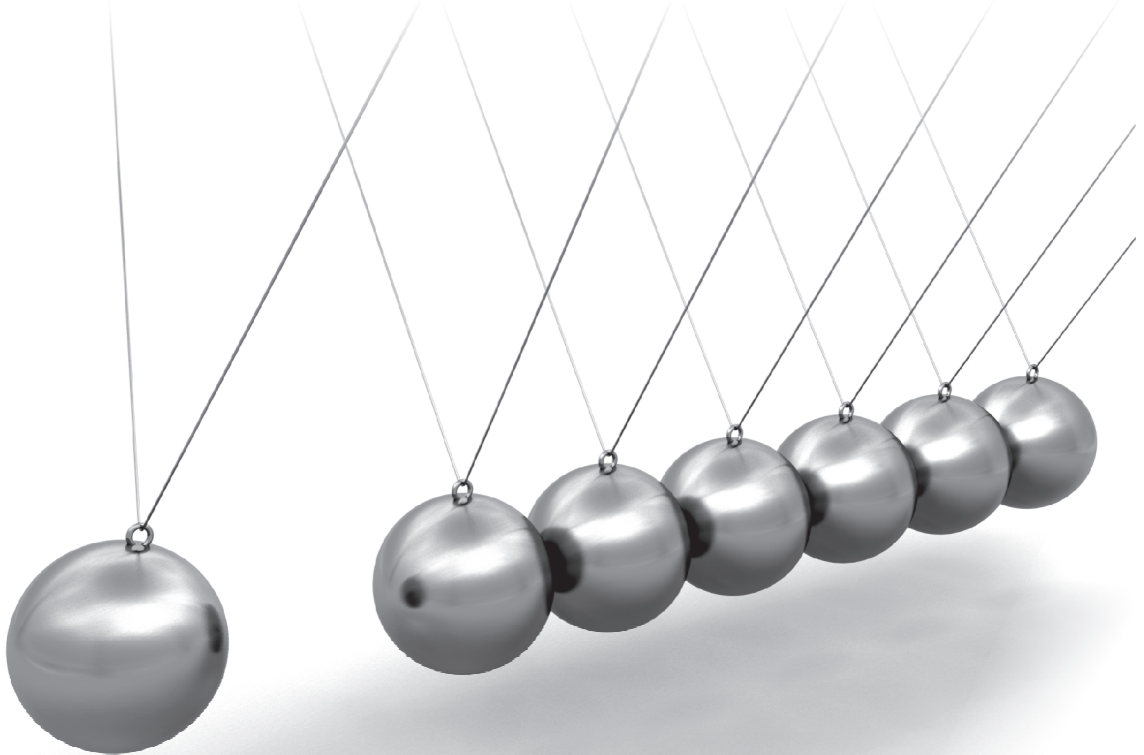


HUMANS AND SOCIETY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Archaeology of Crisis

Edited by Staša Babić



1838

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Archaeology (in Times) of Crisis

EDITOR'S NOTE

In December 2019, a previously unknown coronavirus was registered and the severe and potentially fatal illness it causes swiftly spread around the world. On January 30, 2020, the World Health Organisation declared a state of Public Health Emergency, followed by the declaration of a pandemic on March 11 of the same year.¹ More than a year later, while this volume is submitted for publication, the world is still struggling with a plethora of severe problems initiated by, but by no means reduced to, the medical aspects of the current crisis. The disturbances in the economic and social activities further induce profound distress in everyday lives around the globe. Depending on the current state of the epidemic curve, we are advised to observe more or less rigorous measures of caution, most of them limiting our movements and contacts. While maintaining distance in the real world, we are connected virtually, various technologies enabling us to compare experiences of restricted interactions. One can thus get a glimpse of the diverse ways in which people around the world make sense of their changed worlds. Many express their thoughts in words, but some use other means. Like, a photo series that invites us to choose and arrange objects that are essential to us under the current predicament.² The similarities in created assemblages (an assortment of face masks, hand sanitizers, laptop computers, comfort food, books...), as well as idiosyncratic objects reflecting particular lifestyles (dog leash, musical instruments...), illustrate eloquently what archaeologists know so well: our lives are framed in materialities that shape and are being shaped by our practices. Under the drastically changed circumstances, such as the ones we are currently enduring, our relationship with our material surroundings also changes, creating new possibilities and constraints to our practices. Our present experiences are not unique and throughout the history of our species, human groups have faced various crises, caused by a wide range of factors. From massive changes in their environment, population movements and violent conflicts, to profound shifts in attitudes, beliefs and value systems, these events have caused disruptions in everyday practices of communities and have invariably been reflected in some material form.

1 <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019>

2 <https://www.collater.al/en/paula-zuccotti-lockdown-essentials-photography/>

Bearing this in mind, the purpose of this collection is to investigate some of the instances of crises that afflicted past populations of the Central Balkans and adjacent regions, via the material traces accessible through archaeological investigation. The knowledge of the causes of disruptions and of the responses devised for overcoming them in the past may bring us closer to solutions applicable in our present. At the same time, the aim of the volume is to offer an insight into the vast range of approaches currently practiced by archaeologists, their possibilities and limitations, as well as synergies created in the domains of theoretical concepts and methodological procedures. The authors share the same working environment – the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, and specifically its Department of Archaeology – but follow diverse research paths, illustrating the current state of the discipline in general, its many theoretical and methodological ramifications. It is our hope that our specific disciplinary knowledge of the past may contribute to more efficient responses to crises in the present and future.

Belgrade, May/June 2021

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Miroslav B. Vujović*

SIRMIUM IN THE DARKEST HOUR: A ROMAN CIVILIAN STRONGHOLD OR MILITARY FORTIFICATION

In memoriam Miroslav Jeremić

Abstract: This paper is an attempt to determine whether Sirmium in the earliest period of its existence was only a civilian Roman settlement or had a military garrison. The significance and character of Sirmium is viewed primarily through the historical prism of the *Bellum Batonianum* (6–9 AD), as one of the most dramatic periods in the history of the city. Focused on certain details in otherwise rare mentions in historical sources and the available results of archaeological excavations, the author points out that, due to its strategic position, Sirmium must have been a Roman military stronghold that gradually developed into an important civilian settlement. Special attention is paid to the meaning and context of the use of some indicative terms (*negotiatores*, *Ρωμαίοι*) in the writings of relevant Roman writers (Velleius Paterculus, Cassius Dio) who further illuminate this time of crisis, the peril and the temptation.

Keywords: Sirmium, *Bellum Batonianum*, military fortification, *negotiatores*, *Ρωμαίοι*

One of the most dramatic episodes in the early history of Roman Pannonia were the events during the three war years (6–9 AD) of the Dalmatian-Pannonian Uprising referred to in ancient historiography by the terms *bello Delmatico*, *bello Pannonico ac Delmatico*, or *bellum Batonianum* (Vell. Pater. II 116–117). Whatever the Romans called it, this great rebellion had severe consequences for the native population of Illyricum and left a strong impression on Roman contemporaries and later historians (Mócsy, 1974, pp. 37–39; Wilkes, 1969, pp. 69–77; Šašel-Kos, 1986, pp. 178–191). This war has a special place in modern historiography as well, especially in

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South Slavic languages, where various personal views, ideological or ethnic starting points are reflected through various narratives (Džino, 2009). The significance of this war is probably best described in the words of Suetonius: *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica* (Suet. Tib. 16.). Velleius Paterculus, the most direct witness and writer of the history of the uprising, left significant data on the course of the rebellion which he called *magnum atroxque bellum* (Vel. Pater. II 96).

Bellum Batonianum

The uprising occurred, let us recall briefly, in the spring or early summer of 6 AD in the territory of Illyricum, and included several indigenous tribes that lived in the vast province of mountains, forests, marches, and swamps that stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the Sava River Valley, and from Istria in the west to the Drim Valley in the southeast. The immediate *casus belli* is considered to be the forced recruitment of youth for the war that Augustus was preparing against Marobaud, the king of Marcomans in the north, where his military commander and stepson Tiberius had already been sent with legions (Vell. Pat. 110, 2; Radman Livaja, 2010, p. 186; Mirković, 1971, p. 12). The reasons for the uprising were certainly more numerous, starting with the fact that the relatively recently imposed Roman rule after Tiberius' war with the Pannonians in 13–9/8 BC (Džino, 2012) could not have been favored among the indigenous tribes in Illyricum. If we add to this the imposed taxes, the loss of land and independence, the intensity and speed with which the revolt erupted among the population of Illyricum is quite understandable.

The uprising first broke out under the leadership of a certain Baton among the Daesidiates, a tribe that inhabited the northern parts of the later Roman province of Dalmatia and soon spread to Breuci, the largest tribe in southern Pannonia, led by another Baton. It is believed that the insurgents began joint military actions, killing Romans wherever they could find them and destroying their military garrisons scattered throughout Illyricum (Vell. Pat. II 110. 6). Larger Roman settlements were especially exposed to attacks as places of the strongest resistance and strategic importance. One part of the insurgent forces besieged Salona, the other went all the way to Macedonia (Dio, 55.29–30; Vell. Pat. 2.110.4). Siscia and Sirmium, the two most important Roman strongholds in Pannonia, were also attacked and besieged (Radman-Livaja and Dizdar, 2010, p. 48).

The situation in Illyricum was so serious that Octavian Augustus, in his dramatic address to the Senate, warned that if something was not done, the insurgents would soon invade Italy (Vell. Pat. II, 111). To these,

probably deliberately exaggerated ambitions of the rebels, some Roman historians added an excessive number of people they had under arms, which allegedly amounted up to 800,000 warriors (Vell. Pat. II 110. 3), or 100,000 according to Appian (Appian Illyr. 22. 63.), which is taken as a more plausible estimate (Džino, 2006).

The Roman response to the uprising was vigorous. Tiberius arrived in Siscia from Carnuntum with legions and began a long and well-planned military action based both on direct conflicts (which the insurgents generally avoided although they sometimes fought in pitched battles) and tactical destruction of enemy resources such as settlements, food supplies, crops, and livestock (Vell. Pat. II. 112. 3; Dio, 55.33.1). Pressed by hunger, the strife and Roman force, the insurgents eventually surrendered at *Bathinus flumen*, probably somewhere by the lower course of the Bosna River (Vell. Pat. II.114. 4). The consequences of the uprising quelled in blood were far-reaching. Any further resistance to Roman rule was thwarted by the usual means of Roman repression: mass enslavement, severe pillage, and much later with intensive recruitment into Roman detachments (Mirković, 1971, p. 13; Zaninović, 2003, p. 447; Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 168).

Sirmium After the War 6–9 AD

After the uprising subsided, the Romans fully exercised their power in Illyricum, which was divided into several provinces: *Illyricum superius* on the Adriatic coast with the hinterland or future Dalmatia, *Illyricum inferius* or future Pannonia on the north, and Moesia with the Lower Danube was on the east (Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 166).

With the establishment of military garrisons in camps along the Danube – probably to some extent already in the time of Augustus/Tiberius, but finally in the time of Claudius (Šašel Kos, 2011, p. 110; Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 167) – and the construction of a road network and the development of cities, the Roman government in Pannonia was gradually consolidated. In the time after the uprising, Sirmium experienced a rapid development and by the time of the Flavian emperors it obtained the status of a colony – a full-fledged Roman city (Mirković, 1971, p. 15). How and why Sirmium received this prestigious status of undoubted importance for its inhabitants and the overall growth of this part of the province of Pannonia, was the subject of several scientific discussions with two basic assumptions. According to the first, early imperial Sirmium, as an important strategic point, had a Roman military camp and acquired the status of a colony by deduction, that is, by settling Roman veterans (Mócsy, 1959, p. 77; Klemenc, 1961, p. 23; Klemenc, 1963, p. 67; Mócsy, 1971, pp. 44–45; Mócsy, 1974, p. 43). The second assumption insists that the settlement

received the status of a colony due to the prominent presence of settled Roman citizens, i.e. merchants. It also rejects the idea that a Roman military camp existed in Sirmium, mostly due to the lack of necessary historiographical, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence (Mirković, 1990, pp. 638–639; Eadie, 1977, p. 210; Ferjančić, 2002, pp. 52–55, 215–216).

Merchants vs. Soldiers in Sirmium

The thesis that Sirmium was originally predominantly a civilian settlement of Roman merchants and not a significant military center was proposed by M. Mirković (Mirković, 1971, p. 13). Besides seeming as a logical and appropriate sequence of historical circumstances, it was mainly based on the interpretation of several quotes of Velleius Paterculus relating to the rebellion in Illyricum at 6–9 AD. The first one reports that the inhabitants of Pannonia at the time of the uprising were familiar with the Roman way of life, culture, and even the Latin language (Vell. Pat. II 110). Considering the role of Sirmium during the early days of the uprising in her pioneering but still significant work on the historical development of this Roman settlement, M. Mirković says: “It is curious that Sirmium appears in this struggle as a Roman and not an insurgent military base. Probably the number of Roman and Italic settlers in Sirmium was already at that time quite large. When Velleius Paterculus states that the Latin language and culture were known and diffused at the beginning of the rebellion, he presumably had in mind such centers as Sirmium. The agrarian region of Pannonia was, even much later, rather poorly romanized. It was primarily **traders** (bolded by MV) who came as settlers. They are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus among those who had suffered at the hands of the insurgents” (Mirković, 1971, p. 13).

The last two sentences are significant because they practically represent the starting point of the narrative about Sirmium as a civil trading post and a settlement of Roman merchants that would later be accepted as a fact. Somewhat further, she rejects Momsens’ theory that the civilian settlement of Sirmium developed from the *canabae* of the Roman military camp underlining her earlier position, now as a certainty: “It (Sirmium) developed as a **trade center** (bolded by MV), and, inasmuch as troops were stationed there, that circumstance could not have influenced the status of the settlement” (Mirković, 1971, p. 16).

The second quotation of Velleius, often mentioned in modern papers dealing with the *bellum Batonianum* follows immediately after the previous one and describes the unfortunate fate and suffering of Roman citizens at the very beginning of the uprising. We will quote it here in full for better insight: *Oppressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores, magnus vexillariorum numerus ad interuentionem ea in regione, quae plurimum ab im-*

peratore aberat, caesus, occupata armisni ombusbus omnia, omnia ferroque vastata (Vell. Pat. II 110. 6).

In addition to the mentioned quotes, the lack of architectural remains of the Roman military camp in Sirmium, as well as a relatively small number of inscriptions mentioning veterans and Roman soldiers, were the main starting points for the conclusion that Sirmium's city status was due to settled Roman citizens, i.e. merchants, rather than the army (Mirković, 1971, p. 16).

There are, however, several problems that make this presumption questionable. The first one is that Velleius Paterculus makes not a single mention of Sirmium in the entirety of his description of the war. In other words, as far as his history is concerned, this settlement never existed. The reasons for this could be various. Although we will probably never know for sure, let us mention a few possibilities: a) there is a lacuna in the text and the part about Sirmium is missing; b) Velleius did not have the complete picture and knowledge about the course of the war; c) in his panegiric description of Tiberius' merits, Velleius did not attach much importance to those parts of the Pannonian battlefield unrelated to the actions of the future emperor. Regardless of it all, the fact remains that as far as we know, none of the information that Velleius presents actually refers to Sirmium (not even the presence of Roman civilians, i.e. "merchants"), but at best to Pannonia (or Illyricum) in general.

An important issue concerns the merchants in Sirmium at the time of the uprising. Merchants are most often referred to with two terms: *negotiator* and *mercator* (Daremborg & Saglio, 1873, pp. 45–47 [negotiator]; Daremborg & Saglio 1904, pp. 1736–1737 [mercator]). The term *negotiatores*, which we find in the disputed statement (Vell. Pat. II 110. 6), in the time of the Republic (and probably in the days of the early Principate, i.e., the Batonian uprising) meant not a merchant or trader in terms of retail, but a businessman and entrepreneur in general, often in the sense of banker, money changer, lender, or landowner. Therefore, unlike *mercatores* who were usually of modest origin and lower social status, the term *negotiator* initially denoted wealthy Roman opportunists who had an interest in investing and developing various businesses in the provinces. Furthermore, in these early days negotiators were also, as well as the *publicani*, officially involved in the process of collecting taxes on behalf of the Roman state (tax farming), a post which they often abused for the sake of their own enrichment (OCD 2012, 1237 [publicani], 1004–1005 [negotiatores]). Naturally, as exponents of Roman rule, proverbially unscrupulous and greedy, they were not particularly popular with the local population, which is probably why they were the first to be attacked by the rebels in Illyricum in 6 AD, but not only then. As a reminder, let us mention that in 88 BC a similar scenario befell Italic settlers during the Pontic Wars against Mithridates

VI, who ordered a coordinated massacre of all Roman citizens (including negotiatores) in various towns in Anatolia (App., Mith. 4. 23; Plut. Sull. 24. 4; Curtin, 1984, p. 4; Mirković, 2018, p. 245). Negotiators were generally settled in the most important economic centers in eastern provinces and especially in ports of trade, which could also apply to Siscia and especially to Salona. In the latter their presence is epigraphically confirmed, though mostly in the later imperial period (2nd–3rd centuries) when the term *negotiatores* was equated with the *mercatores*. Since then, the noun negotiator has been frequently accompanied by a precise trade activity: *n. oleario*, *n. vinario*, *n. lanario*, *n. cretarius*, *n. materiarius*, etc. (AE 1994 1350; AE 1925, 0065; CIL III 2006; CIL III 2086; CIL III 12924; CIL III 2131). However, neither the *negotiatores* nor the *mercatores* appear on the epigraphic monuments from Sirmium, nor do historical sources explicitly confirm their presence in this settlement (although there were probably a few of them).

The presumed presence of civilian Roman citizens, i.e. “merchants”, led causally to the assumption that, at the beginning of the 1st century AD in Sirmium they had to be adequately organized into *conventus civium Romanorum* (Mirković, 1971, p. 15; Mirković, 2008, p. 32). In the Caesarian and Augustan period such associations often formed the nucleus for the establishment of new colonies and *municipia civium Romanorum* (OCD 371 [conventus]; Burton, 1975). The only problem is that in the case of Sirmium, there are no historiographical, epigraphic, or archaeological confirmations for such an association either.

Ῥωμαῖοι and Sirmium: Civillians or Soldiers?

Another very important Roman source for the study of the Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising (and early history of southeastern Pannonia) is Dio Cassius. Although he writes well after the events (2nd century), the comprehensive approach of this certainly well-learned historiographer, the time distance, and the archives that were probably available to him at the time when he held the position of proconsul in Pannonia, led to his report on events during the war being far more studiously written, precise, and in great detail. Among other things, he not only mentions Sirmium, but ascribes it great importance, describing it, along with Salona and Siscia, as one of the most important Roman strongholds that the rebels attacked and besieged. One of his statements could also be seen as support for the theory that Sirmium was defended by Roman citizens, i.e. civilians:

... καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ

τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἐξεῖλον ἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Κακίνας Σεουῆρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τὸν Δράουον ποταμὸν οὔσι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν', ἀναμαχέσσεσθαι δέ πη διὰ βραχέος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐλπίσαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτράποντο." (Cass. Dio LV 29.3)

The term *Ῥωμαῖοι*, used by Dio Cassius, could mean Romans or Roman citizens (merchants as well) sheltered in a besieged Sirmium, but, as we will see, something different as well. As an ancient historian who wrote in Greek, Dio used this term (*Ῥωμαῖοι*), which in the hellenophone cities in the East, in the broadest sense, meant settled Roman citizens or Italics, or basically privileged foreigners of the Roman provenance (Errington, 1988, p. 143; Ramgopal, 2017, pp. 407–408). In various dedications, the term *Ῥωμαῖοι* (as well as *Romaioi* or *Italicei* in Latin inscriptions) often occurs in combination with the expression *οἱ κατοικοῦντες*, or *qui/quai negotiantur*, and refers to Roman businesspeople living in the eastern cities/provinces and organized within the local associations of Roman citizens (Ramgopal, 2017, pp. 418–419).

If we pay close attention to the context in which Dio otherwise uses this term Romans (*Ῥωμαῖοι*) in his descriptions of the Batonian uprising, however, we get a completely different image. The rebels therefore ...*defeated the Romans* in battles (Cass. Dio LV 29.2–3), ...*marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town* (Cass. Dio LV 29.2), or ...*had no hope of being spared by the Romans* (Cass. Dio LV 33.1). On the other side... *many of the Romans also had fallen* in battles (Cass. Dio LV 29. 2–3), or ...*were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once* (Cass. Dio LV 32.4).

These quotes clearly show that the *Ῥωμαῖοι* mentioned by Dio, including those fortified in Sirmium, were not civilians but primarily Roman soldiers.

Early Imperial Roman Garrison

The Roman garrison in Sirmium certainly existed at the time of the Dalmatian-Pannonian Uprising (and probably for some time after that). This is indicated not only by the mentioned quotes, but also by a reasonable assumption that the settlement could not resist the attacks of the rebels and the longer siege without the presence of well-trained and armed soldiers. One can also assume that the defenders of Sirmium eagerly awaited the arrival of C. Severus with the legions from Moesia, but it certainly must have required some time. According to previous understandings,

the Roman legions were not stationed on the Danube until Tiberius' reign (Mirković, 1996, pp. 30–31; Ritterling, 1924, cols. 1557, 1574). Before that, as possible camps (which have not been confirmed archaeologically yet), Scupi (Dragojević-Josifovska, 1982, p. 24; Dušanić, 1996, 44) and Naissus were assumed (Mirković, 1968, p. 24; Mirković, 1996, p. 29). Even if we assume that the legions were really there, the distance they had to cross to Sirmium was between 380 km (Naissus-Sirmium) and 440/460 km (Scupi-Sirmium) depending on the route taken and the marching conditions (on a constructed road or off-road, the marching tempo, load, etc.). This significantly extended the time required to go up north. It is questionable whether Dardania and the Danube were already connected by solid road at the time of *Bellum Batonianum*. It is generally established that the *compendium* following the Velika Morava river between Viminacium and Naissus, referred to as *Via nova*, was not built until Hadrian's reign (Mirković, 1980; Speidel, 1984; Mirković, 1996, pp. 39–40) or at best, during Domitian's wars on the Danube (Dušanić, 1996, p. 48). In off-road conditions, an average forced daily pace of 30–45 km per day would not be possible, so it had to be less. From the moment they were launched, legions stationed in the hypothetical camps in Moesia (Naissus, Scupi) could have reached Sirmium in no less than 15 to 20 marching days, of 7 hours a day. Assuming that the Thracian cavalry led by the king Rhoemetalces traveled twice as fast, from the moment the news of the uprising reached the headquarters in Moesia, the first aid to Sirmium could have arrived in only 10 days or a week at best. Obviously, not only were measures taken to fortify Sirmium, but it had to contain a military crew.

Roman Military Fortification in Sirmium: Possible Location

We can only guess what kind of fortification it was and where it was located. Despite many years of systematic research in Sremska Mitrovica, there is only circumstantial evidence in Sirmium for this. The most important factors that contribute to this are the impossibility of exploring the oldest layers due to the appearance of groundwater, significant damage caused by later construction, and lastly, the existence of a modern settlement above the remains of Sirmium (Jeremić, 2016, pp. 23–24, 99).

Based on the characteristics of the relief, we can assume that the garrison was placed on a more dominant, strategically suitable and elevated ground, as well as at a distance from the native settlement whose remains were discovered not far from the Sava river bank, in the southern part of the later Roman settlement (Jeremić, 2016, pp. 114–115). The disposition of the ponds and swamps around Sirmium, which were a characteristic

feature of its landscape, further narrows the possible space for an original Roman fortification from the time of the Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising. A favorable position that meets the requirements for a fortification is on the Kalvarija hill (Fig. 1/h, site 12), a unique phenomenon in the plain environment of Sirmia, with the highest elevation point – 86.5 m (Jeremić, 2016, p. 85). Remains of prehistoric settlements and the massive Late Roman masonry walls have been partially uncovered at this site but, unfortunately, there is nothing else that would confirm the existence of an early Roman fortification here (Jeremić, 2016, p. 85; Popović, 1963, pp. 63–72; Milošević, 1994, pp. 17–18; Vasilic, 1952, p. 168).

Sl. 50. Sirmium – Sremska Mitrovica; perspektivni prikaz zona grada (intra muros) sa različitim nivoletama terena (A, B i C), kao i morfološkim karakteristikama i/ta njegovog neposrednog okruženja: a) Jalića, b) Salakvača, c) Majjurska bara, d) Balatin, e) Ciganska bara, f) Čikas, g) „Sremsko brdo“, h) Kalvarija, i) horrea, j) hipodrome, k) savska ada (po I. Jungu), l) reka Sava

Fig. 50. Sirmium – Sremska Mitrovica; perspective illustration of the city zones (intra muros) with different terrain levels (A, B and C), as well as the morphological characteristics of the soil in the immediate surrounding: a) Jalića, b) Salakvača, c) Majjurska bara, d) Balatin, e) Ciganska bara, f) Čikas, g) „Sremsko brdo“, h) Kalvarija, i) Horrea, j) Hippodrome, k) River island (after I. Jung), l) Sava River

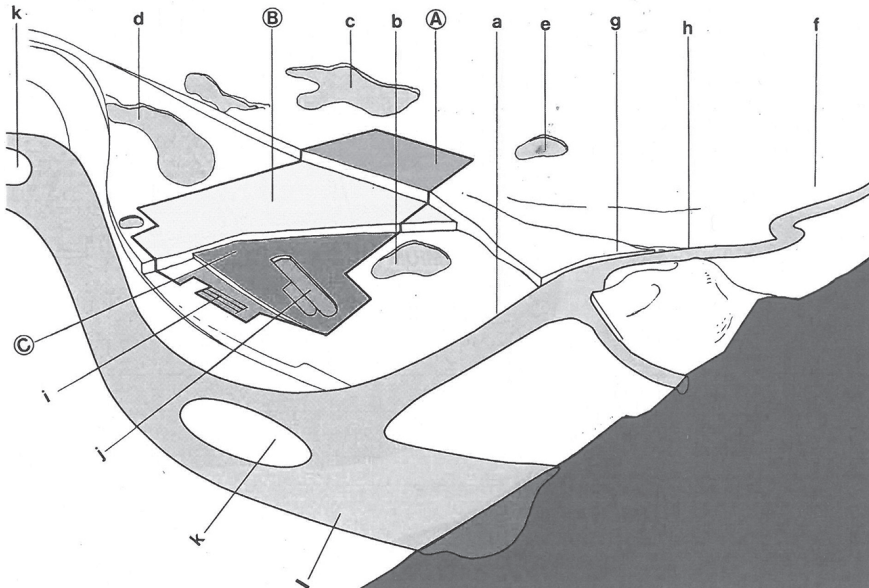


Figure 1. Sremska Mitrovica: perspective illustration of city zones with terrain levels (after: Jeremić, 2016)

The second and more probable location for an early Roman stronghold is the area of the later northern quarter of Sirmium (Fig. 1/A). It is positioned on higher ground, i.e. an elevated loess plateau that dominates the lower fluvial terraces of the Sava riverbank, and is surrounded by local ponds and wetlands (Jeremić, 2016, pp. 84–85). Its average elevation of 82.2 m is about 4 m higher than the Sava bank in the south, which provided protection against occasional floods but also a

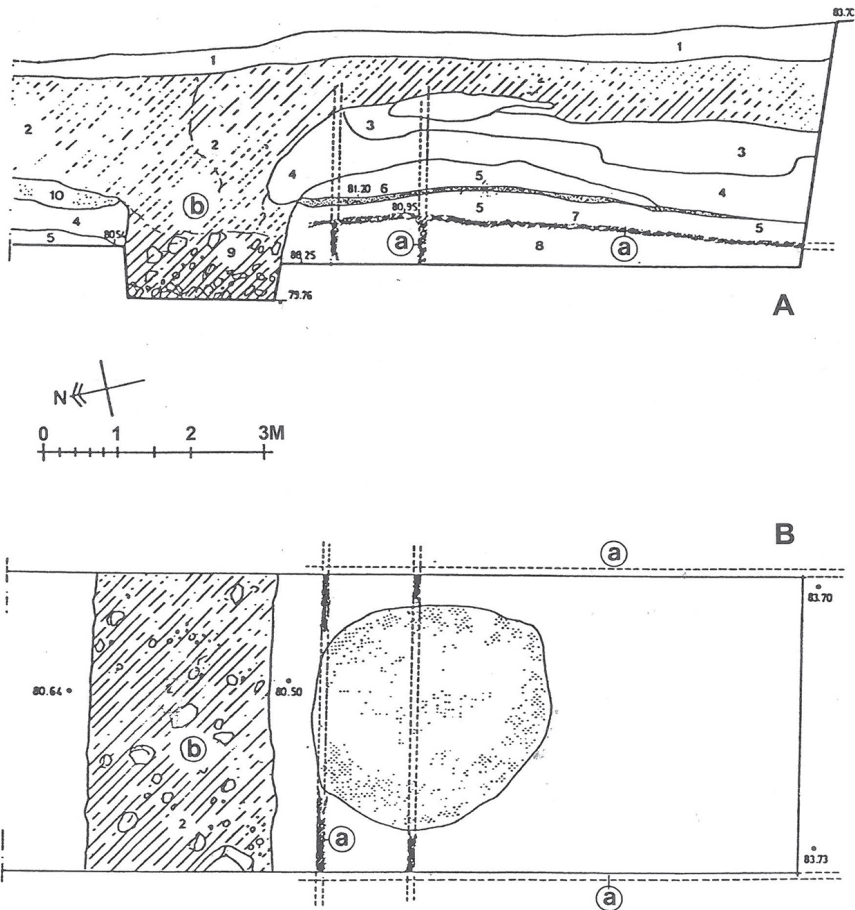


Figure 2. Remains of a timber-framed structure of a 1st-century rampart, Sremska Mitrovica site 45 (after: Jeremić, 2016)

more suitable position for defense. Another observation concerning the urban plan of ancient Sirmium is also very interesting in that regard. The northern half of Sirmium, in contrast to the later-built southern parts of the city, has much more correctly traced streets that mostly coincide with the ideal orthogonal scheme of ancient military camps. (Popović, 1962, p. 117; Jeremić, 2016, pp. 160–161). This is indicated by the proper structure of the city network in the northern part of Sirmium and especially the insulae, city blocks bordered by streets that (mostly) intersect at a right angle. The discovery of the earth-and-timber construction of the 1st-century fortifications in this area (Fig. 2) is certainly indicative in this matter and should not be regarded solely as

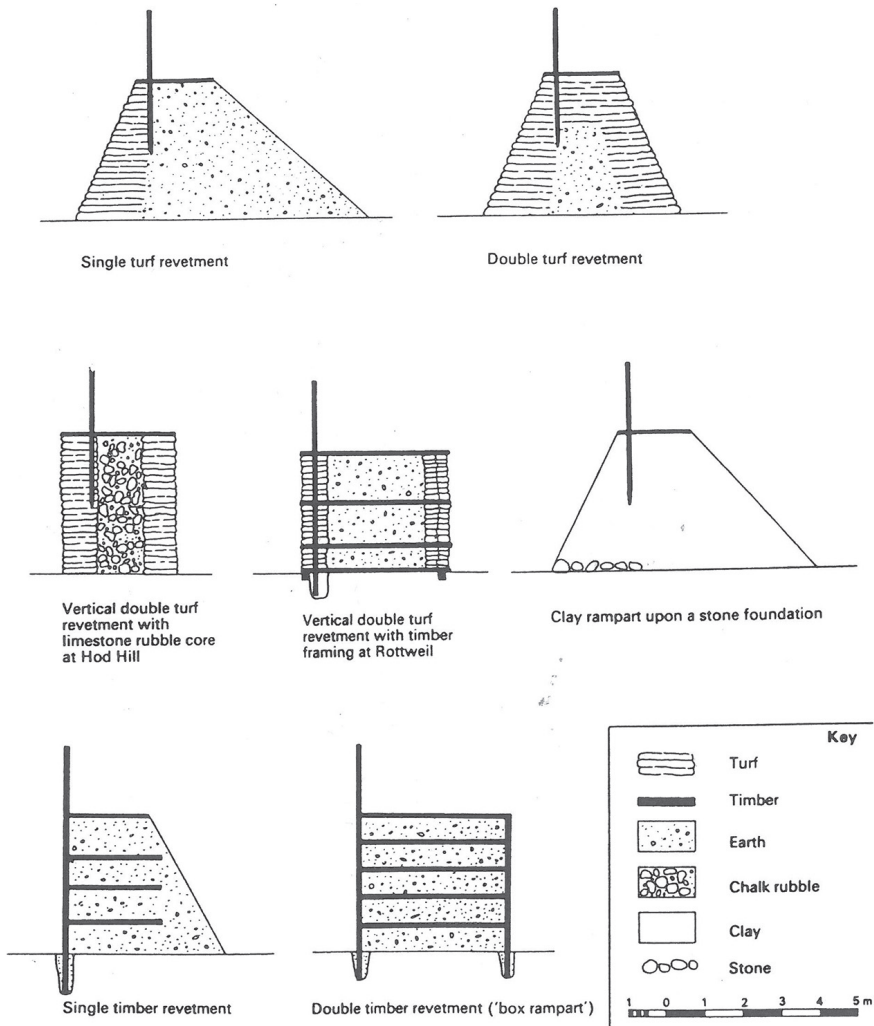


Figure 3. Early Roman earth-and-timber fortification types (after: Johnson, 1983)

city walls. These ramparts consisted of an earthen bulwark reinforced with a wooden structure closely resemble the way temporary Roman military camps were built (Batz, 2006, pp. 77–80). The structure was assembled of wooden beams which were laid at a distance of 4.5 m and then joined with transversely placed beams. On the basis of similar early imperial fortifications (Fig. 3), M. Jeremić assumed that the front part of the rampart could have been built of turf or wooden planks (Jeremić, 2016, pp. 127–131).

The long-term head of the systematic research project in Sremska Mitrovica, Vladislav Popović, made a similar assumption regarding the expansion of a civilian settlement on the ground originally occupied by a Roman military camp (Popović, 1971, pp. 121–122, 132). Several other authors also supported the assumption that, at least in the early period, a Roman fortification might have existed in Sirmium (Dušanić, 1968, p. 96; Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 164; Vasić, 2013, p. 80). It should also be pointed out that M. Mirković, in several of her works, eventually accepted that Sirmium had a military garrison, at least during the 6–9 AD uprising (Mirković, 1971, p. 12; Mirković, 1990, p. 639, note 42; Mirković, 2004, p. 147).

It is not certain when the military garrison was set up in Sirmium. It can be assumed that this occurred following Augustus' Illyrian War in 35–33 BC, or even more likely, in the period after Tiberius' Pannonian War 13–9/ 8 BC when Roman rule over the lower course of the Sava river was established (Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 164). Descriptions of the Roman early conquests of Illyricum also point to the usual tactics by which the Romans secured their presence in the conquered territories (Wilkes, 1969, pp. 52–53). Apart from combat operations directed against the disobedient population, it included the imposition of garrisons in the settlements of subjugated natives. Taking the hostages was a common practice as well, evidenced by certain historical sources (App. Ill. 4. 16–24) and the epigraphic ones too (CIL III 3224; Dušanić, 1967, p. 67; Šašel Kos, 2009, p. 93). In the period shortly after the uprising, the army in Sirmium was surely needed, but also later on. During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, the legions were not stationed as much along the Danube but rather in the camps located in the hinterland of the Limes (Klemenc, 1961, pp. 7–8; Mócsy, 1971, p. 41; Mócsy, 1974, pp. 39–41; Barkóczy, 1980, pp. 91–92) and Sirmium was most likely one of them (Radman Livaja, 2012, p. 167). Issues related to its size, the layout of the buildings, and the specific military crew, for now go beyond the scope of this paper and require further research in this direction, which will hopefully continue.

Abbreviations

- AE *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France
- AantHung* *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften Daremberg & Saglio, 1873/ 1904
C. V. Daremberg & E. Saglio (Ed.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, Hachette Livre
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, E. Eidinow (Eds.), Oxford 2012, Oxford University Press

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СИРМИЈУМ У НАЈТЕЖЕМ ЧАСУ: ЦИВИЛНО УПОРИШТЕ ИЛИ ВОЈНИ ЛОГОР

Апстракт: Овим радом поново се отвара питање статуса раноримског Сирмијума, односно да ли је он током првих деценија свог постојања превасходно био цивилно насеље или је имао војну посаду. Значај и карактер Сирмијума посматран је углавном кроз призму историјских догађаја познатих као *Bellum Batonianum* (6–9. н.е.), једног од најдраматичнијих периода у историји овог града. Аутор још једном скреће пажњу на иначе ретке помене овог насеља у античким историјским изворима као и на резултате археолошких истраживања, указујући да је Сирмијум због свог стратешког положаја свакако био војно упориште које се постепено развијало у значајно цивилно насеље. Посебна пажња посвећена је значењу и контексту употребе појединих термина (*negotiatores*, *Ρωμαίοι*) у текстовима релевантних римских историчара (Velleius Paterculus, Cassius Dio) који осветљавају ово време кризе, страдања и искушења.

Кључне речи: Сирмијум, *Bellum Batonianum*, војни логор, трговци, *negotiatores*, *Ρωμαίοι*

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While writing the texts collected in this volume, the authors have been living through an extraordinary experience, coping with everyday tasks made more complex by the crisis we have been facing, and creating new habits necessary to navigate the new environment. Although exceptional from our point of view, our present experience is far from unique, and the human history is replete with turbulent periods of crisis, profoundly disrupting the habitual order.

The aim of this collection is therefore to investigate some of the situations of crisis in the past from the archaeological perspective, in a search for insights that may help us to better understand and cope with the present one. At the same time, the papers demonstrate some of the vast possibilities of archaeological investigation to contribute to our understanding of the world we live in, as well as of the past societies whose material traces we study.

