount Haemus in order to summon the help of distant peoples; the largest and best organized group laid siege to the king and the city of Philippopolis, which had been founded by Philip of Macedon.' (Tac. *Ann*. 3.38).

In AD 250 the city was again besieged and fell to the forces of the Gothic King Kniva[5]. Referring to this event at the end of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus recalled reports, which he rightly regarded as seriously exaggerated, that over 100,000 of Philippopolis' inhabitants had lost their lives.

> *post clades acceptas inlatasque multas et saevas excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum milibus – nisi fingunt annales – intra moenia iugulatis.*
>
> 'After suffering disasters and many cruel calamities, Philippopolis was

[3] The implications of the division are worked out in full by Errington 2006.

[4] For the early history of Philippopolis, see Hansen / Nielsen (eds.) 2004, s.v.

[5] Zos. 1.24; Jord. *Get.* 18.101-103. See also the new Dexippus fragments and the bibliography cited below.

destroyed and a hundred thousand persons – if the records do not deceive – were butchered within its walls.' (Amm. Marc. 31.5.17)[6].

Zosimus in a passage which was derived from the contemporary Athenian historian Dexippus, mentioned that the Goths were allowed to take wealthy captives with them, doubtless so as to secure high ransoms[7]. Details of this siege and the fall of the city are now revealed by newly deciphered original fragments of Dexippus' history (Davenport / Mallan 2013; Grusková / Martin 2014; Martin / Grusková 2014a; Martin / Gruskova 2014b; Grusková / Martin 2015; Mallan / Davenport 2015; Jones 2015).

In the fourth century the threat of external invasion was largely replaced by Roman civil wars, and the battles between rival emperors and usurpers had a repeated impact on the city. The account by the Anonymus Valesianus, written at the end of the fourth century, of Constantine's first campaign against Licinius in AD 316/317 states that the emperors confronted each other from their marching stations in 'Philippi' (surely an error for Philippopolis) and Hadrianopolis respectively before they joined battle at the still unlocated Campus Ardiensis or Mardiensis. Under cover of night Licinius withdrew his forces to Beroea / Augusta Traiana, while Constantine advanced too hastily towards Byzantium. Constantine was obliged to make terms with Licinius when he realized that he was now cut off in the rear.

[Licinius] Valentem ducem limitis Caesarem fecit. Inde apud Hadrianopolim Thraciae civitatem per Valentem collecta ingenti multitudine, legatos ad Constantinum de pace misit apud Philippos constitutum. Quibus frustra remissis, iterum reparato bello, in campo Mardiense ab utroque concurritur et post dubium ac diuturnum proelium Licini partibus inclinatis profuit noctis auxilium. Licinius et Valens credentes Constantinum, quod et verum erat, ad persequendum longius ad Byzantium processurum, flexi in partem Beroeam concesserunt. Ita Constantinus vehementer in ulteriora festinans, deprehendit Licinium remansisse post tergum. Fatigatis bello et itinere militibus, missus deinde Mestrianus legatus pacem petiit, Licinio postulante et pollicente se imperata facturum. Denuo, sicut ante, mandatum est Valens privatus fieret; quo facto pax ab ambobus firmata est, ut Licinius Orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam possideret.

'(Licinius) appointed Valens, the dux of the frontier area, to be Caesar. Then when a very large force had been assembled by Valens at the Thracian city of Hadrianopolis, he sent envoys to Constantine, who was based at Philippopolis, to discuss peace terms. When they returned with nothing achieved the war was resumed, and the two sides clashed at Ager Mardiensis, where, after an evenly matched battle that lasted all day, night came to the aid of the retreating forces of Licinius. Licinius and Valens, in the justified belief that Constantine would press on in pursuit further towards Byzantium, turned off the road and retreated towards Beroea. And so Constantine, while hastening on to distant destinations, realized that Licinius had remained in position behind him. As his soldiers were exhausted by the battle and the march, his envoy Mestrianus then sued for peace, conforming to Licinius' demands and his own promise to fulfill the instructions. Eventually, as before, the order was given for Valens again to become a private citizen, and when this had happened peace was confirmed on both sides, so that Licinius took charge of Oriens, Asia, Thrace, Moesia and Scythia Minor'. (*Anon. Val.* I.17-18).

The events of this civil war virtually repeated themselves in July AD 324, when Constantine defeated Licinius at Hadrianopolis, before delivering the coup de grace at the naval battle of Chalcedon two months later (Zos. 1.24). In the course of the fourth century

[6] The figure, as Ammianus' remark *nisi fingunt annales* shows, is not to be trusted.

[7] Zos. 1.24: 'For Gallus not only permitted them to return home with the plunder, but promised to pay them annually a sum of money, and allowed them to carry off all the noblest captives; most of whom had been taken at Philippopolis in Thrace.' (transl. by Green and Chaplin).

Philippopolis lay on the marching route of Constantius, who led large forces from the East against the potential usurpers Vetranio in AD 350 and Magnentius in AD 351, and of Julian marching from the West against Constantius in AD 361.

In AD 365 the city sided with the revolt of Procopius against the new East Roman regime of Valens, but succumbed to the assault of the western general Equitius, who was despatched by Valentinian to support the beleaguered and vulnerable eastern emperor.

> *Inter quae tam trepida, speculationibus fidis Aequitius doctus conversam molem belli totius in Asiam, digressus per Succos Philippopolim clausam praesidiis hostium, Eumolpiadam veterem reserare magna vi conabatur, urbem admodum opportunam et inpedituram eius adpetitus, si pone relicta adiumenta Valenti laturus — nondum enim apud Nacoliam gesta conpererat — festinare ad Haemimontum cogeretur.*
>
> 'In this state of high anxiety Equitius, who had been informed by reliable informers that the bulk of the war had entirely shifted to Asia, passed through the Succi pass and attempted with a large force to open the gates of Philippopolis, ancient Eumolpias, which was secured by enemy forces, a city which was very handily located and liable to obstruct his designs, if it lay in his rear while he was compelled to move rapidly to Haemimontus to bring relief to Valens (for he had not yet learnt what had happened at Nacolia).' (Amm. Marc. 26.10.4).

The inhabitants suffered especially when they continued to be loyal to Procopius' short-lived successor Marcellus. After the final suppression of the revolt Procopius' severed head was paraded before them on its journey west to the court of Valentinian at Trier in Gaul.

> *Exstirpatis occasu ducis funeribus belli, saevitum est in multos acrius quam errata flagitaverant vel delicta, maximeque in Philippopoleos defensores, qui urbem seque ipsos non nisi capite viso Procopii, quod ad Gallias portabatur, aegerrime dediderunt.*
>
> 'When the fatalities of the war had been uprooted by the death of the leader, a more vicious punishment was meted out against many of his followers than their errors or crimes demanded, and especially against the defenders of Philippopolis, who had had surrendered themselves and their city with extreme reluctance, and only when they were shown the head of Procopius as it was being transported to Gaul.' (Amm. Marc. 26.10.6).

The city was not expressly mentioned in the accounts of the Gothic incursions between AD 376, when the Tervingi and Greuthungi crossed the Danube *en masse*, and AD 378, when the Goths inflicted a devastating defeat on the Emperor Valens and Roman forces at Hadrianopolis, but it cannot have been untouched by the upheavals of those years (see below). In AD 447 Attila's Huns are said to have sacked the city as they advanced to the walls of Constantinople (Prisc. *Fr.* 61*). The sources are almost completely silent about the direct and material effects of these barbarian threats and incursions against Philippopolis. There will have been casualties, and captives were taken with a view to future ransom[8]. Wealthy inhabitants were obviously targeted[9]. Many inhabitants no doubt fled for safety as best they could.

This can be inferred from Priscus' description of the conditions his party encountered at Naissus in AD 449: 'When we arrived at Naissus we found the city deserted, as though it had been sacked; only a few sick persons lay in the churches' (Prisc. *Fr.* 8.2). Most of the population had fled or was in hiding, but the town's fabric seems to have

[8] See Zos. 1.24 and the speech of Trajan Decius in AD 250, reported in the new Dexippus fragment (Dexipp. 194v; translated by C. P. Jones): 'and when the army was collected to the number of about eighty thousand, his intention was to renew the war if he could, thinking that even if he had failed to bring help the honorable <course> was at least to set free the captive Thracians and to prevent them from crossing to the other side [of the Danube]' ... 'But since the vicissitudes of humans bring many calamities, as is the rule for mortals, it is perhaps the duty of prudent men to accept events and not to become disheartened, and not to be shaken by the failure in the plain and the capture of the Thracians (in case this has made any of you despondent) so as to become cowards.'

[9] See Priscus' famous account of his conversation with the Greek-speaking merchant captured by Attila's Huns at Viminacium: 'When he asked me why I wanted to know, I told him that his Hellenic speech had prompted my curiosity. Then he smiled and said that he was born a Greek and had gone as a merchant to Viminacium, on the Danube, where he had stayed a long time, and married a very rich wife. But the city fell prey to the barbarians, and he was stripped of his prosperity, and on account of his riches was allotted to Onegesius in the division of the spoil, as it was the custom among the Scythians for the chiefs to reserve for themselves the rich prisoners'. (Prisc. *Fr.* 8).

been intact. In 587 Philippopolis was besieged but not captured by the Avars[10]. Cities in Thrace, as well as other parts of the Roman empire, which were defended by effective fortifications, could usually hold out against a barbarian attack, as may be judged by Ammianus' well-known remark that the Alemanni in Gaul 'avoid the actual towns as if they were tombs surrounded by hunters' nets' (Amm. Marc. 16.12.12). One of the main purposes of Trajan Decius' letter to the people of Philippopolis, anticipating the catastrophe of AD 250, was to prevent them leaving the security of their defences to take on Kniva's Gothic army: 'he instead instructed them to hold fast by creating an atmosphere of fear, so that these men who were ill-equipped for war would not venture outside [the city] and make an attempt with inopportune enthusiasm, when his own relief force was close at hand'. The point that a city's fortifications provided security for its inhabitants against the Gothic threat is taken up in the body of the letter itself (Dexipp. *Fr.* 26.2; 26.9-10)[11]. Julian is said to have ordered the repair of city fortifications throughout Thrace and on the Danube frontier.

> *Nec tamen, cum corrigendis civilibus ita diligenter instaret, omisit castrensia, rectores militibus diu exploratos adponens, urbes quin etiam per Thracias omnes cum munimentis reparans extimis, curansque sollicite, ne arma vel indumenta aut stipendium vel alimenta deessent his quos per supercilia Histri dispersos excursibusque barbarorum oppositos agere vigilanter audiebat et fortiter.*
>
> '(Julian) was accordingly diligently concerned with putting matters right in the cities, but he also did not neglect military affairs, appointing highly experienced commanders for the soldiers, while also re-equipping the cities in all the Thracian provinces with external fortifications, and taking particular care that there should be no lack of arms, equipment, pay or provisions for the troops assigned to watch-posts along the Danube, who were reported to have been vigilant and courageous in their opposition to barbarian attacks.' (Amm. Marc. 22.7.7).

The essential truth that barbarian invaders were not equipped to besiege fortified cities was repeated at several points by Ammianus Marcellinus in his famous and frequently analyzed account of the devastation caused by the Tervingi and Greuthungi in Thrace between AD 376 and 378, even after their arrival in turn triggered a general uprising of disaffected Goths, who had previously been settled in Thrace.

In AD 376, according to Ammianus, Sueridas and Colias, two Gothic chieftains who had already been settled with their retinues near Hadrianopolis, resisted an abrupt Roman command to transfer from Thrace into Asia, and were simultaneously threatened by a large local force, including the weapon-manufacturers based in Hadrianopolis, after they had plundered the villa of the chief magistrate (Amm. Marc. 31.6.2-3). The Goths were reinforced by newly arrived Tervingi under Fritigern, who nevertheless persuaded them to abandon their futile assaults on Hadrianopolis: 'he reminded them that he kept peace with walls and advised them to attack and devastate the rich and fruitful parts of the country, which were still without protectors and could be pillaged without any danger' (Amm. Marc. 31.6.4)[12]. In the countryside they attracted many supporters: Goths who had been sold as slaves; destitute refugees from north of the Danube; fugitives from Thrace's gold-mines[13]; and country-dwellers oppressed by the burden of Roman taxation, who were eager to show the marauders the grain-stores and hide-outs of city-dwellers (Amm. Marc. 31.6.5-6).

[10] Theoph. Simoc. 2.17.2-3: 'At once he moved to Philippopolis, invested the city, and strove to take it. The town's inhabitants fought back most skilfully and inflicted many injuries from their ramparts and battlements, so that the Chagan willingly abandoned the fight, respecting their inviolability on account of their courage'. (transl. by M. and M. Whitby).

[11] The letter as reproduced by Dexippus is largely a rhetorical construct, according to Davenport / Mallan 2013.

[12] Translated by Rolfe (Loeb edition).

[13] See Errington 2006, 105-106 on *Codex Theodosianus* 10.19.5 (law of Valens, AD 370) and 10.19.7 (law of Valentinian, AD 373), which attempted to deal with the problem of fugitive workers from the Thracian gold mines who fled across the boundary between the eastern and western empires, from the dioceses of Thrace (Valens) to that of Illyricum (Valentinian). See also Amm. Marc. 26.8.14.

Ammianus noted that before the mass incursion of AD 376, at the time of Julian's march against Constantius in AD 361, Goths had been a kidnap target for Galatian slave-traders:

> *Quae cum ita divideret nihil segnius agi permittens, suadentibus proximis, ut adgrederetur propinquos Gothos saepe fallaces et perfidos, hostes se quaerere se meliores aiebat; illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine discrimine venundantur.*
>
> 'While (Julian) was making these arrangements, allowing no slackness in carrying them out, his closest advisors were urging him to attack the nearby Goths, who were always tricky and treacherous, but he replied that he would pursue worthier enemies; Galatian slave traders, who offered Goths for sale everywhere regardless of their rank, could deal with them quite adequately.' (Amm. Marc. 22.7.8).

In AD 377 more Roman forces led by Valens' generals Traianus and Profuturus, reinforced by troops sent from Gaul under Ricomer, attempted to pen the Goths in the recesses of the Haemus mountains (Amm. Marc. 31.7.3-4). The Romans then engaged a large organized Gothic army near Marcianopolis at the bloody and indecisive battle of Ad Salices (Amm. Marc. 31.7.6-16). These encounters did not succeed in containing the barbarians. Further Roman reinforcements, sent to the region under Saturninus (Amm. Marc. 31.8.3), proved powerless to stop the Goths spreading rapidly across the Thracian plain as far as Mount Rhodope, taking many captives for ransom as they did so (Amm. Marc. 31.8.5-7). The cities of Dibaltum (Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium) and Beroea (Augusta Traiana) held firm (Amm. Marc. 31.8.9 – Dibaltum; 9.1 – Beroea). This was also doubtless true of Philippopolis.

In AD 378 the pattern was repeated and led to the catastrophic defeat of a very large Roman force and the death of the Emperor Valens at the battle of Hadrianopolis. The Goths reportedly occupied territory outside the cities of Beroea and Nicopolis, as well as taking positions close to Hadrianopolis, but the cities themselves remained secure (Amm. Marc. 31.11.2-3)[14]. Hadrianopolis held out without difficulty after the battle, despite enormous efforts by the victorious Gothic army (Amm. Marc. 31.15).

It is surprising that Philippopolis is never specifically mentioned in the narratives of the Gothic incursions and raids that led to the battle of Hadrianopolis, but it must have been affected in broadly the same way as the other cities of the Thracian plains. Even if the urban centre escaped relatively untouched, the fear spread by the Goths over a three-year period surely led its richer inhabitants to bring stores and possessions into the city and to retreat there themselves to secure their personal safety. The fact that the city, as capital of a Roman province, was a location where tax revenues were stored, will surely have been a particular incentive for the barbarians. The regional state treasury, first attested by an inscription of AD 183/184, certainly existed at the time of the Gothic wars, as a letter written by Basil of Caesarea around AD 373 refers in passing to a *praepositus* of the treasury at Philippopolis[15].

The archaeological evidence for the impact of the Gothic marauding between AD 376 and 378 has recently been examined by Ivo Topalilov, who suggests that two extra-mural sites, which seem to have been pottery and granary kilns, show evidence for destruction by fire in the late fourth century and may be linked to the Gothic raids

[14] The city was secure even against the Roman troops under the commander Sebastianus, who was for a short time suspected of treachery.

[15] See *AE* 1950, 102 = 1979, 547 = 1978, 768 for the first mention of the *aedes thesaurorum*, and Bas. *Ep.* 237.2.



Fig. 3. The site of the large episcopal *basilica* (photo: S. Mitchell)



Fig. 4. The paved street leading to the East Gate (photo: S. Mitchell)

(Topalilov 2014a, 226-227). However, this data is hard to evaluate. The reason for the fire destruction is of course hypothetical, and Gothic raids cannot explain fire damage of about the same period which is present in the *atrium* of a peristyle house and in parts of the Eastern *Thermae* (Topalilov 2014a, 228). The archaeological indications are open to other explanations and the dating evidence for these episodes is not precise enough to support a definite conclusion that they should be linked to the Gothic threats between AD 376 and 378.

Topalilov's study nevertheless establishes the important point that Philippopolis continued to develop through Late Antiquity between the fourth and the sixth century. There is no sign of any drastic interruption of this development and it appears that the city was less affected by the Gothic wars of the late fourth century, and indeed by the ravages of Attila's Huns during the AD 440s, than has often been supposed. Two major church foundations, the octagonal extra-mural *martyrium* (Bospachieva 2001), and the episcopal *basilica* (Кесякова 1989), with fine mosaics[16], are dated to the time of Theodosius I (**fig. 3**), and were linked with one another by a new or reconstructed colonnaded street that passed through the city fortifications at the East Gate (**fig. 4**)[17]. This construction of monumental Christian buildings in the

[16] The mosaics of Philippopolis are now impressively and definitively published by Popova / Pillinger / Lirsch 2015; see also Bospachieva 2002; Topalilov 2015.

[17] Topalilov 2014a, 228.

form of large churches and other sanctuaries at the end of the fourth century is fully in step with developments that are well documented elsewhere in the Eastern Roman Empire, notably in Asia Minor[18]. A group of buildings that incorporate substantial store-rooms, as well as impressive peristyle houses with decorated mosaic floors have also been dated to the late fourth and early fifth century (Topalilov 2014a, 230; Bospachieva 2003; Topalilov / Ljubenova 2010). Urban occupation continued through the fifth and the first half of the sixth century under Justinian, perhaps until the last quarter of the sixth century (Topalilov 2014b).

This pattern of urban development matched that found in other major cities of Macedonia, Asia Minor and Greece. Despite its exposure to attacks and marauding by barbarian groups on the north-west frontier of the eastern Roman Empire, Philippopolis grew (modestly) in size (Topalilov 2014a, 223), retained its earlier Roman lay-out (Julian appears to have restored the wall circuit which had originally been completed around AD 172), introduced new public buildings, especially churches[19], and included more luxurious private housing in the late fourth and fifth than in the second century AD. There is little sign of building activity of any sort during the Tetrarchy or under Constantine. The location of later fourth and fifth century churches implies not only that financial resources were available for their construction, but also that the city felt sufficiently secure to build outside as well as inside its fortification wall. The immediate threat posed by the Goths in the crisis of AD 376-378 had passed. It appears likely that the much-discussed Roman-Gothic *foedus* of AD 382 established a genuine basis for harmonious co-existence between the Roman land-owners and the Gothic *foederati* through the rest of the fourth and into the fifth century (Mitchell 2015, 90-91). There is no record of aggravated trouble from the Goths for nearly a century. On the other hand, the structures close to the east wall contain very extensive provision for storage. Since AD 172 landowners and peasants had been able to rely on the security provided by Philippopolis' fortifications, where they could hold out against a barbarian – or even a Roman siege. Building copious storage facilities for agricultural produce, especially grain, must have been a routine matter and helped to characterize the nature of the city itself. These archaeological remains of fourth century Philippopolis enable us to read a little more detail into the history of this century.

However, the city's history in the fourth century, at least until the reign of Theodosius I from AD 379 to 395, is very shadowy. It was barely mentioned in the historical annals during this period. The first occasion was in AD 343, when the eastern bishops who had been summoned to the Council of Serdica to resolve the dogmatic and political disputes that divided the Church, refused to convene with their western counterparts and assembled separately at Philippopolis, where they issued a statement condemning the term *homoousios*[20]. In so doing they had withdrawn across the frontier that divided the western provinces of the empire, ruled by Constans, to those of the East, under Constantius. A generation later the city served as a destination of exile for the Arian bishop, Eustathios of Sebaste, another mark of its relative obscurity (Bas. *Ep.* 237). Compared with other cities along the empire's main east-west axis: Ancyra (see below), Nicomedia, which

[18] Mitchell 1993, vol. 2, 68. There is very little evidence for large churches being built in Asia Minor and Syria before ca. AD 350.

[19] For an invaluable survey of church building in Philippopolis and Thrace generally, see Topalilov 2016b.

[20] Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.20: 'But as Protogenes, bishop of Serdica, and Hosius, bishop of Cordova, a city in Spain, would by no means permit them to be absent, the Eastern bishops immediately withdrew, and returning to Philippopolis in Thrace, held a separate council, wherein they openly anathematized the term *homoousios*; and having introduced the Anomoian opinion into their epistles, they sent them in all directions.' (transl. by Ph. Schaff and H. Wace).

became Diocletian and Galerius's capital, Constantinople itself, which rapidly developed into the capital of the eastern Christian empire, and even Serdica, which was briefly considered as a potential capital city by Constantine during his struggles with Licinius, Philippopolis was not considered to be a major power centre.

A notable gap in the record is the almost complete absence of significant public inscriptions in Late Antiquity. The only relevant fourth-century text is the inscription recently identified by Nicolay Sharankov relating to the reconstruction of the stage building of the theatre at Philippopolis by a provincial governor ca. AD 305[21]. This work occurred during the period when the Tetrarchic re-organisation of the provinces in the Thracian diocese was under way, and Philippopolis received particular attention when it was confirmed as the capital of Thracia. The theatre was probably not only the city's most important public building, but also provided the setting for major ceremonial and official business at this period (**fig. 5**). The situation may be fruitfully compared with the nearly contemporary reconstruction of the theatre at Pisidian Antioch in the governorship of Valerius Diogenes between AD 310 and 313, when that city became the administrative centre of the new province of Pisidia[22]. However, subsequently not a single emperor or imperial official of the fourth and fifth centuries is commemorated by a public inscription at Philippopolis, until the epigraphic silence was broken, remarkably, by the four-line Latin epigram that identified a statue of Leo's general (and later usurper) Basiliscus in AD 471, an inscription that may have been set up after Philippopolis was relieved from the threat posed by the forces of the Gothic warlord Theoderic Strabo[23].

How should we interpret or explain this epigraphic silence? A standard approach to the history of the fourth century is to see this as a period of revival after the crises and catastrophes of the third century. Diocletian and his colleagues in the tetrarchy, Constantine and Licinius, Constantine as sole ruler and his sons who split the empire are collectively judged by history to have restored the Roman empire to something like its former levels of peace and internal security. This may be a correct overall assessment of the fifty-year period during which Roman order was imposed on the empire, but the innovations and developments of this period were above all focused on the central institutions of the state: administrative structures, especially the creation of new smaller provinces and the system of *dioeceses*; new and more systematic approaches to taxation based on the poll and land tax, which may have led to fairer, as well as more efficient taxation; military reforms to the army, and a restructuring of other aspects of state administration. However, none of this had direct consequences for the development of provincial communities. By comparison with the previous hundred years there was very little public building in the cities of the empire in the period from AD 250-350. There is no decisive evidence from Philippopolis to suggest that the city was an exception to this general pattern. This even applies to religious structures. The rapid spread of Christianity under Constantine was not immediately reflected in church building. With some notable exceptions in major eastern centres, which relied on imperial patronage or the hosting of major church councils, very few new churches can be dated to the first half of the fourth century AD, and most middle-order cities had to

[21] Sharankov 2014; see also p. 73 and pp. 105-106 in this volume.

[22] Christol / Drew-Bear 1999, 39-71; with further observations by Christol 2013 and 2014.

[23] *AE* 1937, 98 = 1941, 138 = 1948, 43 = 1950, 83; Beševliev 1964, 206; *Hic est, quem cernis, equitum / peditumque magister, / consul, patricius imperiiq(ue) / parens, / ipse triumphator (r)ediit nunc / victor ab orbe. / Gloria Romanis tu, Basilisce, / tuis.* 'The man you can see is *magister equitum* and *magister peditum*, consul, patrician, father of the empire and himself celebrator of triumphs; he has returned victorious from the world. You, Basiliscus, are a glory to your Romans'.



Fig. 5. The stage building of the theatre at Philippopolis and a view across the city to the south (photo: S. Mitchell)

wait until the time of Theodosius I before churches were built for large congregations[24]. In other words, the picture of urban recession, which is seen in the middle and second half of the third century, continued at least up to the middle of the fourth century. This overall picture of stagnation helps to provide an explanation for the Emperor Julian's short-lived attempts to return power to the cities, allowing them to raise their own taxes, and aiming to create a new balance between cities and imperial authorities (Mitchell 2015, 82).

The cities of Thrace, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis and Marcianopolis, appear to have stood out as islands of relative security in a turbulent region in the fourth century, engulfed by war or the threat of war both from barbarian invaders and settlers, and from rival Roman imperial armies. By contrast, provincial centres in Asia Minor along the major east-west road axis, including Nicomedia and Ancyra, as well as Thessalonica, a major but not easily accessible neighbor of Philippopolis to the south, achieved the status of imperial residences. It is hazardous to make direct comparisons in assessing the historical standing of ancient cities, because the conditions for the preservation of evidence vary unpredictably according to local circumstances, but a direct comparison between Philippopolis and Ancyra indicates that Ancyra could profit from the security of its location in a way that was impossible for Philippopolis. Ancyra, capital city of the province of Galatia, was about the same distance from Constantinople as Philippopolis but maintained a higher fourth-century profile than its Thracian counterpart. The city's inscriptions during this period include five imperial bases: three for Constantine, all erected at the moment that he took sole power in the East, November AD 324; one for Julian, set up when he spent two weeks in the city on his way to Syrian Antioch in June AD 362; and one marking an act of Christian devotion on behalf of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius around AD 400[25]. There is also a verse epitaph for a provincial governor of Galatia (*I. Ankara* 2, # 362). Fourth century inscriptions in general are rare at Ancyra, as they are at Philippopolis. The corpus includes only fifteen gravestones dating to the period AD 300-450, compared to about ten times that number in the century from AD 450-550, although these include a verse epitaph for a provincial governor (*I. Ankara* 2, # 350-364). In the first half of the fifth century texts from Ancyra explicitly document a substantial new secular building programme (*I. Ankara*

[24] For a recent survey of the meagre evidence for early fourth century church-building in Anatolia, see Niewöhner 2016, 295-308.

[25] See Mitchell / French, forthcoming (= *I. Ankara* 2), # 329-331 (Constantine), 332 (Julian), 333 (Arcadius and Honorius).

2, # 334-335). The letters of Libanius demonstrate that Ancyra was an important educational centre from the AD 350s to the 380s, and other literary and juridical sources show that Ancyra served for short periods as an imperial residence. Julian spent two weeks in the city in AD 362 en route for Antioch and the Persian expedition; his successor Jovian was inaugurated as consul in the city in January 364; Valens used Ancyra as a headquarters during his war with the usurper Procopius, and his third son was born in the city in January 366; Arcadius used Ancyra as a summer residence in several years between AD 397 and 405[26]. Philippopolis, by contrast, was beset by chronic insecurity which hindered its development as a major provincial centre of Late Antiquity. 'Hard times', a term which can be applied to many civic histories in the age of Diocletian and Constantine, continued later in the fourth century in the Thracian cities than they did in the protected interior of Asia Minor. Many recent archaeological discoveries in Plovdiv clearly underline the city's resilience through Late Antiquity until the later sixth century, and Philippopolis serves as an excellent demonstration of the survival capacity of fortified Roman cities even during hard times. However, the recurring and abiding threat from Goths, Huns and later Avars set clear limits to civic development.

[26] For the documentation see Foss 1977, 31-87 and *I. Ankara* 2, chapter 1.

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Late Antique Mesembria: (Re)Shaping of Public Spaces

Hristo PRESHLENOV

Abstract: From the 5th c. BC to the 9th c. AD three defensive walls were built in Mesambria between the slope of the Young Karangatian marine terrace, bordered by a steep abrasion-type shore, and the underwater terrace which corresponds to the Phanagorian regression around the city-peninsula. They defended the Classical and Hellenistic city of Mesambria, the Roman city, and the Early Byzantine Mesembria. The course of the fortifications did not follow the antique coastal line, but was rather attempted to stay close to the base of the peninsular slope. In the Early Hellenistic period on the terraced northwestern slope of the peninsula, south of the supporting wall a temple *in antae* was built dedicated to Zeus Hyperdexios. During the construction of the Northwestern Early Christian basilica, the pagan buildings were destroyed. In the center of the Late antique Mesambrian entrance square the two main urban streets meet; traditionally they connect the country roads with the central and the harbour zone. Between them, to the southwest of the temple of Demeter, is another basilica. The street running along the north of the basilica leads to the central urban area, where the basilica St. Sophia was probably built in the *temenos* of Apollo's temple. From the trade and administrative center along the orthogonal, west-east oriented street network one reaches the highest eastern part of the peninsular terrace. The medieval church St. George the Oldest inherited topographically an Early Christian basilica. Another basilica was built in the northeastern urban zone, with adjoining *necropoleis* from the 7th, 12th and 13th–14th c. AD.

Key words: urban design, urban planning, architecture, public spaces, liturgical architectural environment.

Approach

The political municipality is typical for the antique civilization. Its material medium is the city. The planning and spatial composition, infrastructure, architectural types and ensembles are formed according to its specific rules and norms. They provide conditions for the realization of its functions, while giving it a unique face and monumentality. The material remnants of the Roman and Early Christian culture that survived throughout the years preserved the memory of their creators and act as mediators between generations and cultures and the material code of their traditions and development. In this regard, the public spaces of Late antique and Early Christian Mesembria are understood as a material representation of a city's facts of life, in a period when the fight for physical survival and spiritual ascension to God dominated.

The study focuses on the historical topography of the public urban spaces, which were shaped again into a different spatial form and used for the same or other public purposes during Late and *Post*-Antiquity in Mesembria: the fortifying devices used to protect and decorate that town center and dependent on the withdrawing coast of abradant type; historically formed street network, defined by the topography of the

city-peninsula; emblematic Christian Holy Heights – the basilicas, which reshaped the traditional sacred *topoi*.

The mapped archaeological and historical evidence reveal a "moving" spatial development and transformations of streets, plots and buildings. As the town was neither systematically razed, nor rebuilt in the Greek-Roman period, certain elements (streets, plots, public buildings) of the "plan units" survived and must have been re-used. Thus, if the street lay-out did not evolve too drastically, still following the lines of the Hellenistic and Roman grid-pattern, then other sites may have survived, and a reconstruction of the public physiognomy of the city inside the walls is thus possible.

Utilized public *topoi* and artefacts

City walls

"… to be beautiful as well as militarily adequate..."
(Arist. *Pol.* 7.11.1331a10)

The west fortifications of Mesambria were meant to reinforce the peninsula, vulnerable from the isthmus connecting it to the land, and to protect the Northern and Southern Bays of Nesebăr where the harbours of the *polis* were situated (**fig. 1**). From the 5th c. BC to the 9th c. AD three defensive walls were built. They defended the Classical and Hellenistic city of Mesambria in the 5th–1st c. BC, the Roman city in 1st–4th c. AD, and the Early Byzantine Mesambria in the 5th–8th c. AD from the west (**fig. 2**).

The ruins of the pre-Roman fortification have been revealed under the Roman and the Early Byzantine walls, either in front of their curtain walls or crossed by them (Venedikov 1980, 37-39, fig. 17) (**fig. 3**). The Western gate was to the north of the northern end of the Early Byzantine gate which reused its place (Venedikov 1980, 38, 39). During the construction of the new fortifications in the Roman and Early Byzantine period, the pre-Roman wall was preserved slightly above its substructure for the additional reinforcement of the ground (Venedikov et al. 1969, 37; Venedikov 1980, 51, 52, 53). North and south of the entrance three rows from the Roman fortified wall have been preserved. Rectangular blocks from the pre-Roman fortifica-



Fig. 1. Nesebăr Peninsula during the third quarter of the 20th c. (from the photo archive of L. Ognenova-Marinova)

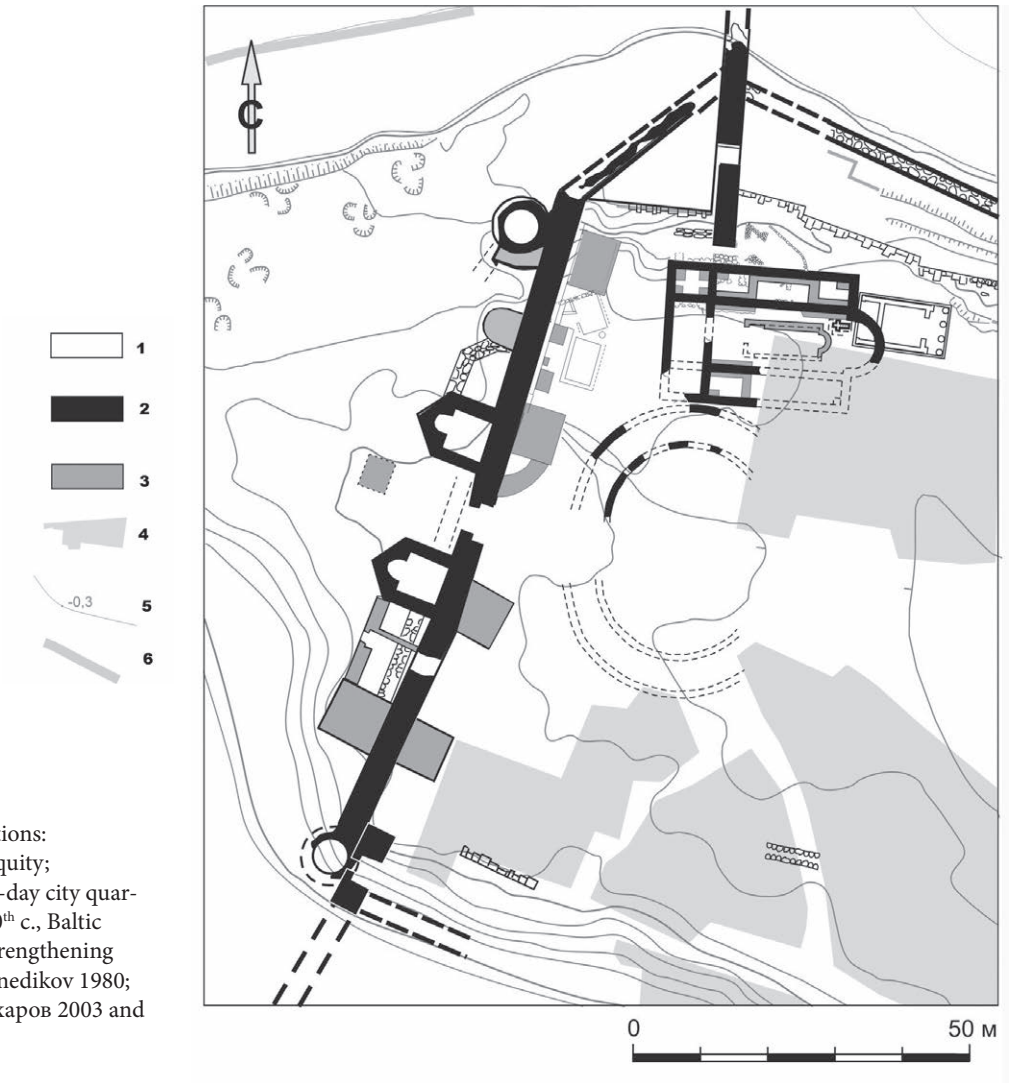


Fig. 2. Western fortifications: **1** Antiquity; **2** Late Antiquity; **3** Middle ages; **4** present-day city quarters; **5** coastline of the 20th c., Baltic System; **6** present-day strengthening of the seashore (after Venedikov 1980; Шкорпил А 457; Кожухаров 2003 and H. Preshlenov)

tions were being reused (Venedikov et al. 1969, 88, 91, 94; Venedikov 1969a, 125, 126; Venedikov 1969b, 155). The walkway of the Roman entrance was preserved in Late Antiquity and the new pentagonal gate towers are built on the foundations of Roman, probably rectangular, towers. The construction of the Roman walls dates to Marcus Aurelius' rule (Venedikov 1969a, 130, 131, 144-145, 148; Venedikov et al. 1969, 39-40, 46). After the collapse of the town walls, an Early Byzantine curtain in *opus mixtum* was built around the second half of the 5th c. AD (Venedikov 1969b, 155-156, 159). The ditch for the substructure of the wall touches the eastern face of the pre-Roman curtain. Some of its dismantled blocks were reused (Venedikov et al. 1969, 85). The pentagonal gate towers and the two circular towers were added in the corners of the new wall. The wall expanded to the east of the Roman foundations (Venedikov et al. 1969, 83; Venedikov 1969a, 144-145, 149, 150-151). Repair work and reconstruction of already existing towers had been carried out, and perhaps two solid interval towers had been built before the destruction of the fortress by the Bulgars in AD 812 (Venedikov 1969a, 152-154; 1969b, 158).

The ruins of the fortifications, which once protected the peninsula from attacks by sea, were discovered between the shelf terrace at 4-5 m and the sea terrace 12 m above sea level, where the Classical and Late antique city is situated. The tracing of the fortifications did not follow

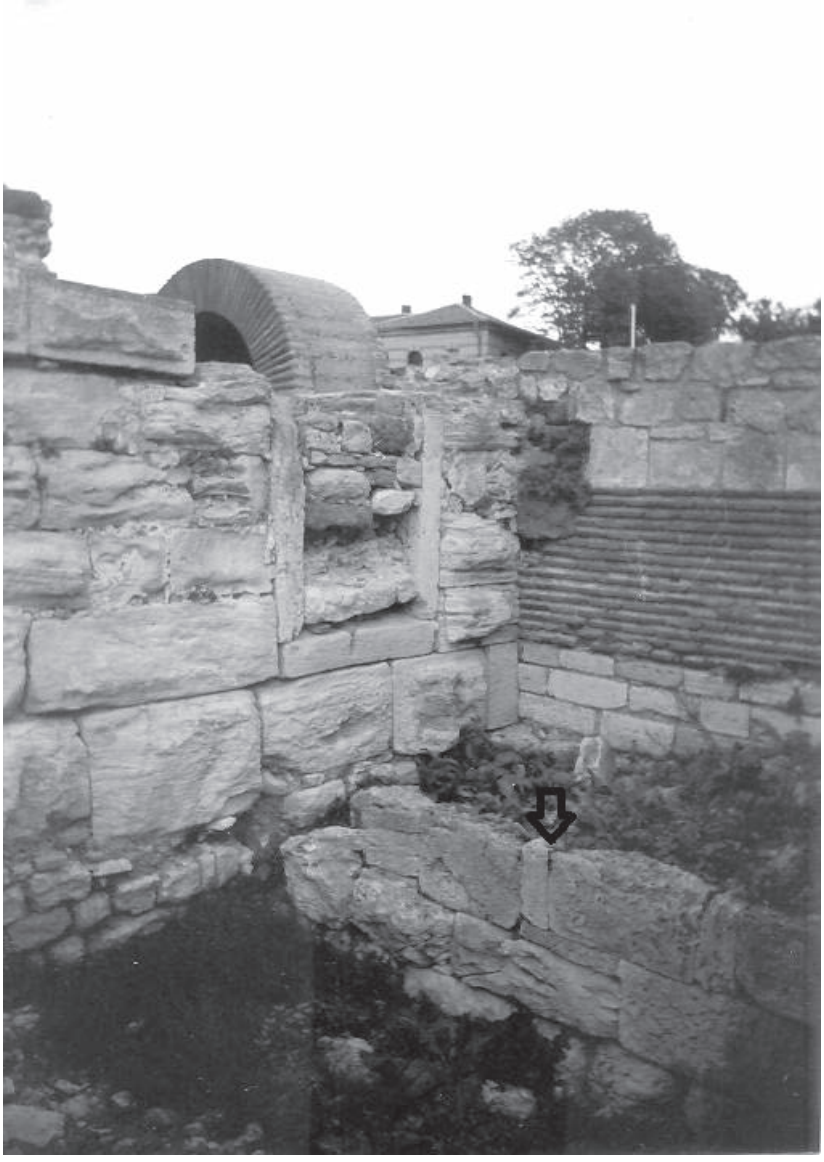


Fig. 3. Pre-Roman fortification wall by the Southern Late antique gate tower (photo: H. Preshlenov)

the ancient coastal line, but rather was attempted to be close to the base of the peninsular slope (**fig. 4**).

The wall in *opus mixtum* was built on the northeastern shore of the peninsula and in the bay north of the present-day coastline (Венедиков 1960, 9; Велков / Кехлибаров 1961, 5-7; Огненова 1975, 43, 44; Ognenova-Marinova 1980, 98). It was a continuance of the Late antique wall in *opus mixtum*, building up on land the pre-Roman wall (Venedikov 1980, 26-37, fig. 13; Огненова 1975, 44; Ognenova-Marinova 1980, 105, fig. 14) (**fig. 4/1; fig. 5.1**). The northern end of the wall was probably accessible for shallow draught boats, but their basic purpose was related to the defense of the peninsula by land. According to bathymetric data, by the end of the Early Byzantine period at least 87 m of these walls had been built on land. They can be defined as *diateichismata*, meant to block the skirting of the fortress from the north. The coastline west and east of the Early Byzantine *diateichisma* was also included in the fortified urban zone. A fortification wall was built in *opus mixtum*. Access to the newly defended territory was via an arched doorway in the *diateichisma* (Venedikov 1980, 26-27, 33, 73, fig. 7, 10, 13, 14, 16 and 19).

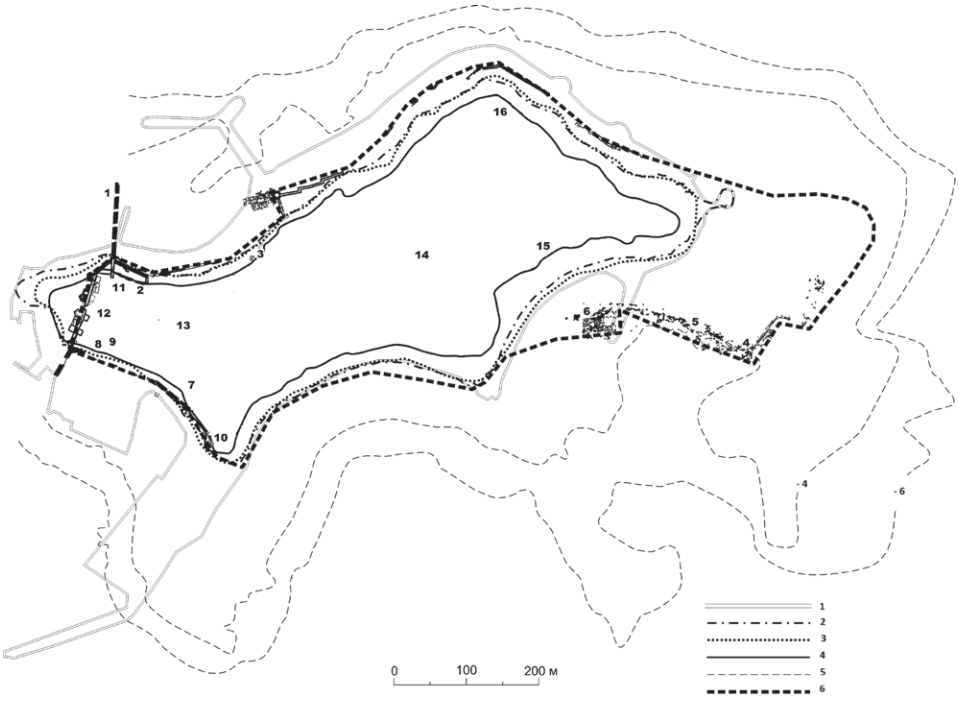


Fig. 4. Location plan-scheme of the urban spaces mentioned in the text: **1** strengthening of the seashore, beginning of the 21st c.; **2** coastal line, third quarter of the 20th c.; **3** coastal line, first quarter of the 20th c.; **4** sea terrace (8-12 m), mid-20th c.; **5** sea bottom, 20th c.; **6** fortifications, mid-1st millennium BC – mid-1st millennium AD (after Шкорпил А 457; Venedikov 1980; Ognenova-Marinova 1980; НЕК Юнеско А / 1984; Sasselov 2005 and H. Preshlenov)

A supporting terrace wall was constructed at the end of the 5th – the beginning of the 4th c. BC of irregular pseudo-isodomic masonry east of the pre-Roman *diateichisma* along the 1st and the 2nd isohypse. Its construction overcomes the displacement and supports the slope of the peninsula also in Late Antiquity (Venedikov 1980, 41, 51, 67, 74) (**fig. 4/2; fig. 5/2**).

Solid walls and towers were built of stone, brick or *opus mixtum* masonry on the upper part of the cliff slope. Obviously they mark the permanent course of the city defenses during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages along the northeastern cliff slope of the peninsula (Шкорпил А/165/457, 17, 18) (**fig. 4/3**). The dimensions and the construction of one of the wall-sections are identical to those of the sea-walls by the Southern Mesambrian harbour (Шкорпил А/165/457, 9, 11, 18; Sasselov 2005, 127, 129, 130-132, 154-156, fig. 9). Hypothetically, it is possible that some of the fortification facilities along the northern shore of Nesebăr Peninsula were a result of medieval repair works and reconstruction of the Early Byzantine defences, established at other fortress sections during the 6th–7th c., in AD 879, 1064-1067, and in the 14th c. Reconstruction *a fundamentis* of the Late antique walls has not been recorded (Venedikov 1969a, 158, 160, 162; Прешленов 2011, 313-314).

In the southeastern territorial waters of the peninsula the sections of the three ancient fortifications was investigated. Between the fifth and the sixth isobath the crescent-line wall, built of large roughly processed blocks leveled by oak timber, was associated with the Thracian presence on the peninsula before the Dorian settlement (НЕК Юнеско А 1977, 6, фиг. 8-13, прил. [1]; НЕК Юнеско А 1978, 17-21, фиг. 9-14, прил. 1 and 2; Огненова-Маринова 1980, 28; Ognenova-Marinova 1990, 128, Tav. VI) (**fig. 4/4; fig. 6**). A section of the Classical wall was discovered above the 4th isobath, northeast of the crescent-line wall (**fig. 4/5; fig. 7**). It is built mainly of rectangular-shaped blocks (НЕК Юнеско А 1984, 9-10, фиг. 1, 6 and 9-14;



Fig. 5. 1 Northern Late antique *diateichisma* and **2** the pre-Roman supporting wall (photo: H. Preshlenov)

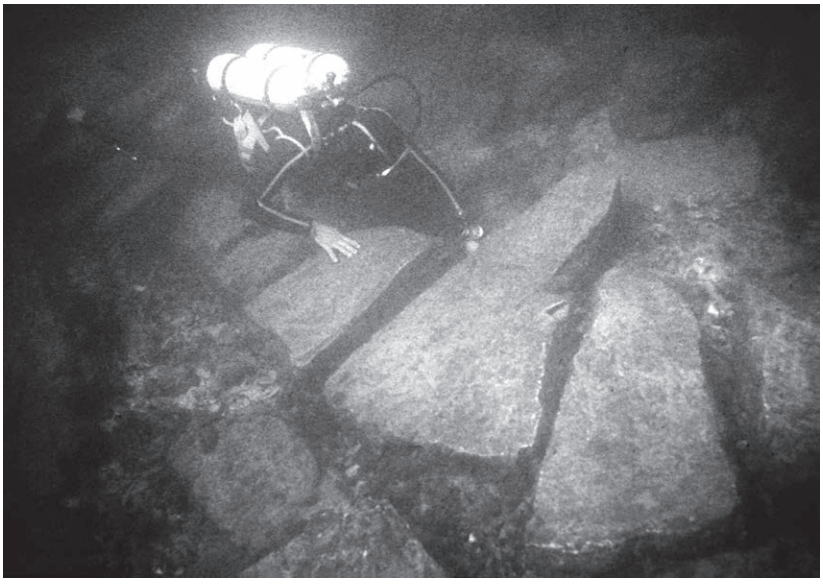


Fig. 6. Crescent-line wall (photo: B. Zhablenski)

прил. 1 and 3; Трифонова 1985, 50, 53). A few pieces of the Late antique curtain in *opus mixtum* were discovered west of the Classical wall, brought down in an arc-like way at a depth of 2.50 m (**fig. 4/6; fig. 8**). Part of the substructure of the wall section has visible traces of reinforcement by piles and a wooden grille (НЕК Юнеско А 1979, 11, фиг. 4-7, прил. 1, 3 and 4).

The southwestern fortification has similar chronological and topographical characteristics to that of the northwestern coastline of the peninsula. During the end of the 5th – the beginning of the 4th c. BC the front part of the peninsular terrace in the direction of the 11th isohypse, was fortified by a wall of coarse stone blocks (Кияшкина / Димова 2007, 312-313, обр. 2) (**fig. 4/7**). To the northwest, a section of a "zigzag (?) line-terrace-wall" was built during the second half of the 4th– the first half of the 3rd c. BC of gray stone blocks (Огненова-Маринова et al. 1986, 80) (**fig. 4/8; fig. 9**). A part of the foundations of a thick wall between the 7th and the 8ht isohypse was registered to the northeast (unpublished observation by D. Kozhuharov in 1993) (**fig. 4/9**). A part of the wall with the same orientation, which belonged to the Hellenistic



Fig. 7. Southeastern pre-Roman fortified wall (photo: B. Zhablenski)

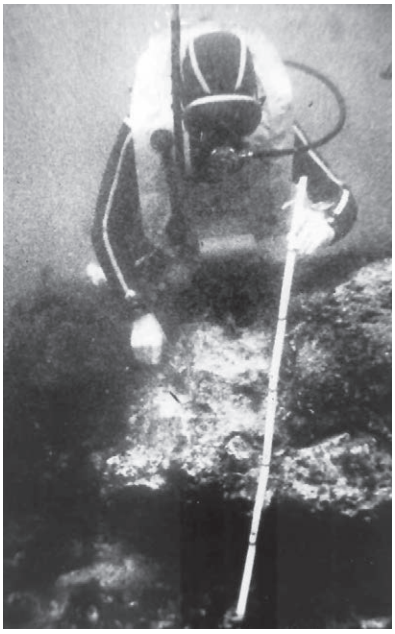


Fig. 8. Southeastern Late antique fortified wall (photo: B. Zhablenski)

defenses, was discovered in front of the foundation. It is built of coarse limestone blocks (Кияшкина / Димова 2007, 313, обр. 3) (**fig. 4/7**).

During the construction of the Late antique fortified wall in *opus mixtum* during the 5th c. AD the new fortification was shifted southwards at the foot of the peninsular slope between the 1st and the 5th isohypse. During the Middle Ages and the 19th-20th c. the approach toward the southern harbour topographically inherited the passage space of the Greco-Roman and Early Byzantine harbour gate (**fig. 4/10; fig. 10**). The Mesambrian section shares some similarities with the Theodosian sea-walls in Constantinople (Sasselov 2005, 127, 129-132, 154, 156, fig. 9). The masonry corresponds to the walls in *opus mixtum* used at the large-scale fortification works in Mesambria from the second half of the 4th to the end of the 6th c. BC, as well as to the repair and reconstruction works till the end of the 9th c. AD (Venedikov 1969a, 126-127, 138; Venedikov 1980, 34-35, 36). Perhaps the "sea"-walls follow closely the Late antique coastline and join the western fortified wall by its southern round tower. In the beginning of the 20th c. to the southwest of the bay the ruins of the southern *diateichisma* were still visible (Шкорпил А 165/457, 16, 17). Similar to the northern *diateichisma,* it hindered movement along the walls toward the Southern harbour gate.

The medieval Mesambria was politically and militarily contested by Bulgars and Byzantines during the the 9th, the 11th, and the 14th c. AD, only reconstructions and repairs were made and some new towers were added to the already existing Late antique defensive system. After the capture of the city by the Turks in the 15th c., the fortress was left without maintenance and only partial repairs were made (Venedikov 1969a, 160-162; Ognenova-Marinova 1969, 96-97, 102, 106-107; Ognenova 1988, 573-574).

Public places

"… The city – this is the people ..."
(Thuc. 7.77.7)

In conformity with the urban planning traditions of east Mediterranean *poleis* centers erected on steep slopes, some buildings in Mesambria were constructed on artificially formed terraces (**fig. 11**). In the Early Hellenistic period on the terraced northwestern slope of the peninsula, south of the supporting wall, a temple *in antae* was built in Doric order dedicated to Zeus Hyperdexios (Ognenova-Marinova 1994, 141; Velkov 2005, # 17) (**fig. 4/11; fig. 12**). Perhaps during the construction of the Northwestern Christian basilica the temple of Zeus was destroyed. Two rows of blocks from the southern wall of the temple were used to fill the substructure of the apse of the basilica (Прешленов forthcoming/A).

Epigraphic, iconographic and semantic evidence supports the existence of a *heroon* in this urban zone; inside the tombs the founders of the *polis* were honored as heroes, and during the Late Hellenistic period heroized citizens were buried here (Маразов 2004, 20, 25) (**fig. 4/11**). During the construction of the Northwestern Early Christian basilica the Hellenistic-Roman buildings were destroyed, probably in the beginning of the 5th c. AD. The initial construction stage of the basilica, based on stratigraphic data, took place from the end of the 4th till the last quarter of the 7th c. AD. Fragments of marble altar plates

were reused as *spolia* during its reconstruction in the third quarter of the 7th c. AD when it was transformed into a cross-dome church. Among its ruins in the 10th–11th c. a small cemetery was located. In the construction of one grave, a frieze block with metopes and triglyphs from the Zeus temple was reused. In the nave of the abandoned basilica, a single-cell church was erected (Кожухаров 2003, 372, 373, 374 ; Прешленов forthcoming/B).



Fig. 9. Southwestern pre-Roman supporting wall (photo: H. Preshlenov)



Fig. 10. Byzantine fortifications by the Southern harbour
(photo: H. Preshlenov)

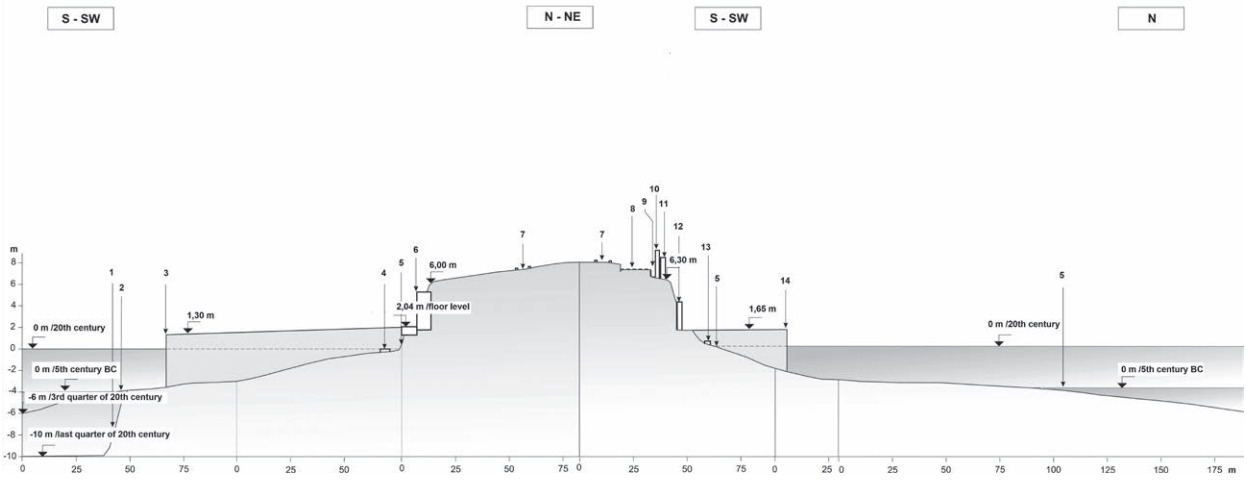


Fig. 11. Western topographic profile of the Nesebăr Peninsula: **1** present-day deepening sea bottom; **2** supposed coastline, 5th c. BC; **3** present-day quay territory; **4** southern *diateichisma*; **5** coastline, 20th c.; **6** Late antique round tower; **7** Late antique portico, supposed location; **8** floor level of the Early Christian basilica, reconstruction; **9** early Christian crypt, staircase; **10** apse of the Northwestern basilica, 5th – beginning of the 9th c. AD; **11** temple of Zeus Hyperdexios, Northern wall; **12** supporting wall, 5th – 4th c. BC; **13** Late antique fortified wall; **14** present-day strengthening of the seashore (by H. Preshlenov)



Fig. 12. Northwestern urban zone: **1** northern *diateichisma*; **2** northern supporting terrace wall; **3** Dorian temple of Zeus Hyperdexios; **4** Late antique fortified wall; **5** northern arc of the city square-*vestibulum*; **6** Early Christian crypt; **7** northwestern Early Christian basilica; **8** single-cell Medieval church (after Venedikov 1980; Кожухаров 2003; Прешленов forthcoming/A)

A cruciform vaulted single-chamber subterranean building, fragments of marble *sarcophagi* and a reliquary were discovered in the altar space of the basilica (Чимбулева 1991, 76; Кожухаров 2003, 372) (**fig. 11; fig. 13**). The 10th-century Byzantine *Synaxarion* of the Church of Constantinople contains data about a legendary *martyrium* of St. Irene in Mesambria, which attracted many pilgrims in the 4th c. AD (Soustal 1991, 355; Дражева 2002, 206). Undoubtedly the building in the altar area of the Northwestern Early Christian basilica served as a crypt which was preserved during the Middle Ages.

The approach from the south towards the *narthex* of the basilica, which inherited topographically the square area by the *heroon* and Zeus' *temenos*, was through the northern arc of the oval entrance to the city square *vestibulum* (measurment by H. Preshlenov; for the latest excavations, see Божкова / Кияшкина 2015, 294-297) (**fig. 11; fig. 4/12**). A street paved with stone slabs was built during the second half of the 12th c. over the ruins of the northern arc of the portico (Чимбулева 1990, 191).

In the center of the Mesambrian entrance square the two main urban streets meet; traditionally they connect the country roads with the central and the harbour zone (Иванчев 1957, 49). Between them, to the southwest of the temple of Demeter, under the foundations of the demolished mosque, is another basilica from the 5th–6th c. AD (**fig. 4/13**). A more plausible identification is the basilica St. Apostles Petrus and Paulus, which is topographically localized under the mosque (Огненова 1963; Ognenova-Marinova 2005b, 51, 53; Прешленов forthcoming/B).

The street delineating the basilica from the north leads to the central urban area. A few limestone and andesitic blocks formed a pavement, under which parts of fluted Doric columns were found (unpublished investigation of D. Kozhuharov and S. Dimova in 2002). The basilica St. Sophia was probably built in the area of the *temenos* of Apollo's temple, where some of the lapidary copies of the city decrees have been preserved (*IGBulg* I^2 307 *bis*, 308 *bis*, 308 *undecies*, 312) (**fig. 4/14**). An inscription in the basilica's foundations contained the names of Αδα and Δουτουβεη, whose liberation in the 4th–3rd c.

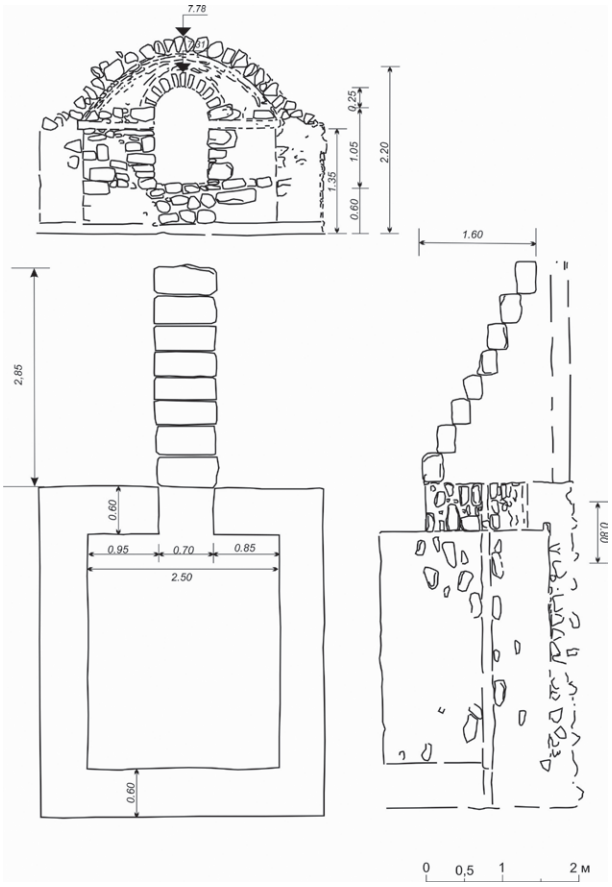


Fig. 13. Early Christian crypt (measurment by L. Marinov)

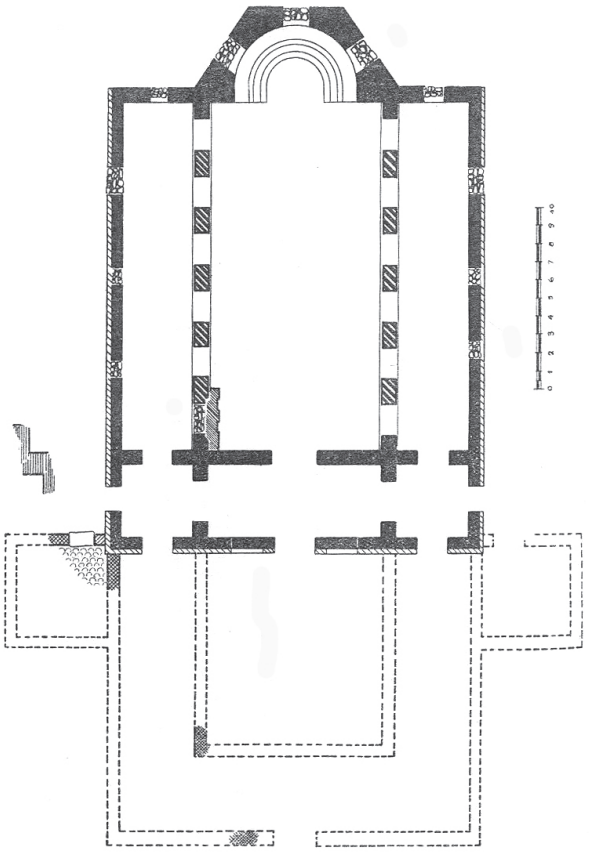


Fig. 14. The St. Sophia basilica (after Bojadžiev 1962)

BC was mediated by the priest of Apollo. In conformity with common practice, the inscription with their names was put on some of the walls of the sanctuary (Velkov 2005, # 25). The single-apse basilica was built between the first half and the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th c. AD (Bojadžiev 1962, 322-323, 333-334) (**fig. 14**). The initial plan was preserved during the renovation of the church which was burnt down after AD 618, according to the interpretation of two graffiti from the 2nd period of the basilica (Stanev 2009, 87-89, 94, 95, 99). The preserved part of the walls was built upon, the colonnades were replaced by mortar-and-tile pillars, and the atrium was abandoned (Bojadžiev 1962, 324-325, 327, 328, 330, 332, 334-335; Бояджиев 1996, 13). During the renovation, materials from the demolished church were reused. The pilasters at the eastern wall were walled in the small pillar of the initial chancel (Bojadžiev 1962, 325, 327; Станев 2007, 62-65) and also a marble cornice with the inscribed *Psalm* 101:2, paleographically dated to the 4th–5th c. (Velkov 1992, 20) or to the 5th–6th c. AD (Beševliev 1964, # 166) (**fig. 15**). St. Sophia was a liturgical church at least until the 17th c., since fragments of its wall painting from that time have been preserved (Шкорпил А 165/734, 2, 3, 5-8, 10-12; Bojadžiev 1962, 334-335).

From the trade and administrative center along the orthogonal, west-east oriented street network one reaches the highest eastern part of the peninsular terrace (Младенова 1986, 34). The church St. George the Oldest was located in the southeastern urban zone (**fig. 4/15; fig.**



Fig. 15. Mortar-and-tile renovation of the basilica St. Sophia (photo: H. Preshlenov)

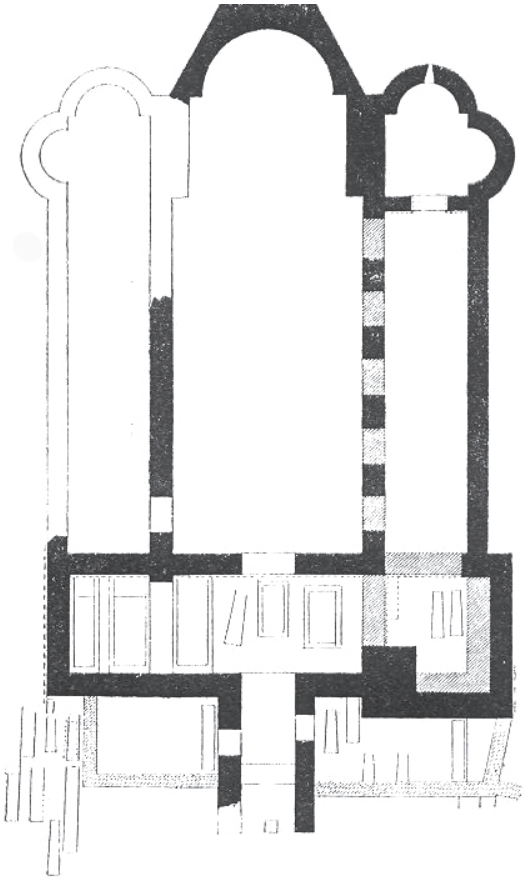


Fig. 17. Monastery basilica St. Virgin Eleusa (after Velkov 1946)

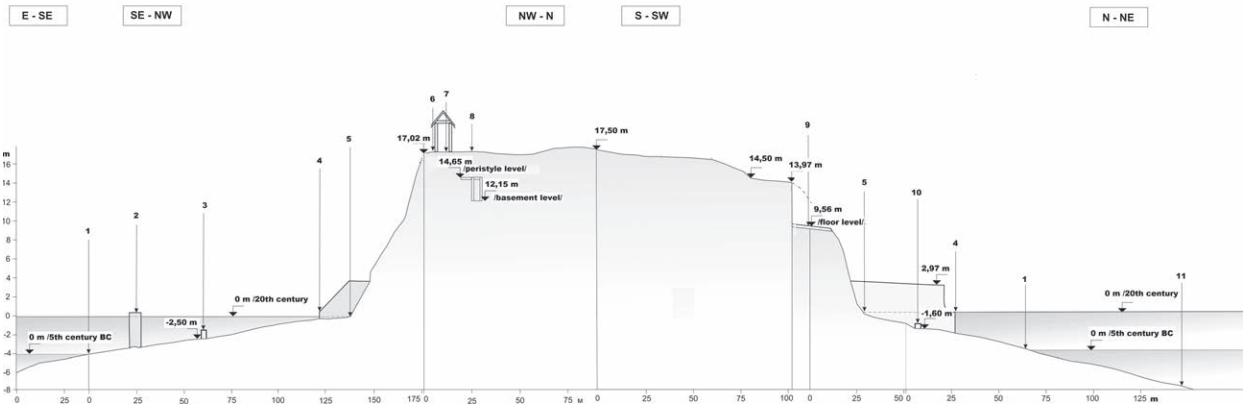


Fig. 16. Eastern topographic profile of the Nesebăr Peninsula: **1** supposed coastline, 5th c. BC; **2** present-day mole; **3** Late antique fortification wall; **4** present-day strengthening of the seashore; **5** coastline, 20th c.; **6** Early Christian basilica, supposed location; **7** St. George the Victorious ("The Oldest"), 18th-20th c.; **8** the house of Artemidoros; **9** St. Virgin Eleusa; **10** pre-Roman fortification wall; **11** stonebed (by H. Preshlenov)

16). A commemorative inscription announces its renovation in 1704 (Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 97-98). During its demolition in 1958, *spolia* from an Early Christian church were discovered inside its walls – parts of marble columns and bases, a capital (6th c. AD), part of a chancel, a brick with a stamp of Justinian I, three Early Christian inscriptions and graves from the 5th–6th c. AD under its foundations, as well as from the 13th–14th and 18th–19th c. AD (Ognenova-Marinova 2005a, 12-14).

The medieval church inherited topographically an Early Christian basilica. It was built in a sparsely built-up area in the Roman period, over a stratum of ruins of Hellenistic houses and furnaces. With the abrasion of the cliff slope of the peninsular terrace, the remains of the Early Christian basilica collapsed into the sea.

Another Early Christian basilica was built in the northeastern urban zone, on the territory of the Monastery St. Virgin Eleusa (Прешленов 2009, 197-198, 199) (**fig. 4/16; fig. 16**). Along with its adjoining *necropoleis* from the 7th, 12th and 13th–14th c. AD, it was located between the 9th and 10th isohypse of the leveled front part of the peninsular terrace. Chronologically related to its initial construction are the graves in the *necropolis* west of the monastery which date to the first half of the 7th c. AD – cist-graves constructed of and covered with stone slabs, and simple pit graves, some surrounded by stones (Божкова et al. 2007, 250; 2008, 307) and perhaps the vaulted and tombs at the narthex (Велков А 83/65, 32-35).

The two renovations of the church date before the 15th c. AD (**fig. 17**). Traces of the first along the southern wall and at the southern section of the narthex can be related to the Iconoclastic period in Byzantium after AD 754 or to the conquest of the city by the Bulgars in AD 812 (Velkov 1946, 67; Прешленов 2009, 198-199). During the second change in the basilica, most spaces between the mortar-and-tile pillars in the nave were blocked up and obviously the southern aisle was most often used for liturgies. In stone graves at the northern aisle and the nave coins of the Komnenian dynasty and pottery from the 13th–14th c. AD were discovered (Velkov 1946, 68; Велков А 83/65, 35, 37, 42, 44-45). The changes in the composition-plan were not executed later than AD 1341/1342, whence the donation inscription about the renovation of the monastery-church dates. After the Turkish conquest, the church was burnt down. As a result of the withdrawal of the cliff, which continued during the Middle Ages, the northern nave of the monastery basilica St. Virgin Eleusa collapsed into the sea. The increase of the sea level from the mid-2nd millennium and the earthquakes of 1688, 1778 and 1855 seemingly prevented attempts at restoration of the liturgy in the abandoned church as well (Прешленов 2009, 199-200; Preshlenov 2008, 54-55).

Conclusion

The (Late) antique structures of Mesambria are located on the Young Karangatian marine terrace, bordered by a steep abrasion-type shore. The city plan and spatial composition inherit the compact structure of the antique *polis*, which traditionally was oriented along a west-east axis, and was laid out regardless of the topographical conditions.

The Mesambrian fortifications also take advantage of the characteristics of the local topography. Destructions of the "sea"-walls are observed between the slope of the marine and the underwater terrace, which corresponds to the Phanagorian regression. The course of the curtain wall often sought the proximity of the cliff slope, which is also justified by the step-by-step rise in the sea level.

The topography of the city-peninsula determines the direction of the city traffic. The importance of the two main axes in the west-east and north-south directions remains till the end of Late Antiquity and later. They traditionally connected the country roads, the central, the

northern and the southern harbour zones where the main gates of the *polis* were situated.

The composition of public buildings and squares along the main directions of the street network are also preserved. The elongated peninsula with degraded marine erosion cliffs, as well as the older urban pattern, probably forced the Roman-Byzantine town planners to use grids of different orientations. The morphological structure of this city network is succeeded by Nessebar's contemporary one, which is similar to that of every historically formed city and combines elements of rectangular-linear, axial, and free network.

As the town was neither systematically razed nor rebuilt, certain public elements of the city have survived. A "vestibule-type" square is constructed by the Western gate. It is tangent to the Northwestern basilica to the south, which takes up the space of a former pagan *heroon* and a temple of Zeus Hyperdexios. The oval of the square's porticos is a vanishing point of the three radiating streets. The southern one runs along the city reservoir and leads to the main harbour through the Southern gate. The central one passes by the basilica known as the Holy Apostles and connects with the southeastern residential area. The northern street reaches the central square with the Episcopal basilica, which takes up the space of a former temple of Apollo and the Southeastern basilica that was brought down into the sea in the Middle Ages. Short branches divide the traffic to the north – one leads to the northern harbour, between the basilica, succeeded by the church St. John the Baptist, and the public bath, and another – to the monastery basilica St. Virgin Eleusa, whose northern nave collapsed in the sea in the Middle Ages.

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The Roman Army and Roman Cities

Miroslava MIRKOVIĆ

Abstract: The incompatibility of the army and city life not only in Rome and Italy, but also in the provinces was respected from the beginning of Roman rule until the end of Antiquity. In Rome the army could be gathered on the *Campus Martius*, outside the City. Augustus disposed the legions along the frontier. Examples from the Danubian frontier prove that the military legionary and auxiliary camps were usually located not far from the city, but still at some distance, two or more miles from the civil settlement. Roman emperors in the 1st– 4th century encountered the difficulties of stationing the army when passing with troops from one part of the Empire to another, or during the wars on the frontiers: where to put the troops? In the following pages, the discussion about this issue will be limited to the examples of the big cities in the Eastern part of the Empire, Asia Minor and the Balkans: Constantinople, Nicomedia, Naissus, and Sirmium.

Key words: camping of the troops, *Hebdomon*, Constantinople, Mediana, Nicomedia, Sirmium.

Introduction

The presence of the army and soldiers *en masse* in cities was not allowed in the Roman State for a variety of reasons. In Rome the army could be gathered only outside the city, on the *Campus Martius*. An army in a city represents danger for the citizens and their property, even in peace time. Licentious soldiers could provoke disorder in different ways. Ancient authors usually inform us that the emperor and the army stayed temporarily in one city or another, but paid no attention to the problem of where the troops were lodged during the emperor's stay. Where should the troops be placed during shorter or longer periods of time spent in big cities, such as Constantinople, Nicomedia, Sirmium, Antioch, Alexandria, Mediolanum, and other urban centers? Excavations in Constantinople, Sirmium and Naissus did not bring to light any military camps in the territory of the cities which could receive a large contingency of military troops. For Nicomedia, Constantinople and Naissus it could be proved that the rule of incompatibility between the city and military camp was respected during the Later Roman Empire as well, not only by the legal emperors, but also by usurpers. For Sirmium the data is indirect: the milestones indicate that the army was located at a distance of three or five miles from the city.

Constantinople and *Hebdomon*

During the stay of emperors and usurpers in Constantinople, the army was camped at the seventh mile from the city, in *Hebdomon* (today Bakırköy), as stated in the sources[1]. *Hebdomon* was parallel to the

[1] Theoph. Simoc. 8.10.1 (p. 302 de Boor): ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἑβδόμῳ (τόπος δὲ οὗτος τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σημείων ἑπτὰ). Cedren. 1.641 (Bekker): εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίον ἑπτὰ σημείοις ἀπέχον.

Campus Martius in Rome. Speaking of Valens' proclamation as emperor, Ammianus Marcellinus mentioned that it happened in the suburbs (*suburbanum*) of Constantinople, without naming where, Amm. Marc. 26.4.3: *Indeque cum venisset Constantinopolim, multa secum ipse diu volvens et magnitudine urgentium negotiorum iam se superari considerans nihil morandum ratus, quintum Kalendas Aprilis, productum eundem Valentem in suburbanum, universorum sententiis concinentibus nec enim audebat quisquam refragari – Augustum pronunciavit..* etc. – "Then on his arrival in Constantinople, after much counsel with himself, […] on the twenty-eighth of March he brought the aforesaid Valens into one of the suburbs and with the consent of all proclaimed him Augustus"[2]. In his translation J. Rolfe notes that the place was called *Hebdomum* and also *Septimum*, because it was seven miles away from the city. Later other emperors were also proclaimed there. From *Hebdomon* Theodosius started his campaign against Eugenius; it is mentioned as the place where, beside Valens, the emperors Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II, as well as other early Byzantine emperors, such as Mauricius and Phocas, were proclaimed in the presence of the army, as was the custom. Even those who came to the throne illegally were proclaimed emperors by their troops not in Constantinople, but in *Hebdomon*. Basiliscus, who rebelled against Emperor Zeno, was proclaimed by his troops in this place in AD 475.

How disastrous the presence of soldiers in the city of Constantinople could be, is exemplified in the case of Gainas in about AD 400. He had left the majority of his troops in *Hebdomon*, but many of them stayed together with him in Constantinople. The soldiers, mostly Goths, spent their time plundering. Forced to leave the city, Gainas withdrew together with the troops, the cattle and the booty to *Hebdomon*, the place where Theodosius put together his army in preparation for the battle against Eugenius and built the church of St. John the Baptist before moving to the west, as explained in the source (Seeck 1913, vol. 5, 251).

Many monuments have been located in Hebdomon: Κάμπος τοῦ τριβουναλίου, Theoph. 1.291; barracks of Theodosius, καστέλλιν Θεοδοσιανῶν, Theoph. 1.297; palaces; cisterns; many churches, among them the one consecrated to St. John the Baptist (Janin 1964, 447 ff.). It could be compared with the buildings excavated in Mediana, not far from Naissus.

Mediana

For Naissus, it is directly proven that the army, together with both emperors, Valentinian and Valens, camped in Mediana (**fig. 1**), at a distance of three miles from the city. As recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, it was at this point that Valentinian and Valens divided the troops, the command and the staff. This event is described in Amm. Marc. 26.5.1 in some detail: *Acta igitur tranquillius hieme, concordissimi principes, unus nuncupatione praelatus, alter honori specie tenus adiunctus, percursis Thraciis Naessum advenerunt, ubi in suburbano, quod appellatum Mediana, a civitate tertio lapide disparatur, quasi mox separandi, partiti sunt comites.* – "So, then the emperors spent the winter quietly in perfect harmony, the one eminent through the choice that had fallen upon him, the other joined with him in the office, but only in appearance. After hastening through Thrace, they came to Naesus, where in a suburb called Mediana, at a distance of three miles

[2] Translation by J. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2, 586.

from the city, they shared the generals between them in view of their forthcoming separation"[3].

A palace, a cistern with an aqueduct, two granaries *(horrea)* and military barracks, and the remains of two churches were also discovered during the archaeological excavations in Mediana (Milošević 2011; Milošević et al. 2013; Vasić et al. 2016).

Even in the time after the Hunnic invasion, in the mid-fifth century, when the Roman frontier was removed from the Danube to the south in the line of Naissus, the ancient rule not to have soldiers in the city – although it was ruined by this time – was respected. The embassy sent from Constantinople in AD 448 to Attila found Agintheus, the commander of the Roman military forces in Illyricum, not in Naissus, but at some distance from the city[4], probably in Mediana.

Nicomedia

The meeting place of troops in Nicomedia was three miles away from the city, as directly confirmed in Lactantius. Diocletian convoked the army in AD 305 in Nicomedia in order to make public his decision to retire from power and to announce the coming of the new *Augusti*, Galerius and Maximinus Daia. This happened in the presence of the army assembled on a hill, three miles from the city of Nicomedia, as Lactantius records in *De mortibus persecutorum* 19.1-2:

Cum haec essent constituta, proceditur Kalendis Mais. Constantinum omnes intuebantur; *milites qui aderant et primores militum electi et acciti ex legionibus in hunc unum intenti gaudebant, optabant et vota faciebant. Erat locus altus extra civitatem ad milia fere tria in cuius summo Maximianus ipse purpuram sumpserat et ibi columna fuerat erecta cum Iovis signo. Eo pergitur. Contio militum convocatur in qua senex cum lacrimis alloquitur milites,* etc. – "After deciding this, they proceeded to the action on 1 May. The gaze of all was upon Constantine, no one had any doubt; the soldiers who were present, the military officers who had been chosen and summoned from the legions, had eyes only for him; they were delighted with him, they wanted him, they were making their prayers for him. There was some high ground just under three miles out of the city, on whose summit Maximian himself had assumed the purple and on which a column had been erected with a symbol of Jupiter. It was to this point that they proceeded. A meeting of the troops was called there"[5].

The troops assembled there were probably from the Eastern part of the Empire and were under the command of Diocletian and Galerius[6].

It is clear that the army was not in the city of Nicomedia, the seat of Diocletian.

Sirmium

Located at some distance from the frontier on the Danube, Sirmium was convenient to serve as the starting point for the wars of the Emperors Domitian and Marcus Aurelius, and often in the Later Roman period, during the wars against the Quadi, Marcomanni, Sarmati, and the German tribes that lived along the Danube. It was a base where the emperors and troops who took part in the expeditions camped. There is reason to believe that the army, gathered for a campaign or other reasons, was located outside the city. The evidence is indirect. Distances of three or five miles appear on milestones, without naming the station.

[3] Translation by J. Rolfe.

[4] Prisc. Pan. *fr.* 8; Cf. Martindale, *PLRE* 2, s.v. Agintheus.

[5] Translation by J. L. Creed (1984).

[6] There is no reason to believe that only a *comitatus* was present, as suggested by Creed 1984, 100, who quotes it as Moreau's opinion: salutation was made by all troops temporarily under the command of the emperors.

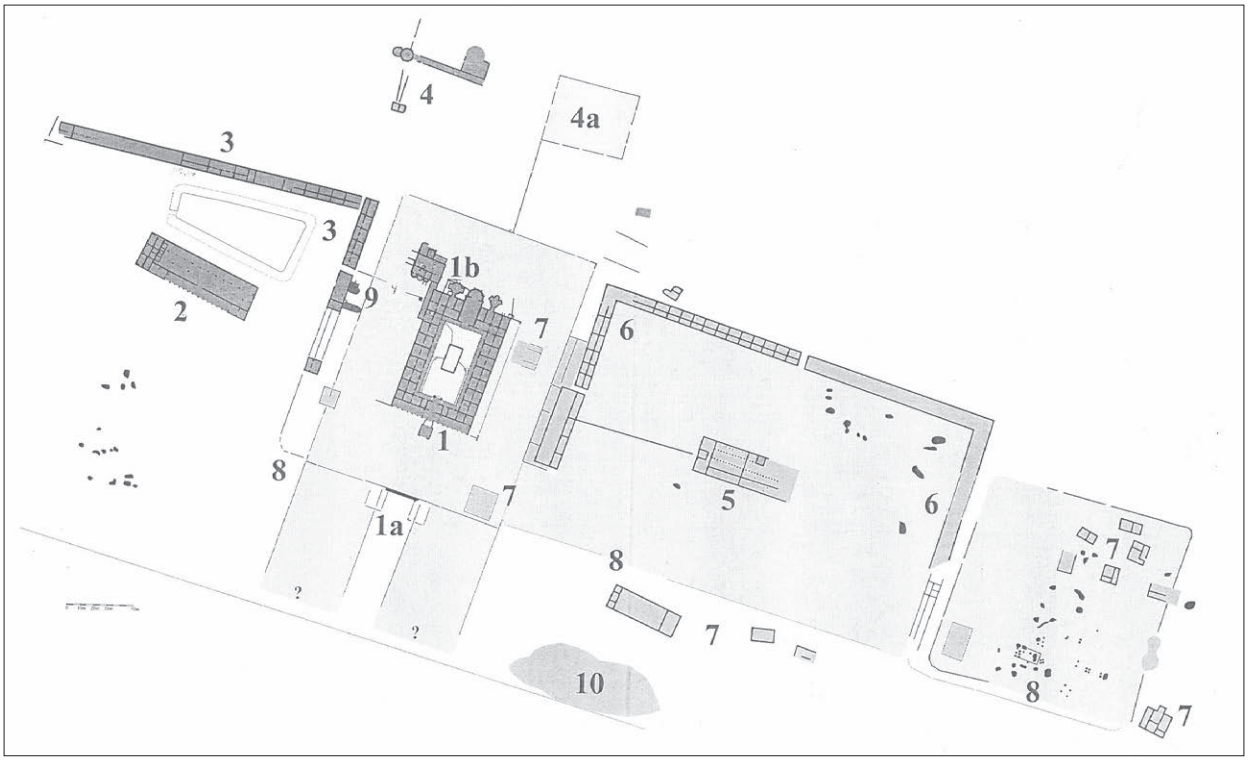


Fig. 1. Mediana, plan of the city (by G. Milošević): **1** residential complex; **1a** ancient gate; **1b** *thermae*; **2** *horreum* 1; **3** western military barracks; **4-4a** villa with an octagonal plan and a court-yard (a stable for horses?); **5** *horreum* 2 (after geo-physical investigation); **6** eastern barracks (after geo-physical investigation); **7** unidentified buildings (after geo-physical investigations); **8** enclosure wall (after geo-physical investigations); **9** early Christian churches; **10** necropolis

Two of them were found at a short distance of 4 km to the east of the city, on the Crepovac farm. One milestone dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius was erected in AD 161, and another was dedicated to Septimius Severus by the governor of Pannonia Inferior, Claudius Claudianus, in AD 198 in the same place; both at the third mile from Sirmium.

AD 161: *CIL* III 10615; Mirković, *Sirmium* 1, # 92:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aurel(ius) | *Antoninus Aug(ustus)* | *trib(uniciae) potest(atis) XV co(n)s(ul) III et* | *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Aurel(ius)* | *Verus Aug(ustus)* | *trib(unicia) potest(atis)* | *co(n)s(ul) II* | *divi Antonini fili* | *divi Hadriani nepotes* | *divi Traiani Pa[r]thici* | *pronepotes* | *divi Nervae abnepotes* | *Sirmi* | *m(ilia) p(assuum) III.*

AD 198: *CIL* III 10616; Mirković, *Sirmium* 1, # 93.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) | *L. Sept(imio) Seve*|*ro Pio Pert(inaci)* | *Aug(usto) Arab(ico)* | *Adiab(enico) Part(hico) [m(aximo)]* | *[div(i) Marci f(ilio)] div(i) Commodi] fr(atri)* | *divi Anton(ini) Pi(i) nep(oti)* | *divi Had(riani) pron(e)p(oti)* | *div(i) Tr(aiani) Part(hici abn(e) p(oti)* | *div(i) Ner(vae) abn(e)p(oti) p(atri) p(atriae)* | *imp(eratori) XI tr(ibuniciae) p(otestatis) VI co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) et* | *Imp(eratori) M. Aur(elio) Ant(onino) Aug(usto) L. Sep(timii)* | *Sever(i) Pert(inaci) Aug(usti) n(ostri) f(ilio)* | *div(i) Ant(onini) n(e)p(oti) div(i)* | *Ant(onini) Pii pronep(oti)* | *div(i) Hadr(iani) abn(e)p(oti)* | *div(i) Tr(aiani) Part(hici) et div(i)* | *Nerv(ae) abn(e)p(oti) et* | *[[L. Sept(imio) Geta(e) Caes(ari)]] Aug(usti) n(ostri) fil(lio) cur(ante) Ti. Cl(audio) Clau*|*diano leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)* | *pr(o) pr(aetore)* | *A Sirmi(o)* | *m(ilia) p(assuum) III.*

The text on the third, marble milestone, which is dated to AD 354, begins in an unusual way, by giving a distance of five miles, *MPV*, *m(ilia) p(assum) V*, and notes the repairs of the road leading from Atrans to the river Sava.

CIL III 3705 + 10617 (Dessau, *ILS* 732); Mirković, *Sirmium* 1, # 97.

M(ilia) p(assuum) V | Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fla(vius) Iul(ius) | Constantius Pius Fel(ix) | Aug(ustus) victor maximus | triumfator aeternus | divi Constantini optimi | maximique principis (filius) divo|rum Maximiani et | Constanti nepos divi | Claudi pronepos ponti|fex maximus Germanic(us) | Alamamnicus (!) maximus | Germ(anicus) max(imus) Gothicus | maximus Adiabin(icus) (!) max(imus) | tribuniciae potestatis | XXXI imp(erator) XXX consuli (!) VII | p(ater) p(atriae) proconsuli (!) viis muni|tis pontibus refecti(s) | recuperata re publica | quinarios lapides per Il|lyricum fecit | ab Atrante ad flumen | Savum milia passum | CCCXLVI.

At the third or fifth mile from Sirmium there is no station recorded in the Roman itineraries. It could have been a villa or a farm on the state domain, similar to the *villa Pistrensis* to the west of Sirmium, where the army camped temporarily. The different distance in milestones from AD 161 and AD 198 on the one hand, and the one from AD 354 on the other, could be explained by the measurement of the distance once from the city center, and once from the city walls, or by the fact that the army camp was changed, but never far from the city where the emperor dwelled in the palace.

It seems that the milestones indicated a place at a distance of three or five miles from the city, probably an imperial or a state domain, where the large number of troops temporarily camped during the campaign on the Danube or on their way to the eastern frontier.

Conclusion

The later Roman author Zosimos criticizes Constantine's decision to withdraw the military troops from the frontier and to locate them in the towns which did not need any protection[7]. In this way the city is transformed, as he says, into a theatre of disorder of every kind, provoked by the soldiers accustomed to enjoying pleasures and a lazy life. Whatever reason Zosimos had to hold Constantine responsible for corrupting the army, he could hardly be right in blaming him for withdrawing the army into the cities which did not need any protection and leaving the frontier open to the barbarians. There is reason to doubt his statement about Constantine's policy. The later practice does not confirm the presence of a large army either in the city of Constantinople, or in Naissus or Sirmium. A big army was gathered in *Hebdomon* outside the city after his reign, during Theodosius' preparation for the campaign against Eugenius, but only temporarily. The army was again camped at the frontier in the fourth century, like it had been before. There is direct proof that the troops were not located in the cities, as for instance in Sirmium. When Julian approached the city in AD 361, the military commander charged with the defense of this part of the Empire had to collect troops garrisoned in the neighboring stations at the frontier and bring them to Sirmium, as we are informed by Amm. Marc. 21.9.5: *none the less, count Lucilianus who then commanded the troops stationed in those regions, with headquarters at Sirnium, having some slight intelligence of Iulian's move, gathered*

[7] Zosim. 2.34.1-2 (Paschoud 1971); followed partly by Malalas, *Chronograph.* 12.40 (p. 308 Dindorf); see also Jones 1973, 98 ff.

together such forces as regard for speedy action allowed to be summoned from the neighboring stations and planned to resist him when he should arrive[8]. Knowing that he could not trust these troops, Julian did not join them to his army, but sent the two legions, *VI Herculia* and *V Iovia,* which Lucilianus brought to Sirmium, and the *cohors sagitarriorum* to Italy, and left only the loyal unit of Batavi in Sirmium[9].

[8] Translation by J. Rolfe.
[9] Zosim. 3.35.

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The Strategic Role of Thracian Fortifications in the Balkan Wars of Late Antiquity

Alexander SARANTIS

Abstract: The strategic role of Thracian cities changed across Late Antiquity thanks to major political events, which resulted in their increasing vulnerability. These events included, in particular, barbarian crossings of the Lower Danube from 376, and the gradual breakdown of the Middle Danube frontier from the late 4th century AD. The first of these developments led to larger numbers of Gothic soldiers in the Diocese of Thrace and the threat of periodic rebellions by these federate troops. The second culminated in the rise of barbarian powers in Pannonia and the Middle Danube capable of launching devastating attacks on eastern Illyricum and Thrace. Because of these military threats, larger and more numerous fortifications sprang up along the Military Highway and *Via Egnatia*, northern and southern routes into the Haemus Mountains, and in the province of Europa. As well as a 'defence-in-depth' system, this network of fortified cities and bases operated as a platform from which imperial armies could launch offensive campaigns against rebellious or invading barbarians.

Key words: Thrace, fortifications, strategy, Roman army, barbarians.

Introduction

Between Diocletian's accession to the Roman throne in 284 and Phocas' usurpation of the throne in 602, the settlement pattern of the Thracian provinces of the Eastern Roman empire underwent major changes. In particular, a series of centrally planned building projects carpeted the eastern Balkans with a large number of fortifications – small forts and watchtowers, fortified cities, and military bases[1]. These defences were much larger than those of the early Roman period. This monumental transformation of the Thracian built landscape is most often explained as a response to military insecurity, caused by the proliferation of threats and attacks by barbarian Germanic, Hun and Slavic tribes based north of the Danube frontier[2]. Accordingly, the construction of fortifications tends to be viewed principally as a defensive measure, designed to protect local populations and resources and to compensate for the lack of military manpower available to the government in Constantinople[3].

In surveying the strategic role of Thracian walled settlements in Late Antiquity, this paper will argue that these fortifications served an offensive as well as defensive purpose. In particular, large Eastern Roman armies regularly deployed in Thrace must have made use of Thracian fortified settlements and bases in their aggressive campaigns against barbarian raiders and rebels.

[1] Examples of the literature on these works include: Poulter 2007a; Dinchev 2007 and Динчев 2007; Hoddinott 1975; Crow 2007; Rizos 2011; Băjenaru 2010; Sarantis 2013a, 318-330; Ćurčić 2010.

[2] Gregory 2000, esp. 112; Poulter 2007b; Liebeschuetz 2007, esp.106-114; Crow 2007. See also discussion with references in Sarantis 2013b, 759-761.

[3] For a discussion of negative assessments of Late Roman strategy in the Balkans, see Sarantis 2016, 9-11.

Major political-strategic changes post-376

Before examining the military role of Thracian settlements, it will be important to outline the two major political-strategic changes which took place from 376. Before this year, Thracian cities were protected from attack by effective imperial control of the Lower and Middle Danube frontiers. Thanks to energetic frontier campaigns by the Tetrarchic emperors, Constantine's Gothic peace of 332, and aggressive campaigning in the Middle Danube region by Valens in the late 350s and Valentinian in the mid-370s, Thracian cities did not experience major invasion or destruction during the first three-quarters of the 4th c.[4] The majority of trans-Danubian barbarian raids in this period crossed the Middle Danube and involved Sarmatian and Quadi tribes.

However, in 376 the first of two major strategic changes took place which made Thracian cities more vulnerable to attack and devastation. This resulted from the crossing of the Lower Danube by large numbers of Tervingi and Greuthungi Goths, Huns and Alans in that year[5]. There is no need to recount the events of 376-382, which are well known. To summarise, a series of Gothic rebellions, the Gothic victory over the Eastern Roman army at the Battle of Hadrianopolis in 378, and the Roman-Gothic peace of 382 culminated in the settlement in Thrace of large numbers of barbarian tribes on a permanent basis. Dotted across the Thracian landscape, these 'Gothic' and other barbarian federate troops always had the potential for rebellion thereafter – the most famous of these included Gainas' revolt of 399-400, the era of the two Theoderics between 471 and 488, and the rebellion of Vitalian from 514 to 517[6].

The second and perhaps more serious strategic change resulted from the collapse of the Middle Danube frontier from the late 4th to mid-5th centuries[7]. This was accompanied by the weakening of imperial control over the majority of Western Illyricum, as well as over the northern, Dacian diocese of eastern Illyricum (**fig. 1**). In short, the mid-370s was the last time a Roman emperor devoted significant political energy to defending the Middle Danube frontier. Subsequent civil wars during the 380s and 390s distracted the Eastern and Western Roman governments from defending this *limes* at a time when it was facing great pressure from barbarian tribes arriving either from Trajanic Dacia to the east, or from the Balkan provinces to the south-east. While Eastern Illyricum was handed over to the Eastern Roman empire in 395, Western Illyricum and, specifically, the diocese of Pannonia, was gradually abandoned by the Western Roman government to Hun and Goth tribes. The Stilicho-Alaric wars and the crossing of the Middle Danube by Radagaisus' Goths in the 400s exacerbated the crisis.

From the mid-5th c., major barbarian powers took advantage of the power vacuum which had resulted from this breakdown of imperial control in north-western Illyricum. Successive barbarian states established in Pannonia included Attila's Huns from the 430s-453, the Goths from 504-536, the Gepids and the Lombards from 536-568, and the Avars from 568[8]. The rise of these barbarian 'super'-states coincided with the worst invasions of the Balkans in Late Antiquity and meant that Thracian cities became more vulnerable to attack. Indeed, the majority of barbarian raids on the eastern Balkans in the 5th and 6th

[4] Tetrarchy: Bowman 1998, 80 and 84. Constantine: Kulikowski 2006. Middle Danube campaigns in the 4th century: Sarantis 2015a and 2015b; Pitts 1989; Seagar 1999.

[5] Kulikowski 2007, chs. 6-8; Heather 1991, chs. 4-6.

[6] Gainas: Reichert / Timpe 1998. Gothic rebellions of 470s-480s: Heather 1991, ch.8. Vitalian's rebellion: Ruscu 2009; Croke 1995, 116-120; Stein 1949, 177-185.

[7] Barbarian tribes and the fate of Roman control over Western Illyricum in the late 4th to 5th century: Gračanin 2006; Mirković 1971; Wozniak 1981; Mócsy 1974, 339-58; Eadie 1982; Christie 1992, 322-329; 2007, 552-563; Caldwell 2012, 100-102.

[8] Huns: Kelly 2008, esp. 70-78; Thompson 1996, 69-85. Goths: Arnold 2016; Gračanin 2015. Gepids and Lombards: Pohl 1980; Sarantis 2009; Christou 1991. Avars: Pohl 1988.



Fig. 1. The Diocese of Dacia and Western Illyricum (Pannonia and Dalmatia). Map designed by A. Sarantis and produced by C. Garcia and A. George

c. emanated from Pannonia. These were perpetrated by Huns in the 440s, Sclaveni and Kutrigur Huns in the 540s and 550s, and Avars in the 570s-590s[9]. By starting their journeys from the Middle Danube region, these barbarian raiders were able to by-pass the Romans' Lower Danube fortifications and gain access via over-land routes to the province of Upper Moesia and, from there, the Military Highway to Thrace (Sarantis 2009, 32-33; 2016, 276-277). On their raids, the Avars also followed routes across the Haemus Mountains into the Lower Danube plain before crossing the Haemus again to enter the Thracian Plain.

It should be noted that a smaller number of barbarian attacks crossed the Lower Danube east of the Carpathians and entered the Lower Danube plain. These included raids by Bulgars in the 490s, Antae in 520 and the early 540s, and Huns in 408, 528 and 559[10]. However, these were exceptions. By and large the imperial authorities defended the Lower Danube frontier between the Iron Gates and the Black Sea Delta exceptionally well in this period.

Changes to settlement patterns

In light of these strategic developments and Thracian cities' greater exposure to attack by barbarian raiders, the fortification work I mentioned earlier started to gather pace. The majority of the fortification works were constructed during the reigns of Theodosius II, Anastasius and Justinian. Whereas the Danube frontier had been the main object of imperial fortification programmes in the earlier 4th c., the 5th to 6th c. also witnessed the fortification or re-fortification of major provincial cities away from the frontier, as well as the construction of fortresses and watchtowers[11]. As is well-documented, these featured the impressively thick and tall *opus mixtum*-style defences as seen at Bulgarian sites such as Nesebar and Hisarya[12].

Smaller forts were also constructed away from major routes so that, by the time Procopius published the *Buildings* in 554, we can speak of a three-tiered Balkan fortification system. This consisted of first: major urban fortifications, fortresses along major routes, and cross walls, second: the walls of secondary provincial cities and more minor forts, and third: what might be termed 'rural shelters'.

It should be noted that Thrace and southern Illyricum were prioritised over northern Illyricum when it came to this fortification work.

[9] Hun raids of 440s: Kelly 2008, esp. chs 10-12; Thompson 1996, 81-104. Sclaveni and Kutrigur raids: Sarantis 2016, 278-300. Avar raids: Whitby 1988, 140-83; Pohl 1988, 76-162.

[10] Bulgar raids: Croke 2001, 67-69; Haarer 2006, 104-106. Antae raids: Sarantis 2016, 83-84, 251-252. Hun raid of 408: Thompson 1996, 33. Hun raids of mid-6th c.: Sarantis 2016, 21-33, 336-349.

[11] See note 1 above.

[12] Nesebar-Mesembria: Ivanov 2007, 41. Hisarya-Diocletianopolis: Madzharov 1989; Hoddinott 1975, 198, 300; Rizos 2011, 73-75.

Only during the reign of Justinian was there a coordinated attempt to shore up the defences of the central-northern Illyrian Dacian diocese to the same extent.

The regional strategic role of Thracian fortified settlements

This brings us to the strategic role played by these fortified bases and settlements in Roman-barbarian military encounters in Thrace during Late Antiquity. The argument made most regularly by modern scholars is that fortified cities and forts were refuges for administrative and military officials, churchmen, churches, and local populations[13]. Meanwhile, surrounding regions were abandoned to the depravities of barbarian raiders and rebels.

It cannot be doubted that fortified Thracian settlements contributed to what might be termed a 'defence-in-depth' regional strategy. The first line of defence was provided by frontier fortifications and fortress cities situated on the southern banks of the Lower Danube in the provinces of Lower Moesia and Scythia Minor (**fig. 2**). These were mostly successful in preventing or deterring barbarian crossings of the Danube frontier. For example, after 376, there were no major successful crossings until Uldin the Hun's attack in 408. In the interim, numerous barbarian attempts at crossing the river were stopped, the Gothic raids of 380 and 386 being prominent examples (Heather 1991, 160, 315).

Behind the Danube frontier, routes leading southwards were defended by forts and major fortified cities. Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum were among the major bases in the southern Lower Danube plain[14]. The Haemus Mountain passes further south were also defended by watchtowers and forts[15]. As I have already mentioned, most attacks on Thrace came from Illyricum. This meant that defending the Trajan's Gate pass was as important as defending the Lower Danube frontier. This would explain the evidence for defences in this area, such as the fortress of Markova Mehana (**fig. 3**).

After the Lower Danube frontier region north of the Haemus Mountains and the Trajan's Gate Pass, the other major militarised, strategically vital zone in Late antique Thrace was focused on the Long Wall of Thrace and regions just to the west of this massive fortification, which was probably erected in the reign of Anastasius (Crow 1995; **fig. 4**). Key forts west of the Long Wall included Tzurullum and Drizipera on the Military Highway and Apri on the *Via Egnatia* (Crow 2002; Pralong 1988). This region was also home to the imperial horse pastures, as well as to major ports east of the Long Wall, such as Selymbria (Procop. *Vand.* 3.12.6 on the horse pastures). Only a minority of barbarian attacks on Thrace breached the Long Wall defences. These included invasions by the Huns in 539 and 559 and the Avars in 626[16].

Between the three major militarised zones just mentioned – the Lower Danube frontier, the Long Wall 'region', and the Trajan's Gate Pass – sat the Thracian and Rhodope plains (**fig. 5**). These flat areas were dotted with major cities, all of which acquired sizeable fortifications in Late Antiquity. Some of these fortress cities, such as Diocletianopolis in Thrace and Maximianopolis in Rhodope, were built in the Tetrarchic period[17].

The strategic role performed by these cities was to delay barbarian raiders from moving across these plains and making their way further

[13] See notes 2-3 above.

[14] Nicopolis ad Istrum: Poulter 1995 and 2007c.

[15] The fort of Vavovo Kale is a good example: Crow 2007, 402.

[16] Hun raids of 539 and 559: Sarantis 2016, 101-109, 336-349. Avar siege of Constantinopolis in 626: Howard-Johnston 1995.

[17] Diocletianopolis: note 12 above. Maximianopolis: Rizos 2011, 66-70.

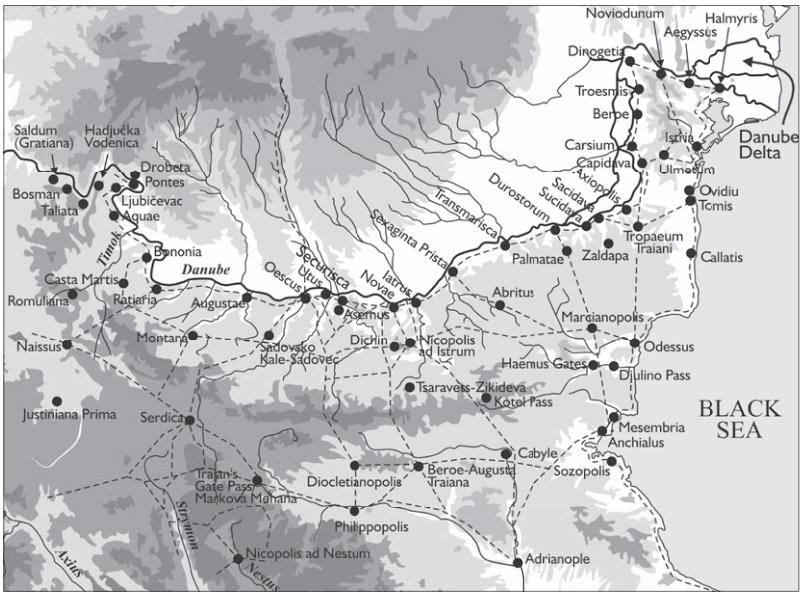


Fig. 2. Northern Thrace and the Lower Danube provinces. Map designed by A. Sarantis and produced by C. Garcia and A. George

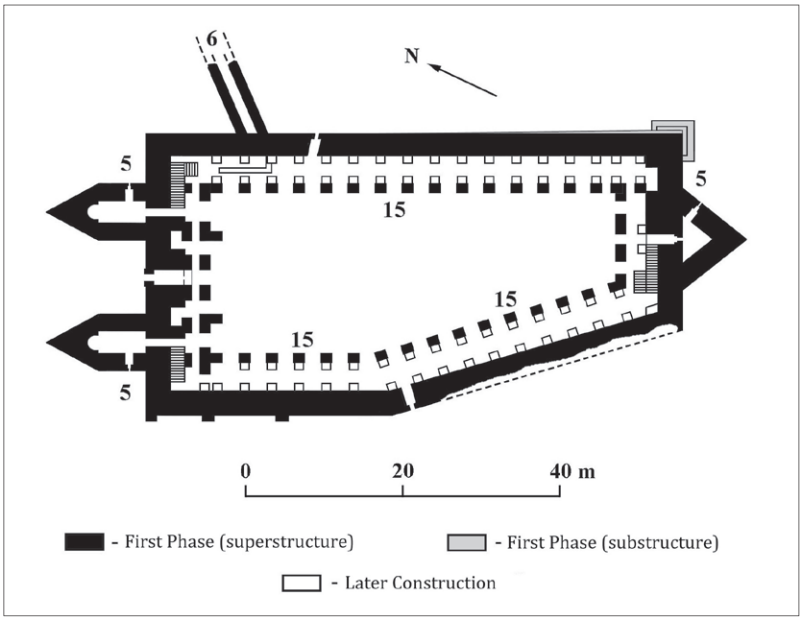


Fig. 3. Markova Mehana. Plan designed by V. Dintchev

towards Constantinopolis. This strategy made sense because most barbarian raiders, especially 'Germanic' groups, were not very good at besieging fortified settlements. The Goths failed, for example, to capture Hadrianopolis and other Thracian cities in the aftermath of their great victory at the Battle of Hadrianopolis in 378 (Heather 1991, 149-150). Even the Huns and the Avars, who were adept at siege warfare, struggled to capture heavily fortified major cities such as Augusta Traiana and Hadrianopolis (e.g. Theoph. Sim. 2.16.12-17.3 on the Avar siege of Hadrianopolis in 587). Even though these cities did not possess large military garrisons, the strength of their walls meant that they could be successfully defended by non-military populations (Pillon 2005, 67-74). Civilians thus played a prominent role in defending Topirus when it was attacked by the Sclaveni in 550 (Procop. *Goth.* 7.38.9-19).

In addition to delaying the progress of barbarian raiders through their numerous heavily fortified cities, the Rhodope and Thracian plains were important strategically to the Eastern Romans because

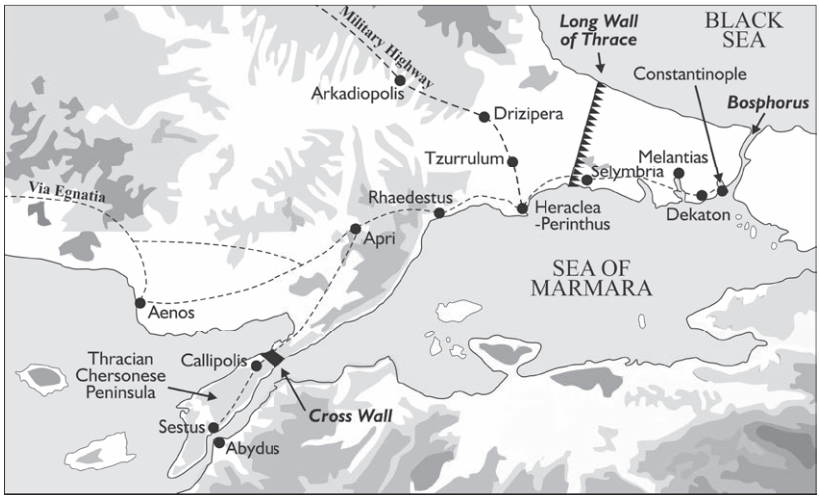


Fig. 4. South-eastern Thrace: Europa, the Long Wall region and the Thracian Chersonese. Map designed by A. Sarantis and produced by C. Garcia and A. George

their flat topography was ideal for engaging barbarian raiders in battle. As is well known, the training, discipline and tactical awareness of Roman soldiers meant that they preferred to fight battles against barbarians, especially Hun and Slavic groups, in open terrain[18]. Roman battlefield successes in Thracia, for example, took place in 528 against the Huns (Malalas 18.21) and 551 against the Sclaveni (Procop. *Goth.* 7.40.34-45). Of course this strategy could go wrong if insufficient preparations were made for military engagement – as was the case prior to the ill-fated Battle of Hadrianopolis in 378 (Austin / Rankov 1995, 241-43; Burns 1973).

Within the imperial regional strategy for Thrace, the Thracian Plain can, therefore, be viewed as a 'holding pen' between the militarised zones of northern and south-eastern Thrace. Within this 'holding pen' barbarian raiders could be contained, delayed and, ultimately, either defeated or pressurised into leaving the region.

The role of Thracian fortified settlements in campaign strategy

As well as playing an important role within Roman regional defensive strategy, Thracian fortified settlements were crucial to the success of offensive imperial military campaigns. Even if we assume that some fortified cities did not have a regular military purpose, there is no reason to assume that they could not have played a role in military campaigns whenever these took place. As well as defending civilian populations and their resources, these fortified bases provided a platform from which imperial armies could aggressively harry, wear down and eventually defeat invading or rebelling barbarian armies. They could do this by supplying imperial armies with accommodation, intelligence and provisions. Imperial troops thus enjoyed an enormous logistical advantage over barbarian raiders, who were ill-equipped to besiege fortified centres and thereby access the resources within.

It is sometimes argued that the lack of obvious military structures in Balkan fortified settlements dating to the 5th – 6th centuries AD means that the Roman army was not present at these sites as it had been in earlier periods of Roman history[19]. It is indeed true that we have more examples of clearly planned military forts with barracks, granaries and *principia* up to the 4th century. The apparent absence of the Roman army from the Thracian settlement pattern from the

[18] *Strategikon* 11.4 (121-122 in Dennis 1984) on the Sclaveni, and 11.2 (118 in Dennis 1984) on the Huns. Late Roman battlefield tactics: Sarantis 2013c; Rance 2005 and 2007; Dagron 1993; Elton 2007.

[19] Rizos 2011, 77-84, 115-116, 180 stresses the lack of 'regular' military features in 5th to 6th century AD fortified cities and bases. Curta 2013, 838 on the difficulty of telling the difference between civilian and military settlements by the 6th century.

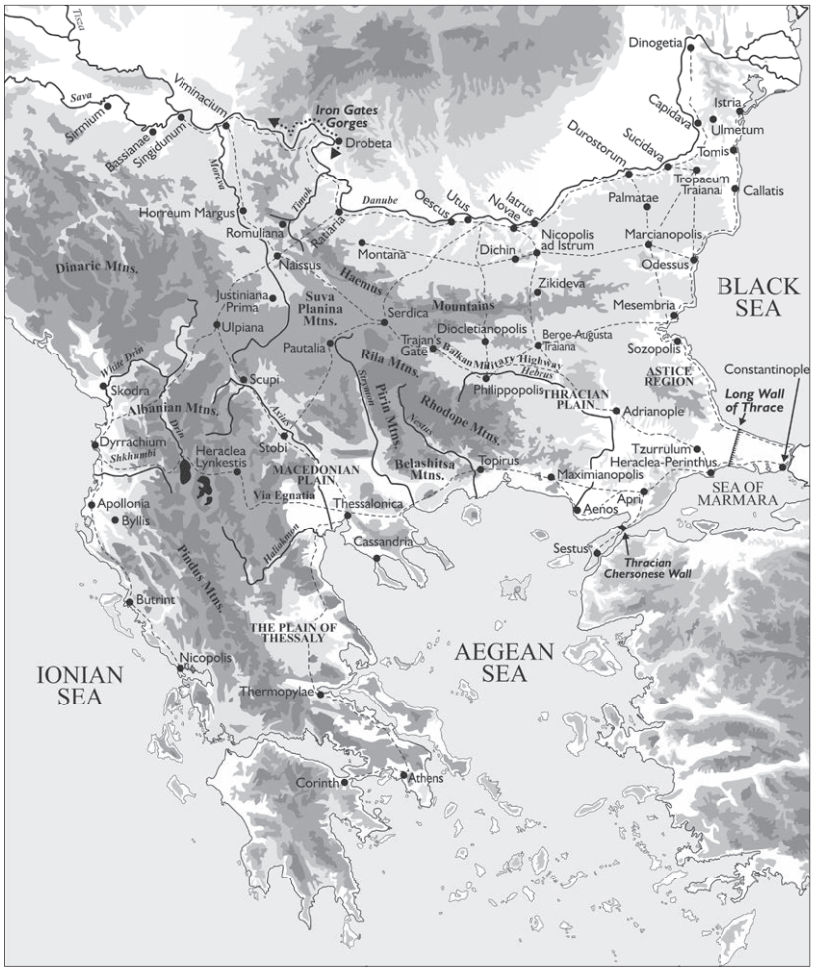


Fig. 5. Balkan cities, roads and geographical features. Map designed by A. Sarantis and produced by C. Garcia and A. George

5th century might reinforce the idea that Eastern Roman governments were willing to rely mainly on fortifications and diplomacy to protect the Balkans, rather than on large armies[20].

However, textual sources demonstrate that large Roman armies were billeted and campaigned across Thrace in Late Antiquity. First, administrative documents such as the *Notitia Dignitatum* confirm that the Thracian field army, one of the praesental armies, and frontier and naval forces were stationed in the Thracian provinces[21]. The optimum number of Roman soldiers in the region was ca. 75,000 men and this figure does not even take into account federate troops, which manned the frontier provinces and were also based in Thracia, south of the Haemus in some periods[22].

While this figure undoubtedly fluctuated across Late Antiquity, repeated references in contemporary narrative histories to field and frontier divisions operating in the Balkan provinces reinforce the impression that this was one of the more heavily militarised regions in the Roman empire. These histories record the deployment of large Roman armies against barbarian raiders in Thrace, including campaigns against the Goths from 378 to 382[23], Attila's raiders in 443 and 447 (Thompson 1996, 86-103), the sons of Attila in the 460s[24], Vitalian in the 510s (See n.6 above on his rebellion), Huns, Bulgars and Sclaveni during the Justinianic period[25], and Avars in the 580s and 590s (Whitby 1988, 156-165; Pohl 1988, 135-159).

When they give us numbers, histories such as Ammianus

[20] See note 2 above.

[21] For discussions of these figures: Treadgold 1995, 48, 52; Whitby 2007, 143-144; Jones 1964, 682; Haldon 1999, 67-72; Parnell 2012, esp. 11.

[22] Figures according to Whitby 2007, 143-144: Thracian field army: 24,500; Praesental field army: 21,000; Frontier units in Lower Moesia: 10,500; Frontier units in Scythia Minor: 9,500; Naval units in Lower Moesia and Scythia Minor / Lower Danube navy: ca. 10,000.

[23] See n. 5 above.

[24] E.g. Priscus 49 and Marcell. com. 468-469 on the Romans' defeat of Dengizich in 469.

[25] For a reconstruction from primary sources: Sarantis 2016, esp. chs. 1 and 3-4.

Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* and Procopius' *History of the Wars* show that the Roman armies involved in these missions were between 10 and 30,000 strong (Whitby 1995, 73-74; Jones 1964, 685; Treadgold 2005, 9; Parnell 2012, 11, n. 44). Even when these sources fail to mention the size of Roman armies, the high status and number of the generals they refer to would imply that the forces in question were not small[26].

Where were these armies based though? First, settlements with an ostensibly military purpose were erected in the 5th – 6th century. The fortress of Markova Mehana, mentioned above, is a good example. Second, there is plenty of artefactual evidence from forts and cities which can be associated with the Roman army. This includes the remains of weaponry and military equipment, coins and inscriptions[27]. Third, soldiers could have been accommodated in buildings that were not purpose-built for them. This is demonstrated by legislative texts requiring civilians to give over part of their houses to campaigning soldiers (*Cod. Theod.* 7.8.2-16). There is thus no reason why we cannot envisage 'residential' areas of Thracian cities accommodating Roman soldiers, even if this was only on a periodic basis.

Fourth, it is possible that soldiers were based in extramural camps or barracks which have not survived. These are likely to have existed in militarised regions along frontiers or in the vicinity of cross walls. The Long Wall of Thrace is a good example. Indeed, *Novella* 26, announcing the creation of a new administrative official in charge of the Long Wall region, makes clear that this cross wall was to serve as a base from which army units could be sent into other parts of Thrace to attack barbarian raiders. In other words, it was not only a defensive structure. Forts along the cross wall and situated on roads leading away from it, as well as military camps could have accommodated the soldiers in question[28].

I think we might thus imagine that the majority of the ca. 75,000-strong Roman army was stationed on a long-term basis in regions adjacent to the Long Wall, and in the Lower Danube frontier zone. These forces could then be sent into the Thracian and Rhodope Plains whenever these came under attack and were billeted on the civilian populations of these regions whenever necessary.

Conclusions

To sum up, physical changes to Thracian settlements across Late Antiquity reflected not only socio-economic and demographic developments, but changing strategic realities following the Gothic immigration of 376. In particular, the late 4th to late 6th centuries witnessed a proliferation of serious barbarian threats, from groups settled outside of the Balkan provinces. However, another major development was the increasing Roman militarisation of the region – through the deployment of large armies as well as the construction of fortified bases and settlements. Indeed, the Battle of Hadrianopolis in 378 marks the beginning of a period in which Roman armies were regularly sent into the central and southern Thracian provinces to deal with barbarian raids.

We need to consider, therefore, that Thracian fortified bases and settlements were not only intended to perform a defensive function, providing shelter for local populations, and capable of holding out when besieged by barbarian armies. They also operated as a platform

[26] For example, the Roman army deployed against the Sclaveni in early 551 was commanded by Constantianus, Aratius, Nazares, Justin, son of Germanus, John the Glutton and Scholasticus, a eunuch of the imperial palace (Procop. *Goth.* 7.40.34-45).

[27] E.g. Zahariade 2006, 182, on the military equipment evidence from Scythia Minor. Large numbers of coin finds usually indicate the presence of the army, which was paid by the state. On coins in the northern Balkans: Guest 2007. Inscriptions referring to military men at eastern Thracian forts can be found in Beševliev 1964, e.g. 58-59, Nr. 87. For a more detailed discussion and synthesis of the evidence: Sarantis 2016, 188-198.

[28] Crow / Ricci 1997, esp. 246-253. Wiewiorowski 2012, 282 argues that the Long Wall garrison alone could have numbered 3-4,000 soldiers.

from which Roman armies could campaign aggressively against invading barbarians.

The strategic approach to the eastern Balkans adopted by the government at Constantinopolis was ultimately successful. Barbarian invaders across Late Antiquity, from the late 3rd to early 7th centuries were either defeated and repelled from the Balkans, or settled in Thrace and recruited by imperial armies. Even though terrible crises occurred from time to time, resulting temporarily in the loss of imperial control over certain Balkan regions, the Lower Danube remained the frontier between the empire and barbarian groups for the majority of the period. Indeed, when Justinian died in 565, imperial authority in Thrace was as strong as ever. It was the strategic decision taken by his successors to focus on the eastern frontier rather than defending the Balkans from the Avars, the greatest barbarian threat since Attila's Hun empire, that eroded imperial control over the majority of the Thracian provinces between the 570s and 590s. While the emperor Maurice attempted to reverse this development in the 590s, his dethroning by Phocas in 602, the last Great War of Antiquity with the Persian empire subsequently, and the rise of Islam from the late 620s, meant that the majority of the Thracian provinces had fallen out of imperial control by the reigns of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711).

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Das verhängnisvolle Jahr 262 und die *amissio Daciae**

Ioan PISO

Résumé : On reprend l'argumentation pour la datation en 262 de l'attaque des Goths sur les Thermopyles décrite dans le nouvel manuscrit de Dexippe (F 192v-193r) et on essaie d'apprécier l'étendue de la zone affectée. Il est permis de supposer que la Dacie se soit trouvée parmi les provinces dévastées. On passe ensuite en revue les sources littéraires sur l'*amissio Daciae* sous Gallien et sur l'abandon officiel de la province sous Aurélien. On constate que dans plusieurs cas on a surélevé les murs et on a bloqué les portes des camps légionnaires et auxiliaires. On met en rapport ces mesures avec la nouvelle technique de siège des Goths, telle qu'elle ressort des textes de Dexippe. Les sources épigraphiques et numismatiques suggèrent qu'une catastrophe a eu lieu aussitôt après 260. On la met en rapport avec l'attaque de 262 sur la Mésie, la Thrace et les Thermopyles. C'est à ces destructions, desquelles la province ne s'est jamais remise, que l'*amissio Daciae* fait allusion. En 271 Aurélien n'a fait rien d'autre que d'abandonner officiellement la province.

Mots-clés : Dexippus, Gallienus, Aurelianus, Thracia, Moesia, Dacia, Thermopylae, Gothi, *obsidio*, circulation monétaire.

Der Goteneinfall zu den Thermopylen

Die neuen Texte aus Dexippos, die von Gunther Martin und Jana Grusková so verdienstvoll veröffentlicht wurden (Martin / Grusková 2014a, 101-120), öffnen neue Perspektiven über die Geschichte der Balkanhalbinsel unter Decius und Gallienus. Ich beginne mit Aspekten zur Datierung des Fragmentes F 192v-193r, in dem von dem Angriff auf die Thermopylen die Rede ist. Sowohl Christopher Mallon und Caillan Davenport (Mallon / Davenport 2015, 215-220), als auch ich (Piso 2015, 200-206) haben gleichzeitig und unabhängig voneinander, mit teilweise verschiedenen Argumenten bewiesen, dass das Ereignis in das Jahr 262 n. Chr. zu setzen ist. Meine Hauptargumente sind folgende:

Wir befinden uns in einer Zeit, in welcher die Goten die Balkanprovinzen noch zu Fuß und zu Pferd durchstreiften. Erst 267 n. Chr. stießen sie in die Ägäis auf Schiffen vor (so Wolfram 1979, 62-63)[1]. Ab diesem Augenblick brauchten sie sich nicht mehr um die Thermopylen kümmern, denn sie konnten Attika und Athen zu Schiff erreichen. Zweitens, ist Dexippos, einer der drei Anführer der Verteidiger bei den Thermopylen mit dem athenischen Dexippos, der 267/268 n. Chr. die Verteidigung der Athener führte, nicht identisch[2]. Aus der Untersuchung der Texte von Zosimos, Synkellos, Zonaras und der HA (bzw. *Vita Gall.* 5.6) geht hervor, dass wir es eher mit dem Jahr 262 n. Chr. zu tun haben. Warum aber nicht mit 254, was theoretisch möglich wäre? Μαριανός προαιρεθεὶς ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκ βασιλέως (Martin / Grusková 2014a, 107, F. 193r, Z. 2-3) wurde von einem einzigen Kaiser und nicht von zwei Kaisern (ἐκ βασιλέων) nach

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Der Aufsatz enthält Ideen, die in einem in Arbeit befindlichen Buch, Dakien im Zeitalter der Soldatenkaiser, entwickelt werden; daselbst sind alle Argumente und eine vollständige Literatur zu finden. Eine kritische Durchlesung des Manuskriptes verdanke ich meinem Freund Sebastian Sommer.

[1] Dass 262 ein gotischer Seezug durch den Hellespont geführt hätte (Schwarcz 1992, 51; Drinkwater 2005, 46), bleibt fraglich. Falls sich dies ereignete, waren davon nur die Küsten Kleinasiens betroffen.

[2] O. Gengler war der erste, der schon während der Tagung von Wien (Juni 2014) die Unstimmigkeit bemerkt hatte.

Achaia geschickt, wie es für die gemeinsame Herrschaft von Valerianus und Gallienus zu erwarten wäre[3]. Damit befinden wir uns nach dem Sommer 260 (Piso 2015, 204).

Wahrscheinlicher Ausmass der Verwüstungen

Am Anfang von 192v, Z. 1-2, lesen wir Folgendes: - - - [Θρᾴ]/κην καὶ Μακεδονίαν· καὶ ἐληίζοντο τὴν αὐτό/θι γῆν σύμπασαν (Martin / Grusková 2014a, 106, F. 192v, Z. 1)[4]. Wir wissen nicht, ob vor Thrakien auch andere Balkanprovinzen erwähnt wurden. Es muß aber angenommen werden, dass nördlich der Thermopylen schon alles oder zum größten Teil geplündert war[5]. *Vita Gallieni* 5.6 sagt uns dasselbe: *Gothorum pars - - - occupatis Thraciis Macedoniam vastaverunt, Thessalonicam obsederunt*. Bemerkenswert ist, dass nur ein Teil der Goten, *Gothorum pars*, diese Tat begangen hat. Das heißt, dass sich die Goten in mehrere Heersäulen geteilt haben, um möglichst viele Gegenden zu erreichen. Dasselbe war auch 250/251 vorgekommen, als nicht nur die süddonauischen Provinzen, sondern auch Dakien angegriffen wurde (siehe Wolfram 1979, 55; Schwarcz 1992, 48-49). Für die südliche Richtung waren zwei Anführer, Kniva und Ὀστρόγουθθος (Ostrogotha), zuständig[6].

Um auf das Jahr 262 zurückzukommen, ist es ganz sicher, dass vor allem Untermoesien in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde. Thrakien konnte nur über Untermoesien erreicht werden. Sollen die Goten Dakien, eine bis in die Mitte des 3. Jhts blühende Provinz, vergessen haben? Dies war noch der Fall 238[7], wahrscheinlich aber nicht später. 250, als südlich der Donau der Gotenkrieg tobte, befand sich auch Dakien in Gefahr[8]. In einer Inschrift aus Apulum wird Decius *restitutor Daciarum* genannt (*CIL* III 1176 = *IDR* III.5 431). Jedesmal dürften sich die Goten vor einem Dilemma befunden haben: ob die Donau oder die Karpathen bzw. der Olt (Alt) Fluß leichter zu überwinden waren oder, eher, welche die erfolgreichste Reihenfolge der Raubzüge wäre, unter welchen Anführern und mit welcher Mannschaft sie durchzuführen wären.

Wenn der *Limes* einmal durchbrochen war, hatte das Einsetzen von mobilen Einheiten den Vorteil, dass sie im Inneren des Reiches eingreifen konnten, falls sie sich in einiger Nähe befanden. Sie waren aber aus Truppen zusammengesetzt, die aus dem Verteidigungssystem der einzelnen Grenzprovinzen zurückgezogen waren. Damit konnte sich jede dieser Provinzen nur unter schwierigeren Bedingungen verteidigen. Sie verfügten einfach nicht mehr über genügend Truppen. Falls K. Strobel Recht hat, fand die Rückeroberung Raetiens von Postumus durch Gallienus 262 statt (Strobel 1998, 88). Im selben Jahr tobte der Krieg, den Odaenath mit römischen Truppen und palmyrenischen Verbänden gegen Schapur führte (Alföldi 1967, 187; Strobel 1993, 249). Es ist demnach wahrscheinlich, dass zu diesem Zeitpunkt im Verteidigungssystem der balkanischen Provinzen ein Vakuum und damit eine gute Opportunität für die Goten entstanden war. Wahrscheinlich hat Gallienus nördlich der Alpen Anfang des Jahres 262, nachdem er seinen fünften Konsulat angetreten hat, eingegriffen. Erst im Sommer begab er sich mit einem Heer nach Byzanz (Alföldi 1967, 187-188; Goltz / Hartmann 2008, 269). Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird er sich vorwiegend mit den gotischen Einfällen südlich der Donau auseinandergesetzt haben (Piso 2015, 206).

[3] Lucarini 2016, 45 zieht die Jahre 253/254 vor, ohne die erwähnte Formel zu berücksichtigen.

[4] Für das Datum der Gefangennahme des Valerianus siehe Kienast 2011, 214.

[5] Die Behauptung von Alföldi 1967, 326-327, wonach die Invasionen ihren Höhepunkt nicht unter der Alleinherrschaft Gallienus', sondern in der Zeit von Decius bis zum Tod Valerians erreicht haben, lässt sich nicht bestätigen.

[6] Martin / Grusková 2014b, 734, F. 194v, Z. 12-13; 736, F. 195r, Z. 20, 25; vgl. Iord. *Get.* 101: - - - *post cuius decessum Cniva, exercitum dividens in duas partes* - - -, mit dem Kommentar a. a. O. 741.

[7] HA, *Vita Max. et Balb.* 16.3-5: *sub his pugnatum est a Carpis contra Moesos, fuit et Scythici belli principium, fuit et Histriae excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Histricae civitatis*; siehe Schwarcz 1992, 47, mit Anm. 1.

[8] Nicht begründet ist die Annahme (siehe zum Beispiel Ruscu 2003, 213), dass die meisten Angriffe Dakien vermieden haben.

Die literarischen Quellen über das Schicksal Dakiens

Die Hauptquellen sind folgende:

1. Aur. Vict. 33.3: *et **amissa** trans Istrum, quae Traianus quaesiverat*.

2. Oros. 7.22.2: *nam Dacia trans Danuvium **in perpetuum aufertur***.

3. Eutr. 9.8: *Dacia, quae a Traiano ultra Danubium fuerat adiecta, tum **amissa est**;* 9.15: *provinciam Daciam, quam Traianus ultra Danubium fecerat, **intermisit** vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia desperans eam posse retinere **abductosque Romanos** ex urbibus et agris Daciae in media Moesia collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit*.

4. Festus 8.2: *Sed sub Gallieno imperatore **amissa est** et per Aurelianum, **translatis exinde Romanis**, duae Daciae in regionibus Moesiae ac Dardaniae factae sunt.*

5. Iord. *Rom.* 217: *Sed Gallienus eos dum regnaret **amisit** Aurelianusque imperator **evocatis exinde legionibus** in Mysia conlocavit appellavitque suam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit.*

6. HA, *Aurel.* 39.7: *Cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam videret, provinciam transdanuvianam Daciam a Traiano constitutam **sublato exercitu et provincialibus reliquit**, desperans eam posse retineri, **abductosque ex ea populos** in Moesia conlocavit appellavitque suam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit*.

7. Synk. 470.14: Τὴν Τραιανοῦ δὲ Δακίαν βαρβάροις **ἀφεὶς** ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Μυσίας **στήσας** ἑκατέροθεν, Δακίαν δὲ μέσην ὀνομάζεσθαι.

8. Suda: Δακία χώρα· ἣν ὁ Τραιανὸς ἐν τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἴστρου κατῴκισε· καὶ ταύτην Ἀυρηλιανὸς **ἀπέλιπε** ...

Über das Ende der Provinz Dakien findet man in den literarischen Quellen zwei anscheinend widersprüchliche Aussagen[9]. Aur. Victor und Orosius sprechen einzig von einer *amissio Daciae* unter Gallienus. Demgegenüber behaupten Eutropius, Festus und Iordanes, dass Dakien unter Gallienus *amissa est* und dass es Aurelian war, der dieselbe Provinz aufgegeben und die Provinzialen und die Truppen zurückgezogen hat (*intermisit, abductosque Romanos, translatis exinde Romanis, evocatis exinde legionisbus*; Daicoviciu 1979, 656-657). Es ist klar, dass die *amissio* relativiert werden muss, denn wie kann etwas aufgeben werden, was man schon verloren hat? Ein gesunder Ausgangspunkt für die Suche nach einer Lösung bildet die Bemerkung von H. Daicoviciu, dass Gallienus zu einem bestimmten Augenblick die Kontrolle über die Provinz Dakien verloren habe, ohne dass diese aufgehört habe, zur römischen Welt und zum Reich zu gehören (Daicoviciu 1979, 656-657). Die Frage ist aber, was diesen Kontaktverlust herbeigeführt hat. Zur *amissio Daciae* unter Gallienus sind folgende Theorien entstanden:

- Nur ein Teil von Dakien soll aufgegeben worden sein (siehe, zum Beispiel, Daicoviciu 1938, 75-78; Altheim 1939, 101-102; Macrea 1960, 464-465; Macrea 1969 451-453; Hartmann 2008, 315, Anm. 58; Protase 2011, 263-264), wofür man sich auf den Verlust der rechtsrheinischen Gebiete (*Paneg.* 4.10: *amissa Raetia*) berufen könnte. Es gibt aber keine materiellen Belege für den Verlust eines Teils Dakiens. Außerdem, wenn der dakische *Limes* einmal durchbrochen war, konnte niemand

[9] Die Diskussion über die literarischen Quellen bei Macrea 1960, 459-462; 1969, 445-448; Daicoviciu 1979, 651-660; Cizek 1986, 147-154; Ruscu 1998, 235-252; 2003, 173-188; Hügel 2003, 38-44, wo die vollständige Literatur darüber zu finden ist.

die Barbaren hindern, die gesamte Provinz zu überfluten. Drittens, beschränkten sich noch zu dieser Zeit die Barbaren auf Raubzüge, ohne sich auf dem römischen Territorium niederzulassen.

- Eine beliebte Theorie bestand darin, dass sich Dakien zeitweise unter der Autorität eines Usurpators befunden habe[10]. Dan Ruscu bemerkte aber, dass keine der Provinzen oder Reichsteile, in welchen Usurpationen stattfanden (die HA spricht sogar von 30 Tyranni) in den Quellen als *amissa* betrachtet wurde[11] und dies gilt auch für das gallische Sonderreich.

- Man dachte auch, dass die fortwährenden Angriffe entlang der Donau den Kontakt zwischen Dakien und dem Reich unterbrochen hätten. Dabei könnte man sich auf die von B. Gerov angefertigte Karte der Münzhorte entlang der Donau (Gerov 1977, 141-144, 178-180, Karten IV-VI) beziehen[12]. Diese Theorie kann deswegen nicht einer Prüfung standhalten, weil die Raubzüge wochen- oder monatelang, aber keineswegs jahrelang dauerten und weil die Goten oder die Karpen das Donautal nicht dauerhaft besetzten.

- D. Ruscu fand für die *amissio Daciae* eine eigene Erklärung. Um Italien und die süddonauischen Provinzen zu verteidigen, soll Gallienus praktisch das römische Heer aus Dakien abgezogen haben. Dadurch soll die Bevölkerung der Provinz ohne Verteidigung geblieben sein. Dies soll kurz nach 260 stattgefunden haben (Ruscu 2003, 213-215). Ähnlich sind die Schlußfolgerungen von P. Hügel, der sogar weiter geht und behauptet, dass nach dem Alamanneneinfall Gallienus in Dakien Truppen nur in den Kastellen entlang den Kaiserstrassen belassen hätte (Hügel 2003, 166-170). Wenn er unter Kaiserstrassen nur die inneren Strassen Dakiens versteht, hieße das, dass man den *Limes* aufgegeben hätte. Es ist schwierig zu verstehen, wie ein Heer mit verringerten Beständen und ohne einen *Limes* noch jahrelang überleben konnte (siehe auch Benea 2016, 101). Für C. H. Opreanu war die *amissio Daciae* eine Kombination von Truppenrückzug, Barbarenangriffen und Münzkrise (Opreanu 1999-2000, 402), was aber diese Provinz nicht wesentlich von manchen anderen Provinzen unterschied. Im Grunde genommen verstand man unter der *amissio*, dass Dakien praktisch aufgegeben wurde (in diesem Sinn Petolescu 1984, 189-190; 1995, 123-126; 2010, 288-292) und dass Aurelian die Autorität darüber hinreichend wiederhergestellt hat, um die offizielle Aufgabe zu bewerkstelligen.

Dass Gallienus, ein leidenschaftlicher Kämpfer für die Einheit des Reiches, die zahlreichen Städte Dakiens und ihre Bevölkerung bewusst ohne Verteidigung gelassen hätte, ist nicht glaubhaft. Außerdem behaupten Iordanes (# 5) und die HA (# 6) ausdrücklich, dass es Aurelian war, der das Heer aus Dakien zurückgezogen hat[13]. Die Haltung des Gallienus Dakien gegenüber sollte man von der Bildung eines mobilen Heeres[14], wofür die Anhäufung von Truppen in Poetovio zeugt, trennen. Hier begegnen wir Offizieren und Unteroffizieren (*officiales*) der Legionen *V Macedonica* und *XIII Gemina Gallienianae*[15]. Die Soldaten der zwei dakischen Legionen befanden sich in Poetovio unter dem Kommando eines einzigen Offiziers, eines gewissen Flavius Aper, *v. e., praepositus*. Das bedeutet einfach eine Vexillation (siehe auch Macrea 1969, 448-449), während der Kern der beiden Legionen in Potaissa und in Apulum geblieben sein sollte. Die Anwesenheit 260 oder kurz danach eines M. Aurelius Veteranus, *praef(ectus) leg(ionis)*

[10] Daicoviciu 1979, 658-659; ähnlich Cizek 1986, 155-156: „*sécession militaire*".

[11] Ruscu 2003, 198-199; ähnlich Opreanu 1999-2000, 401; siehe aber die bemerkenswerte Theorie von Strobel 1998, 87-88; 1999, 9-33, wonach unter der amissio Raetiae der zeitweilige Abfall der Provinz von Gallienus an Postumus zu verstehen sei; so auch Sommer 2014, 35-51.

[12] Während ich seine Dissertation leitete, erwog ich in einem Gespräch mit D. Ruscu diese Möglichkeit (apud Ruscu 2003, 204, Anm. 66), ohne sie aber irgendwo schriftlich erwähnt zu haben.

[13] Siehe Daicoviciu 1979, 656-657; vgl. HA, *Vita Claud*. 15.2: *Habet in potestate Thracios, Moesos, Dalmatos, Pannonios, Dacos exercitus*, wobei es nicht klar ist, wo das dakische Heer als solches, das heißt mit Bezug auf die Provinz, erwähnt wird.

[14] Siehe für das mobile Heer Alföldi 1967, 404-410; Christol 1986, 35-36; Heil 2008, 725.

[15] *AE* 1936, 53-57 = *IDRE* 266-270; siehe für die aus Dakien entzogenen Truppen Alföldi 1967, 495; Dana / Nemeti 2001, 246-249; Hügel 2003, 62-63; Petolescu 2010, 199; Matei 2016, 164-170. Es gibt auch ein weiteres Beispiel. Aur. Valentinus, den die Stadt Thessalonike wahrscheinlich 269 durch eine Statue ehrte, war διασημότατος τριβούνος Βαταόνων καὶ διέπων τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας (*AE* 1900, 169 = *IG* X.2 151), was sich ins Lateinische durch *perfectissimus tribunus Batavorum et agens vice praesidis* übersetzen läßt. Wir haben es wahrscheinlich mit der *ala I Batavorum milliaria* aus Războieni-Cetate aus Dakien zu tun, die jetzt zum mobilen Heer gehörte; siehe Piso 2014, 144 mit Anm. 122.

XIII G(eminae) Gall(i)enian(ae) (*CIL* III 1560 = *IDR* III.1 54), in Băile Herculane (Herkulesbad) scheint auf eine ähnliche Aktion hinzuweisen. Dieser ritterliche Befehlshaber dürfte sich hier nicht zur Kur, sondern im Rahmen eines Herresverbandes (siehe Fitz 1966, 40; Ruscu 2003, 209-210) befunden haben, dem eine bestimmte Aufgabe auferlegt wurde oder der auf eine solche wartete[16].

Wenn keine der angeführten Theorien zufriedenstellend ist, wie ist denn die *amissio Daciae* zu erklären? Zwei Bemerkungen von Dan Ruscu machen stutzig. Er behauptet, dass keine literarische Quelle über einen massiven barbarischen Angriff auf Dakien berichtet (hier gebe ich ihm Recht) und dass ein solches Ereignis in der Provinz klare und unbestreitbare archäologische Spuren hinterlassen müsste, was nicht der Fall sei (Ruscu 2003, 204-205). Letztere Aussage trifft nicht zu. Ganz im Gegenteil, gibt es Hinweise für eine Krisensituation und sogar für bedeutende Zerstörungen in Dakien an vielen Orten, ohne dass sie bisher im Lichte aller literarischen Quellen gedeutet wurden.

Archäologische Angaben

Ein auffälliges Element besteht in so genannten Reparaturen in Legionslagern und Kastellen. Reparaturen mussten jederzeit vorgenommen werden und es ist zu erwarten, dass sie im 3. Jahrhundert weniger sorgfältig durchgeführt wurden als früher. In einzelnen Fällen können wir nicht wissen, ob sie routinemäßig[17] oder in Erwartung auf einen Angriff durchgeführt wurden. Deswegen werde ich mich nur auf drei Kategorien von Eingriffen beschränken: zuerst auf die Blockierung der Tore mit Mauern, Altären, Statuenbasen und Grabsteinen[18].

Tore wurden völlig oder teilweise blockiert in den Legionslagern von Apulum (*p. p. d.;* Moga 1999, 463-465) und Potaissa (*p. p*. und *p. d.*; Bărbulescu 1997, 20; Isac 2009, 786)[19] und in den Auxiliarkastellen von Porolissum (*p. p*., *p. d*. und *p. p. s.*; Tóth 1978, 6-10), Samum (*p. p. d.* und *p. p. s.*; Isac 2003, 93-94, 103-104), Romita (*p. p*. und wahrscheinlich *p. p. s.*; Matei / Bajusz 1997, 41, 46-47), Arcobadara (*p. p.*; Protase / Gaiu 1997, 416), Bologa (*p. p.* und *p. d.*; Gudea 1997b, 44-45), Inlăceni (*p. p.* und *p. p. d.*; Gudea 1979, 179), Tibiscum (*p. p.* und *p. p. s.*; Benea / Bona 1994, 40-41), Angustia (vielleicht alle Tore; Gudea 1980, 299), Cumidava (*p. p. d*., *p. p. s*. und *p. d*.; Gudea 1997a, # 66), Răcari (*p. p*.; Tudor 1978, 292)[20] und Bivolari (*p. p. d*. und *p. p. s*.?; Tudor 1978, 262; vgl. auch hier die Zweifel von Isac 2006-2007, 143; 2009, 787). In einigen Fällen, wie in Potaissa oder in Tibiscum, wurden einige Tore später deblockiert.

Ein zweites bezeichnendes Eingriff ist nicht nur die Wiederherstellung, sondern, eher, die Erhöhung der Mauer mit skulpturellen und epigraphischen Denkmälern. Da keine Mauer vollständig erhalten ist, sind solche Fälle schwierig einwandfrei zu erkennen. Derartige Steine können immer wieder und in verschiedenen Zeiten auch für eine routinemäßige Reparatur gedient haben. Wenn sie aber massenhaft auf der Berme oder im Verteidigungsgraben zu finden sind, können sie auch eine andere Bedeutung haben. Dutzende von Grab- und Votivsteinen wurden im Kastell von Arcobadara in den Mauern, neben ihnen und im ersten Verteidigungsgraben gefunden (Torma 1866, 39-53). In Brâncovenești wurden auf der Berme und im ersten Verteidigungsgraben mehrere Dutzende von Grabsteinen gefunden (Protase / Zrinyi 1994, 36, 73), in Tibiscum zumindest

[16] Dass diese Inschrift ein glaubwürdiges Argument abgäbe für die „Ruhe, die noch in der Provinz herrschte" (Macrea 1969, 443, 448), ist zweifelhaft.

[17] Siehe für solche Reparaturen Isac 2006-2007, 139-140.

[18] Für die späten Interventionen siehe Horedt 1978, 212-213; Hügel 2003, 130-148, Isac 2006-2007, 131-163; 2009, 779-790; Matei 2012, 55-64; eine allgemeine Darstellung bei Marcu 2009. Aus Raumgründen wird im folgenden Abschnitt nur die unbedingt nötige spezifische Literatur angegeben.

[19] Isac 2009, 786: „*The cause was probably the Carpic attacks in AD 246-247; it could have been a reopening of it under Trajan Decius*".

[20] Die Zweifel von Isac 2006-2007, 142-143; 2009, 786, sind wahrscheinlich unbegründet.

20[21], in Orăștioara de Sus lagen auf der Berme eine Kaiserinschrift und eine Votivinschrift[22], im südlichen inneren Verteidigungsgraben von Teregova haben wir selber einen Altar für Iupiter sowie andere Votivsteine gefunden[23]. Zumindest in einigen Fällen dürften diese Steine an der Erhöhung und nicht an einer einfachen Reparatur der Mauern gedient haben.

Ein drittes Element, das Aufmerksamkeit verdient, ist die Überlagerung der *via sagularis* und anderer freier Räume, wie solche vor blockierten Toren oder an Stelle von Teilen des *agger*, durch „parasitären" Bauten. Solche Bauten sind in Porolissum (Opreanu / Lăzărescu 2011, 3-4), Buciumi, Romita, Bologa, Samum, Tihău, Cumidava und Jidava identifiziert worden[24]. Der erste Gedanke dazu ist, dass die Kastelle überbevölkert waren. Es geht hier aber nicht um die Soldaten[25], deren Zahl in den letzten Jahren der Provinz sowieso ungenügend war, sondern um die zivile Bevölkerung, die hinter den Mauern Zuflucht gesucht haben dürfte[26].

Ebenso schwierig ist es, die Brände, die in der Endphase mehrerer Kastelle (Romita, Buciumi, Ilișua, Brâncovenești, Gilău) dokumentiert wurden, zu deuten und zu datieren[27]. Relativ eindeutig scheint ein solcher Fall nur in Arcobadara (Protase / Gaiu 1997, 419-420; Protase / Gaiu / Marinescu 1997a, 56; Opreanu 1999-2000, 397)[28], Buciumi (Gudea 1997d, 61; Opreanu 1999-2000, 397) und Slăveni[29] zu sein.

Ähnliche Befunde konnten in den wichtigsten Städten, wie in Apulum (*colonia Aurelia Apulensis*) und in der colonia Sarmizegetusa festgestellt werden. Längs des so genannten „kleinen Dammes", eigentlich der östlichen Mauer der *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*[30], wurden 1985 oder 1986 im inneren Verteidigungsgraben 19 epigraphische und skulpturelle, von der Mauerkrone gefallenen Steine, gefunden (Băluță 1986, 119; 1987, 169; 1988, 251). Riesige epigraphische Steine wurden in den 90er Jahren aus dem Fluß Muresch herausgezogen. Sie waren in den Verteidigungsgraben längs der südlichen Mauer gefallen, der inzwischen vom Fluß überflutet worden ist[31]. In Sarmizegetusa fanden die *basilica iudiciaria* des *forum vetus* und das Kapitol ihr Ende durch einen grossen Brand[32]. Zahlreiche Kalksteinblöcke weisen hier eine dicke gebrannte Schicht auf. Ende des 19. Jhts wurden die Tore des Amphitheaters mit riesigen Grabstelen aufgefunden, die sie in eine Festung umgewandelt hatten. Ohne handfeste Argumente hat man angenommen, dass das Amphitheater während der Hunnenangriffe als Festung benutzt worden sei (Király 1894, 129; Alicu 1997, 102; Piso 2005, 449).

Die allermeisten Forscher sind damit einverstanden, dass die erwähnten späten Eingriffe und Änderungen in den Kastellen noch in der Zeit der Provinz durchgeführt wurden[33]. Niemand kann aber darauf schwören, dass sie gleichzeitig eingetreten sind. Was die Ursachen betrifft, die zu diesen Arbeiten geführt haben, schwankt man zwischen Skepsis[34] und der Annahme einer unbestimmbaren Gefahr[35]. Man kann aber getrost behaupten, dass einige dieser Eingriffe, an ersten Stelle die Blockierung von Toren, als Verteidigungsmaßnahmen in äußerster Not zu verstehen sind.

Eine Parallele zu den archäologischen Befunden in Dakien findet man im 3. Jahrhundert am obergermanischen *Limes*. Man hat hier an mehreren Orten Nutzungsänderungen bestimmter Gebäude, Errichtung atypischer Gebäude an Stelle von normalen

[21] Im Tagebuch von M. Moga verzeichnet.

[22] *AE* 1972, 485 = *IDR* III.3 261; *AE* 1972, 486 = 1974, 543 = *IDR* III.3 263; siehe Daicoviciu / Gostar / Daicoviciu 1959, 351.

[23] I. Piso, A. Ardeț, C. Ardeț, F. Marcu, Bericht in Vorbereitung.

[24] Siehe dazu Isac 2006-2007, 139, 144-145; 2009, 787-789 und, mit allen Belegen und mit der neuesten Literatur, Matei 2012, 57-76.

[25] Vgl. aber Opreanu 1999-2000, 398, der an zusätzliche Truppen in der Zeitspanne Philippus – Gallienus denkt.

[26] Derselbe Gedankengang bei Matei 2012, 64. Vorsicht ist allerdings geboten, denn für einige solcher Gebäude, wie für jenes aus Porolissum, hat man inzwischen sowohl eine überzeugende Erklärung als auch eine frühere Datierung gefunden; siehe Opreanu / Lăzărescu / Ștefan 2013 86-88.

[27] Siehe für solche Fälle Hügel 2003, 142-143.

[28] Zu bemerken ist, dass bei Arcobadara die Münzen ab 253 völlig fehlen; siehe Găzdac / Gaiu 2011, 192-196; andererseits reichen die spätesten Fibeln bis ungefähr 260, Protase / Gaiu 1997, 420.

[29] Siehe Tudor 1978, 302, der aber glaubt, dass dieses Kastell infolge des karpischen Krieges des Philippus verlassen wurde; siehe auch Marcu 2009, 227.

[30] Siehe Diaconescu / Piso 1993, 68-69, 78-79, Abb. 3-4.

[31] Siehe *IDR* III.5, ad 700, 702, 706, 707, 709-711, 720.

[32] I. Piso, O. Țentea, Bericht in Vorbereitung.

[33] Siehe, mit überzeugenden Argumenten, Isac 2006-2007, 131-138; 2009, 790; vgl. Benea / Hica 2004, 111-112 und Petolescu 2010, 290, Anm. 999, die solche Zugriffe, vor allem die Blockierung der Tore, der in Dakien nach 271 übrig gebliebenen römischen Bevölkerung zuschreiben, eine unbeweisbare und unwahrscheinliche Hypothese.

[34] Siehe, zum Beispiel, Isac 2006-2007, 145-146; 2009, 789-790.

[35] Siehe Moga 1950, 132-133; Macrea et al. 1951, 304-305; Macrea 1969, 443.

Kastellinnenbauten, Reduktion von Kastellbädern, Verkleinerung von Wehranlagen und Zumauerungen von Kastelltoren festgestellt (Scholz 2002, 129-138; Jae / Scholz 2002, 415-424). Solche Arbeiten wurden allgemeinen Erscheinungen wie Verringerung der Besatzungsstärke, Verzicht auf Badekultur in Krisezeiten und Auflösung der Kastellstrukturen beigemessen (Nuber 1997, 156-157; Scholz 2002, 129; Jae / Scholz 2002, 415-416). Alles scheint hinzudeuten, dass die römischen Soldaten am *Limes* nicht mehr auf den schnellen Einsatz, sondern auf das Überleben ausgelegt waren. Man sollte aber die Blockierung von Toren nicht nur mit einer neuen Kastellstruktur, sondern, besonders, mit einer akuten Gefahr in Verbindung bringen. Wie bekannt, sind im Falle einer Belagerung die Tore das gefährdetste Element.

Für N. Gudea hat die Blockierung der Tore in Dakien „keine Bedeutung“[36]. Sehr verbreitet ist in der Literatur über Dakien die Idee, dass solche und ähnliche Eingriffe in den letzten zwei oder drei Jahrzehnten der Provinz stattgefunden haben und dass sie technisch bedingt waren, ohne jeden Bezug auf eine auswärtige Gefahr[37]. Einige Autoren schließen eine Krisensituation nicht aus, ohne, in den meisten Fällen, eine Datierung zu versuchen[38]. Die Skepsis ist vor allem auf die Unkenntnis der literarischen Quellen, beziehungsweise der erhaltenen Fragmente des Dexippos zurückzuführen. Ein Beispiel dafür ist die Bemerkung von P. Hügel, dass die römischen Verteidigungselemente gegenüber den ungenügenden technischen Mitteln der Goten unüberwindlich waren (Hügel 2003, mit Anm. 51). Stimmt das wirklich?

Die Belagerungsmethoden der Goten

Laut Dexippos verwendeten 248 die Goten bei der Belagerung von Marcianopolis primitive Belagerungsmittel, indem sie hauptsächlich Steine vor die Mauer anhäuften. So mussten sie sich unverrichteter Dinge zurückziehen[39]. Bald darauf scheinen die Goten Fortschritte gemacht zu haben, denn über die 250[40] stattgefundene Belagerung von Philippopolis lesen wir bei demselben Dexippos, in der deutschen Übersetzung von Gunther Martin, folgendes[41]: „(3) - - - Dann wieder unternahmen sie (die Skythen) jene Angriffe auf die Stadt, indem sie Leitern und Belagerungsgerät bauten. (4) Die Belagerungsmaschinen bestanden aus viereckigen Holzgestellen von hüttenartigen Konstruktionen. Darüber spannten sie Felle, um von allen Geschossen sicher zu sein. So bestürmten sie die Tore, hielten dabei ihre Schilde vor den Körper und bewegten die Maschinen mit Rädern und Hebeln. (5) - - - Manche lenkten auch hölzerne Türme auf Rädern an die Mauer, um so, wenn sie sich genähert hätten, durch Ansetzen von Brücken von diesen auf gleicher Höhe über die Mauer steigen zu können“. Da alles erfolglos war, „(7) - - - beschlossen sie, hohes Dammwerk gegen die Stadt aufzuschütten, um auf gleicher Höhe gegen die Gegner kämpfen zu können“. Wie reagierten darauf die Thraker? „(8) Als die Thraker sahen, was geschah (dass nämlich der Damm gegen sie aufgeschüttet wurde), zimmerten sie Balken zusammen, befestigten Bretter daran und errichteten so eine hohe Schutzwehr auf der Mauer - - -“.

Sehr ähnlich ist der Bericht über die 269 unternommene Belagerung von Side[42]: „(1) - - - [Die Skythen] bauten Belagerungsmaschinen und führten sie an die Mauer. (2) - - - Daraufhin fertigten die Skythen Türme aus Holz an, so hoch wie die Mauer, und bewegten sie auf un-

[36] Zum Beispiel Gudea 1982, 87, in einer stark ideologisierten Kritik zum Buch von Tóth 1978.

[37] Ebenda; Gudea 1997c, 38; ähnlich Ruscu 2003, 204-205; Hügel 2003, 133-134; Isac 2006-2007, 132-134, 145.

[38] Siehe oben; vgl. Petolescu 1984, 189-190, der sich für die Jahre 267-268 ausspricht.

[39] Dexipp. *Exc. de strateg.* 4 (Martin 2006, 109, F 22).

[40] Siehe für das Datum Wolfram 1979, 56; Grusková / Martin 2014, 37.

[41] Dexipp. *Exc. de strateg.* 5 (Martin 2006, 116, F 24): (3) Αὖτις δὲ αὖ τῆς πόλεως ἐπείραζον κλίμακας πεξάμενοι καὶ μηχανάς. (4) Τὰ δὲ μηχανήμα-<τα> ἦν ξύλα πεπηγότα τετράγωνα, ἐπιτεχνήματα οἰκίσκοις ἐμφερῆ. Καὶ αὐτῶν βύρσας ὑπερτείνοντες, ὡς παντὸς τοῦ μετιεμένου ἀβλαβῶς ἔχειν, προσπίπτντες <ταῖς> πύλαις σφῶν τε τὰς ἀσπίδας προβεβλημένοι καὶ μετανικοῦντες αὐτὰ τροχοῖς καὶ μοχλίοις. (5) - - -Ἕτεροι δὲ κλίμακας προσήρειδον τὰς μὲν ἐπ᾽εὐθὺ πεπηγυίας, τὰς δὲ ὑποτρόχους κινουμένας ἐπὶ θάτερα ἃς δὴ ὅτε προσάγοιντο κάλοις ἀπ᾽ἄκρων τῶν κλιμάκων ἠρτημένοις ἀνέπτυσσον ὡς ὀρθουμένας ἐπιβάλλειν τοῖς τείχεσιν. - - - (7) - - - ἐδόκει χώματα χοῦν μετέωρα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς εἶναι σφίσιν ἀπ᾽ἴσου πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους μάχεσθαι. - - - (8) Ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸ πραττόμενον οἱ Θρᾶικες, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς σφᾶς τὸ χῶμα ἀντετειχίζετο, ξύλα πηξάμενοι καὶ τούτοις σανίδας προσαρτήσαντες πρόβλημα μετέωρον ἐπὶ τῶι τειχίσματι ἤγειρον.

[42] *Exc. de strateg.* 6 (Martin 2006, 124-125, F 27): (1) - - - [οἱ Σκύθαι] μηχανὰς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ προσῆγον τῶι τείχει. (2) - - - . Πύργους δὲ ἐπὶ τούτωι ξύλου ἰσομετρήτους τῶι τείχει κατεσκεύαζον καὶ ἐκίνουν ὑποτρόχους ὡς ἐγγὺς ἵστασθαι. Προεβέβληντο δὲ τῶν πύργων οἱ μὲν σίδηρον ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐληλασμένον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ξύλων καταπεπηγότα, οἱ δὲ δέρριν καὶ ὅσα πυρὶ οὐχ ἁλώσιμα. (3) Ἀντεμηχανήσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως τοιόνδε· σανίδας μεγάλας ὀρθίας προστησάμενοι καθ᾽ὅ τι ἔμελλον οἱ ἐναντίοι ποιήσασθαι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν μηχανῶν καὶ αὖ ἐγκάρσια ξύλα καὶ ἰκρία ταύταις παραπήξαντες, μέσαις αὐταῖς ἐτεκταίνοντο θυρίδας, ὅσον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἄχρι στέρνου, ὡς ὑπερέχοντες αὐτῶν κατὰ ὕψος ἐκ μετεώρου ἔχειν ἀμύνεσθαι - - -.

ten angebrachten Rädern, um sie nahe daran aufzustellen. Manche der Türme waren vorne durch getriebenes, an vielen Stellen am Holz befestigtes Eisen geschützt, andere durch Häute und was sonst feuerabweisend war. (3) Dagegen fanden die aus der Stadt ihrerseits folgendes Mittel: sie stellten dort, wo die Gegner ihr Belagerungsgerät heranführen sollten, große Bretter senkrecht auf, befestigten daran wiederum Querbalken und Verstrebungen und fertigten in der Mitte Schießscharten an, so dass ein Mann bis zur Brust geschützt war. So konnten sie sich, weil sie die Feinde überragten, aus der Höhe verteidigen - - -".

Die Goten haben offensichtlich bezüglich der Belagerungsmaschinen innerhalb weniger Jahre das Niveau der Römer erreicht[43]. Die Fortschritte sind auch auf die große Zahl der Überläufer zurükzuführen, die am Regierungsanfang des Decius bei den Goten gefunden haben[44]. Angesichts der technischen Fortschritte der Goten griffen die Römer zu vorgeschriebenen Maßnahmen, wie die Erhöhung der Mauern[45], oder zu ungewöhnlichen Maßnahmen, wie die Blockierung von Toren. Nehmen wir an, dass aus organisatorischen Gründen ein oder zwei Tore eines Kastells nicht mehr nötig geworden wären. Man hätte sie einfach zugeschlossen oder ein anderes Mittel verwendet, um das Unterbrechen des Verkehrs zu signalisieren. Niemand hätte an eine Vermauerung oder eine Blockierung durch schwere Statuenbasen gedacht. Es ist offensichtlich, dass solche Maßnahmen gegen besonders wirksame Rammböcke (*arietes*) gedacht waren. Die Logik der Kriegshandlungen fordert, dass solche Maßnahmen kurz vor einem Angriff oder während dessen und nicht nachdem die Gefahr vergangen war, genommen worden wären. Wahrscheinlich wurde während der letzten Jahrzenten der Provinz das Verteidigungssystem von Dakien mehreren gefährlichen Angriffen ausgesetzt. Gab es aber eine Situation, die, mehr als die anderen, zu radikalen Maßnahmen zwang? Wie kann man sie identifizieren? Wann könnte sie eingetreten sein?

Epigraphische und numismatische Angaben

Eine erste ernste Krise war der Karpenkrieg des Philippus Arabs, der, wie ich immer in Erinnerung bringen muss, 247/248 und nicht schon 245-247 stattgefunden hat (Piso 1974, 301-309 = 2005, 51-59). Während der Anwesenheit des Kaisers in der Provinz, im Frühjahr 248, wurden in den Städten und in den Kastellen zahlreiche Statuen errichtet (Piso 1974, 302-303 = 2005, 53-54, 56). Der Angriff wurde ganz bestimmt erfolgreich abgewehrt und die Folgen dürften nicht dramatisch gewesen sein. Dass aber die Drohung ernst gewesen war, ist an den Münzhorden, die mit Philippus enden, zu erkennen (Găzdac 2010, Karte 7). Nicht nur Dakien, sondern auch Untermoesien befanden sich in höchster Gefahr.

Die nächste Krise bestand in einem generalisierten Angriff auf die Balkanprovinzen unter Decius. Eine Schar Goten könnte versucht haben, Dakien zu bestürmen. Nur das dürfte den von Decius getragenen Titel *restitutor Daciarum* erklären[46]. Dass die grosse Zerstörung sich nicht 250 ereignete, geht auch aus der Tatsache hervor, dass eine der Statuenbasen, die die *porta decumana* von Porolissum blockierte, der Kaiserin Herennia Etruscilla gewidmet war[47]. Die Kaiserin erscheint hier als Mutter des Decius und des Quintus, beide *Augusti*. Es geht um *Imp. Caes. Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius Aug.* und um *Imp.*

[43] Siehe Veg. 4.13-17; vgl. Martin 2006, 222-227.

[44] Iord. *Get*. 90: *Milites vero videntes se post tot labores militia pulsos, indignati ad Ostrogothae regis auxilium confugerunt. Qui excipiens eos eorumque verbis accensus - - -*.

[45] Siehe Veg. 4.19.1: *Praeterea partem muri, ad quam machina conatur accedere, caemento atque lapidibus vel luto sive lateribus, postremo tabulatis exstruendo faciunt altiorem, ne defensores moenium desuper urbi ventura possit opprimere.*

[46] *CIL* III 1176 = Dessau 514 = *IDR* III.5 431: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) / Mess(io) Quinto / Traiano / Decio [p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto)] /[5] p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) [pot(estate)] / II co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriae) / restituto/ri Daciarum / col(onia) nova Apul[en]s(is).*

[47] C. Daicoviciu 1937-1940, 328-330, # 7 f, fig. 26 = *AE* 1944, 56 = *ILD* I 672 (Porolissum): *[[Hereṇniąę Ętrus|cillae saṇcţişimae / Augustae c[o]niugi d(omini) n(ostri) / Traiąni Dec[i(i)] Aug(usti) /[5] mątr[i] Deci(i) et Quin/ti Augg(ustorum) et cąstro/]]rum [[senatuş ac / patriae n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum)]] / Porol(issensium) sag(ittariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) /[10] Decianus dica/tissimus numi|ni eorum]].* Laut Tóth 1978, 38-39; vgl. 10, wurde der Stein 1943, zusammen mit *AE* 1944, 52 und 55 für Philippus, *AE* 1944, 53 für Philippus Iunior und *AE* 1944, 54 für Otacilia Severa vor der *porta decumana* gefunden. Die einzige Erklärung für ihre Lage ist, dass man mit ihnen das Tor blockiert hatte; vgl. Macrea 1957, 244, laut dem die Steine zur Wiederherstellung der Befestigungen gedient hätten; er kannte aber den Bericht von E. Tóth nicht, der S. 10 ausdrücklich behauptet, dass sie nicht bei Vermauerungen benutzt wurden. Isac 2006-2007, 140 bestand aber, m. E. mit Unrecht, darauf, dass das Tor nicht blockiert wurde. Während der Grabungen des Jahres 1943 wurden auch die *porta praetoria* und die *porta principalis* sinistra vermauert gefunden. Im Eingang des letzten Tores wurde sogar eine Statuenbasis für Maximus (*AE* 1979, 494) gefunden; siehe E. Tóth 1978, 6-10.

Caes. C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus Aug[48]. Wir befinden uns am Frühjahrsende 251, zwischen dem Zurückschlagen des Angriffs auf Dakien und der Schlacht von Abrittus, die irgendwann um die Mitte Mai stattgefunden hat[49]. Anhand der Karte der Münzhorte, die mit Decius enden, ist nachvollzuziehen, dass die allermeisten Horte nicht in Dakien, sondern in Untermoesien vergraben wurden (Găzdac 2010, Karte 8). Andererseits dürften manche Horte, die in den letzten Jahre des Philippus enden (248-249), erst später, zum Beispiel 250-251, versteckt worden sein[50]. Jedenfalls muss die Inschrift der Herennia Etruscilla als *terminus post quem* für die dramatischen Ereignisse in Dakien betrachtet werden (siehe Macrea 1969, 443). Unter Trebonianus Gallus blieb die Lage, dank des Sieges über die Goten und des darauffolgenden Abkommens, verhältnismäßig ruhig[51].

Was besagen die Inschriften über die Lage Dakiens unter Gallienus? Die Inschrift von Potaissa an Azizus[52] ist aufgrund der Epitheta der *legio V Macedonica* in die Jahre 255/256 zu datieren. Bemerkenswert ist, dass die Legion schon von einem *praefectus* befehligt war, ganz im Sinne der so genannten Reform des Gallienus, deren Ansätze schon vor diesem Kaiser erkennbar sind (Piso 2014, 130-133, 137-145; anders noch 2005, 418; 2013, 353-354). Valerianus iunior ist Ende 257 oder Anfang 258 gestorben (Kienast 2011, 221), was auch die Datierung der Statuenbasis aus Sarmizegetusa ergibt[53]. Nicht genau datierbar ist die Statuenbasis der Cornelia Salonina aus Tibiscum[54]. Aufgrund der Epitheta *Valeriana Gallieniana* der *cohors III Delmatarum* ist die Statuenbasis von Praetorium (Mehadia)[55] vor den Sommer 260 zu setzen. Die Errichtung von Kaiserstatuen in Kastellen und in den Städten oder die Weihung eines Tempels für das Wohl des Kaiserhauses spricht dafür, dass die Autorität des römischen Staates noch wirksam war und dass ein munizipales Leben noch in großen Zügen bestand. Dieser Zustand dauerte einige Zeit auch nach der Gefangennahme des Valerianus im Juni(?) 260 an. Eine Weihung in Herkulesbad nach dem Sommer 260 seitens M. Aur. Veteranus, *praef. leg. XIII Geminae Gallienianae*[56], bezeugt, dass Dakien noch völlig dem römischen Verteidigungssystem an der Unteren Donau angehörte. Jedenfalls ist dies die letzte datierbare Inschrift der Provinz Dakien, was nahelegt, dass der Zeitpunkt der Katastrophe vom Sommer 260 nicht sehr entfernt war.

Was sagen die Münzen dazu aus? Es ist klar, dass der Münzumlauf zwischen Valerian und Gallienus drastisch abnimmt[57]. Man muss auch davon ausgehen, dass die Statistik von den ersten zwei Jahren der Alleinherrschaft des Gallienus und von den nicht wenigen Münzen, die aus Drobeta und Sucidava stammen, wo die neuesten Prägungen leichter hinkamen, beeinflußt wird (Găzdac 2010, 198-199). In der Tat war der Absturz nach 261/262 viel drastischer. Die Zahl der Münzen des Claudius II ist in Dakien verschwindend klein im Vergleich, zum Beispiel, mit Pannonien (Găzdac 2010, 198-201; Pl. Q 2, Q 6; Opreanu 1999-2000, 399), was heißt, dass die Soldverteilung unter den schwierigen Umständen eingeschränkt war[58].

Fand die Katastrophe 262 statt?

Wie wir oben gesehen haben, war 262 für die Balkanprovinzen ein dramatisches Jahr. Noch konzentrierten sich die Goten auf Landzüge. Erst 267/268 weihten sie alle ihre Energie den Seeoperationen im

[48] Siehe Kienast 2001, 205-206. Laut der herkömlichen Theorie soll der zweite Sohn, Hostilianus (Decius) erst von Trebonianus Gallus zum *Augustus* erhoben worden sein. Wie aus der Inschrift von Porolissum hervorgeht, wurde er aber zum *Augustus* schon vor der Schlacht von Abrittus ausgerufen.

[49] Siehe neulich Kovács 2015, 311.

[50] Siehe die Diskussion bei Piso 1974, 307-308 = 2005, 58-59.

[51] Zos. 1.24, 2; Zonar. 12.21; siehe neulich Huttner 2008, 212.

[52] *CIL* III 875 = *ILS* 4345 = Hügel 2003, 61, # 8 = Piso 2013, 353-354, # 144/1 (Potaissa): *Deo Azizo Bono P[uero conserva]|tori pro salutem dd(ominorum) [nn(ostrorum) Valeriani et Gal]|lieni Augg(ustorum) et Valerian[i nobiliss(imi) Caesaris] / et Corneliae Salonina[e Augustae et genio(?)] |[5] leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) III piae fid(elis) [- - -] / Donatus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) eiusde[m agens vice legati(?)] / templum ince[p]tum perfecit v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito (?)].*

[53] *CIL* III 7971 = *ILS* 554 = *IDR* III.2 82 = Hügel 2003, 61, # 9 (Sarmizegetusa): *P(ublio) Licinio Corne/lio Valeriano / nobilissimo Caes(ari) / filio /[5] Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ublii) Licini(i) / Egnati(i) Gallieni / Pii Fel(icis) invicti Aug(usti) / col(onia) Ulp(ia) Trai(ana) Aug(usta) / Dacica Sarmiz(egetusa) /[10] metro(polis) publice.*

[54] *CIL* III 1550 = *IDR* III.1 132 = Hügel 2003, 61, # 11 (Tibiscum): *Corneliae / Saloninae / Au[g(ustae)] coniugi / Gallieni Aug(usti) n(ostri) /[5] ordo mun(icipii) / Tib(iscensium) dev(otus) num(ini) / maiesta[t(ique)] eius.*

[55] *CIL* III 1577 = 8010 = *IDR* III.1 77 = Hügel 2003, 62, # 11 (Praetorium/*Mehadia): Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ublio) Lici(nio) / Gallieno P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) |/ pont(ifici) max(imo) tr(ibuniciae) po[t(estatis)] / cons(uli) III procons(uli) /[5] coh(ors) III Delmatarum / Valerian(a) Gallie|nae (milliaria) eqq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) | devota numini / maiestatique eor(um).*

[56] *CIL* III 1560 = *ILS* 3845 = *IDR* III.1 54 = Hügel 2003, 62, # 12 (Băile Herculane/Herkulesbad): *Dis magnis / et bonis Aescu/lapio et Hygiae / Marc(us) Aur(elius) Vete/ranus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) /[5] XIII G(eminae) Gall(i)enian(ae) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)*. Für die unter Valerianus und Gallienus gesetzten Inschriften siehe noch Macrea 1969, 443-444; Dana / Nemeti 2001, 244-246; Petolescu 2010, 284-285.

[57] Siehe besonders Găzdac 2010, 198 und Karte 9.

Mittelmeerraum. Anfang 262 waren die Römer mit Kriegsoperationen nördlich der Alpen und gegen das Perserreich beschäftigt. Es ist also berechtigt, für die Katastrophe, die Dakien nach 260 betraf, vor allem das Jahr 262 in Erwägung zu ziehen. Eine derartige Annahme wird von den einzelnen Quellenkategorien[59] höchstens angedeutet und keineswegs zweifelsfrei bestätigt. Nur die Summe der Ergebnisse berechtigt die Annahme, dass das Ereignis 262 oder, um vorsichtiger zu sein, irgendwann in den Jahren 261/263 stattgefunden hat.

Ein gravierender Umstand, der die Archäologie schwierig ans Licht bringen kann, war die furchtbare Seuche, die durch das gesamte Reich seit dem Regierungsanfang des Trebonianus Gallus bis zum Tod des Claudius II getobt hat[60]. Man kann sich vorstellen, wie viele Opfer die Seuche hinter den Mauern, wo auch die zivilen Flüchtlinge zur Zeit der gothischen Angriffe zusammengedrängt lebten, gekostet hat. Die zwei kombinierten Katastrophen bewirkten auch den völligen Zusammenbruch der munizipalen und administrativen Strukturen.

Wie soll man sich das Leben in Dakien zwischen diesem vermuteten Angriff und der Aufgabe der Provinz unter Aurelian vorstellen? Die Legionslager und die Kastelle oder einige von ihnen dürften von den Soldaten und von der Zivilbevölkerung weiterhin benutzt worden sein, aber kaum noch in ihren alten Zustand wiederhergestellt, denn, mit wenigen Ausnahmen[61], blieben die Tore blockiert. Die übriggebliebenen Soldaten erhielten in kleinem Maß Sold von Rom und mußten des öfteren selber für ihren Unterhalt sorgen. Das geschieht zumeist auf Kosten der Zivilbevölkerung. Die munizipalen Behörden konnten unter diesen Umständen kaum noch funktionnieren, so dass von einem munizipalen Leben nicht mehr die Rede sein kann. Kein Statthalter (d. h. zu dieser Zeit ein *agens vice praesidis*), Legionspräfekt oder Befehlshaber von Auxilien wurde von Rom aus ernannt. Besonders dieser Umstand hat dazu beigetragen, die Provinz als *amissa* anzusehen.

Um gegen Palmyra vorzurücken, das nach der Besitznahme von Ägypten für Rom eine tödliche Gefahr geworden ist, konnte Aurelian nur noch mit den Donaulegionen rechnen. Damit zumindest die Donaulinie verteidigt werden konnte, zog Aurelian 271 aus Dakien die restlichen Truppen und jene der Provinzialen, die ihm folgen wollten, auf die Donausüdseite zurück und begab sich in den Orient, wo das Schicksal des Reiches entschieden werden sollte[62]. So dürfte eine rationelle Erklärung für die Aufgabe Dakiens lauten. Man kann hinzufügen, dass Dakien in solchem Maß zerstört war, dass es unter den damaligen Umständen schwierig vorstellbar war, es wieder in den alten Zustand zu bringen[63].

Das kaiserliche Propaganda scheint aber zuerst die ganze Sache anders vorgestellt zu haben. Dem Verbum *intermittere* bei Eutropius (# 3) sollte man mehr Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Vl. Iliescu (1973, 24), E. Chrysos (1992,181-183) und P. Hügel (2003, 45-46) verstanden darunter, dass Aurelian „Dakien leer dazwischen, das heißt zwischen den Römern und den Barbaren gelassen hat", was nicht überzeugt[64]. Dieses Verbum, von Eutropius nur an dieser Stelle benutzt, hat eher einen zeitlichen als einen räumlichen Sinn. Man sollte darunter eher „aussetzen", „einen Zwischenraum oder eine Zwischenzeit lassen" verstehen[65]. Dies würde heissen, dass aus Propagandagründen Aurelian die Aufgabe Dakiens nicht als engültig darstellen wollte. Infolge der

[58] Für eine gewisse Versorgung des Heeres, besonders der Legionen, mit Geld bis Anfang der Regierung des Aurelianus siehe schon Alföldi 1967, 327; Horedt 1978, 215; Găzdac 2010, 143-144, 200, Karten 9-10. Andererseits wurde der Münzumlauf in den Auxiliarkastellen Dakiens lahmgelegt; siehe Găzdac 2000, 737-756; vgl. aber die Seltenheit der nachseverischen und nachphilippischen Münzen am obergermanisch-rätischen *Limes* etliche Jahre vor dessen Fall bei Nuber 1990, 51-68.

[59] Der gegenwärtige Rahmen erlaubt nicht, auch die Artefakte zu untersuchen.

[60] Zosimus 1.26.2; 1.37.3: - - - λοιμὸς ἐμβρίσας ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷος οὔπω πρότερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη - - -; Zonaras 12.21; HA, *Gall. duo* 5.5; Iordanes, *Getica* 104: - - - *pestilens morbus* - - - *faciem totius orbis foedavit* - - -; siehe Alföldi 1939, 168, 227-228.

[61] Siehe oben.

[62] Vgl. Alföldi 1967, 328-329. Nicht überzeugend ist die Meinung von Bodor 1973, 29-40, wonach Aurelian Dakien erst 275 aufgegeben hätte; so aber auch Chrysos 1992, 175-186.

[63] In einem gewissen Sinn mag Ruscu 1998, 252 damit Recht haben, dass „*de l'analyse des sources il ne ressort pas que la Dacie, une fois perdue par Gallien, fût recupérée par Claude II ou par Aurélien, pour être ensuite officiellement abandonnée*".

[64] Vgl. Bird 1993: „*he gave up the province of Dacia*"; Hellegouarc'h 2002: „*il la laissa tomber*".

[65] Georges 1918, 2677, zu Eutrop. 9.15: „eine Provinz für jetzt aufgeben".

aufwendigen Züge gegen Palmyra und seines eigenen Todes konnte diese Maßnahme nicht mehr rückgängig gemacht werden. Die richtige Übersetzung wäre demnach: „hat Dakien provisorisch aufgegeben“[66].

Ich bin mir bewusst, dass mangels einer unumstößlichen literarischen Bestätigung, in derartig heiklen Fragen keine neue Hypothese gerne akzeptiert wird, hege aber die Hoffnung dass, trotz vorauszusehender Kritik, wir der Wahrheit etwas näher gekommen sind.

[66] Iorga 1936, 336: „*a părăsit-o provisoriu (intermisit)* ...“.

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Theoderich vs. Theoderich. Zur Konkurrenz gotischer Warlords im Osten des Römischen Reiches*

Guido M. BERNDT

Abstract: Following the decline of Attila's empire in the middle of the fifth century, several Gothic warrior groups emerged in the former Roman provinces of Pannonia. Three of them were led by members of the pre-eminent Amal family. Theoderic, the most successful of all Gothic warlords, was able to unite these forces in the 470s, thereby creating a new and severe menace for the eastern Roman Empire. Whilst raiding and looting Roman territories the number of warriors increased, perhaps growing to some 10,000 men. For nearly a decade, the Amal family competed for territory/dominance with another Gothic warlord, also named Theoderic. In Thrace, on the soil of today's Bulgaria, this military leader had gathered a strong following, in no way inferior to the Amal war-band. The "Thracian Goths" were obliged to perform military service for the Roman emperor, who rewarded them with regular payment. Yet the emperor was not willing to satisfy the demands of both Gothic leaders, and tried to play the two Theoderics off against each other. The aim of this contribution is to investigate and discuss the competition between the two warlords for imperial recognition, and consequently to shed some light on a decisive period in the history of the Roman Balkans in Late Antiquity.

Key words: Theoderich, Goten, Warlords, Kriegergruppen.

Seit etwa der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts betrachtet die historische Forschung die Goten nicht mehr als „germanische Stämme", sondern sucht nach neuen Wegen, ihre Geschichte zu rekonstruieren[1]. Dieser grundlegende Paradigmenwechsel wurde eingeleitet durch das Buch Reinhard Wenskus' über „Stammesbildung und Verfassung" (Wenskus 1961) und erstmals durch Herwig Wolfram auf die Goten angewandt[2]. Der folgende kurze Beitrag hat freilich nicht die Gesamtgeschichte der Goten zum Gegenstand, sondern untersucht eine spezifische Phase, in der gotische Gruppen im Osten des Imperium Romanum als Kriegerverbände aktiv waren. Zu Grunde gelegt wird die Annahme, dass es sich bei diesen Verbänden um Gruppen handelt, deren in den Quellen sichtbare Akteure vor allem Männer waren, die ihr Dasein als Krieger bestritten, deren *Lebensform* das Kriegertum war[3]. Die Goten müssen in dieser Hinsicht über besondere Fähigkeiten verfügt haben, andernfalls wäre kaum zu erklären, wie sie im Verlaufe ihrer Geschichte immer wieder gegen mächtige Gegner bestehen und selbst römische Kaiser in Bedrängnis bringen konnten.

Die Anführer dieser Kriegergruppen lassen sich als Warlords beschreiben[4]. Allen diesen Männern gemein ist, dass die Quellen regelhaft ihre individuelle Gewaltbereitschaft und die Fähigkeit, Widersacher

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[1] Viele Deutungen, die auf übersteigerten nationalen und nationalistischen Überzeugungen basierten, wie etwa die von der „germanischen Treue", dem „germanischen Sakralkönigtum", dem „germanischen Gefolgschaftswesen" sind mittlerweile dekonstruiert. Zudem hat sich basierend auch den Forschungen von Wenskus (Wenskus 1961) die Erkenntnis durchgesetzt, dass die Völker der „Völkerwanderungszeit" eben keine homogenen, geschlossenen Gruppen, sondern vielmehr heterogene, zum Teil recht ephemere Gebilde waren. Sie beruhten keineswegs auf einer gemeinsamen biologischen Herkunft, sondern zeichneten sich, wenn überhaupt, eher durch einen Glauben an eine gemeinsame Geschichte aus, die freilich von den jeweiligen Anführern im eigenen Interesse ausgestaltet werden konnte. Die spezifischen ethnischen Identitäten dieser Gruppen haben sich aber im Wesentlichen als soziale Konstrukte erwiesen.

[2] Wolfram 2009. Überblickswerke in Auswahl: Heather 1991, Heather 1996, Giese 2004. Die Vielzahl der Beiträge zur Gotenforschung ist kaum zu überschauen.

[3] Bodmer 1957, mit Ausführungen zum Kriegertum als Lebensform in der Merowingerzeit.

[4] Berndt 2016. Mein Warlordbegriff basiert auf soziologischen wie politikwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen: Riekenberg 1999 und Veit 2011, Riekenberg 1999. Für die Verwendung des Begriffs in spätantiken bzw. frühmittelalterlichen Kontexten siehe Harrison 2002 oder Liebeschuetz 2007.

mit den eigenen Händen zu töten, hervorheben (Berndt 2014). Sie bewährten sich im Kampf auf dem Schlachtfeld, sie schafften Beute für sich und ihre Gefolgsleute heran und festigten auf diesem Wege ihre hervorgehobene gesellschaftliche Stellung. Über die rein physische Stärke und die militärtechnischen Kompetenzen hinaus mussten sie über ein Mindestmaß an psychologischer Führungsfähigkeit verfügen. Einem Warlord gelang es umso leichter, die Zahl seiner Gefolgsleute zu erhöhen, je größer der Optimismus war, der seinen Aktionen entgegengebracht wurde. Und je mehr Krieger sich ihm anschlossen, desto größer war das kollektive Gewaltpotential und damit die Wahrscheinlichkeit weiterer Erfolge (Pohl 1980). Der Zusammenhalt beruhte auf beiderseitigen Verpflichtungen. Die einzelnen Krieger haben wohl einen Treueid auf ihren Anführer geleistet, allerdings liegen kaum Zeugnisse vor, die Details aus gotischen Kontexten erhellen könnten. Am ehesten wird man sich dieses Ritual analog zu jenem vorstellen dürfen, das spätantik-römische Truppenführer mit ihren Soldaten verband (Esders 2008).

Überhaupt scheinen diese Kriegerverbände häufig ihre Struktur an Organisationsformen der spätrömischen Armee angelehnt zu haben, was letztlich wenig verwunderlich ist, weil sie ja regelmäßig seitens der römischen Behörden zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtet wurden. Warlords hatten darauf bedacht zu sein, innerhalb der Kriegergemeinschaften eine möglichst hohe soziale Kohäsion zu gewährleisten, um eventuelle Konkurrenzen um die Anführerschaft, aber auch einem wohl permanent vorhandenen Fraktionismus entgegenzuwirken. Nur so ließ sich die Funktionalität des Verbandes aufrechterhalten, der ja ihre Position und Person gegen äußere Bedrohungen zu schützen hatte. Abhängig von den jeweiligen Interessen, seien diese nun ökonomisch oder auch politisch, versuchten Warlords ihre Aktionsradien stetig zu erweitern. Gerade diese Ausweitung ihrer Operationsgebiete, gestützt auf die in der Regel hohe Mobilität der Kriegergemeinschaft, machte sie zu so gefährlichen Akteuren.

Tatsächlich waren gotische Warlords weit mehr als nur Anführer gewalttätiger Banden aus Räubern oder Plünderern, denn ihr Agieren konnte von nicht geringer politischer Evidenz sein, wenn sich auch nicht in jedem überlieferten Fall klar zu umreißende politische Ziele erkennen lassen. Sie waren weder Paramilitärs noch Rebellen, da sie in der Regel Bereitschaft zeigten, mit „staatlichen" Institutionen zu kooperieren, solange es ihnen nützlich erschien. Warlords hatten eine wesentlich höhere individuelle Verfügungsmacht über erzielte Beute als etwa ein regulärer römischer Feldherr, denn dessen Beute war in der Regel „staatliches" Gut. Beuteteilungsmodalitäten dienten dem Anführer auch zur Gestaltung und Verstetigung der angestrebten Gruppenhierarchie. Mitunter legalisierte der offizielle Herrscher die Stellung eines Warlords entweder aus eigenem Antrieb oder auf dessen Druck hin, ohne dass dieses Zugeständnis die Position unbedingt substantiell veränderte; dies kann durch die Vergabe ranghoher Militärposten oder die Anerkennung und Legitimierung einer erkämpften Herrschaftsfunktion geschehen. Einigen Warlords gelang es, ihre gewaltsam eingenommene Stellung zu formalisieren und in eine Königsherrschaft zu transformieren oder zumindest in eine königsähnliche Position aufzusteigen (Wolfram 2005). Warlords müssen Krieg führen und sich dabei persönlich an die Spitze ihrer

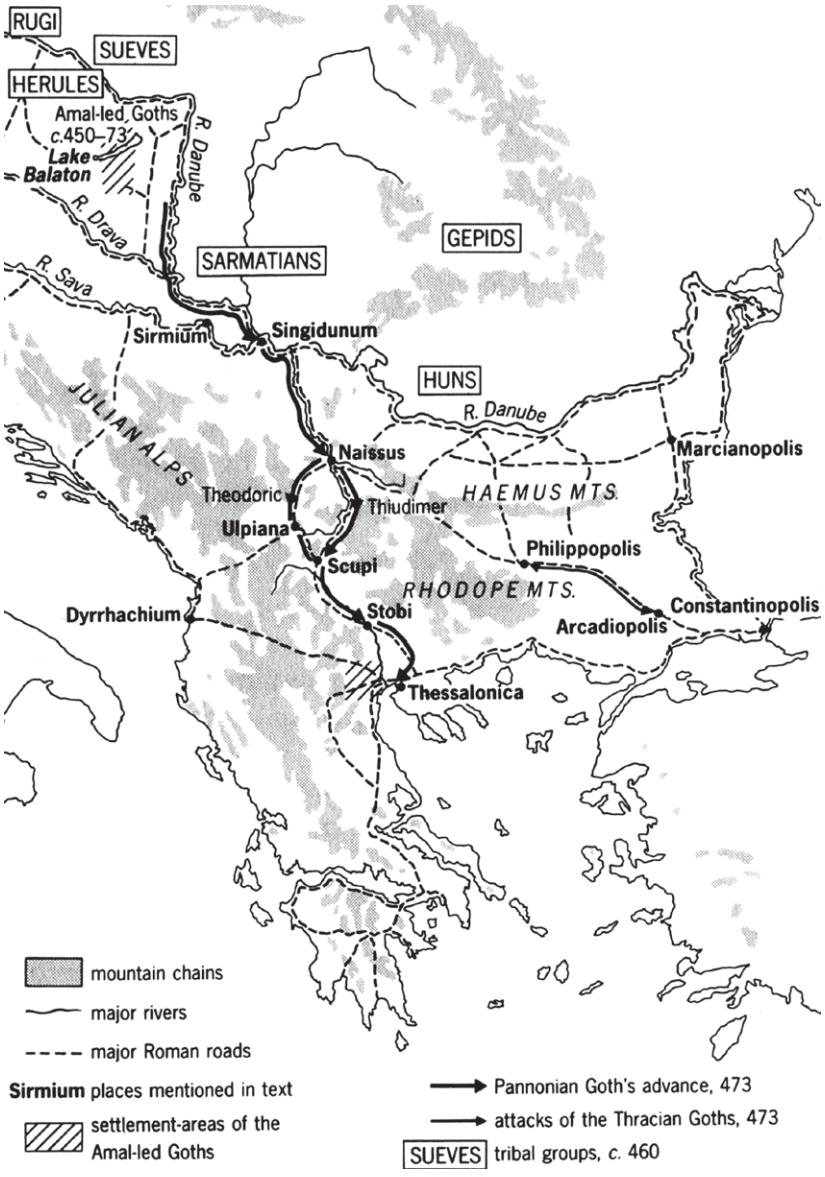


Abb. 1. Die Züge gotischer Kriegergruppen im Osten des Römischen Reichs (nach Heather 1991, 295, mit einigen Korrekturen von N. Sharankov)

Kriegergruppe stellen – und das regelmäßig. Nicht nur, um neue materielle Güter zur Versorgung der Gruppe bereitstellen zu können, sondern auch um die Legitimität der eigenen Vorrangstellung unter Beweis zu stellen – dazu diente in der Regel auch die offen gezeigte individuelle Gewaltfähigkeit.

Da die in der Regel mobilen Gruppen nicht im erforderlichen Umfang auf selbstproduzierte Versorgungsgüter, etwa im Sinne von jahreszeitlich einzufahrenden Ernten, zurückgreifen konnten, mussten andere Wege der Versorgung und der ökonomischen Existenzsicherung gefunden werden, und diese gestalteten sich häufig in raubwirtschaftlichen Formen (Berndt 2014). Um die Versorgung einer Kriegergemeinschaft und der dazugehörigen Familien zu gewährleisten, war eine ständige Beschaffung von Ressourcen notwendig: Lebensmittel, Trinkwasser, Futter für Reit- und Zugtiere sowie für das mitzuführende Vieh[5], dann aber auch Waffen[6], Werkzeuge, Kleidung, Schmuck sowie sonstige Luxusgüter. Insbesondere Gold in

[5] Fälle von Viehdiebstahl sind wiederholt belegt, so etwa Jord. *Get.* 53.273.

[6] Eine ausführliche Studie zu den Waffen der Goten: Wiemer / Berndt 2016.

jeglicher Form, ob nun gemünzt, in Barren gegossen, als Tafelgeschirr oder Schmuckstück gearbeitet, war von besonderer Bedeutung[7]. Den Zustrom an Gütern aller Art nicht versiegen zu lassen, lag in der Verantwortung des Anführers, der die Güterdistribution zum Herrschaftsmittel machte. All diese grundlegenden Bemerkungen gelten für verschiedene spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Anführer[8] und damit auch für die Goten.

Im Jahre 473 standen die amalischen Brüder Thiudimir und Vidimir vor einer schicksalhaften Entscheidung. Wohin sollten sie mit ihren Goten ziehen? Ausgangspunkt war eine unzureichende Versorgungslage der Ostrogoten in Pannonien[9], wo sie sich nach dem Zerfall der hunnischen Herrschaft[10] aufhielten, und die damit einhergehende Unzufriedenheit eines maßgeblichen Teils dieses Verbandes: der Krieger. Der um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts schreibende Historiker Jordanes, dem im Hinblick auf diese Vorgänge nicht wenig Vertrauen entgegengebracht wird und der ja von sich selbst behauptet, gotischer Abstammung zu sein, lässt keinen Zweifel daran aufkommen, dass Thiudimir, der Vater des berühmten Theoderich, zu diesem Zeitpunkt bei allen beteiligten Goten das Sagen hatte. Und dennoch spricht Jordanes davon, dass ein Losentscheid über das weitere Vorgehen bestimmen sollte. Nach diesem sollte Vidimir in den Westen nach Italien ziehen, wohingegen Thiudimir mit seinen Männern im oströmischen Reich verbleiben wollte, denn er sei der Stärkere von beiden und könne es daher auch mit einem stärkeren Gegner, dem Kaiser in Konstantinopel, aufnehmen: *qui accito germano missaque sorte hortatus est, ut ille in parte Italiae, ubi tunc Glycerius regnabat imperator, ipse vero sicut fortior ad fortiorem regnum accederet Orientalem* (Jord. *Get.* 56.283). Dass dieser Gegner nur wenige Jahre später einen anderen Goten als Gegenspieler der Amaler aufzubauen half, war zu diesem Zeitpunkt freilich noch nicht zu erahnen.

Theoderich wurde zu einem nicht ganz genau bestimmbaren Zeitpunkt in den 450er Jahren als Sohn des Amalers Thiudimir und einer Frau namens Erelieva geboren[11]. Bezeichnenderweise verbindet Jordanes die Geburt Theoderichs mit dem erfolgreichen Befreiungskampf der Goten gegen die Hunnen. In jenen Jahren war deren ephemeres Reich, nicht zuletzt aufgrund militärischer Misserfolge bzw. nicht gewonnener Schlachten, zerfallen. Noch Anfang der 450er Jahre waren ostrogotische Krieger Attila weit in den Westen gefolgt und hatten u. a. in der Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern auf hunnischer Seite gekämpft. Andere ostrogotische Krieger hatten sich schon früher der attilianischen Oberherrschaft entzogen, indem sie sich den Visigoten anschlossen. So war etwa Beremud – der Großvater Eutharichs – „aus Verachtung der Ostrogoten wegen ihrer Abhängigkeit von den Hunnen" (*Beremud iam contempta Ostrogotharum gente propter Hunnorum dominio ad partes Hesperias Vesegotharum fuisset gente secutus*) bereits 418 in den Westen gezogen (Jord. *Get.* 48.251). Nach wiederholtem Gewaltaktionen handelten Valamir, Thiudimir und der oströmische Kaiser Leon I. im Jahre 461 ein Abkommen aus. Auch wenn wir die Details nicht kennen, können zumindest zwei inhaltliche Aspekte erschlossen werden: Die Goten verpflichteten sich, jegliche Gewalt gegen die Römer einzustellen und die Bedrohung der Bevölkerung zu beenden sowie dem römischen Kaiser auf Anfrage militärische Hilfe zu leisten. Im Gegenzug sicherte der Kaiser das

[7] Die Bedeutung von Gold und Schätzen in jeglicher Form für die Anführer barbarischer Verbände hat Hardt 2004 herausgearbeitet.

[8] Einen Vergleich verschiedener Warlords bietet Meier 2016. Siehe ferner MacGeorge 2003.

[9] Die beiden *Pannoniae* waren Provinzen des Illyrikums, eingegliedert in die italische Präfektur. Hier verliefen die Grenzen zwischen westlicher und östlicher Reichshälfte, was immer wieder Gebietsstreitigkeiten zur Folge hatte.

[10] Stickler 2007, 99-106. Der jüngste Überblick zu den Hunnen findet sich im Sammelwerk Maas 2015.

[11] Jord. *Get.* 52.269. Zu Theoderich immer noch grundlegend Enßlin 1947. Siehe zum Theoderichbild des Frühmittelalters Goltz 2009.

Auskommen durch Jahrgelder und Subsidien[12]. Abgesichert wurde der Vertrag durch die Vergeiselung des jungen Königssohnes Theoderich – ein gängiges Verfahren römischer Barbarenpolitik. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass er als hochrangige Geisel am Kaiserhof oder zumindest in dessen direktem Umfeld aufwuchs (Heather 1995; Shepard 2006, 138-141; Wolfram 2009, 263). Etwa zehn Jahre später kehrte er zu seinem Vater und den gotischen Kriegern zurück und konnte sogleich eine Vorrangstellung einnehmen, die ihn in die Lage versetzte, ein eigenes militärisches Kommando zu führen, an dem sich, den *Getica* des Jordanes zufolge, immerhin 6,000 Krieger beteiligten (Jord. *Get.* 55.282). Nur indirekt, da keinerlei schriftliche Zeugnisse über Theoderichs Zeit in Konstantinopel Auskunft geben, kann also geschlossen werden, dass der Gote ebendort eine Ausbildung erhalten hatte, die sowohl militärische als auch organisatorische Fähigkeiten förderte. Der Zug gegen den Sarmaten Babai im Jahre 471 ist jedenfalls als ein Erfolg zu bewerten, der die Akzeptanz Theoderichs in der ostrogotischen Kriegergesellschaft wesentlich gestärkt haben dürfte. Auch das eigenhändige Ausschalten des gegnerischen Anführers dürfte den gotischen Kriegern Theoderichs unbedingten Willen und Anspruch auf Führung deutlich aufgezeigt haben. Und schließlich blieb das von den Goten heimgesuchte Gebiet um Singidunum (Belgrad), eine wichtige Grenzstadt des oströmischen Reiches an der Donau, unter ihrer Kontrolle, denn Theoderich, das betont Jordanes ausdrücklich, „gab die Stadt den Römern nicht zurück" / *non Romanis reddidit, sed suae subdedit dicioni* (Jord. *Get.* 55.282).

Theoderichs Vater Thiudimir hatte die Ostrogoten aus den Grenzregionen weiter ins Imperium hineingeführt, zunächst nach Griechenland, wo sie Makedonien plünderten. Auch bei diesen Unternehmungen soll sich Theoderich wiederholt als mutiger und fähiger Anführer ausgezeichnet haben, auch wenn er bei dem Angriff auf die Stadt Stobi, immerhin Hauptstadt der Provinz *Macedonia Salutaris*, noch durch die Heerführer Astat (*PLRE* 2, 170) und Invilia (*PLRE* 2, 593) unterstützt wurde. Nach weiteren gotischen Erfolgen trat ein gewisser Hilarianus (*PLRE* 2, 561-562) für die Römer mit den Goten in Verhandlung und konnte immerhin erreichen, dass die gotischen Krieger sich der Hauptstadt nicht weiter näherten. Ein deutliches Zeichen, dass man die Goten nun als ernstzunehmende Bedrohung einschätzte. Von Subsidienlieferungen, geschweige denn der Vergabe von Ehrenstellungen an die gotischen Anführer, hört man in diesem Kontext nichts.

Als Thiudimir im Jahre 474 starb, konnte Theoderich offenbar ohne jeden innergotischen Konflikt die Führungsrolle über die Gruppe übernehmen. Es gibt nicht den leisesten Hinweis auf einen Konkurrenzkampf um die Anführerschaft und das, obwohl Theoderich nachweislich einen Bruder namens Thiudimund (*PLRE* 2, s.v. Theodimundus, 1084) hatte, der ebenfalls hätte Ansprüche geltend machen können. Ein Teilen der Befehlsgewalt, wie es noch in seiner Vatergeneration praktiziert worden war, kam für Theoderich offenkundig nicht in Frage. Thiudimund taucht dann zwar 479 als letztlich erfolgloser Anführer einer gotischen Abteilung auf (Malch. *fr.* 20), doch scheint er zu keinem Zeitpunkt einen auch nur annähernd seinem Bruder gleichwertigen Rang in der ostrogotischen Gesellschaft erreicht zu haben. Sicher ist jedenfalls, dass Theoderich

[12] Zu dieser Form der Beschaffung materieller Güter und Ressourcen siehe Berndt 2011.

bei seiner Rückkehr zu den Goten bereits waffenfähig war und seine Herkunft aus der amalischen Familie, seine außergewöhnlichen strategischen und militärischen Fähigkeiten sowie nicht zuletzt seine Bereitschaft, jederzeit Gewalt anzuwenden, ihm einen nicht unerheblichen Vorteil, ja vielleicht auch eine gewisse „Aura", zumindest aber doch ein gehöriges Maß an Prestige verlieh. Theoderich war es also nach dem Tod seines Vaters gelungen, sowohl dessen Männer als auch die ehemaligen Kämpfer seines Onkels unter seinen Befehl zu stellen. Offensichtlich war das Angebot, das der junge Theoderich ihnen machen konnte, für viele verlockend genug, sich ihm anzuschließen. Es braucht wohl kaum hervorgehoben zu werden, dass wir die Größe der sich nun formierenden Kriegergruppe nicht genau bestimmen können. Einige pauschale Aussagen sind dennoch möglich: Erstens dürfte der Verband zu diesem Zeitpunkt, also Mitte der 470er Jahre, deutlich kleiner gewesen sein als die Gruppe, die Theoderich 488/9 nach Italien begleitete. Zweitens muss die Kriegergruppe aber doch so stark gewesen sein, dass sie sowohl seitens des römischen Kaisers als auch seitens des thrakischen Goten Theoderich Strabos als ernstzunehmender Machtfaktor im Kräftespiel erkannt wurde.

Dieser Theoderich Strabo (der „Schieler") (*PLRE* 2, s.v. Theodericus 5, 1073-1076; Somogy 1994; Siebigs 2010, 915-929), Sohn des Triarius (möglicherweise ein Spitzname nach einem Unteroffiziersrang – Siebigs 2010, 915), war nach Ausweis des Johannes Antiochenus ein Verwandter Theoderichs und somit selbst der Amalerfamilie zugehörig[13]. Erst durch den pro-amalischen Jordanes bzw. seine Vorlage, die Gotengeschichte des Cassiodor[14], wird dieses Verwandtschaftsverhältnis verfemt, da es in der glorifizierenden Darstellung keinen Platz für einen gleichwertigen Heroen geben konnte. Theoderich Strabos Goten werden in der Forschung häufig als die „thrakischen Goten" bezeichnet. Zweifelsfrei hatten sie in den Jahren nach der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts dort ihre Hauptoperationsbasis. Es ist nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen, wie sie nach Thrakien gelangt waren. Bei Theophanes (seine Chronik datiert ins frühe 9. Jahrhundert) findet sich ein Hinweis, wenn er über die *Gotika ethne* spricht. Dort heißt es, dass eine gotische Gruppe zunächst in Pannonien gesiedelt hätte, bevor sie dann im 19. Regierungsjahr des Kaisers Theodosius II. (d. h. im Jahr 421) thrakische Territorien in Besitz genommen hätten[15]. Dort seien sie insgesamt 58 Jahre geblieben. Theophanes unterscheidet allerdings nicht zwischen den „pannonischen" und den „thrakischen" Goten. Im Werk des Malchos von Philadelphia, unserer Hauptquelle für den Konkurrenzkampf zwischen den beiden gotischen Warlords, erscheint Strabo als ein über weite Strecken ebenbürtiger Gegner des Amalers. Dieses nur auszugsweise überlieferte Geschichtswerk behandelte die Geschichte des römischen Reiches von der Herrschaft Constantins des Großen bis zu Kaiser Anastasios[16]. Die erhaltenen Fragmente beziehen sich auf den Zeitraum zwischen dem letzten Regierungsjahr des oströmischen Kaisers Leon (473/4) und der Ermordung des letzten weströmischen Kaisers Julius Nepos im Jahr 480.

Theoderich Strabo war auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Macht Befehlshaber über schätzungsweise 30,000 Mann. Der römische Kaiser Leon hatte ihn als gotischen Oberherrscher anerkannt und ihm zudem 2,000 Goldpfund als Jahrgelder zugesichert, eine statt-

[13] Joh. Ant. *fr.* 211.5. Aber Jord. *Get.* 52.270: *Theodericum Triarii filium, et hunc genere Gothico, alia tamen stirpe, non Amala procreatum.*

[14] Die Frage, welche Informationen der *Getica* auf der (verlorenen) Gotengeschichte des Cassiodor beruhen, wird sich wohl nicht mehr vollständig klären lassen. Zu dieser Problematik: Croke 1987; Goffart 1988, 20-111; Weißensteiner 1994.

[15] Theoph. *Chronograph.* A.M. 5931. Möglicherweise beruht der Eintrag bei Theophanes auf der Weltchronik des Eustathios von Epiphaneia, vermittelt durch die Kirchengeschichte des Euagrios. Dazu Siebigs 2010, 923.

[16] Siehe die Bemerkungen von Wiemer 2009 und Wiemer 2013, der eine Neuausgabe der Fragmente vorbereitet. Zur Überlieferung und Anordnung der erhaltenen Textstücke auch Errington 1983.

liche Summe, verglichen mit den 300 Pfund, welche die Amaler zuvor erhalten hatten. Auch Strabo brauchte eine unangefochtene Stellung in seiner gotischen Kriegergesellschaft, um seinem härtesten Konkurrenten Theoderich dem Amaler Paroli bieten zu können. Dieser hatte seine Gefolgsleute noch im Jahre 474 nach Niedermösien in die Gegend um Novae (Svishtov, Bulgarien) geführt. Hier wurden die Goten in den Konflikt um die Usurpation des Basiliscus hineingezogen, denn der aus der Hauptstadt vertriebene Kaiser Zenon forderte sofort Theoderichs Hilfe im Kampf gegen Basiliscus und den mit ihm verbündeten thrakischen Goten Theoderich Strabo an (Malch. *fr.* 15). Dieser war mittlerweile zum Heermeister (*magister militum*) ernannt worden. Im Gegenzug konnte Strabo seine Gefolgschaft fortan durch üppige Jahrgelder versorgen. Genau diese Vorzüge strebte auch der Amaler für sich und seine Leute an. Und tatsächlich büßte Strabo seine Vorrangstellung nur kurze Zeit später ein. Nutznießer der zugunsten Zenons geänderten politischen Großwetterlage war Theoderich-Thiudimirsohn.

Kaiser Zenon, der 474 den Thron in Konstantinopel bestiegen hatte, verschrieb sich einer anderen Gotenpolitik als sein Vorgänger. Er versuchte sich deren in der Regel prekäre Versorgungslage zu Nutzen zu machen und sie, durchaus mit zeitweiligem Erfolg, gegeneinander auszuspielen. Zunächst stand der Amaler in seiner Gunst. Er machte Theoderich zum Waffensohn und übertrug ihm das oberste Heermeisteramt. Die *adoptio per arma* war ein Akt, der durch die Schenkung von Waffen ein künstliches Verwandtschaftsverhältnis herstellte (Wolfram 2006; Kiss 2015). Verbunden waren diese Ehrungen mit der neuerlichen Zusicherung von Jahrgeldern. Ein Ansehensverlust seines Konkurrenten Strabo, sowohl in der Hauptstadt als auch bei seinem Gefolge, war direkte Folge davon und manifestierte sich zusätzlich darin, dass Zenon ihn zum Staatsfeind (*hostis publicus*) erklärte und seine Vertrauensleute aus der Hauptstadt vertreiben ließ. Doch durch militärische Stärke und Verhandlungsgeschick gewann Strabo rasch wieder an Einfluss. Bereits im Herbst 478 hatte er sein Heermeisteramt zurückgewonnen, bekam Sold für seine 13,000 Krieger, den Oberbefehl über zwei Palasteinheiten und konnte schließlich auch die seit 476 ausstehenden Jahrgelder für seine Leute eintreiben (Joh. Ant. *fr.* 302). Leidtragende dieser machtpolitischen Ränkespiele waren sowohl die Zivilbevölkerung als auch die amalischen Goten, die nun keine Hilfszahlungen mehr erreichten. Um seine Kriegergruppe über den anstehenden Winter ausreichend versorgen zu können, begann Theoderich erneut Plünderungszüge (Malch. *fr.* 18). Vor allem Bauern in Thrakien sollen betroffen gewesen sein. Abgedrängt von kaiserlichen Truppen zog der Amaler mit seiner Gefolgschaft nach Stobi und verwüstete diese Stadt – die gesamte Besatzung soll dabei getötet worden sein. Dann führte er seine Krieger Richtung Thessaloniki weiter, wo sich die Stadtbevölkerung nur zu gut an die Goten erinnerte und dementsprechend mit Panik reagierte. Unruhen brachen aus, Kaiserstatuen wurden gestürzt, der Amtssitz des Präfekten von einem Mob gestürmt (Malch. *fr.* 18). Über diplomatischen Austausch wurde schließlich der Konflikt beigelegt. Erneut war es Theoderich also gelungen, mittels Gewalthandelns den Kaiser zu einer Reaktion zu zwingen.

Bei neuerlichen Verhandlungen mit einem römischen Unterhändler stellte Theoderich in Aussicht, mit 6,000 Mann gegen die thrakischen Goten vorzugehen. Offenbar war die Zahl seiner Krieger erheblich geschrumpft. Viele waren in römische Gefangenschaft geraten, als der Feldherr Sabinianus im epirotischen Gebirge den Tross angegriffen hatte und Thiudimund, Theoderichs Bruder, die Seinen im Stich gelassen hatte (Malch. *fr.* 20).

Seine Stellung war also keineswegs dauerhaft gesichert. Dies verdeutlichen die Folgen einer direkten Konfrontation mit Strabo im Jahr 478 am Fuße des (nicht genau lokalisierbaren) Berges Sondis in der Grenzregion zwischen Moesia und Thracia. Hier trafen Theoderichs Krieger, die gemeinsam mit dem römischen Militär gegen Strabo ziehen sollten, unerwartet auf die Krieger Strabos. Die Römer waren aber nicht eingetroffen, Theoderich fühlte sich vom Kaiser verraten. Vielleicht durch anhaltende Versorgungsschwierigkeiten und vorangegangene Verluste entmutigt, scheinen viele Männer Theoderichs mit dem Gedanken gespielt zu haben, zum Gegner überzulaufen. Für Theoderich bedeutete dies eine unmittelbare Bedrohung seiner Vorrangstellung. Erst durch langwierige Verhandlungen, zu denen sich Theoderich nicht zuletzt durch seine Anhänger genötigt sah, konnten die beiden Goten einen offenen Kampf vermeiden (Malch. *fr.* 18.2). Gegenüber dem Kaiser blieben beide bei ihren Forderungen, die sie mithilfe des Gewaltpotentials ihrer Kriegergruppen immer wieder unterstrichen. Wiederholt unternahmen die amalischen Goten in diesen Jahren verheerende Plünderungszüge, unter denen die Betroffenen schwer zu leiden hatten. Daraus ergab sich in den folgenden Jahren eine Handlungssequenz, die eine ganz eigene, vom Gewalthandeln der Goten in Gang gehaltene Dynamik hatte.

Erst der Unfalltod Strabos 481 bzw. die Ermordung seines Sohnes und Nachfolgers Rekitach (*PLRE* 2, 936) durch den Amaler 484 hat diesen Konflikt gelöst. Die einst so mächtige Kriegerkoalition zerbrach. Viele Männer schlossen sich dem einstigen Feind Theoderich Thiudimirsohn an, der mit seinen Leuten in die Gegend um Dyrrhachium im heutigen Albanien weitergezogen war und den ehemaligen Kämpfern Strabos offenbar als ebenso attraktiver Anführer erschien. Immerhin, der gotische Konkurrenzkampf im Schatten Konstantinopels war damit zu Ende und mit der Beauftragung[17] Theoderichs durch Kaiser Zenon im Jahre 488, Italien von der Herrschaft Odoakers zu befreien, konnte Ostrom die amalische Kriegergruppe doch noch loswerden. Schon im Jahre 480 soll Theoderich übrigens dem Kaiser bzw. dessen Gesandtem Adamantius das Angebot unterbreitet haben, mit seinen Leuten nach Dalmatien zu ziehen und dort den vor Odoaker geflohenen Nepos zu unterstützen (Malch. *fr.* 20). Zu diesem Zeitpunkt glaubte der Kaiser offenbar noch daran, die Goten in seinem Herrschaftsbereich selbst militärisch bezwingen zu können – dies erwies sich als eine Fehleinschätzung.

Zusammenfassung

Nach dem Abschütteln der hunnischen Vorherrschaft nutzten die Ostrogoten die sich nun eröffnende Gelegenheit, sich in der Phase der Neuordnung als eigenständiger Verband, oder vielmehr als mehrere eigenständige Verbände, zu etablieren. Sich zu etablieren be-

[17] Neben Jordanes' *Getica* (57.289) machen eine beachtliche Zahl an Quellen Aussagen zu diesem Vorgang: Nach dem *Anon. Vales.* 11.49 habe Zeno Theoderich nach Italien gesandt (*mittens*) bzw. geschickt (*missus*) und ihn zu einer *praeregnatio* berufen; ähnlich äußert sich Jordanes (den eigenen Angaben der *Getica* widersprechend) in seinen *Romana* (348: *mandans*); Prokop, *Bell. Got.* 5.1.9: gibt an, dass Kaiser Zenon Theoderich veranlasst habe, nach Italien zu ziehen; der byzantinische Chronist Theophanes Confessor schreibt, Zeno habe Theoderich angetrieben (A.M. 5977); in Euagrius' Kirchengeschichte hingegen (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.27) geht die Initiative von Theoderich selbst aus, denn ihm sei der Plan zu einem Komplott des Kaisers gegen ihn zu Ohren gekommen und daraufhin mit seinen Leuten abgezogen – Euagrius gibt aber durchaus zu erkennen, dass er auch andere Versionen der Geschichte kannte. Der Panegyriker Ennodius verschweigt die Rolle Zenos gänzlich. Dazu: Berndt 2013, 36.

deutete im Wesentlichen, in ein günstiges Verhältnis zum römischen Kaiser zu treten, im Idealfall einen Foederatenstatus zu erhalten, auf dessen Grundlage dann das ökonomische Auskommen der Gruppe gesichert wäre. Einen Kriegerverband zu versorgen, der leicht mehrere Tausend kampffähige Männer mit entsprechendem Anhang umfassen konnte, war ein enormer Aufwand, der vor allem in der Verantwortung des jeweiligen Anführers lag. Da die in der Regel mobilen Gruppen kaum auf regelmäßige Versorgungsmittel zurückgreifen konnten, mussten andere Wege der Versorgung und der ökonomischen Existenzsicherung gefunden werden, und diese Wege gestalteten sich häufig in raubwirtschaftlichen Formen. Grundsätzlich bestanden also zwei Möglichkeiten: Auf der einen Seite die Einbindung in das römische System, indem die Krieger zu „reichsangehörigen" Soldaten wurden und mit entsprechenden Subsidien – sei es nun durch Geldzahlung oder andere materielle Zuwendungen – rechnen konnten, auf der anderen Seite die Beschaffung von materiellen Gütern durch den Einsatz von Gewalt und Zwang zumeist auf Kosten der häufig ungeschützten Zivilbevölkerung. Beide Wege waren bereits von Attila, dann von Thiudimir und seinen beiden Brüdern, aber auch von anderen Warlords beschritten worden. Bei den Beutezügen und Plünderungsaktionen waren Mobilität und Schnelligkeit die entscheidenden Faktoren des Erfolgs. Es galt, eine offene militärische Konfrontation mit den kaiserlichen Truppen möglichst zu vermeiden.

Der Konkurrenzkampf zwischen den beiden Theoderichen wurde erst durch den Unfalltod Strabos 481 beendet. Dessen Kriegergruppe löste sich rasch auf, nachdem es seinem Sohn Rekitach nicht gelungen war, die Männer für sich zu gewinnen. Viele von ihnen schlossen sich dem Amaler an. Mit dieser Verstärkung nahm Theoderich seine Erpressungspolitik wieder auf. Er ließ seine Männer Griechenland verwüsten, wobei es wiederholt zu Übergriffen auf die Bevölkerung kam. Die Gewalt endete erst, als der Kaiser ihm das Heermeisteramt zurückgab, ihn zum Patricius erhob und ihm das Konsulat für das Jahr 484 in Aussicht gestellt hatte (Wolfram 2009, 277). Doch schon zwei Jahre später befanden sich der Kaiser und Theoderich erneut im offenen Konflikt. Der Gote reagierte auf die Verwerfungen wie üblich mit exzessiver Gewalt. Er ließ seine Krieger von Novae aus, wohin sie mittlerweile ihre Operationsbasis verlegt hatten, in Thrakien plündern und bereitete schließlich eine Offensive gegen die Hauptstadt selbst vor. Nach der Besetzung einiger Vororte durch die Goten erkannte der Kaiser den Ernst der Lage und konnte die Goten nur durch reiche Geschenke zum Abzug bewegen. Theoderichs Drohungen hatten also noch einmal Wirkung gezeigt. Der Abzug seiner Kriegergruppe nach Italien im Jahr 488 dürfte in Ostrom als Erlösung empfunden worden sein.

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Early Byzantine Arms and Weapons from the Episcopal Complex in Novae

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Abstract: The large number of military finds (analyzed in the text) in the episcopal complex in Novae lends credibility to the hypothesis that the garrison, at least in the 6th century AD, was maintained by the local community or, in fact, by the bishop – the most esteemed and wealthiest resident of Novae. So it comes as no surprise that whenever soldiers were suffering any injustice (like, for example, in Asemus in 594), they would turn for aid and protection to a local bishop, who acted not only as their spiritual guide, but was often the *de facto* commander-in-chief.

Key words: Novae, episcopal complex, military finds, 6th century AD.

Historical background

The history of Novae in Late Antiquity was shaped by the policies regarding the Danubian *limes* drawn up by rulers residing in Constantinople, particularly during the period of Slav and Avar raids (Καρδαράς 2010, 70-78). The narrative of this paper begins with the construction of the episcopal complex (**map 1**) at the site of old legionary baths (Biernacki 1990, 187-208; Биернацки / Кленина 2003, 82-97; Biernacki 2003, 28); it was completed at the beginning of the 7th century, when the Roman Balkans were being plagued by Avar and Slav raiding parties. During both periods the complex not only functioned, but actually thrived, at one point becoming a destination for pilgrimages to the burial place of St. Lupus (Ilski 2013; Ilski 2006). This must have been a crucial element in the lives of Novae's citizens, as evidenced by the erection of a large *ptochotrophium*, which offered shelter to the poor and the sick, as well as pilgrims; the complex comprised sleeping rooms and a large dining hall (Biernacki / Czerner 2013, 71).

Thanks to the reforms of Constantine the Great, the army was divided into mobile units – *comitatenses*, and slightly worse equipped border forces – *limitanei*, tasked mainly with garrison duties (Richardot 2005, 148-152; Cosme 2012, 243-250). *Legio I Italica*, or at least its traditions, still existed in the first half of the 5th century – this is the date of the most recent inscriptions in Novae referring to the legion (Sarnowski 2005).

The significance of Novae's recruits is evidenced by the fact that according to *Notitia dignitatum*, the soldiers of *legio I Italica* were stationed at numerous locations: Novae, Sexaginta Prista, Durostorum, Transmarisca and most likely Iatrus, which also housed the cavalry unit *cuneus equitum scutariorum* (*Not. dign. Or.* 40). Traces of legion-



Map 1. Bird's-eye view of the complex of the bishopric of Novae. View from the west (Arc-photo)

naires from Novae can be found even in the distant Italia – a papyrus piece from Ravenna dated to the beginning of the 7th century certifies one Petrus *v(ir) d(evotus), mil(es) bandi novi*, serving in Bandus Novus (Santoni 2011; Schwarze 2015, 183). Although in this particular case it is questionable if the soldier was actually from Novae, or rather simply a member of a unit that retained its traditional name referring to the unit's place of origin.

The important role played by Novae and other surrounding strongholds in the defense of the *limes* is evident considering the investments made by successive emperors, and looking at the increase in Roman activity in the area (Dimitrov 1998, 101) following the return of Roman rule along the Danube. It is worth noting that despite Procopius' claim that Novae was restored to prominence by Justinian, investments in fortifications and within the city walls began as early as the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (Parnicki-Pudełko 1990, 56), which is confirmed by numerous archaeological sources. At the least, we know that the town gates and some of the towers were modified to fit the requirements of a frontier stronghold (Parnicki-Pudełko 1990, 56). One such modification, which was done during the reign of Justinian, was reducing the clearings in town gates – a typical change in the case of older city fortifications undergoing modernization in Late Antiquity (Băjenaru 2010, 22). Novae returned to its role of an important border location with a strong permanent military presence in the form of a town garrison. The episcopal complex and the basilica *extra muros* with the tomb of St. Lupus (Biernacki 2005; Ilski 2013; Ilski 2006) most likely remained important pilgrim destinations. Although this stage of functioning of the structures located within

the town walls has not yet been fully studied in terms of archaeology, we may already conclude that everyday life in the town, despite the constant threat of attack, ran its normal course.

A major shift occurred in the second half of Justinian's reign, after 542, i.e. the period of financial crisis caused by the wars in the East and the West and also by a recurring epidemic, which decimated the population of the empire's towns (Σινάκος 2004-2006, 97-121; Kennedy 2006, 87-99; Sarris 2006, 119-135). It is worth pointing out that the most recent palaeodemographic studies of Slav burial places conducted by Rafał Fetner have found no evidence of a similar epidemic in the lands beyond the Danube. And any local outbreaks among the Slav communities in the Balkans were much less severe compared to urbanized populations (Fetner 2011, 103-119). This may be one of the reasons for the increased military activity of the Slavs, who have already won a decisive victory against the imperial forces in the Barbaricum (Procop. *De bel.* 6.26.18-23). This coincided with the slow retreat of central authority from the borderlands, which was due to financial, demographic and military difficulties. Consequently, the area of the Danubian *limes* lost its prominence and its defense was left to local forces, which were supported by the imperial army only in the direst of circumstances. This strategy could not have yielded positive results in the long run, particularly since both the neighboring Slavs and Avars adopted a hostile attitude. The military strength of the Danubian *limes* was failing, and the local communities were mostly left to fend for themselves. Not surprisingly, in the times of Emperor Maurice (582-602) the locals treated their ties to the empire very loosely, as evidenced by what happened before the walls of Asemus, not far from Novae (Simoc. 7.3). The situation further deteriorated because of barbarian raids, launched by both the Slavs and the Avars, which the central authority was powerless to prevent in the face of its conflict with Persia and continuing financial problems. A suitable response from the Emperor was only possible in the second half of the 90s of the 6th century, when the mobile army was relocated to the area following the conclusion of the war in the East. In order to fully comprehend the scale and the timeline of these events, we need only remind ourselves that the plague broke out in the imperial capital in 542, which means that for almost 60 years Constantinople's grasp on the *limes* was weakening, until the reign of Emperor Phocas, when the organized system of border defenses practically ceased to exist.

Sixty years is like an era for a town garrison and surely many things must have changed throughout this time. If we assume that the soldiers serving along the *limes* – and these comprised the majority of the garrison – passed on their functions to their children (Haldon 1979, 23-24), we are looking at three consecutive generations of defenders. Such a long period of inaction on the part of the central authority undoubtedly weakened any existing ties to the empire. The soldiers assigned to the defense of the town were simply its residents and it would be difficult to imagine them seeing themselves as part of the imperial army. This was perfectly exemplified in 593, when the Asemus garrison rebelled against the emperor's brother, Peter, who tried to conscript the town's defenders into his army. The residents presented him with a legal document issued by Emperor Justinian, which granted the town a permanent garrison, and the soldiers fled

to the local bishop before the wrath of the Roman *strategos* (Tapkova-Zaimova 1979, 75). In this context, two facts are of crucial importance when analyzing the state of Novae in the second half of the 6th century. First of all, the soldiers did not consider themselves to be members of the imperial army, but rather protectors of the local populace, from which they were most likely conscripted. Secondly, once the imperial document of Justinian failed to stop the *strategos*, the garrison turned to the local bishop for help, seeing him as the actual head of the armed forces and their protector.

In any municipal community – and at the end of the 6th century Novae certainly qualified as such – in the event of a crisis involving the central government it was the local bishop who took over the duties of the main executive power, subordinate and answerable to the emperor (Rapp 2000, 397-399). This was due to legal prerogatives that in their earliest form were laid down by Constantine the Great (Drake 2002, 72-110; Rapp 2000, 392). But it was also a result of the natural process of emergence of Late Antiquity elites, which most certainly included the bishops. In the course of demilitarization and Christianization of communities the bishops took responsibility for both the spiritual and physical protection of their congregations. This, naturally, increased their status among such communities (Liebeschuetz 1990, 228-232). It is also worth mentioning that after the reign of Constantine a career in the church became one of the viable possibilities for members of ancient aristocratic families. As such, the prestige awarded to certain bishops was not only the result of the ecclesiastical and secular power that they held, but also their aristocratic descent (Rapp 2000, 392-393).

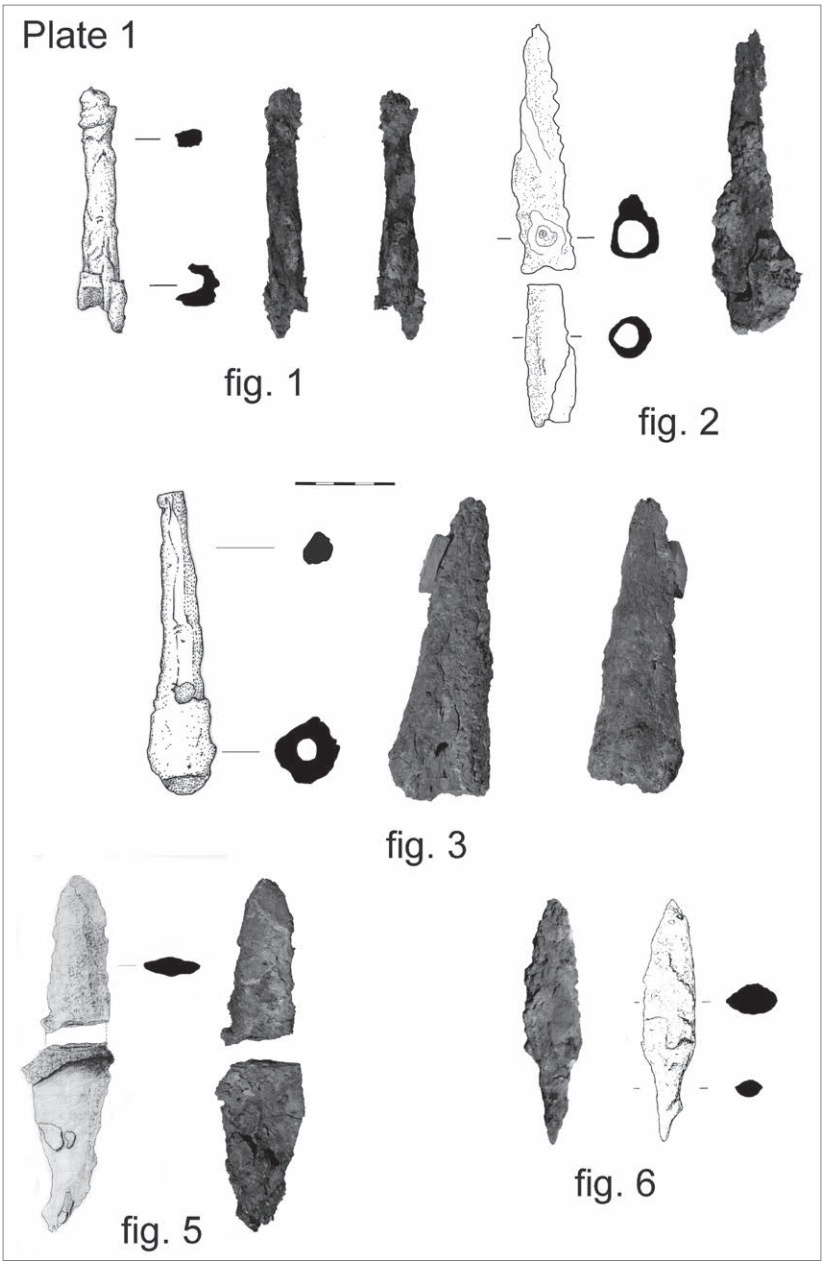
In many civilian centers that lacked any means of direct contact with the capital, the bishop would become responsible for enforcing the law, but, what is more, would probably also take over the local garrison, whose soldiers needed to be paid, equipped and fed – a task beyond the means of increasingly impoverished communities. A similar process, although on a much larger scale, could be observed in the western lands of the empire during the decline of the Roman state. Once again, the bishops were the ones to seize power over the administrative and military structures (Hohlweg 1971, 51-62; Chadwick 1990).

Military finds from the episcopal complex in Novae

Naturally, in the 6th century any town's bishop would be one of the most important residents. Following the decline of historical civilian elites, it was these members of the clergy who shouldered much of the responsibility that used to belong to the civilian administration or the local government. There are reasons to believe that this was also the case in Novae, and that the head of the town's Christian congregation exerted a degree of power even over the military. The relationship between the city's soldiers and the local bishop can be examined by studying the military finds discovered in Novae during the excavation of the bishopric complex conducted by the AMU International Interdisciplinary Archaeological Expedition headed by Dr. Andrzej B. Biernacki (Biernacki / Czerner 2013, 7). The sole fact that a large number of military items (helmets, spear heads, a shield boss, sling bullets) were discovered at the site of the bishop's residence seems

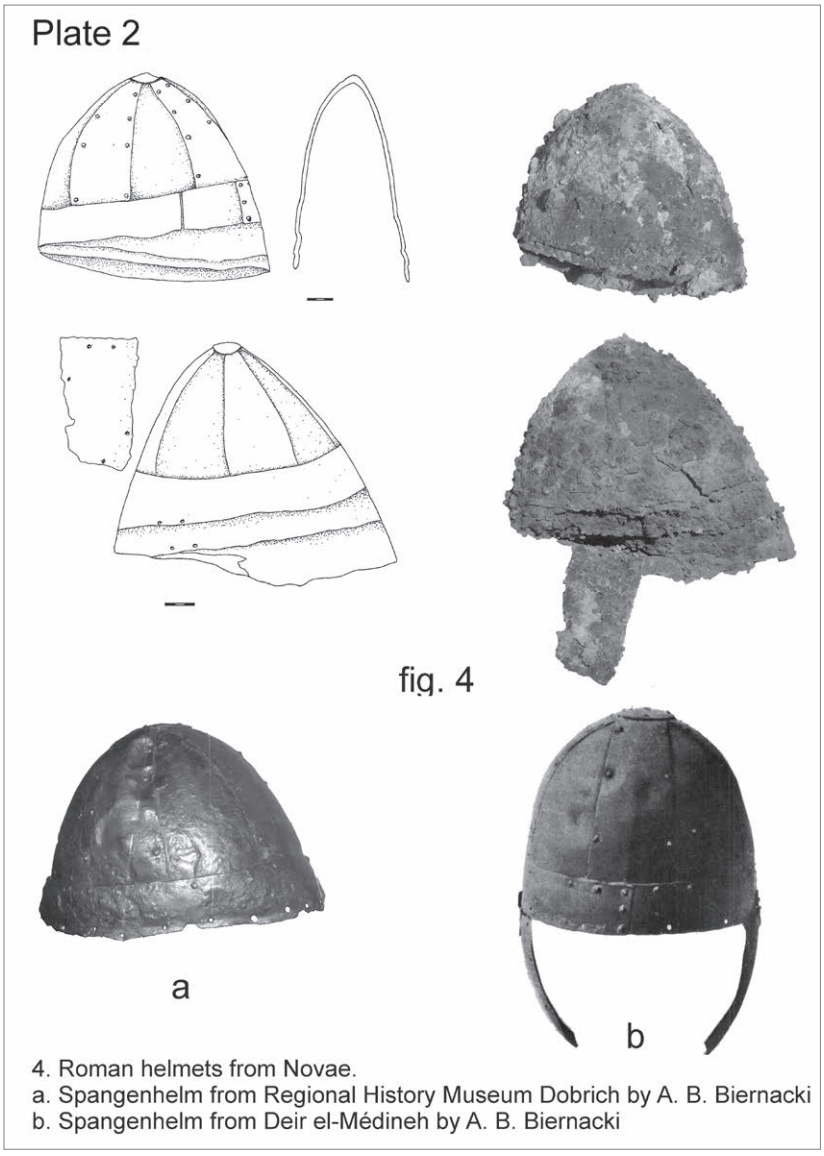
intriguing. Equally unusual is the quality of said pieces, particularly the Spangenhelm-type helmets (**pl. 2/fig. 4**), uncovered in a building identified as the *ptochotrophium* (in the complex's dining hall). The presence of several dozen helmets (around 30) in the dining hall, stacked on one another, is a clear proof that the garrison in Novae was completely or partially funded by the local bishop (Biernacki 2012, 91-104). We can assume with a high degree of certainty that the soldiers took off their helmets before the meal, and left them in an easily accessible place. The *ptochotrophium* was later consumed by fire, which caused the ceiling and the roof to collapse. The helmets discovered in the building were of the highest quality, and it is equally surprising just how many there were – the whole set would have been worth a small fortune. Notably, all the helmets share the same design and method of manufacture, which likely means that they all came from one workshop; most probably a local one, somewhere on the territory of modern-day Bulgaria – perhaps Marcianopolis (Biernacki 2012, 100).

The discovery of numerous types of spear heads may mean several things. First of all, these weapons were relatively easy to produce, so they may not have been manufactured centrally, but rather locally, which led to the differences in form. During the studied period much of the easily manufacturable equipment, which included spear heads, tended to be produced locally. Secondly, each spear head type was designed for use against a different enemy, which mostly had to do with the blade width (Densem 1976). The items from Novae can be subdivided into two categories based on the width of the spear head blade. Type I would be spear heads with an elongated, narrow blade, perfectly suited for punching through armor. Type II comprises heart-shaped blades and blades in the form of a birch tree leaf, which would be most effective against unarmored enemies. The descriptions in the catalogue take into account this latest trend of identifying the spear head type based on the extent of wounds that would be dealt with it, i.e. whether or not it was leaf-shaped. This is in line with the most recent developments in the field of experimental archaeology (Barker 1966, 3-8); a more detailed study, but for earlier periods, was conducted by Odell and Cowan (1986, 195-212). Narrow-bladed spear heads (**pl. 3/figs. 7, 8**) were decidedly better in a fight against armored opponents, but if they failed to penetrate the armor, they only caused superficial wounds. However, if the spear head penetrated into the body, the person receiving the thrust was usually eliminated from further combat. Leaf-shaped heads were designed against fighters wearing little or no armor (**pl. 1/figs. 5, 6**). If the attack punched through flesh, such a blade would cause much more extensive internal damage, increasing the chances for outright killing or permanently disabling the enemy. But faced against any type of protective gear, be it chainmail, lamellar, scale or even improvised armor, these broad-bladed spear heads were significantly less effective. Their wide surface, which was an advantage once it penetrated the body, at the same time made it extremely difficult to drive through any form of protection. Possibly, the occurrence of two types of spear heads in a single location means that the town's defenders were simply well prepared to fight off both unarmored raiders as well as those using some form of armor. Interestingly enough, two uncovered spear heads in the shape of an elongated candle flame (**pl. 1/figs. 1, 2**) were dated to



the period of fighting between the Romans and the Goths, i.e. the 5th century. Whereas finds from the 6th century, when the city was harassed by both lightly armored Slavs and well protected Avars (Nagy 2004, 137-140), include spear heads of varying shapes. It is possible that this variety of blade types reflected the garrison's preparedness to engage different enemies.

The one uncovered iron shield boss (**pl. 4/fig. 9**) was of a size and shape typical for other Late Roman bosses (Ratiu / Opris 2014, 425-40). It would have been fitted to a large Roman shield, most likely oval-shaped. It is difficult to determine if the damage to the boss is the result of post-deposition processes; however, the character of fractures and the point of their origin make it more likely that it was sustained in use. This is further supported by the fact that the boss was not recovered – the damage was severe enough that any attempt at repairs would have been a wasted effort. The top of the shield boss has suffered the most; fractures move away from that point in the

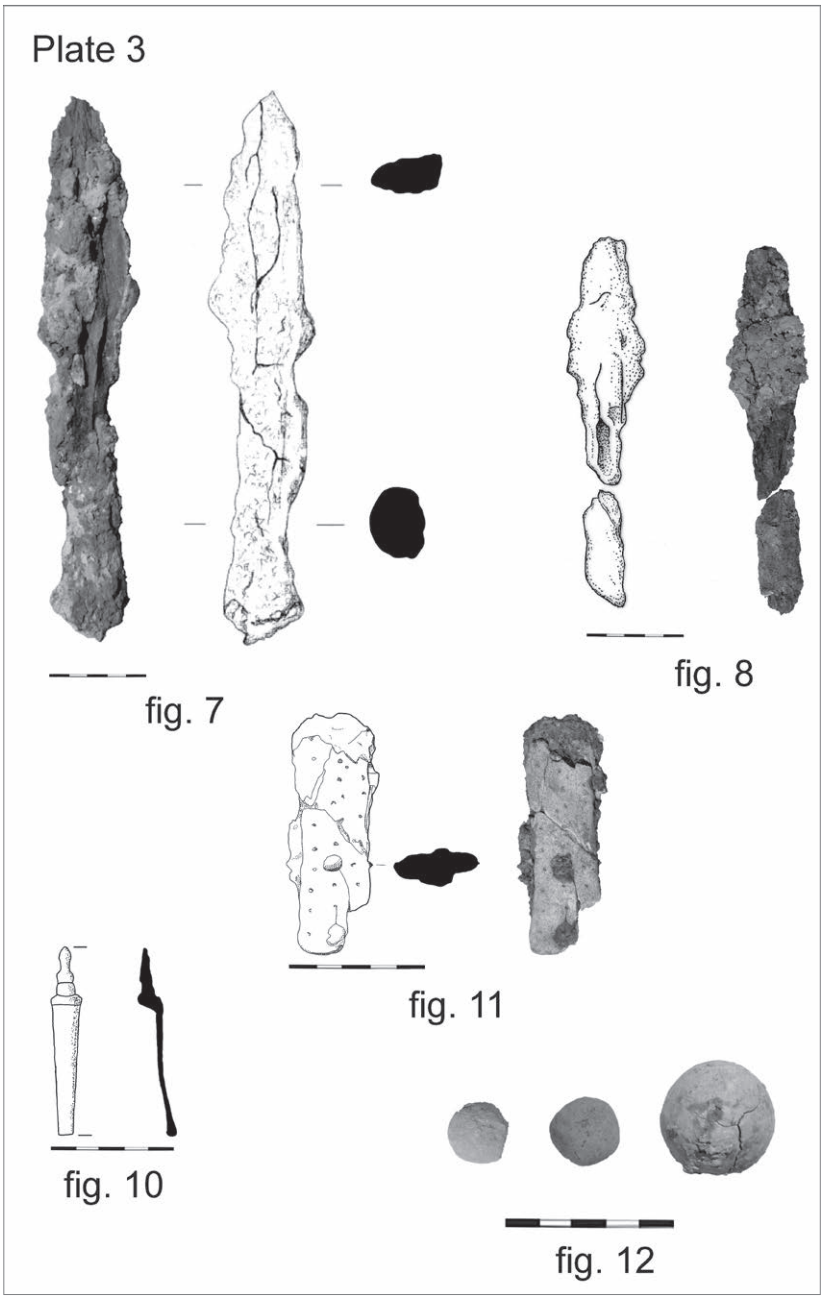


4. Roman helmets from Novae.
a. Spangenhelm from Regional History Museum Dobrich by A. B. Biernacki
b. Spangenhelm from Deir el-Médineh by A. B. Biernacki

direction of where the item was riveted to the wooden shield. This means that the boss received a very strong blow to the top. These types of fractures are characteristic for a sword or axe stroke, and less likely to have been caused by a spear. The presence of a typical Late Roman shield boss and numerous helmets confirms that the garrison was equipped in Roman fashion.

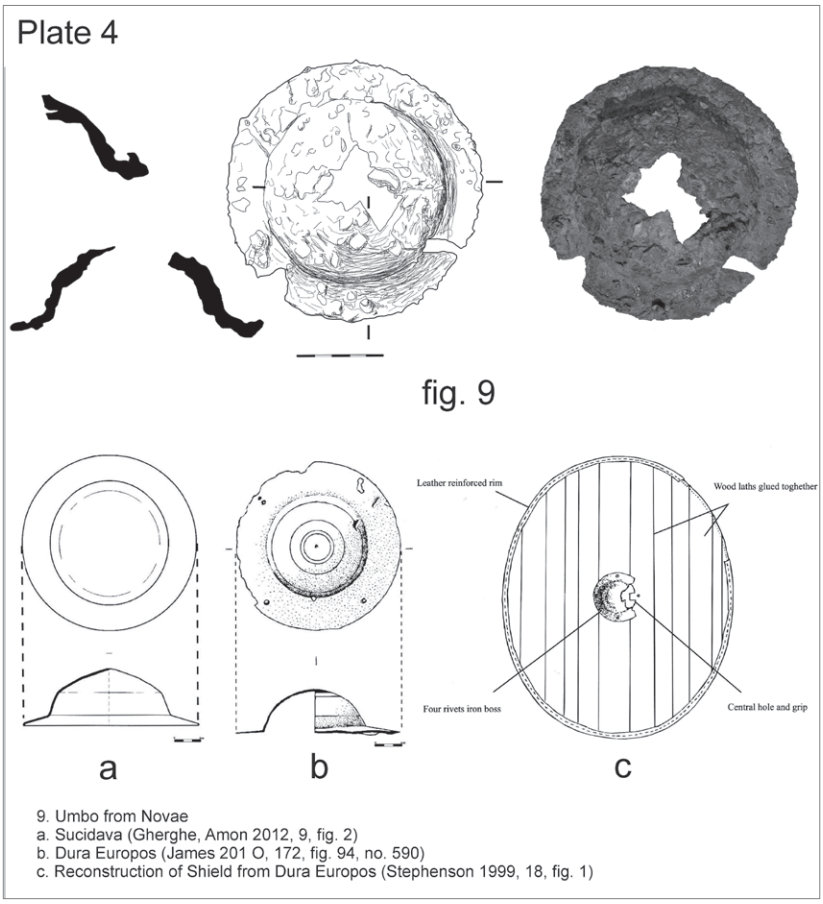
The catalogue also lists sling bullets, which undoubtedly date back to the late stages of functioning of the bishopric complex. The weight and shape of these stone bullets do not deviate in any way from Roman standards (cf. Lemke 2009, 213-214).

Among the military finds from the episcopal complex there are no fragments of Roman sword blades. But thanks to a single discovery of a leather strap fitting from a sword sheath (**pl. 3/fig. 10**), we can be certain that at least some of the soldiers were armed with Roman spathas. It is also possible that one discovered hilt with a spotted bone grip was part of a sword (**pl. 3/fig. 11**), although the grip type is more characteristic of a long dagger. The lack of swords is not surprising. Whereas the spear heads were relatively easy to manufacture and quite common, a sword was not only expensive and difficult to



make, but also had both symbolic and magical significance (Theuws / Alkemade 2000, 402-403), so after any fight it was usually claimed by the victor. Swords were valued as spoils of war and rarely misplaced. This would hold especially true for a garrison organized according to Roman military traditions. Roman laws from the time of Justinian, as well as provisions of military law mentioned in military treatises all define strict punishments for misplacing a weapon, losing it during combat or neglecting to maintain it properly (*Strat.* 1.6.11; *Dig.* 49.16.3.13). In this context it comes as no surprise that not many finds of this type have been discovered at Roman military sites. The same holds true for Novae in Late Antiquity. However, discovery of copper alloy slide further confirms that at least a portion of the Novae garrison was equipped with Late Roman swords.

It should be noted that the catalogue includes a number of military relics related to the beginnings of the Novae bishopric, i.e. the first half



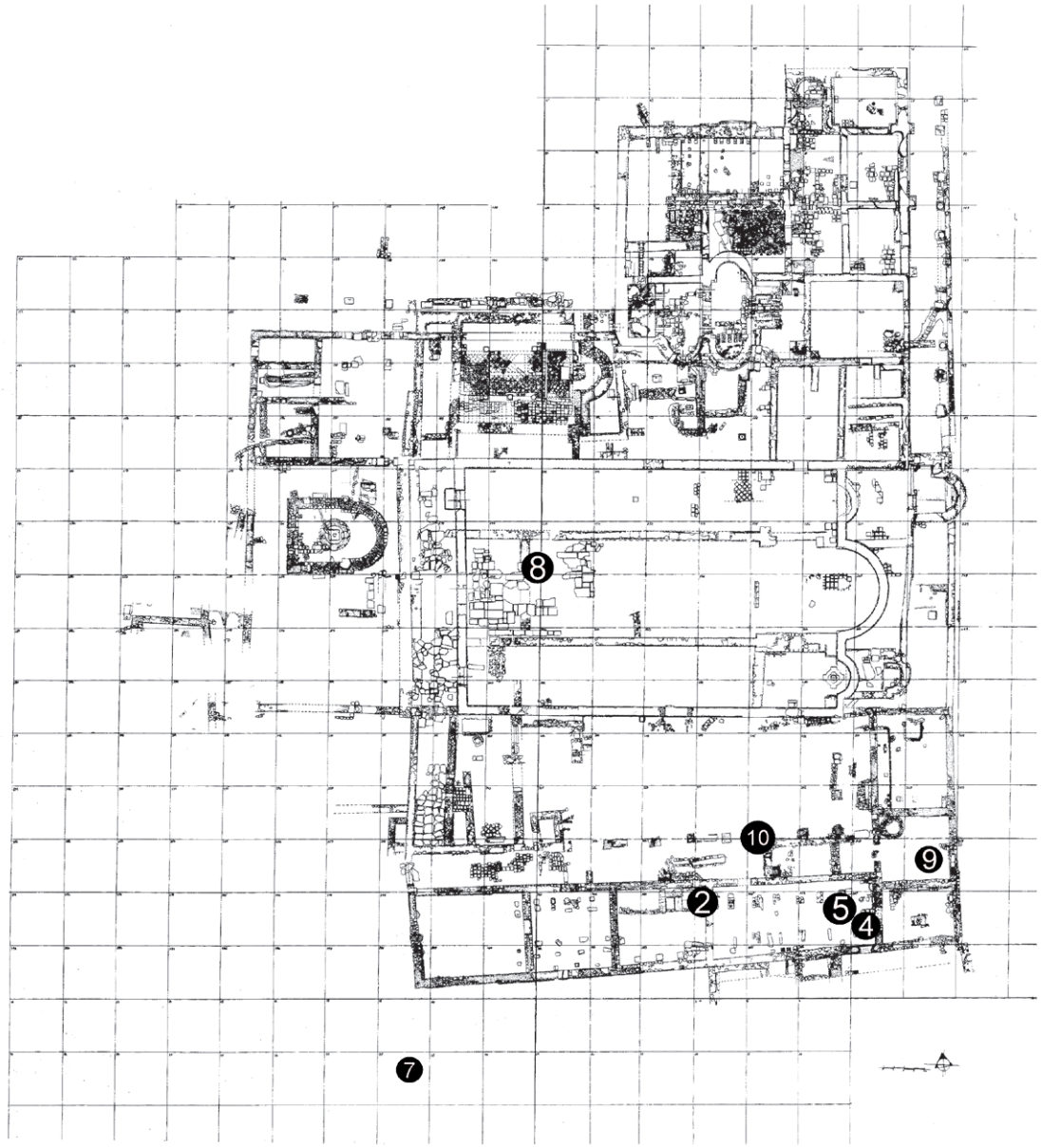
9. Umbo from Novae
a. Sucidava (Gherghe, Amon 2012, 9, fig. 2)
b. Dura Europos (James 201 O, 172, fig. 94, no. 590)
c. Reconstruction of Shield from Dura Europos (Stephenson 1999, 18, fig. 1)

of the 5th century; these are mainly spear heads (**pl. 1/ figs. 1**, **2**) and a single bolt head from a scorpion projectile (**pl. 1/ fig. 3**). Both are type I heads, in the form of an elongated candle flame; typologically they are equivalent to weapon heads manufactured by the Goths (Halbout / Pilet / Vaudour 1987, 147). It is difficult to determine the cause of their deposition, especially since they were uncovered from different layers. They may simply be a testament to the military presence in Novae, although it cannot be excluded that some of the finds dated to the 5th century were tied to the military struggles against the Goths, or to the later military activity of the Huns along the Roman *limes*[1].

Conclusions

The large number of military finds lends credibility to the hypothesis that the garrison, at least in the 6th century, was maintained by the local community or, in fact, by the bishop – the most esteemed and wealthiest resident of Novae. So it comes as no surprise that whenever soldiers were suffering any injustice (like, for example, in Asemus in 594) they would turn for aid and protection to a local bishop, who acted not only as their spiritual guide, but was often the *de facto* commander-in-chief. The dispersion of military relics in the episcopal complex indicates that most were deposited in the southern part, i.e. the location of the *ptochotrophium* (**map 2**). It seems natural that this part of the bishopric infrastructure would be occupied by the local garrison. This is another proof of the hypothesis that in the second half of the 6th century the bishop of Novae funded and, consequently, at least partially controlled the town garrison.

[1] Novae was never taken by the Huns.



Map 2. Location of the military equipment found in Novae. Developed by A. B. Biernacki, R. Czerner, E. Klenina and St. Medeksza

Catalogue

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 1)

Inventory ref. # P23/03ob. Location: section X, square 17, distance from S 4.00 m, distance from E 3.60 m, depth 48.24 m a.s.l., dated to: first half of the 5th century.

Overall length 134 mm; blade length 79 mm; maximum blade width 16 mm.

Analogies: Gencheva 2012, 113, fig. 26/3; Mrđić / Raičković 2013, 125, fig. 5/1; Halbout / Pilet / Vaudour 1987, 147, fig. 428; 150, fig. 463; Deschler-Erb et al. 2012, Taf. 2/a09.

The cross section, in its current state, is rectangular rather than rhombic. Type I head intended for armor penetration.

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 2)

Inventory ref. # P26/04w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, square 344, distance from S 4.00 m, distance from E 4.90 m, depth 48.40 m a.s.l. Dated to: first half of the 5th century. Overall length 175 mm, blade length around 95 mm, maximum blade width 20 mm.

Analogies: Gencheva 2012, 113, fig. 26/3; Mrđić / Raičković 2013, 125, fig. 5/1; Halbout / Pilet / Vaudour 1987, 147, fig. 428; 150, fig. 463; Deschler-Erb et al. 2012, Taf. 2/a09.

Description: Heavily corroded head, uncovered in the layer created after a fire; sleeve detached from the blade, heavily burnt. Deposited near the entrance to room D, based on stratigraphic information, dated to the first half of the 5th century.

Type I head, similar to item # 1, with a very narrow blade designed for armor penetration. Cross section impossible to determine due to the degree of corrosion. On the remaining fragment of the blade it is possible to identify the stud fitting the head to the shaft, and a protruding pin is visible inside the sleeve.

Iron bolt-head (pl. 1/ fig. 3)

Inventory ref. # P197/97w. Location: section X, hectare XVI, square 239, distance from S 0.6 m, distance from E 0.23 m, depth 48.06 m a.s.l. Dated to: first half of the 5th century. Overall length 151 mm.

Analogies: James 2004, 219, fig. 777; Avelaira 2006, 197, fig. 2/4; Deschler-Erb et al. 2012, Taf. 1/a01; Laharnar 2015, 38, fig. 1/7.

Description: A popular form of a war machine projectile, analogies have been found throughout the whole territory of the Roman Empire.

Roman Spangenhelm-type helmets (pl. 1/ fig. 4)

1. Inventory ref. # P5/04w. Location: section X; hectare XVII, square 367, distance from S 1.80 m, distance from E 4.20 m, depth 50.81 m a.s.l. Dimensions: width 299 mm, height 256 mm, hoop width 45-51 mm, bell segment width 78-15 mm. Diameter of connecting plate 30 mm. Diameter of holes for fastening the cheek guards 4 mm. Cheek guard: width 85 mm, length 141 mm. Hole diameter 2 mm. Dated to: mid-6th century.

First publication: Biernacki 2012, 96-97, fig. 7-8.

2. Inventory ref. # P8/04w. Location: section X; hectare XVII; square 367, distance from S 1.20 m, distance from E 3.87 m, depth 50.83 m a.s.l. Dimensions: width 273 mm, height 242 mm. Hoop width 50-45 mm, bell segment width 70-15 mm. The segments taper and are connected at the top by a round plate with a diameter of 34 mm. Every other segment is riveted. Rivet diameter 5 mm. The helmet is flattened at 138 mm. Thickness of sheet metal 5 mm. Dated to: mid-6th century.

First publication: Biernacki 2012, 96-97, fig. 7-8.

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 5)

Inventory ref. # P18/04w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, square 366, distance from S 3.00 m, distance from E 1.20 m, depth 49.86 m a.s.l. Overall length 185-190 mm, blade length 180 mm, maximum blade width 45 mm. Dated to: the mid-6th century.

Analogies: Gencheva 2012, 112, fig. 26/1; Mrđić / Korać 2009, 120, fig. 9/13; Avelaira 2006, 197, fig. 2/1.

Description: Heavily corroded head, in two pieces, slightly bent across the blade. Type II head, with a wider, lancet-shaped blade, tapering to a point from mid-length.

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 6)

Inventory ref. # P73/10w. Location: section X, hectare XXIII, square 59, distance from S 4.40 m, distance from E 1.00 m, depth 49.86 m a.s.l. Overall length 128 mm. Dated to: the mid-6th century.

Analogies: Mrđić / Korać 2009, 120, fig. 9/10.

Description: Type II spear head with no surviving sleeve. Due to the lack of sleeve, the blade is assumed to have had an overall length of over 130 mm (around 140-150 mm), quite possibly analogous to spear head # 5. Uncovered from the layer of burnt material created during a fire caused by an earthquake in 557.

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 7)

Inventory ref. # P51/10w. Location: section X, hectare XXIII, square 38, distance from S 4.40 m, distance from E 2.30 m, depth 50.93 m a.s.l. Overall length 275 mm. Dated to: the mid-6th century.

Analogies: Gencheva 2012, 111, fig. 25/3; Mrđić / Korać 2009, 121, fig. 10/17; Bailly 1990, 135, fig. 118/171.

Description: Type II spear head with a quadrilateral cross section and a clearly identifiable blade in the shape of an elongated willow leaf. The well-preserved part of the blade invites the conclusion that it was intended for use against unarmored enemies, with rather universal features, causing wide stab wounds. One notable aspect is that the whole length of the spear head, i.e. 275 mm, has been preserved, with only the tip of the point broken off and missing. Uncovered from the layer of burnt material created during a fire caused by an earthquake in 557.

Spear head (pl. 1/ fig. 8)

Inventory ref. # P27/97w. Location: section X, hectare XVI, square 240, distance from S 0.90 m, distance from E 0.60 m, depth 50.08 m a.s.l. Overall length 210 mm, maximum blade width 39 mm. Dated to: the mid-6th century.

Analogies: Halbout / Pilet / Vaudour 1987, 148, fig. 399; Mrđić / Raičković 2013, 129, fig. 11/1.

Description: Type II head with the blade in two pieces, incomplete, clearly visible markings of exposure to fire. Item with a simple, heart-shaped form. The head must have fractured at the point of contact between the nail and the metal, the nail and the sleeve portion most likely corroded away.

Umbo (pl. 1/ fig. 9)

Inventory ref. # P2/05ob. Location: section X, hectare XVII, square 348, depth 50.45-50.20 m a.s.l. Dated to: second half of the 6th century.

Analogies: Ulmetum – Paravan 1915, 283, fig. 16; Sucidava – Gherghe, Amon 2012, 9, fig. 2; Beroe – Valceanu / Barnea 1975, 212, fig 2/2. Capidava – Ratiu Opris 2014, pl. II, fig. 2/ Dura Europos – James 2004, 172, fig. 594.

Description: Typical central boss from a Late Roman shield. Fracture at the top suffered during use, possibly in combat. Numerous analogies from the Balkans and the whole Roman Empire.

Copper alloy slide (pl. 1/ fig. 10)

Inventory ref. # P104/03w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, square 325, distance from S 0.75 m, distance from E 4.40 m, depth 48.36 m a.s.l. Dated to: the mid-5th century.

Analogies: James 2004, fig. 533, 534, 539; Chirila et al. 1972, 92, fig. 49/1; Petculescu 1983, 457-458, fig I/3-6; Wuilleumier 1950, 147, fig. 1; Biddulph / Smith / Schuster 2011, 268, fig. 118/293.

First publication: Генчева 2013.

Description: Typical application used to attach the sword scabbard to a soldier's belt. Based on stratigraphic information – dated to the first half of the 5th century.

Dagger hilt (pl. 1/ fig. 11)

Inventory ref. # P82/09ob. Location: section X, hectare XXIII, square 79/80, depth 51.85-51.50 m a.s.l. Dated to: second half of the 6th century.

Description: Bone hilt from a dagger or knife with preserved fragments of an iron blade, fitted with two rivets. Decorated with a pattern of spots in three parallel lines. Based on stratigraphic information – dated to the second half of the 6th century.

Sling bullets (pl. 1/ fig. 12)

1. Inventory ref. # P56/2000w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, square 361, distance from S 2.07 m, distance from E 0.95 m, depth 50.16 m a.s.l. Weight 6 gr. Dated to: the 6th century.

2. Inventory ref. # P1/2000w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, distance from S 2.05 m, distance from E 2.08 m, depth 50.30 m a.s.l. Weight 10 gr. Dated to: the 6th century.
3. Inventory ref. # P12/2000w. Location: section X, hectare XVII, distance from S 0.08 m, distance from E 3.85 m, depth 50.92 m a.s.l. Weight 45 gr. Dated to: the 6th century.

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