

THE LEGIONS AND THE FISCAL ESTATES IN MOESIA SUPERIOR: SOME EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

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The relationship of a Roman legion and the administration of a fiscal domain presents intricate problems; one of their aspects – that pertaining to the notion of the *territorium legionis* – has aroused lengthy controversy among modern historians. Without much hesitation, it may be stated that the modalities of that relationship varied with time and place but maintained the basic principle of flexible collaboration, not bureaucratic rigidity. In other terms, the army and the *fiscus* were two instruments of the same complex of state interests, a fact which, in certain cases, resulted in a departure from the Emperor's tendency not to engage his soldiers in major tasks of a civilian or almost civilian nature.¹ Moesia Superior, with its two legions, its specific relief, and its mineral wealth provides an instructive example of that flexibility. An unpublished inscription, suggesting a revision of a number of texts already known, will help us to understand the priority assigned there to the fiscal factor – to be exact, the economic concerns centred on the production of metals – over some purely military needs. Our paper is of necessity succinct, but its subject has been chosen as a sign of the author's dedication to the memory of an eminent epigraphist and student of Roman Illyricum, whose untimely death has deeply saddened the world of classical scholarship.

The epigraphical document in question has been found at Ravna (? ancient Timacum Minus), in the valley of the Timok, constituting the north-eastern part of Moesia Superior.² The stone was built into one of the towers of the late Roman fort of Ravna; since 1979, it has been exhibited in the epigraphical collection (*lapidarium*) set up in the vicinity of the fort. Its discovery was made during the fruitful excavations carried out at the site by Dr. Petar Petrović, of the Archaeological Institute of Belgrade. I owe warm thanks to Dr. Petrović for his very kind permission to publish it here.

A funerary block of greyish limestone, h. 105, w. 62, th. 55 cm. The inscribed panel simply framed, h. 80, w. 38 cm. Good lettering, h. 4.5 – 4 cm. Unedited; cf. S. Dušanić, *The Organization of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior*, *Ist. Glas.* 1–2, 1980, p. 25 note 122, 41f, *et passim* (in Serbian); *id.*, *the Roman Mines of Illyricum: Organization and Impact on Provincial Life*, in: *Actes du Colloque Les mines et la production des métaux dans les civilisations antiques des aires méditerranéenne et européenne* (Madrid 1985, forthcoming).³ *Vidi. Fig. 1.*⁴

*D(is) M(anibus) | Ulp(ius) Aquilinus | mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) | librarius⁵
offici prae(fecti) te | rit(orii)! vixit ann(is) XXII | Aquileiensis | et Ulpia Diotima
| filio dulcissimo¹⁰ | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

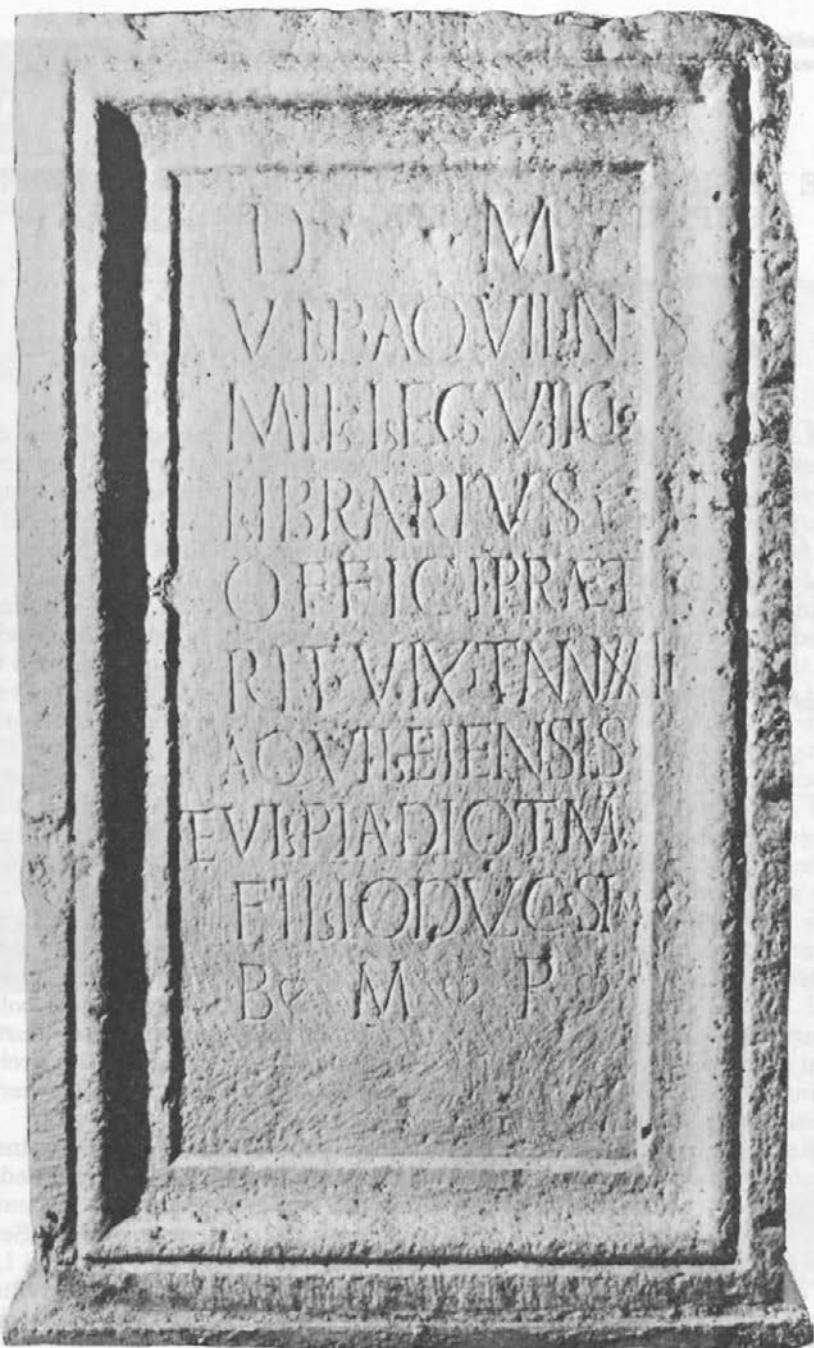


Fig. 1: Ravna in the Timok valley (Moesia Superior). Tombstone of Ulpus Aquilinus.
Unpublished.

Sl. 1: Ravna u dolini Timoka (Gornja Mezija). Nadgrobnik Ulpija Akvilina. Neobjavljen.

Many ligatures (l. 2: NVS; l. 5: AE and TE; l. 6: ANN and XX; l. 8: ET and MA; l. 9: VL) and short letters (l. 2: the second I; l. 3: the last L; l. 6: the second I of *vixit* and the last stroke of XXII; l. 8: the last I; l. 9: IS and MO). The last letters of lines 2, 6 and 9 (for the end of l. 5 see *infra*) are engraved on the marge. L has a characteristic form with the curved horizontal; note also the rhomboid O, line 9 *fin.* Frequent punctuation marks (triangular); three *hederae distinguentes* in l. 10.

The reading of the inscription presents no difficulties. Only the turn of lines 5 and 6, with its historical implications and epigraphical uncertainties, may cause some doubts.⁵ The PRAE and TE should not be questioned there; the R, whose faint traces seem to appear, according to the photograph, on the right frame of l. 5, has not been confirmed by an inspection of the stone. We were also tempted to treat the TE ligature as a triple and a complex one (F, T, E – uniting two abbreviations),⁶ with the lower horizontal stroke of the F, slightly mutilated, engraved on the left side of the T,⁷ but a careful examination of the stele has not supported this. However, regardless of the (comparative) shortness of the PRAE abbreviation, and the imperfect spelling of the TERIT, the title *praefectus territorii* has to be postulated in lines 5–6. The evidence examined below will hopefully suffice to show that, despite the uniqueness of its form, it is a natural occurrence in the context of the Timachus valley.

The date of the tombstone cannot be determined very precisely. Palaeographical and onomastic considerations suggest the late Antonine or the early Severan epoch.⁸ A further word of comment on Aquilinus' family may prove useful.

The father of the deceased must have been a slave: he bears one name only, and the son has the mother's *gentile*. Derived from the toponym of the great industrial and commercial city in the north of the Adriatic, Aquileiensis belongs to the group of geographical anthroponyms with rather transparent connotations. The man must have been connected in some way with Aquileia, as the place of either his birth/purchase or a period of his activity.⁹ It might be inferred from his marrying an *ingenua* that he was a member of the *familia Caesaris*: unions between slaves and free born women are typical of that social milieu but rather rare elsewhere. Shall we draw a similar conclusion, from her *nomen* and her Greek *cognomen*, for Diotima? Was she a daughter or a grand-daughter of Trajan's *libertus/liberta*?¹⁰ Aquilinus' post in an office managing an army/fiscal territory tends to support such a conjecture since the fiscal service attributable to both Aquileiensis and Diotima's parent(s) or grand-parent(s) would have been conducive to their marriage (*contubernium*, strictly speaking) and their son's employment in the *militia officialis* of the imperial properties.¹¹

The main novelty of the inscription concerns the post of Ulpius Aquilinus; as a *mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)*, he was a *librarius officii praefecti ter<r>it(orii)*. To our knowledge, it is a *hapax* so far – neither a legionary *praefectus territorii* (judging from Aquilinus' status, the prefect must have been a member of VII Claudia too), nor his *officium*, has been recorded elsewhere. But satisfactory parallels exist. In Moesia Inferior, two monuments refer to the *territoria* which, 'if not directly controlled by the military, were under their jurisdiction'.¹² These monuments attest to a relationship between the *territoria* and the *canabae* of the auxiliary bases at Capidava (*quinquennialis territorii Capidavensis*) and Dimum(?) (*ex mag.* of the *territorium Dianensium* [corrigendum: *Dimensium*?]), a relationship going back to the Julio-Claudian period, with its military *praefecti ripae* and *praefecti civitatum (peregrinarum)*. Such *praefecturae*, sporadically united under the same men (cf.

ILS 2737), were naturally open to both the legionary and the auxiliary. Their territories, like those of the *canabenses*, had importance i.a. as 'centres of recruitment and supply for the military garrisons under whose control they lay'.¹³ The beginnings of the system have already been attested for (the future) Moesia Superior.

Two dignitaries seem worth mentioning in the context, a *primus pilus legionis V Macedonicae* supervising (as a prefect) the *civitates Moesiae et Treballiae*, and a *tribunus legionis IIII Scythicae, praefectus ripae Danuvii*.¹⁴ Both these officers were likely to control among other things the native population of the Timok valley, if – in the tribune's case – only that of the river's lowest reaches.¹⁵ The post of Ulpius Aquilinus evidences the system's continuation (and evolution) into the Antonine/Severan age; moreover, it touches on two interrelated matters of wider interest: the similarities existing between the *territoria canabiarum* and the »legionary« *territoria*, and those aspects of such territories' economy which have nothing to do with the army's immediate needs.¹⁶ For our present purpose, this latter may be restricted to the relations between the mines and the »military« lands in metalliferous provinces. The problem will be dealt with on the basis of epigraphic evidence, primarily that of some documents from Moesia Superior.

However, a brief analysis of Aurelius Artissius' much disputed altar must come first.¹⁷ It records the *contributio* of a (pseudo-municipal) territory to what seems, almost for certain, to have been the *k(anabae)* of the *Castra Regina* (A. D. 270?). The territory will have included iron-mines, a circumstance not explicitly stated in our written sources but deducible from Artissius' choice of the god addressed in the *ex-voto* (and of the *dies dedicationis*), as well as from archeological indications.¹⁸

On the Raetian analogy, an Upper Moesian monument may be elucidated in a manner which relates it closely to our theme.¹⁹ It was erected (c. A. D. 150–200 ?) by a certain *T. Aurelius Atticus, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) ex sig(nifero)*, PKQQ *Sing., dec(urio) col(oniae) Sirmens(ium)*. The abbreviations PKQQ, of controversial reading, are best expanded to run *p(raefectus ?) k(anabiarum ?) q(uin)q(ennalis) Sing(iduni)* as noting a single function.²⁰ A title otherwise unknown, the *praefectus canabiarum quinquennalis* comprises the elements already attested in the inscriptions dealt with above: *praefectus canabiarum* recalls our *praefectus territorii*, with Artissius' *k(anabae ?)* and *territorium contr(ibutum)* as intermediates; *quinquennalis* recalls the *quinquennales* of the *territorium Capidavense* and the Dacian *canabae*.²¹

Atticus' *quinquennalitas* will have had something to do with the lease of the terrain/goods controlled by the *canabae* of Singidunum.²² Being an *ex signifero*, IIII Flavia's veteran was fully prepared for such a duty, as follows from the *signiferi's* occurrence among the legionaries (or legionary veterans) *qui agunt in lustro* and the *qui magistrant in canabis* alike.²³ We are led to assume that he took care of the *vectigalia* situated in the neighbourhood, not on the site itself, of the city and the military installations of Singidunum. The term *territorium contributum* used in Artissius' inscription, and other epigraphical parallels,²⁴ suggest the conclusion that, in the case of the jurisdiction of Atticus the prefect, an unexpressed but large *territorium canabiarum* must be assumed.²⁵ Furthermore, there is the fact that Atticus' altar was discovered 'en dehors de la ville antique', sc. four of five kilometers to the south of IIII Flavia's *canabae* themselves, probably built at the foot of the legion's fortress.²⁶ The find-spot of the altar lies in an area valuable agriculturally; however, it is also near to the road leading from Singidunum to the Roman mines of Avala, mines whose administrative ties with the *colonia Singidu-*

nensium left signs, convincing enough, in A. D. 272 and 287.²⁷ All this makes us believe that a feature – perhaps *the* feature – of the region depending on III Flavia's *canabae* was its mineral wealth. Atticus' control will have covered Avala in addition to the agrarian domain north of the hill; even his decurionate of Sirmium may have had something to do with the *argentariae Pannonicae*, dependent of Sirmium under some administrative aspects and connected with the Kosmaj–Avala mining complex.²⁸ The occurrence of Terra Mater, not to speak of Liber and Libera, among the divinities of Atticus' dedication seems significant here – in Illyricum, she is the patroness of the *metallarii* in the first place.²⁹

Analyzing CIL 3. 12728f.,³⁰ IMS 1. 16, CIL 3. 14370, 10 and a number of related texts, we note the curious blend of three administrative branches occupied with the *res metallica*: the municipal, the fiscal and that pertaining to the soldiers, legionaries more frequently than the auxiliaries.³¹ In that, the *canabae(?) Reginenses* are nearer to a city than to a military factor,³² unlike the *canabae* of XIII Gemina, whose role in the administration of the *aurariae Daicae* displays (so far) no visible resemblance to the municipal forms.³³ The *canabae(?) Singidunenses* stood somewhere in the middle of the two.³⁴ That diversity, obviously due to the historical and geographical characteristics of the provinces/areas in question and a part of general differences concerning the legal situation and fate of the *canabae* themselves,³⁵ does not appear to reflect the diversity of metals produced by the corresponding mines. At Regensburg, it was iron; at Singidunum it was argentiferous lead and at Ampelum it was gold, of no direct use to the armed force.

Let us revert to Ulpus Aquilinus. The *territorium* of Aquilinus' prefect will have been centred on Ravna, to judge from the provenance of the gravestone and the indications that Aquilinus' family was permanently settled in the Timok valley.³⁶ For the sake of convenience, we shall call it *territorium Timacense*. Its status is actually quite compatible with the data supplied by various sources – they range in time from II to VI century – which tend to depict the east of Moesia Superior as a huge tract of imperial domains, sporadically broken by urban settlements (Aquae, Ravna, Naissus, Remesiana, Lopate – not to speak of Ratiaria, with its specific genesis), rarely permitted to obtain the rank of a municipality.³⁷

Justinian's *Novella* 6,5, prescribing *Aquensis... episcopus habeat praejatam civitatem* (sc. Aquas) *et omnia eius castella et territoria et ecclesias*, shows that the valley of the Timok with its tributaries – i.e. the land approximately covering the bishopric of Aquae – comprised more than one *territorium* among other administrative units.³⁸ It is no bold hypothesis to assume that one of the bishop's *territoria* was, chronologically, a continuation of the *territorium Timacense*, though perhaps with changed boundaries.³⁹ In view of the legionary management of the *territorium Timacense* (Ravna permanently garrisoned a *cohors equitata* – even a *cohors equitata milliaria* after A. D. 169 – whose clerks would have sufficed to regulate simple local affairs), neither its extent nor its importance should be underrated. Between the region of Aquae in the north and the regions of Naissus and Remesiana in the south, it probably included the whole of the mid-Timok. The question is whether the *territorium Timacense* extended to include the rich mines of Lukovo (= the Roman *Argentares* ?) and, further north, those of the Zlot–Bor–Rusman district (gold, silver, copper, iron, lead) – all or some of which were situated in the vicinity of the putative frontier of the *territorium Timacense* and the *territorium Aquense*.⁴⁰ Though there was gold-washing along the entire Timok, and though slag-heaps are reported from the area of late Roman forts of Kalna, Rgošte, Gradište and Orešac (c. 10–15 kms. S of Ravna),⁴¹ it is on that question that the economic

qualification of the *territorium Timacense* mainly depends: a mining or an agrarian domain. The valley of the Timok is fertile enough for us to envisage both the possibilities.

Reasons may be adduced for preferring the former alternative. On the one hand, they stem from the foregoing deductions on the extent of the *territorium Timacense*. From the point of view of both geography and the military organization, it is likely to have incorporated at least the *argentariae* of Lukovo (= Procopius' Argentares?), probably in the neighbourhood of a place named Aureliana (= Auriliana, Proc. *De Aed.* 4, 4, p. 124, 4–5 Haury). On the analogy of the Dardanian Ulpiana, Aureliana implies imperial land and, possibly, the presence of the *familia Caesaris*; note that our Aquileiensis was apparently a *Caesaris servus*.

On the other hand, the status and population of ancient Ravna seem significant. It has already been noted that 'several circumstances speak for a *vicus* in a mining area, notably its customs station, the garrison of the *cohors equitata*, and the evidence on the connection of the *vicus* with the mines of Kosmaj and Domavia'.⁴²

This final point, involving an inscription of disputed reading,⁴³ requires some additional comments. First, the accepted text of the inscription's lines 8 *fin.* – 9 *init.* does not seem a sound one. Epigraphically, it has the disadvantage of not leaving the possibility of a satisfactory restoration of line 9 *init.* (one can hardly find a word or words whose sense would fit into the *lacuna*); and the space available there ([c. 7 letters] EGAV) excludes a *dom(i)[del]egav[*it*]* in the *scriptura continua*. The logic of the epitaph cannot recommend a *defunctus domi*: to die at their homes must have been the expected fate of the veterans, regardless of all the dangers of their later lives. Besides, Dassius' *delegatio* and Valerius Aquilinus' *intercessio* – I see no alternative to R. Egger's expansion of line 7 *init.* – would be much more comprehensible if Dassius had died outside of Ravna, not *domi*.⁴⁴ The sundry parallels suggest postulating a toponym here, and Domavia – the capital of the famous *argentariae Pannoniae et Dalmatiae* – appears the best candidate, by far. A restoration *defunctus Dom[a][viae del] egav[*it*]* perfectly corresponds with the length of the inscription's lines.

Second, the places cited in the *defunctus ibi* formula tend to reveal, naturally, certain ties, on the level of everyday life and/or administrative affairs, with the *patriae* of the deceased. To quote a close enough parallel, Aurelia Flora of *CIL* 3. 1399 (= *Inscr. DAC. ROM.* 3/3, 248) ended her life at Poetovio (Pannonia Superior) but had her gravestone (cenotaph?) erected at Germisara in Dacia Superior, where she had obviously been resident. The status of her father, M. Aurelius Crescens, *Augg. lib(ertus)*, gives a clue to this geographical enigma: no doubt, Flora accompanied him on an official journey to Poetovio, the centre of the *portorium Illyrici*, and died on that occasion. Germisara had something to do with the *aurariae Dacicae* in the vicinity of Ampelum,⁴⁵ a fact which – through occurrence of Poetovio in *CIL* 3. 1399 – fits in with all the indications on the importance of the customs organization for the Illyrian mines.⁴⁶ Whether Crescens served in the *portorium* or *metalla*, the place of his daughter's death indirectly explains the place of Dassius' death, since the inhabitants of the mining *vici* must have maintained contacts among themselves, both private and official.⁴⁷

Third, the cognomen of Dassius' *primus heres*, not unlike that of the *testator* himself,⁴⁸ seems dissonant from what one might expect from the anthroponymy of the indigenous population of the Timok valley; an Illyrian,⁴⁹ – Dassius' compatriot, – or a Roman using the *gentile* Ennius in the function of a *cognomen*, the *primus heres* will have had his origin in Liburnia or neighbouring parts of Italy or

Pannonia.⁵⁰ We are induced to suppose that Ennius or Ennius' ancestors arrived at the Timok as a part of the 'colonization' of the mining areas in Illyricum, 'colonization' wherein the Dalmatians of the coast played a conspicuous role. From that complex of questions, the presence of Liburnians on Kosmaj, and the indirect signs of the presence of Dalmatians (from, roughly, the neighbourhood of Salona?) at Rgotina (S-E of the Bor mines), should be emphasized.⁵¹ It is tempting to conclude that the origin(s) of Ennius and Dassius also reflect the men's connection with mining.

Fourth, various features of Dassius' inscription concur in postulating members of the *militia officialis* engaged in the mining administration.⁵² Like Ulpus Aquilinus, Valerius Aquilinus may have been a *librarius legionis*; his *intercessio* (if legal in form) in the affair of Dassius' testament would be quite understandable then.⁵³ In its turn, if our qualification of the people figuring in Dassius' epitaph proves correct, it tends, conversely, to support the conjecture that the *librarii legionis* at Ravna and Ampelum may have been busy with, among other things, the *conductio puteorum*.⁵⁴ While (the preserved part of) Dassius' inscription mentions no member of the *familia Caesaris*, that of Ulpus Aquilinus has *Aquileienseis*, and some documents from other Roman mines – Kosmaj notably – reflect an analogous collaboration between the imperial slaves (freedmen) and the military clerks, collaboration stemming from the mining process, not the police work of the latter.⁵⁵ As a whole, the modalities of that union of the army and the fiscal officials cannot be reconstructed as yet. The name of *Aquileienseis*, in any case, may recall the Danubian legions' *stationes* in Aquileia,⁵⁶ whether it was due to his activity there with VII Claudia's *agentes in lustris*,⁵⁷ or with the legion's manufacturers of iron objects – Aquileia was a famous centre of metallurgy, – or to some other reason, it is difficult to say.

To conclude. The inscriptions analyzed in the present paper, especially those of T. Aurelius Atticus, Ulpus Aquilinus and Aurelius Artissius, throw some light on the basic problems of Roman provincial organization. We shall not dwell here on that side of their testimonies. Instead, we should like to raise a point of method: none of these texts explicitly mentions the mines, but various circumstances make their implicit connection with the *res metallica* almost indubitable. The volume of written sources concerning particular spheres of the ancients' life does not fairly reflect the importance of those spheres. To cite an instance of general interest for our subject, the miners supported one of the substructures of the Graeco-Roman world but rarely appear in its literature, or its epigraphical or art monuments. Besides, there are geographical anomalies in the distribution of such sources. For all their mineral wealth, the Illyrian *metalla* have not so far produced a *lex metalli*; the relevance of the local cultural traditions cannot be overstressed in this matter. An historian of the *res metallica* – that of Illyricum especially – must be ready to diversify his heuristics. A starting point is provided by the material remains of early mining – not necessarily Roman but also prehistoric or medieval, the continuity of the mineral exploitation being a well-known fact. If the mine in question did not leave explicit signs of its activity in the written sources of the Roman epoch, they should be looked for in the related media of the cult, army, customs services, municipal organization or the imperial administration. A study of the toponyms and anthroponyms (disclosing the deportation of Dalmatians and Anatolians into the *territoria metallorum* of the Balkan provinces) is frequently useful too. The cumulative results tend to show that the *res metallica* was one of the determinants of life in Roman Illyricum.

¹ Cf. e.g. Plin. Ep. 10, 22, 2: *ne milites a signis absint* (*ibid.* 20, 2, et al.).

² On the site of Ravna, usually identified with Timacum Minus, see *IMS* 3 (forthcoming). The Timok derives its name from the ancient Timac(h)us.

³ These two articles will be referred to in the abbreviated form, *Organization* and *Roman Mines* respectively. Bibliographical abbreviations will be also used from the following papers of mine: Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 6 (Berlin–New York 1977) 52–94 (hereafter: *Aspects*), and Two Notes on Roman Mining in Moesia Superior (in Serbian, with an English summary), *Arh. vest.* 28, 1977, 163–179 (hereafter: *Two Notes*).

⁴ Kindly supplied by Dr. Petrović.

⁵ Indeed, several participants of the Madrid Colloquium on ancient mining (1985) – the document from Ravna formed a part of the report, cited *supra*, which I submitted at that meeting – hesitated to accept the title of *praefectus territorii*. The author is grateful to all of them for their friendly interest, as well as to Professor F. Papazoglu and Dr. P. Petrović, who kindly helped him to check lines 5–6 (Sept., 1988) and, while accepting the expansions producing the *praefectus territorii*, suggested him to abandon the PRAEF and TERRIT alternatives.

⁶ For a ligature uniting two abbreviated words see the (random) examples of *IMS* 1. 132, line 8, and *CIL* 3. 14370, 10, line 4 (below, note 17).

⁷ In 1980, therefore, I read *praefectus* *ter<r>it(orii)* (Organization [*supra*, note 3]).

⁸ A *terminus post quem* is offered by the *gentile* of Aquilinus (belonging to at least the second generation of the Ulpii in the family); note also that he bears no *praenomen*. In Moesia Superior, the abbreviations BMP are met with from the beginning of the second century till late antiquity (P. Petrović, *Paléographie des inscriptions romaines en Mésie Supérieure* [in Serbian, with a French summary] [Belgrade 1975] 83 and 161). See *ibid.*, 64f. and 166 (on the L with the curved horizontal), 104–106 and 163 (on the ligatured inscriptions).

⁹ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 51f. (cf. 308ff.). For two examples variously instructive here see *ILS* 7154 and *ILJug* 1150 (with comm.).

¹⁰ Aquilinus' being an *ingenuus*, and the late Antonine/early Severan date of the monument, rule out the supposition of an imperial *ex-serva*.

¹¹ Aquilinus, dead at the age of 22, obviously became a *librarius* very early in his service

(cf. *CIL* 3. 1317 = *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 3/3, 344, an inscription commented upon below). That privilege seems best attributed to a combination of his literacy and his family connections. – For a similar example, at Ravna, of a marriage reflecting the socio-administrative ties of the two families involved see the gravestone *Wiener Jahresh.* 6, 1903, Beibl. 50 no. 59 (A. v. Premerstein, N. Vulić).

¹² A. G. Poulter, in: *Roman Frontier Studies* 1979 (Papers presented to the 12th Int. Congr. of Roman Frontier Studies, ed. by W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie) 3, BAR Internat. Ser. 71 (London 1980) 729 and 741 note 5, on *CIL* 3. 12491 and *Izv. B'lg. arh. dr.* 1, 1910, 116 (G. I. Kacarov).

¹³ Poulter (*supra*, note 12) 738.

¹⁴ *ILS* 1349; *Ann. épigr.* 1926, 80. Cf. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London–Boston 1974) 69.

¹⁵ The Lower Moesian *ripa Thraciae* and *ripa Danuvii* did not stretch far to the south, either (T. Sarnowski, *Ratiariensia* 3–4, 1987, 263f.).

¹⁶ Such aspects tend to be neglected or underestimated in modern research, cf. e.g. the studies by A. Mócsy and F. Vittinghoff quoted in the next note. For a more flexible conception, H. v. Petrikovits, in: *Actes du VII^e Congr. int. d'épigr. gr. et lat.*, Constantza, 9–15 sept. 1977 (București–Paris 1979) 229–242, esp. 241f.

¹⁷ *CIL* 3. 14370, 10, from Regensburg in Raetia (cf. F. Vittinghoff, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 306, and *Acc. Lincei, Quaderno* N. 194, 1974, 116f.; A. Mócsy, *Acta ant. Acad. sci. Hung.* 20, 1972, 137, and *Festschrift F. Vittinghoff* (Köln–Wien 1980) 370; J. E. Bogaers, in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 3, Vorträge des 13. Int. Limeskongr., Aalen 1983 [Stuttgart 1986] 129–131); *Volk. sacr. Aur. / Artissius aedil. / territor. contr(ibuti) / et k(anabarium?) R(eginensium) de suo fe⁵/cit v.s.l.m. / positum X k.S. / Orfito cos. L.3 contr(arii) Th. Mommsen; contr(ibuti) A.v. Domaszewski (on the *contributio* of a mining area to a city, S. Dušanić, *Živa ant.* 21, 1971, 261). L.4 k(*astrorum*) Domaszewski; k(*anabarium*) plerique; cf. *infra*, note 19. J. E. Bogaers expands the ETKR, less plausibly, into *ektr(anei)* or *ektr(arii)*.*

¹⁸ For this interpretation of *CIL* 3. 14370, 10, a novel one, see *Roman Mines* (*supra*, note 3), text and notes 19–23.

¹⁹ *IMS* 1. 16, Singidunum (cf. P. Le Roux, *Rev. ét. anc.* 82, 1980, 375): *I.O.M. et / Terrae Matri / Libero Pat. et Libi(re!) sac.⁵ / T. Aur. Atticus / vet. leg. III Fl. ex / sig(nifero), p(rae)fectus(?) k(anabarium?) q(uin)q(en)nalis) Sing(iduni), / dec. col. Sirmens(ium) / v.l.m.p. L. 7 p(rae)fectus) k(astrorum)* N. Vulić; p() k()

R. Cagnat, M. Mirković; *p(atronus?) k(anabarium)* P. Le Roux; *p(raefectus?) k(anabarium)* H. G. Pflaum; *p(raefectus?) k(anabarium?) q(uin)q(ualis) Sing.* S. Dušanić. Both here and in *CIL* 3. 14370, 10, line 4, the alternative *k(astelli, -orum)* should not be ruled out but seems improbable.

²⁰ Previous editors preferred to separate Atticus' *p(raefectura)* from his *quinquennialitas*, despite the frequency of the *praefecturae quinquennales* (for two related examples see *ILS* 1945 [*vectigalia*] and 6232 [*sal(inae)*]). Note, for what it is worth, the absence of a *mun.* between the QQ and the *Sing.* (Singidunum probably became a *municipium* as early as Hadrian, *IMS* 1. pp. 31f.).

²¹ *Supra*, note 12; *Ann. épigr.* 1957, 266, and 1960, 337.

²² Cf. e.g. *ILS* 1945 and diverse data on the *in quinquennium conductio* (A. Mócsy, *Germania* 44, 1966, 324f.).

²³ *CIL* 5. 808, *ILS* 4222; *CIL* 3. 4298 = *RIU* 2. 442. Cf. *Veget.* 2, 20: *litterati homines*; *CIL* 8. 18224: *signiferi agentes cura<m> macelli*. The case of the auxiliary *signiferi* was, no doubt, a parallel one. For a *signifer c[ohortis]* probably managing an area in south-western Dalmatia which combined a *civitas peregrina* with a 'military territory' see M. Zaninović, *Opusc. arch.* 10, 1985, 74f. For a *sig. leg. VII Cl.*, son of an *imag. coh. II [Aur.] D(ar)d(anorum)* at Ravna see *Spom. Srp. kralj. akad.* 75, 1933, 42 no. 141, and 98, 1941-48, 84 no. 179 (N. Vulić).

²⁴ See Mócsy's contribution to the *Festschrift F. Vittinghoff*, referred to above, note 17 (pp. 369ff.).

²⁵ Later, that *territorium* may have been renamed and/or separated from Singidunum to be incorporated into the Kosmaj *argentinae* (cf. *Aspects [supra]*, note 3] 88f.). In any case, *IMS* 1.46 seems to have referred to the Avala mines as a part of the Kosmaj region (*Organization [supra]*, note 3] 36 note 221). The dedication of no. 46 may have included a dative *t(territorio) Diumes[sensi]* or the like, analogous to that of the inscription published by G. I. Kacarov (*supra*, note 12); for a similarly composite dedication of a mining official see P. Le Roux, *Madrid. Mitt.* 26, 1985, 220f. (previously, I read *t(errae) D.*). Of course, there is a possibility that Demessus (*Diumes-sus*) was the name of the Avala *vicus* and fort, not that of the *vicus* and fort at Stojnik (Kosmaj).

²⁶ *IMS* 1, pp. 31-36, especially 36 (M. Mirković).

²⁷ *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 36; on *IMS* 1.46 and 20; cf. note 25 above.

²⁸ *Aspects [supra]*, note 3] 90 note 241; *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 43 with note 285,

53 note 381.

²⁹ Cf. *IMS* 1. 168 (together with nos. 20, 46); *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 12f. An unpublished altar from the Kosmaj *argentinae* unites Liber with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in a manner which recalls Atticus' stone; *IMS* 1.170 a (The Rudnik *mettala*) should probably be read *D(eo) B(accho) s(acrum)* (cf. *CIL* 3. 8367 = *Naše starine* 11, 1967, 148 f. no. 4a [Bojanovski, Rogatica [east Dalmatia]: *L(i)bero) B(accho)*). On the cult of Liber and his cognates in mines and quarries see S. Mrozek, *Eos* 70, 1982, 143f. S. Dušanić, *Živa ant.* 32, 1982, 211 note 2, and *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 13 note 28, 24 note 110. The composite dedication of *IMS* 1.16 therefore strongly resembles the dedication made to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and Terra Mater by an official of the Dacian *salinae* (Mrozek, *loc. cit.*, 144) and that to [Iuppiter Optimus Maximus?], Liber and Terra Mater by a *procurator* of the Ljubija *ferrariae* (*Aspects [supra]*, note 3] 60 note 24; *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 13 note 28).

³⁰ Cf. *Aspects [supra]*, note 3] 90; *Roman Mines [supra]*, note, 3] text and notes 15-28.

³¹ On the *commentarienses* (of IIII Flavia?) in the Kosmaj mines (*CIL* 15. 7915; *IMS* 1. 104 and 111) and the corresponding officers in the fiscal region of Lopate (*IMS* 6. 227: *mil. leg. IIII Fl. lib(rarius) co(n)s(ularis)*; 241: *mil. leg. IIII Fl. Ant. strat. leg(ati)*) see *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 42 note 273. The *lib. cos.* of *IMS* 6. 227, acting in an area whose mineral wealth was not negligible (cf. *ibid.*, p. 42), is paralleled not only by the *librarius consularis* of XIII Gemina at Ampelum (*CIL* 3. 1318, cf. 1317 = *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 3/3, 354, cf. 344; see H.-Ch. Noeske, *Studien zur Verwaltung und Bevölkerung der dakischen Goldbergwerke in römischer Zeit*, *Bonn. Jhrb.* 177, 1977, 271-416) but also, if less closely, by our *mil. leg. VII Cl. librarius officii prae(fecti) ter<r>it(orii)* at Ravna.

³² Artissius' title was that of an *aedilis*, and the *k(anabae?) R(eginenses)* are referred to through the toponym, not the name of leg. III Italica. Vittinghoff, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 306f.

³³ *Tab. cer.* VII, cf. XXV (= *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 1, 37, cf. 38; see also Noeske [*supra*, note 31] 393-396. Vittinghoff [*supra*, note 32] 300f. with note 9).

³⁴ Atticus performed his *p(raefectura)* as a veteran of IIII Flavia but the name of his *k(anabae?)* has been qualified by the name of the city, not the legion.

³⁵ Cf. Mócsy, in: *Festschrift F. Vittinghoff* (1980) 370ff.; Dušanić, *Organization [supra]*, note 3] 38 note 239.

³⁶ Dr. Petrović notes (*IMS* 3, forthcoming) that the provenance of stelae built into the

fort of Ravna should be sought in the nearby cemetery. The soldiers whose monuments are found at Lopate and Ampelum (note 31 above) also lived within the *finēs territorii*, not in their legions' places, judging by their family conditions as discernible from the inscriptions. The same should be assumed for some other legionaries at Ravna.

³⁷ *Aspects (supra, note 3) 73-76; Organization (supra, note 3) 30-34.*

³⁸ Of course, the word *territorium* used to have – even within official contexts – somewhat varying meanings (*Roman Mines (supra, note 3) note 26*). It may have alternated, in some cases at least, with the word *regio*; there was a nearby *regio Montanensium*, perhaps also *regiones* around Aquae, Remesiana and Naissus (*Organization (supra, note 3) 31* with note 178).

³⁹ Among other things, the rise of Romuliana (Gamzigrad) under Galerius was like to provoke the splitting of the larger, early imperial *territoria* in the Timok valley into the smaller *territoria* of late antiquity.

⁴⁰ On that frontier, uncertain as it is, *Organization (supra, note 3) 33f.* Judging from the characteristics of the relief of the whole Timok country, the areas of the Lukovo and Zlot-Bor-Rusman mines are likely to have been grouped into one, as they both belong to the basin of the Timok's western tributary named the Crni Timok. As such, geographically speaking, they are somewhat separated from the regions of Ravna (in the south) and Aquae (in the north). Be it noted that the valley of the Crni Timok included Romuliana.

⁴¹ According to the kind communication of Dr. Petrović. He also tells me that some quantities of slag, unearthed at the Ravna fort itself, were chemically examined; they reveal that silver (perhaps also gold and iron) was obtained by the Romans there.

⁴² *Aspects (supra, note 3) 75f.; cf. Organization (supra, note 3) 32f.* Below, note 47.

⁴³ N. Vulić, *Spom. Srp. kralj. akad.* 71, 1931, 82 no. 192, with a drawing (= *ILJug* 1313); cf. S. Dušanić, *Zbor. Nar. muz. Bgd.* 8, 1975, 136 note 31, and *Aspects (supra, note 3) 76* note 150. Discovered at Ravna, now lost; a photograph preserved at the National Museum of Belgrade. Late Severan ? [3-4 letters] *Dassius / vet. v.a. LX. B.m. / simul et vivae / Aur. Severae coniugi*⁵ / eius *siq* (! = *sicut*) *test(amento) suo* (ipse Dassius) / *Ael. Ennio pr(imo) h(eredi), / interc(essione) Val. Aquilini, def(unctus) Dom[a] / [viae del]egav[io] [it--] / L.5 *siq* = *sicut* N. Vulić, *siq(undum) !!* A. et J. Šašel. L.7 *interc(essione)* R. Egger, *interc()* A. et J. Šašel. L. 8-10 *def(uncti) dom(i) / [del]egav[it]* Vulić; *def(unctus) Dom[a] / [viae del]egav[it]* S. Dušanić in 1975 and 1977; *def(un-**

cti) domi / [del?]egav[it?] A. et J. Šašel. The photograph confirms Vulić's drawing and readings of lines 7-9(10), with the exception of the (rather vertical) stroke at the end of line 8. Identified formerly as an A by me as an I by A. et J. Šašel, the (?) letter-trace appears in Vulić's facsimile but not in his text or (at least not clearly) on the photo. On the other hand, the photo – rather dark, especially at the top – does not support (or eliminate) Vulić's reading of lines 1 (only the bottom of the letters was visible) and 6 (the former part of *Ennio*); relying upon Vulić's inspection of the stone, we have nevertheless retained these two names. The constitution of lines 2 ff. (the deceased's *cognomen* in the nominative, the *b.m.* [probably] in the dative; a new phrase beginning with the *b.m.*) is common enough in later inscriptions (cf. e.g. Diehl, *ILChV* 2592 + adn.; 2825 + adn.).

⁴⁴ Dr. Petrović (*IMS* 3, forthcoming) has made the convincing suggestion that the *[del]egav[it]* of Dassius' inscription and the *ex delegato* of another tombstone from Ravna (*Wiener Jahresh.* 12, 1910, Beibl. 180f., no. 47, and 15, 1912, Beibl. 231f., no. 34 [N. Vulić]), are two references to a testamentary procedure of the same sort. That *rapprochement* supports Vulić's restoration of lines 9-10 of Dassius' epitaph, particularly as Valerius Aquilinus figures in both texts. It seems that the father of Valerius Aquilinus, like Dassius himself, died far from Ravna – perhaps at Domavia too. Under such circumstances, the two testators were obviously allowed to note and/or communicate their last wills in less formal ways than usual (cf. e.g., on the *testamenta militum*, B. Kübler, in: *RE* 5 A [1934] 1000-1002).

⁴⁵ Cf. *CIL* 3. 941 = *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 3/3, 235.

⁴⁶ *Organization (supra, note 3) 40f. et pass.; Roman Mines (supra, note 3) text and notes 42ff. 97f. (+ Addendum).*

⁴⁷ The connection of Ravna with the *metalla* of Kosmaj, mentioned above (text and note 42), is evidenced by the occurrence of the rare *nomen* Vecilius in both the regions, an occurrence which unites, significantly, the army with the mining administration (*IMS* 1. 103, with the comment). – On the link between the Avala mines and the *argentariae Pannonicae*, deducible from Atticus' career, see *supra*, text and note 28. For analogous conclusions, based on the finds of *nummi metallorum*, *IMS* 1, p. 102.

⁴⁸ In Dardania, the name Das(s)ius tends to concentrate in the west and the south. Geographically closest to our man are the Das(s)ii from Remesiana and the neighbourhood of Naissus (F. Papazoglou, *The Central*

Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times. Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians [Amsterdam 1978] 229 and 240-245).

⁴⁹ A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* (Wien 1957) 136; cf. R. Katičić, in: *Simpozijum o teritorijalnom i hronološkom razgraničenju Ilira u praistorijsko doba (Symposium sur la délimitation territoriale et chronologique des Illyriens à l'époque préhistorique)*, Pos. izd. Cent. za balkanol. ispit. 1 (Sarajevo 1965) 51.

⁵⁰ On the geographical distribution of the Ennii – Roman, Illyrian and those who, being native, seem to have adopted the Roman name because of its resemblance to the Illyrian homophone – see, in addition to the studies of A. Mayer and R. Katičić quoted in the preceding note, G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg 1969) 83.

⁵¹ *Two Notes* (*supra*, n. 3) 178, 167, 174 notes 46-47; *Organization* (*supra*, note 3) 23f. with nn. 107f., 32 with n. 180.

⁵² The *cognomina* Aquilinus (~ *aquila legionis*?) and Dassius were popular among the soldiers of VII Claudia, see *IMS* 2. 51 (II, lines 1, 13), 53 (I A, line 17b; B, line 37a; II A, line 68a; B, line 83b [this last has the origo *r(egione?)*]), and other inscriptions.

⁵³ A *librarius* (who was not, it is true, an army officer) *testamenta scripsit annos XXV sine iuris consult(o)*, *ILS* 7750. On the *librarii* in general, R. F. Rossi, *Diz. ep.* 4(1958) 955-965.

⁵⁴ Similarly to the *librarii* of VII Claudia, whose care for the lease of the *prata legionis* (later transformed into fiscal *pascuae*?) in the area east of the legion's (early imperial) fortress at Tilurium (Dalmatia) left an interest-

ing, if overlooked and unexplained, trace in the Ad Libros toponym (22 m.p. from Tilurium, modern Trilj, near Salona); I shall deal elsewhere with that matter. In Moesia Superior too, we must reckon with historical and/or economic-organizational connections between the 'Militärisches Nutzland' and the fiscal domains. The *stratores consularis* at Naissus were probably concerned with the *pascuae* (P. Petrović, *IMS* 4, p.32); the *librarius consularis* and the *strator consularis* at Lopate possibly with both the *pascuae* and the *metalla* (*supra*, note 31). – Our conjecture on the *librarii legionis* and the *conductio puteorum* at Ravna and Ampelum (the *conductio puteorum* around Avala may have been one of the tasks of Atticus as the *p(raefectus?) k(anabarum?) q(uin)q(ennalis)*, above, note 22) would be supported by the presence of a *Caesaris verna, subsequens librarium*, in the Dacian *aurariae* (*CIL* 3.1314 = *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 3/3 356) if the officers to whom he was attached are to be identified with the *librarii* of XIII Gemina, as taken by Noeske (*supra*, n. 31), 311.

⁵⁵ *Two Notes* (*supra*, n. 3) 179, 170 (on *CIL* 15. 7915); cf. the (hypothetical) collaboration of the *Caesaris verna* and the legionary *librarii* spoken of in the preceding note.

⁵⁶ On them, Mócsy, *Germania* 44, 1966, 323.

⁵⁷ That alternative would of course stress the importance of military interests (with the related notions of the 'Militärisches Nutzland', 'agrarian domains' etc.) in the whole complex of problems concerning the role of legionaries at Ravna. Cf. *Organization* (*supra*, n. 3) 42, note 278, with bibl.; *Two Notes* (*supra*, n. 3) 170, 174 n. 37, 176 n. 81.

LEGIJE I FISKALNI POSEDI U GORNJOJ MEZJI: EPIGRAFSKE BELEŠKE

Sažetak

U članku se prvi put objavljuje nadgrobnik (sl. 1), nadjen u timočkoj Ravni, jednog pripadnika legije VII Claudia koji je služio kao *librarius officii prae(fecti) ter<r>it(orii)*. Prefektura i njen *officium* svedoče da je legionarima mogla biti dodeljena istaknuta uloga u administraciji pojedinih imanja fiska; radi se o takvim imanjima čiji su geografski položaj i privredni značaj nalagali rimskoj državi da odstupi od načela *ne milites a signis absint*. *Librarijev* natpis posredno upućuje na novo čitanje ili tumačenje niza mezijskih i vanmezijskih epigrafskih dokumenata.^{17, 19-20, 29, 43, 54} Zajednička im je crta što otkrivaju, na različite načine, vojnički (osobito legijski) doprinos – podcenjen među savremenim naučnicima¹⁶ – organizovanju i vođenju oblasti naročito važnih u ekonomskom pogledu; doprinos se osećao čak i tamo gde one nisu neposredno koristile izdržavanju samih trupa. *Territorium* naveden u ravanskom natpisu treba tražiti u dolini Timoka (up. podatak Justinijanove jedanaeste Novele o *territoria* zavisnim od grada Aquae). Administraciju sličnu timočkoj mogao je imati, sudeći po spomenicima *IMS* 1. 16, 46 i severozapadni deo Gornje Mezije. U oba slučaja, kao i u slučaju izvesnog broja drugih poseda gornjomezijskog fiska, verovatno je dasu rudnici predstavljali glavno bogatstvo tla čija je uprava poverena vojnom činiocu.