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## Some Considerations about the Peregrine Communities in Upper Moesia

*Abstract:* The present paper offers an outline of important evidence about the territories and the administration of the peregrine communities in Upper Moesia. The study of this type of communities can contribute to better understanding of the administrative history of this Roman province and help set the framework for the further research on this topic; this is especially important for the province of Upper Moesia since our knowledge of its ancient past is quite fragmentary.

*Key words:* native communities, *peregrini*, *Upper Moesia*, Roman provinces.

Study of administrative history and demographics of a Roman province requires a certain acquaintance with its administrative structures and their status. When it comes to the province of Upper Moesia (covering the significant part of modern Serbia) the scarcity of evidence is striking. At best, our knowledge about its ancient past is lacunary and every new relevant piece of evidence or a new discovery, even modest ones, can help improve the state-of-the-art. Meanwhile, the reassessment of all available information and the use of analogous representative material from other Roman provinces that are better documented by the sources, can be somewhat useful. In this paper, my attention will be focused on one type of provincial communities, the peregrine communities (*civitates peregrinae*),<sup>1</sup> which doubtlessly had a significant role in the life and the functioning of the province, but the evidence on them is extremely fragmentary and elusive. I will bring forward some important considerations regarding the territories, the government, the urbanization and the continuity of communities and try to outline some key evidence, hoping to shape the framework for further investigation.

Important source for the provincial administrative structures, and gener-

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<sup>1</sup> *Civitates peregrinae* were Roman provincial communities of natives, organized based on their tribal structure and required to pay *stipendium/tributum*. Their inhabitants belonged to the indigenous population and were predominantly of peregrine status, in legal sense, foreigners in the Roman state. SCUHULTEN 1895, 515; KORNEMANN 1903, 301–302. On the *civitates peregrinae* in the adjacent province of Illyricum see my book cited in bibliography GRBIĆ 2014.

ally the administration of the Roman Empire, is Pliny the Elder's encyclopaedic work *Natural history* (*Naturalis historia*),<sup>2</sup> namely his books 3–6 dedicated to the geography of the world. These books provide invaluable information on provincial communities, their legal status, on juridical *conventus*, distances, statistical data which he drew from the official documents (e.g. *formulae provinciarum*, census lists, etc.). While Pliny's chapters on the adjacent provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia is rather informative: it includes extensive excerpts from official documents, divisions by juridical circuits, even detailed numeric demographic data (number of the *decuriae*), the information that he provides on Moesia is comparably scanty. Pliny's account is early and it pertains to the undivided province of Moesia that stretched along the Danube from the confluence of the Sava to the Black Sea (Plin. NH III 149): *Pannoniae iunguntur provincia quae Moesia appellatur, ad Pontum usque cum Danuvio decurrens. incipit a confluente supra dicto. in ea Dardani, Celegeri, Triballi, Timachi, Moesi, Thraeces Pontoque contermini Scythae*. The native peoples are enumerated by their geographic position, not alphabetically, which may indicate that the list is not drawn from an official document (*formula provinciae* or similar)<sup>3</sup> but from another Augustan source. Perhaps the names and the geographic distribution could have been copied from the Agrippa's map, as it has already been assumed for the list of Pannonian communities in NH III 148.<sup>4</sup> Native peoples of Moesia are again mentioned at the beginning of the book 4, where Pliny says (NH IV 3): *Dardanis laevo Triballi praetendentur latere et Moesicae gentes*; next, in book IV, *Moesi* are mentioned once again in the description of Thrace,<sup>5</sup> while the *Triballi* appear also in the book VI (c. 218). Pliny's early account is partially supported by an epigraphic document that speaks directly of the early organisation of peregrine communities in Moesia and establishment of military control over the indigenous administrative structures. Two (identical) inscriptions from *Iulium Carnicum* (Regio X, modern Zuglio) honour *Baebius Atticus*, a *primus pilus* of the legion *V Macedonica* stationed at *Oescus* (Gigen, Bulgaria) who was *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae* about AD 15 and afterwards *praefectus civitatum in Alpibus Maritimis*, finally, a procurator in Noricum. It is well attested that the same person could have governed two or more commu-

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<sup>2</sup> On *Naturalis historia* as a source for the administrative history of the Empire, see GRBIĆ 2014, 19–63 with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> PAPAZOGLU 1969, 52; SALLMANN 1971, 203 („Unbekannte Katalog“), cf. 101.

<sup>4</sup> GRBIĆ 2014, 41–42 with bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. NH IV 41: ... *aversa eius et in Histrum devexa Moesi, Getae, Aodi, Scaugdae Clariaeque et sub iis Arraei Sarmatae, quos Aretas vocant, Scythaeque et circa Ponti litora Moriseni Sitonique, Orphei vatis genitores*.

nities, simultaneously or/and consecutively.<sup>6</sup>

CIL V 1838:<sup>7</sup>

C(aio) Baebio P(ubli) f(ilio) Cla(udia) | Attico | Iivir(o) i(ure) [d(icundo)] primo pil(o) | leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae) praef(ecto) | **c[i]vitatium Moesiae et | Treballia[e] praef(ecto) [ci]vitat(ium) | in Alpib(us) maritumis t[r](ibunō) mil(itum) coh(ortis) | VIII pr(aetoriae) primo pil(o) iter(um) procurator(i) | Ti(beri) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici | in Norico | civitas | Saevatum et Laiancorum.**

Another important source for the provincial communities is the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemeius, a second century astronomer and geographer.<sup>8</sup> In his chapter dedicated to the province of Upper Moesia, he mentions four *civitates* (Ptol. III 9.2): Κατέχουσι δὲ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ Δαλματία Τρικουρή(ν)σιοι τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῷ Κιάμβρω ποταμῷ Μυσοί τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ Πικίηνσιοι τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ Δάρδανοι. From the comparison of Pliny's and Ptolemy's accounts follows that the territories of the *civitates* were redefined at some point. Perhaps this change occurred before or in the times of the division of the province in 86 AD,<sup>9</sup> the precise details are lacking. Pliny's and Ptolemy's list overlap only partially: both authors mention the communities of the Dardanians and the Moesians (in Upper Moesia) and the community of the *Triballi* in the region of *Oescus*, which after the division belonged to the province of Lower Moesia. The *Celegeri* and the *Timachi* are no longer mentioned by Ptolemy, while there are two new *civitates*, Τρικουρή(ν)σιοι and Πι(ν)κίηνσιοι.<sup>10</sup> These new administrative communities were named after *Tricornium* (Ritopek) and *Pincum* (Golubac) at the mouth of the river *Pincus* (Pek). These *civitas*-centres were positioned on the Danube, while the territories of the communities stretched towards the interior of the province. The relation of the Moesian *civitates* and the mines has been studied in the works

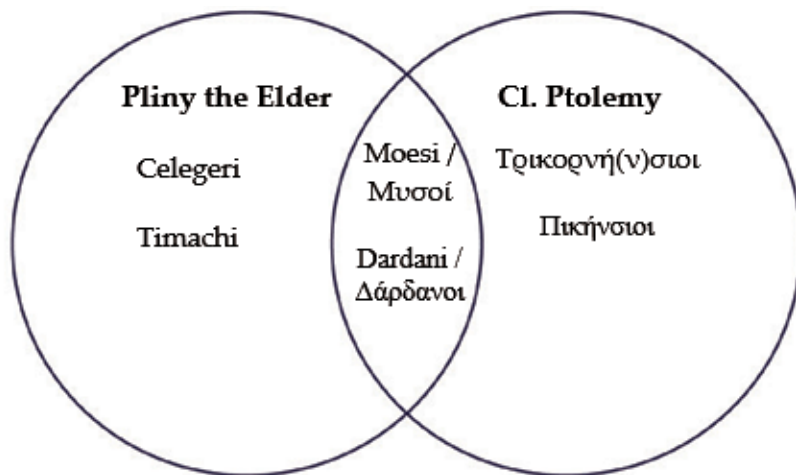
<sup>6</sup> For example, in Dalmatia, [---] *Marcellus*, a centurion of the *legion XI Claudia* was at the same time *praefectus* of the communities of *Maezaei* and *Desidiates*, and later he governed over another community of *Melcumani* (CIL IX 2564); Similar example is provided by a Pannonian example, CIL IX 5363 = ILS 2737; CIL IX 5364: *Volcacius Q. f. Vel(ina) Primus*, was a *praefectus* of the cohort *I Noricorum, praefectus ripae Danuvi(i)*, governing also two neighbouring communities: ... *civitatium duar(um) Boior(um) et Azalior(um)*. Cf. GRBIĆ 2014 with bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription CIL V 1839 is fragmentary. Cf. PFLAUM 1960/6, 27–28, n° 11.

<sup>8</sup> K. MÜLLER, *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia, Tabulae XXXVI*, Paris 1883–1901. I have also consulted the new edition: A. STÜCKELBERGER, G. GRASSHOFF, & F. MITTENHUBER *et al.*, *Klaudios Ptolemaios, Handbuch der Geographie*, 1. Teilband, Basel 2006.

<sup>9</sup> MÓCSY 1974, 66–68; WILKES 1996, 545–585.

<sup>10</sup> According to MÓCSY (1970, 28; 1974, 68), the *Tricorn(i)enses* and the *Pincenses* replaced the *Timachi* and the *Celegeri*; the same opinion is later repeated by WILKES 1996, 579–580.



<Fig 1. Moesian Communities mentioned by Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy> of Slobodan Dušanić, which are essential for the study of this province.<sup>11</sup> The community of the *Tricornienses* is attested epigraphically *in situ*, in AD 120 by the military diploma CIL XVI 67 in which the *civitas* is listed as *origo* of the recipient's wife: *Doroturmae Dotochae fil(iae) uxori eius Tricorn(iensi)*.

Next to nothing is known about Pliny's *Celegeri*. Based on the inscription mentioning a *dec(urio) duumviralicius* of *mun. Cel.*,<sup>12</sup> expanded as *mun(icipium) Cel(egerorum)*, it has been proposed that the town may have been established on the native territory of the *Celegeri*<sup>13</sup> and that it could be located in western Serbia, around Ivanjica, where the inscription was discovered.<sup>14</sup> Mócsy has proposed to locate the centre of the *municipium* further to the east, in Kraljevo,<sup>15</sup> but it is not an attractive hypothesis. Possibly, the inscription was set up on the municipal territory, where the dignitary had an estate.<sup>16</sup> The text runs as follows: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aurel(ius) Augustia| nus dec(urio) duumvi| ralicius m(unicipii) Cel(---) vixi| t ann(os) XXXV Bella | con(iugi) rar(issimo) pientissi| ma (!) et filii patri | bene merito m(e)m(oriam)*. It should be noted that this region be-

<sup>11</sup> DUŠANIĆ 1977, 69sq.; 1989, 149–151; 1990; 2000; 2004, 260–265, especially note 59; 2004a; 2010, 720–772.

<sup>12</sup> PREMERSTEIN & VULIĆ 1900, Bbl. 176, n° 70; CIL III 14610; VULIĆ & PREMERSTEIN 1900, 50, n° 70; VULIĆ 1941–1948, 50, n° 103; ILJug 77: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aurel(ius) Augustia| nus dec(urio) duumvi| ralicius m(unicipii) Cel(---) vixi| t ann(os) XXXV Bella | con(iugi) rar(issimo) pientissi| ma (!) et filii patri | bene merito m(e)m(oriam)*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. analogous examples: *municipium Latobiorum*, *municipium Iasorum* in Upper Pannonia, *municipium Dardanorum* in Upper Moesia, etc.

<sup>14</sup> PAPAZOGLU 1957, 114, note 1, 119–121; ALFÖLDY 1962, 122–123.

<sup>15</sup> MÓCSY 1967, 156–157; 1970, 36; 1974, 214, 223; cf. WILKES 1996; PISO 2003, 285–298 = 2003, [487–506], 500.

<sup>16</sup> For similar examples see LOMA 2014, 11–18 (with bibliography).

longed to the Roman province of Dalmatia, and not to Upper Moesia.<sup>17</sup> However, Pliny's list probably predates the precise delimitation between Illyricum and Moesia, about which we practically have no information; possibly the region was included in Dalmatian territory later. Géza Alföldy has proposed that the *Celegeri* were a fraction of the *Scordisci*,<sup>18</sup> the same as the *Dindari* who lived further to the west, towards the Drina river.<sup>19</sup>

The community of the *Timachi* should be doubtlessly located in the basin of the *Timachus* River.<sup>20</sup> The fact that the *Timachi* are not mentioned later by Ptolemy, can be taken as a sign that they were affected by an administrative reform; they may have been incorporated in a complex *civitas* with a centre in the region of *Ratiaria* (rather than replaced by *Pincenses*, as suggested by A. Mócsy<sup>21</sup>). The designation *civitates Moesiae et Treballiae* in the inscription of Baebius Atticus could be a sign that several stipendiary communities were grouped in regions, which represent rather geographical and administrative, than ethnic concepts. The important information is provided again by Ptolemy who calls *Ratiaria* "Moesian": Πατιαρία Μυσῶν (Ptol. III 9.3), and Osecus (Gigen, *Moes. Inf.*) "Triballic" (Ptol. III 10.5): Οἴσκος Τριβαλλῶν. To the same territory refers the subscription *Triballis* in Diocletian's and Maximinus' constitution of 4<sup>th</sup> Decembre 291 (*Cod. Just.* VIII), which testifies of a certain administrative-geographic continuity in the late epoch.<sup>22</sup> Some territories in the area around *Aquae* (Prahovo) and *Remesiana* could have had a stipendiary status, namely be numbered among one of the *civitates Moesiae*,<sup>23</sup> while the larger part of this land belonged to the imperial domains.<sup>24</sup> Other late evidence points to the same direction. In Procopius' work *De Aedificiis* these non-urban territories are designated as *χώραι* (= *regiones*): ἐν χώρᾳ Ῥεμισιανισίᾳ (*De aed.* IV 4.3.13, J. HAURY (ed.), p. 123), *Remesiana* (Bela Palanka), ἐν χώρᾳ Ἀκυενισίῳ (*De aed.* IV 4.3.44, J. HAURY (ed.), p. 123–124), as opposed to πόλις. *Regio Aquensis* is also epigraphically attested by an inscription from Turičevac (re-

<sup>17</sup> LOMA 2010, 284–289; on the eastern frontier of Dalmatia, the military garrison and the roads in that region, *ibid* 126–136.

<sup>18</sup> ALFÖLDY 1964, 109; 1965, 55–56.

<sup>19</sup> Supra, note 18 and LOMA 2010, 288–289. On the community of the *Dindari*: GRBIĆ 2014, 153–156.

<sup>20</sup> See Plin. *NH* III 149: *Timachus*.

<sup>21</sup> MÓCSY 1970, 28; 1974, 68; cf. WILKES 1996, 579–580.

<sup>22</sup> DUŠANIĆ 2004, 31–32, note 109; 2010, 720–721. Cf. PAPAZOGLU 1969, 53 especially note 169 where she cites the evidence from Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 25,1), that Maximinus, before he became an emperor, held a position of *praesidens Treballicae* "which recalls the early imperial *praefectus civitatum Moesiae and Treballiae*" (p. 66. of the 1978 (English) edition of the book) and the evidence from Herodian (VI 8.1) that he held the position of στρατοπέδων ἐπιμέλεια (= *praefectura legionis*) and ἐθνῶν ἀρχάς.

<sup>23</sup> DUŠANIĆ 2000, 356.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. DUŠANIĆ 1977, 74 and note 137; 2000, 354 sqq.; 2004, 258, note 53.

gion of K. Mitrovica).<sup>25</sup>

The borders of the communities probably did not coincide with the ethnic borders as they were in pre-Roman times.<sup>26</sup> I have discussed elsewhere that the Romans governed themselves by many different factors in consolidating provincial land and its internal divisions. Although the native *civitates* were organised in tribal-like communities that preserved much of their original character, the majority of the them did not, in fact, represent ethnic entities, but political/administrative creations of the Roman government.<sup>27</sup> Regarding Upper Moesia, a very important reassessment of the onomastic inventory of the region of western Dardania has been recently offered by Svetlana Loma. She has reached important conclusions that further support the previous statement about the ethnic heterogeneity of the population in large native *civitates*.<sup>28</sup> Namely, she has convincingly shown that the native anthroponymy of western Dardania does not represent a separate onomastic area, as it was previously thought; that the native anthroponymy of this area belongs to the Delmato-Pannonian name complex with a strong component of the anthroponymy of Celtic regions.<sup>29</sup> This is crucial.

Indeed, the organisation of the population in Moesia was more complex than we can grasp based on the extant evidence. This may be illustrated by the following case: in the first century in the province of Moesia there seems to have existed a community of Dacians to the south of the Danube, composed of the peoples transplanted from the other bank of the Danube in an early campaign.<sup>30</sup> The existence of such a community is supported by the evidence of military diplomas but it is attested as *origo* of the soldiers in diplomas that predate the foundation of Dacia: *CIL XVI 13* of 9<sup>th</sup> February of AD 71, found in 1923, in a village near Lom on the left bank of the Cibrica, issued to *Tutio Buti f. Daco*. Afterwards several similar documents were found: a diploma *AE 1997, 1771 = RMD 203* of 26<sup>th</sup> February of AD 70, issued to *Dernaius (?)*

<sup>25</sup> *AE 1982, 841*. Cf. *Nov. Iust. XI 5: Aquensis autem episcopus habeat praefatam civitatem (sc. Aquas) et omnia eius castella et territoria et ecclesias* DUŠANIĆ 1990, 589.

<sup>26</sup> On the central Balkan tribes in pre-Roman times see PAPAZOGLU 1969.

<sup>27</sup> This can be seen, for example, through the names of some of the peregrine communities that are derived from hydronyms and toponyms: *Colapiani* from *Colapis f.* (Kupa), *Ambidravi* from *Dravus f.* (Drava), *Πι(ν)κρήνσιοι* (\**Pincenses*) and its civitas centre, *Pincum* (Veliko Gradište) from *Pingus fl.* (Pek); the civitas of the *Docleatae* derives its name from *Doclea*, *Cornacates* are named after its centre *Cornacum*, *Azali* after *Azaum*, *Τρικορνί(ν)σιοι* after *Tricornium* (Ritopek), etc.

On the central Balkan tribes in pre-Roman times see PAPAZOGLU 1969.

<sup>28</sup> LOMA 2010a.

<sup>29</sup> The origin, naming of the native population of the *civitates* and related topics will not be discussed here, since it exceeds the scopes of this paper.

<sup>30</sup> ALFÖLDI 1939, 28–31; MÓCSY 1974, 66. On the systematic displacement of the population see Strab. VII 3.10; Cass. Dio LVI 22.7; Flor. *Epit.* II 28.

*Derdipili f(ilius) Dacus*, a diploma from Dimovo near *Ratiaria* (Arčar), *RMD* 323 = *AE* 2002, 1733, also from AD 70: [---]is *f(ilio) Daco*; a diploma from Nicopolis (Veliko Trnovo) of 8<sup>th</sup> November of AD 88, *AE* 1939, 126 = *AE* 1959, 252: *Gorius, Stibi f. Dacus*.

Of Upper Moesian communities, the community of the Dardanians has the most eloquent epigraphic attestations. Namely, valuable evidence is provided by military diplomas. Generally, these types of documents are very important for the study of the native communities since these are official documents in which the names of recipients' communities are recorded and that can, furthermore, be precisely dated. So far, three members of the *civitas Dardanorum* have been attested by the diplomas:

*RMD* 247: *Vannus Timentis Dardanus* (9<sup>th</sup> September of AD 132)

*AE* 2008, 1742: *Naso Tittae f. Dardan(us)* (20<sup>th</sup> January of AD 151)

*RMD* 55: *Volsingus Gai f. Dard(anus)* (8<sup>th</sup> February of AD 161)

These testify to the existence of the community in the sixties of the second century (in addition to the testimony of the inscriptions in which members of the community bare the gentile name *Aurelius*). Inscriptions mentioning the members of the *civitas* may include: *CIL* VI 32800: *M. Aur. Paulus, nat(ione) Dardanus*.<sup>31</sup>

Based on all available evidence it can be safely assumed that the native *civitates* in Upper Moesia had very large territories. The natives were divided between only four administrative units, while, for example, in neighbouring Dalmatia there were more than twenty. One possible reason for such internal division of provincial land could be partly attributed to the fact that the consolidation of the Roman government went ahead with less resistance and difficulties than it was the case, for example, with the adjacent province of Illyricum; this may have influenced the organisation of the native population in larger territorial units.<sup>32</sup> The other, more significant, reason should be sought in the relation of the exploitation of the mines (the province's main feature) and the peregrine labour. Although we are not familiar with great many particularities of their mutual relation, there are important clues that speak of the tight connections between Moesian mines and the *peregrine communities*, the most evident being the match between the names of the mines and the *civi-*

<sup>31</sup> *Dardanus/Dardanius* is also well attested as a *cognomen*: Cf. e.g. *CIL* VI 13506 (p. 3513); 2397, etc.; *AE* 2013, 1324: *L. Petronius Timachus* from *Timacum Minus*.

<sup>32</sup> On the beginnings of the Roman province of Moesia see important work of SYME 1934, 113–137 = 1971, 40–72; 1999, 211–13 (“The Early History of Moesia”) and 129–150 (“Macedonia and Dardania 80–30 BC”); cf. GRBIĆ 2011, 61, 137.

tates: e.g. (metalla) *Aeliana Pincensia* — *Pincenses* — *Pincum*; *metalli Dardanici* — *civitas Dardanorum* (*Dardani*) — *colonia Flavia Felix Dardanorum* (*Scupi*, Skopje) and *municipium Dardanorum* (*Sočanica*).<sup>33</sup>

The municipalisation of certain parts of the territories that were *tributariae* did not imply the cancelation of the *civitates peregrinae*, as it is clearly shown,



<Fig.2 *IMSVI220* Boundary inscription of the community of the Dardanians>

again, on the case of the Dardanians. Several Roman towns have been established on Dardanian territory: the Flavian colony of *Scupi*, *municipium Dar-*

<sup>33</sup> DUŠANIĆ 1989, 148sqq.; DUŠANIĆ 2006, 87–89.



*danorum* at Sočanica, municipium *Ulpiana* (Lipljan), probably founded under Hadrian and named after an imperial domain.<sup>34</sup> Ptolemy's information that *Naissus*, which became a municipium in the second century is a Dardanian town<sup>35</sup> (namely that Dardania stretched as far as *Naissus*) is corroborated by an inscription from Rome.<sup>36</sup> Pliny the Elder's (Plin. *NH* III 149) statement: *flumina clara e Dardanis Margus* (Morava), *Pingus* (Pek), *Timachus* (Timok) also corresponds to the previous.

Some parts that were left to the tributary community (or communities?) lasted in the same status probably until late antiquity. An important evidence is provided by a second century inscription, a boundary stone from Veliko Nagoričino in the region of Kumanovo.<sup>37</sup> The monument testifies to the delimitation of the Dardanian tribal territory by a government official (*IMS* VI 220 = *AE* 1984, 777): ---]N̄R̄ S[---] | *Gemelin[us]* | *Dardanos*. | <f>*ines derex(it)* | *Q()*.

Judging by the analogies from other provinces, the territories of peregrine communities need not have had geographic continuity, but may have been multiple enclaves with larger or smaller territories. We know that *civitates* had their internal divisions: *pagi*, *vici*, *castella*, etc.<sup>38</sup> and that the territories may have been grouped in *regiones* and *tractus*.<sup>39</sup>

Regarding the questions of the government of the communities, the cited inscription of *Baebius Atticus* is a lonely attestation for (Upper) Moesia. Based on the analogous examples from other provinces it may be assumed that *praefectus rip(ae) Danuvi* from the legion of *IV Scythica* could also have been in charge of native communities,<sup>40</sup> as well as *centuriones regionarii*.<sup>41</sup> An important inscription from Ravna (*Timacum Minus*), mentioning *officium praefecti*

<sup>34</sup> DUŠANIĆ 1977, 72–73.

<sup>35</sup> Ptol. II 9.6: Καὶ τῆς Δαρδανίας δὲ πόλεις: Ἀρριβάντιον μζ° L' μβ° | Ναίσσον μζ γ' μβ° | Οὐλπιανόν μη° L' μβ° | Σκοῦποι μη° L' μβ L'.

<sup>36</sup> *CIL* VI 32937 : -----] | [--- *militiae*] *petitor*[---] | [--- *Nai*]sso *Darda*[niae ---] | [---]ia *Ulpian*[---] | 5 [---] *filius patri* [---] | [--- *A*]ur(eli) *Dizone et* [---] | [---] *b(ene) m(erenti) [f(aciendum) c(uravit)?]*. Cf. Loma 2010a, 20.

<sup>37</sup> LOMA 2010a, 20.

<sup>38</sup> For Upper Moesia see e.g. *CIL* VI 2845 (... *milites ex Dardania ex vico Perdica et ex vico Titis* ...), *CIL* V 898 (... *natus in Dardan(ia) vico Zatidis*...), *infra* text with note 45 (*vicus Bube*); cf. also Pannonian example *CIL* V 37213 (*Aurelius Verus, nat(us) Pannon(iae) pede Sirmese pago Martio uico Budalia*).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. DUŠANIĆ 1989, 150sq and *supra*, text with note 25.

<sup>40</sup> *ILS* 1349; *AE* 1926, 80: --- *prae*] *fec(to) coh(ortis) Ity<r>(aeorum)* | *trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IV | Scythic(ae) praef(ecto) | equit(um) praef(ecto) rip(ae) | Danuvi | d(ono) d(edit)*. See DUŠANIĆ 1990, 588; 2000, 354–355.

<sup>41</sup> They are attested in Lower Moesian *regio Montanensium* (Mihajlovgrad), cf. M. SPEIDEL, *ZPE* 57, 1984, 185–188; in Pannonia: *RIU* 663 and *AE* 2008, 1086.

*ter(r)it(orii?)* and the prefect's *librarius*,<sup>42</sup> also testifies of a military government of the Upper Moesian territories. The function of the *praefectus* may be connected to the army, peregrine population and exploitation of mines, as it has been highlighted by S. Dušanić.<sup>43</sup>

In other provinces the government of the peregrine communities was transferred from military officials to the native *principes* at some point. Such evidence of the native *principes* in Upper Moesia is almost completely missing. Perhaps, this fact should not be regarded as a coincidence, ascribed to the relative poverty of the epigraphic findings. Considering the connection of the *civitates* with the Moesian mines, possibly a tighter control and coordination of the peregrine population was necessary, therefore the military control may have never passed completely to the native *principes*.<sup>44</sup> However, nothing more precisely could be said.

A native princeps with an indigenous cognomen seems to be attested by the inscription *IMS I 32*, a lost monument from the environs of Belgrade. The inscription was seen and copied by Marsigli in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but since that time it has been missing, therefore the reading cannot be checked. Only the lack of other evidence is preventing us to dismiss it completely, as uncertain. The improved reading of the inscription has been proposed by Slobodan Dušanić, and it runs as: *D (is) O(?) [M(anibus)] | Semp[r]l[o]nio Colbae principi vixit | an(nis) l. Vici Bubae et Do[?]tus Pii Cae(saris servus) Daizini{s} | uxori eius et filiis eo[?]rum p(osuerunt) (?). A[?]urelius ?] Vallens [Bu]lbe (!) prae[f(ectus)] e[?]x[?] [pecun]ia [Singidu]n[e]n[s]i[um] | [---]<sup>45</sup> The lacuna the line 9, [---]niensi doubtlessly hides the name of a native community of an unknown status. *Vicus Bube* is attested once again in an inscription *AE 1989, 631* found in the south-western periphery of Belgrade, but its reading also needs revision.*

\*

The long life of non-urban communities in the province, and the extremely slow process of urbanisation that left strikingly small number of Roman towns in the province should be mainly ascribed to the key factors of life in the province: Roman army and mining. Therefore, most of the land belonged

<sup>42</sup> Dušanić 1990, 585–595 = *IMS III/2, 31*: *D(is) M(anibus) | Ulp(ius) Aquilinus | mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) | librarius | officii prae(fecti) te[r(r)it(orii ?) vixit ann(os) XXII | Aquileiensis | et Ulpia Diotima | filio dulcissimo | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

<sup>43</sup> Dušanić 1989, 150; 2000, 354–355. Cf. KOLENDO 1994, 91.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 22.

<sup>45</sup> Dušanić 2004a.

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to imperial domains or to *ager publicus*, and the rest was divided between tribal units that payed the *tributum* and only several self-governing cities.

In the attempt to create a reconstruction based on the available data, a sketch of the organization of provincial population does emerge but the picture is still blurry. Our fragmentary knowledge of the provincial population and on the Roman politics towards them can be further advanced, in the first place by study of onomastic material, reassessment of the epigraphic corpus (including testimonies from other provinces) and by taking constantly into the account relevant analogies from other parts of the Empire.

### Abbreviations:

AE = *L'année épigraphique*, Paris

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin

ILJug = *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL re-pertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana 1963, A. et J. ŠAŠEL.

ILS = H. DESSAU (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*

IMS = *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Belgrade

RMD = M. ROXAN (ed.), *Roman Military Diplomas*

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## Neka razmatranja o peregrinim zajednicama u Gornjoj Meziji

*Apstrakt:* Kada se napravi poređenje sa nekim drugim provincijama Rimskog carstva, generalno se ne zna mnogo o provinciji Gornjoj Meziji, a naročito kada je u pitanju upravna istorija i etničke i demografske prilike u njoj. Razlog tome treba tražiti pre svega u nedostatku dovoljno rečitih svedočanstava u izvorima, kako knjiškim tako i dokumentarnim. U ovom radu pažnja je usmerena na peregrine zajednice ili *civitates peregrinae* ove provincije. U pitanju su je jedan tip provincijskih administrativnih jedinica u koje je bilo organizovano domorodačko stanovništvo po uspostavljanju rimske uprave i koje je većinski bilo u statusu peregrina. Ne ulazeći u sva, već samo u pojedina važna pitanja nastoji se da se odrede okviri u kojima bi se u daljim istraživanjima mogli sprovesti metodološki principi, utvrđeni na drugom reprezentativnijem materijalu istog tipa administrativnih zajednica; daje se pregled najvažnijih svedočanstava o broju, rasporedu i teritorijama zajednica, te o pojedinim upravnim pitanjima i pretresaju najvažniji dosad izneti stavovi o njima.

*Ključne reči:* domorodačke zajednice, peregrini, Gornja Mezija, rimske provincije.