

# ILLYRICVM ROMANVM

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STUDIOLA IN HONOREM MILOJE VASIĆ

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EDITED BY  
Ivana POPOVIĆ  
Sofija PETKOVIĆ





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Belgrade 2020

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## *Felix Romuliana – Access Routs and Comunications\**

**Abstract.** – *Felix Romuliana* was situated, in the Roman period, in the immediate vicinity of the important road from Bononia to Horreum Margi and the crossing of the mentioned road and the communication connecting Naissus and Ratiaria. Its location as well as the more recent discovery of the 'northern settlement' resulted in certain distinctions regarding the connection of the fortification and main communication routes. It has been concluded that there were two access roads, which are chronologically close but their routes differ. The earlier road is related to the 'northern settlement' and the period of construction of Romuliana, while the other, later one, is related to the construction of the tetrapylon and the memorial complex at Magura.

**Key words.** – Late Roman period, *Felix Romuliana*, road routes, access roads

**F**elix Romuliana – Gamzigrad is a unique monument from the period of the Tetrarchy in our territory. It consists of a fortified complex of buildings, which, based on their structures and opulence, were undoubtedly built for one of the Roman emperors. Confirmation that it had an official imperial purpose, after decades long assumptions, conjecture and interpretation of historical sources regarding the location of the place called *Romulianum* as the fortification of the emperor Galerius in this area, came after the discovery of an archivolt bearing the inscription *Felix Romuliana* (fig. 1). This opinion is supported by the discovery of a fragment of porphyry

sculpture representing a larger-than-life portrait of Emperor Galerius (fig. 2).

The tetrarchic palace and memorial complex is situated in the east of Serbia, in an ore rich area, abounding in mineral springs and large rivers and, thus, was, from ancient times, favourable for human settlement. It is situated in the valley of the Crni Timok (Crna Reka) river, according to which the area is known as the Crna Reka district, in the vicinity of the villages of Gamzigrad and Zvezdan, 12 kilometres from the modern town of Zaječar. This small geographic entity is surrounded on all sides by a natural mountainous barrier, i.e., the characteristic relief consisting of the

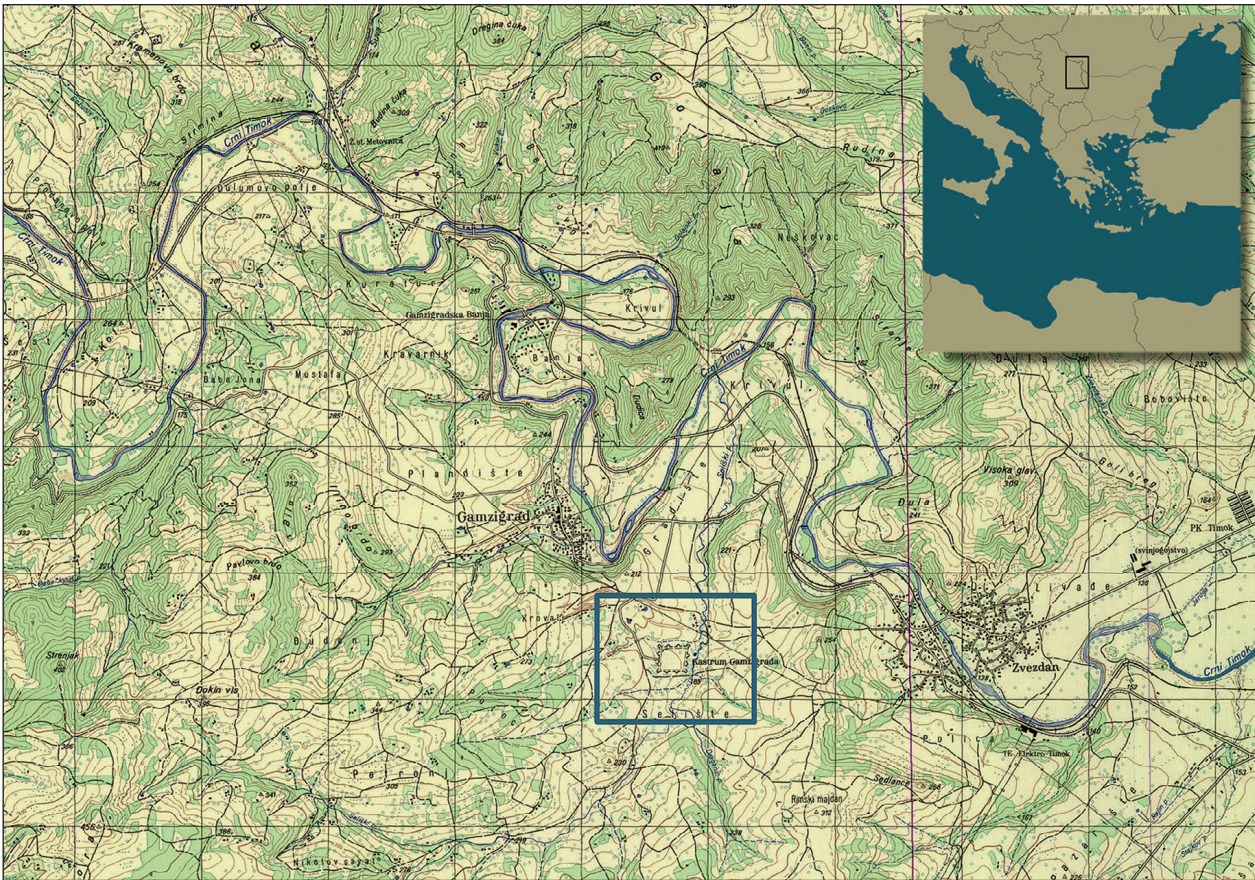
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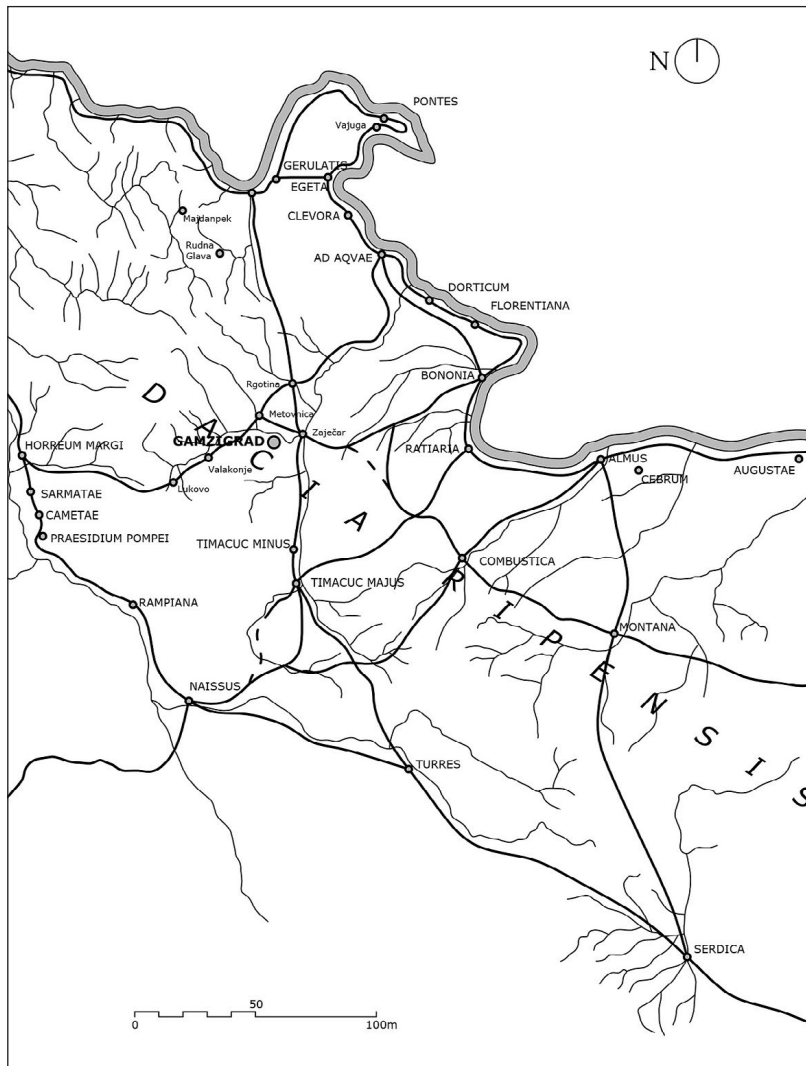




**Figure 1 and 2.** Architrave with the inscription *Felix Romvliana* and fragment of porphyry sculpture (head of Emperor Galerius), from the documentation of the Institute of Archaeology



**Map 1.** Position of Romuliana with wider surroundings, map by V. Popović, after Живић 2010, карта 2



Map 2. Roman roads and settlements of the Dacia province, after Чанак-Медић 1978, мапа 1

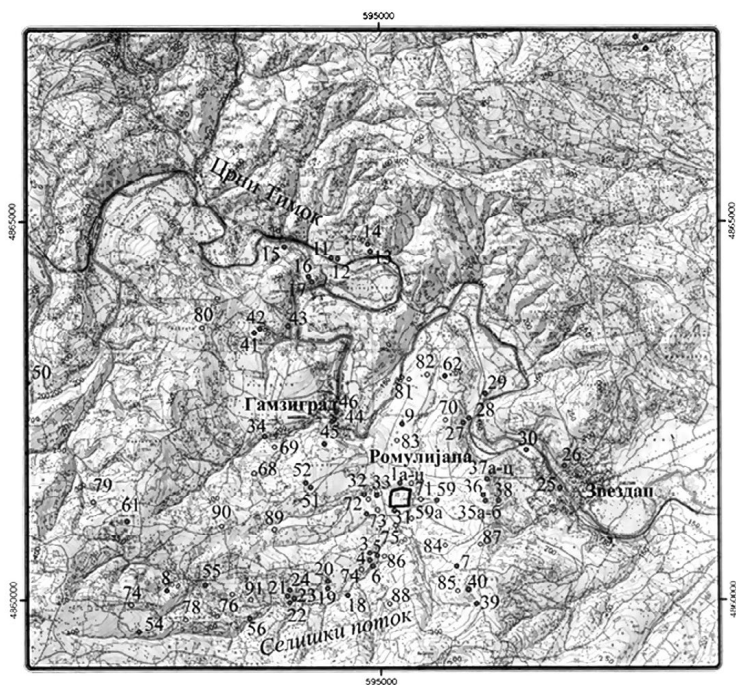
mountains Sto, Deli Jovan and Crni Vrh in the north, Vrška Čuka in the east, in the west Rtanj and Tupižnica and in the south the Kučaj plateau. The only natural passages are the valleys of the rivers Crni and Beli Timok, and the valley of their confluence with the Danube. Therefore, the river valleys were used for communication because of their favourable positions, while the settlements thrived in their vicinity (map 1).

It could be assumed, considering the characteristics of the terrain morphology in eastern Serbia, that main communications connecting large centres followed the river valleys of the Crni and Beli Timok. Thus, the communication from the administrative-military centre of *Naissus* towards the Danube and *Ratiaria* could have followed the

river valleys Svrlijski and Beli Timok, where the remains of the antique fortification of *Timacum Minus*, near the modern village of Ravna, were discovered.<sup>1</sup> As O. Vukadin mentions, the remains of the Roman road were visible until recently downstream from the site of *Timacum Minus*, towards the village of *Minićevo*, and it was also known to the locals as the small road.<sup>2</sup> The communication connecting *Bononia*, present day Vidin in Bulgaria, and *Horreum Margi*, present day Ćuprija, in Serbia, ran along the Crni Timok valley. Those roads most probably intersected in the territory

<sup>1</sup> Петковић, Илијић 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Вукадин 1961, 62.



Map 3. Archaeological map of the Romuliana surroundings, after Капуран, Шкундрић 2009, карта 1

of present day Zaječar, and, as S. Mačaj suggests, it could have been at the site of the antique *castellum* Kostol, at the confluence of two Timok rivers.<sup>3</sup> M. Mirković wrote more extensively about those communications<sup>4</sup> (map 2).

Interesting for us is the road leading from Bononia towards Horreum Margi, which most probably ran along the Crni Timok River. At this level of investigation of the Romuliana surroundings we could not tell with any certainty whether the road was on the left or right bank of the Crni Timok River. However, if we look at the archaeological map of the *Romuliana* surroundings<sup>5</sup> we can notice a greater concentration of sites on the right bank of the Crni Timok, in fact, only a very few prehistoric sites are situated on the left river bank (map 3). This need not, however, be the decisive argument, but still indicates that the road probably ran along the right river bank in this section of its route. The second important fact is the configuration of the terrain around the river where one can notice that there are more steep and impassable zones on the left bank meaning that it would have been necessary to construct many bridges in the course of the road building. We came to the conclusion, on the

basis of these facts, that the route of the road most probably ran along the right bank of the Crni Timok. With this assumption we should definitely expect a bridge somewhere around the present day village of Zvezdan or downstream towards the present day Zaječar. We assume this, first of all, because of the location of the *castellum* of Kostol, discovered on the left bank immediately below the confluence of the Crni and Beli Timok then because the road is directed towards it, and finally because the natural conditions are more favourable on this than on the opposite river bank. S. Mačaj wrote about the visible remains of the road at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> but we cannot tell with any certainty if that was the Roman

<sup>3</sup> Mačaj 1882, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Mirković 1968, Mirković 2003, 4–8.

<sup>5</sup> Systematic reconnaissance of the surroundings of the site of Romuliana is the result of a five-year cooperation of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade, Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, the final result of which was an archaeological map including all the sites within a 4 km circle. Капуран, Шкундрић 2009, 246, карта 1.

<sup>6</sup> Mačaj 1882, 101.

road. M. Čanak Medić also suggests the same road route,<sup>7</sup> but her assumption about a further route towards today's Valakonje and Lukovo is not particularly justified. She proposes the road ran from the village of Zvezdan along the right bank of the Crni Timok and then over the hilly surroundings of the river as far as Gamzigradska Banja and the village Metovnica and further towards the villages Valakonje and Lukovo.<sup>8</sup> Our opinion is that the road ran along the river to the modern village of Gamzigrad, after which it turned westward over the hills towards the village of Selište and further towards Valakonje and Lukovo. This route was used by the old road, known to the locals as 'the Moscow road' and has a more moderate incline than the route suggested by M. Čanak-Medić. Also, by using the 'Moscow road' towards Selište, it is possible to avoid a few critical natural points along the river that, in the Roman times, would have presented a serious problem regarding the security and visibility of the road. That road was of particular significance in connecting not only large but also the small settlements, small farming estates and places where ore was exploited<sup>9</sup> that also existed in the immediate vicinity of the road.

Before taking into consideration the route, which connected Romuliana to the *Bononia – Horreum Margi* road, it is necessary to mention a few important things that directly or indirectly impacted that route. The selection of the place, the micro location, for building the palace was decided, as is known, after considering the place in which the emperor was born. It is not known, however, from historical sources, whether Emperor Galerius was actually born exactly at that location or if it was selected as the closest to his real place of birth. This is primarily important because of the strategic position of the fortification and its connection with the natural characteristics of the terrain, which indubitably had an impact on the shape, size and organisation of the fortification, but also on its connections with the important communication. We can immediately notice that the position of the fortification in the valley is an inadequate position from a strategic point of view when considering the defence from possible enemy attacks<sup>10</sup>, but also regarding suit-

able flat terrain for building the structures. An inferior position was selected despite strategically better positions being available in the immediate vicinity.<sup>11</sup> The fortification was, thus, endangered from almost all sides, and the enemy could easily attack without suffering serious losses. According to this, from a strategic point of view the micro location of the Gamzigrad fortification was not the best choice, so the question could be asked as why it was built at that location. The selection was most probably self-imposed as the place where Galerius was born, a conclusion reached by M. Živić on the basis of the discovery of the 'northern settlement', identified as a settlement that predated *Romuliana* and was the place where the emperor was born.<sup>12</sup> Such a conclusion should be still taken with certain reservations because the 'northern settlement' has been explored to rather a small degree and future excavations will be needed to provide any possible confirmation. So, for the time being, this conclusion remains just an assumption. Nevertheless, the 'northern settlement', which is of an almost identical area as *Romuliana*, certainly had an impact on the marking out of an access road if we take into account that it predated *Romuliana* and that it certainly had an access road before the construction of *Romuliana* had started (fig. 3).

An important question, which has not been sufficiently examined so far, is how the *Romuliana* fortification was approached. An indisputable fact is that the main entry point was via the

<sup>7</sup> Чанак-Медић 1978, 20.

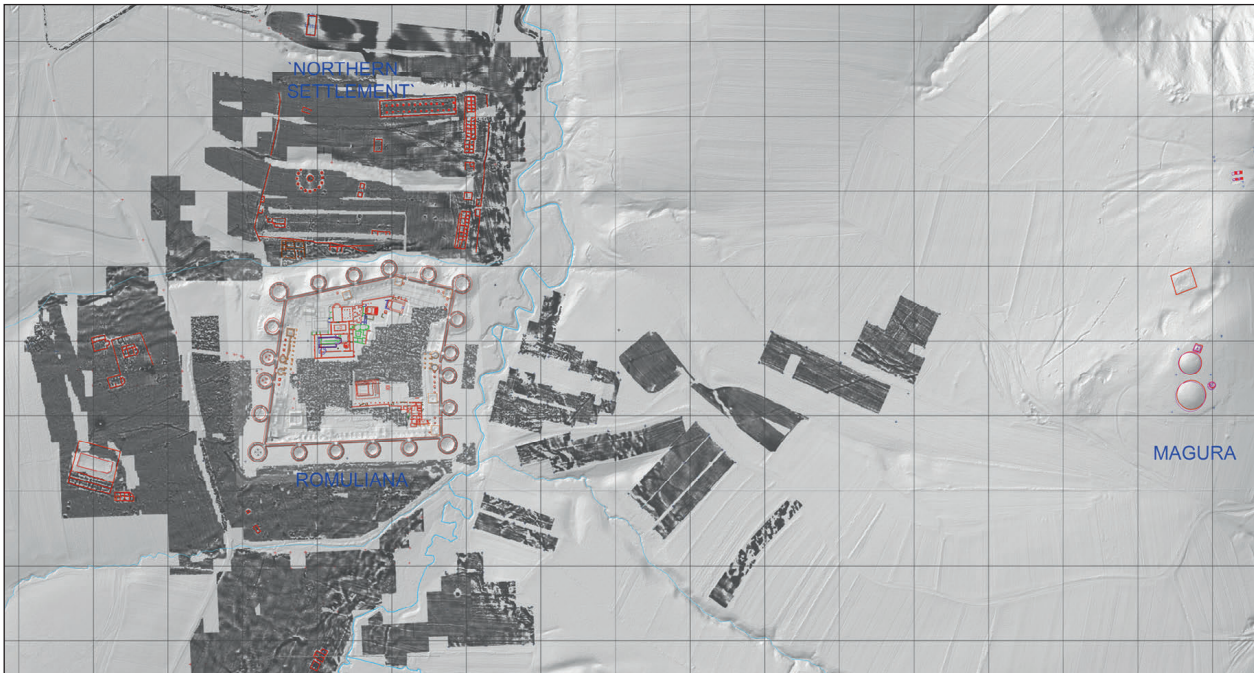
<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>9</sup> As Dj. Mano-Zisi states there were mines in the present day villages of Valakonje and Lukovo; Mano-Zisi 1956, 67–84.

<sup>10</sup> Considering that the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century was a period of frequent intrusions of the barbarian tribes into the territory of the Empire, this was not the best solution. Because of the constant danger on the border, among other things, Diocletian introduced a new system of government.

<sup>11</sup> We could notice that the fortification at Šarkamen was also in an unfavourable location, so this resemblance suggests that the building location was influenced by certain "mystical" reasons.

<sup>12</sup> Живић 2015, 45–46.



**Figure 3.** Recording of the geophysical prospection of the area of Romuliana and the ‘northern settlement’ and their interrelations, after von Bülow 2009

eastern gateway, but it is not known whether the road ran from the tetrapylon in a straight line across the Draganov Potok to the eastern gate or if it ran from the Crni Timok along the Draganov Potok to Romuliana, from the north to the south, or perhaps along some third, unknown, route. There is an established opinion that the main fortification’s eastern gate was approached from the east, from the direction of the modern village of Zvezdan, over the saddle extending towards the mentioned village (fig. 4). This was concluded first of all as a result of the discovery of tetrapylon remains in the course of archaeological excavations from 1989 to 1993.<sup>13</sup> A tetrapylon usually marked a crossroads, an intersection of roads of great importance. Thus, also in our case, the tetrapylon at the Magura saddle marked the intersection of the roads. One road led to the tumuli and mausoleums of Emperor Galerius and his mother Romula and the other to the fortified palace. There is also an opinion that the road crossed the northernmost saddle on the slope extending towards the village of Zvezdan, at the location

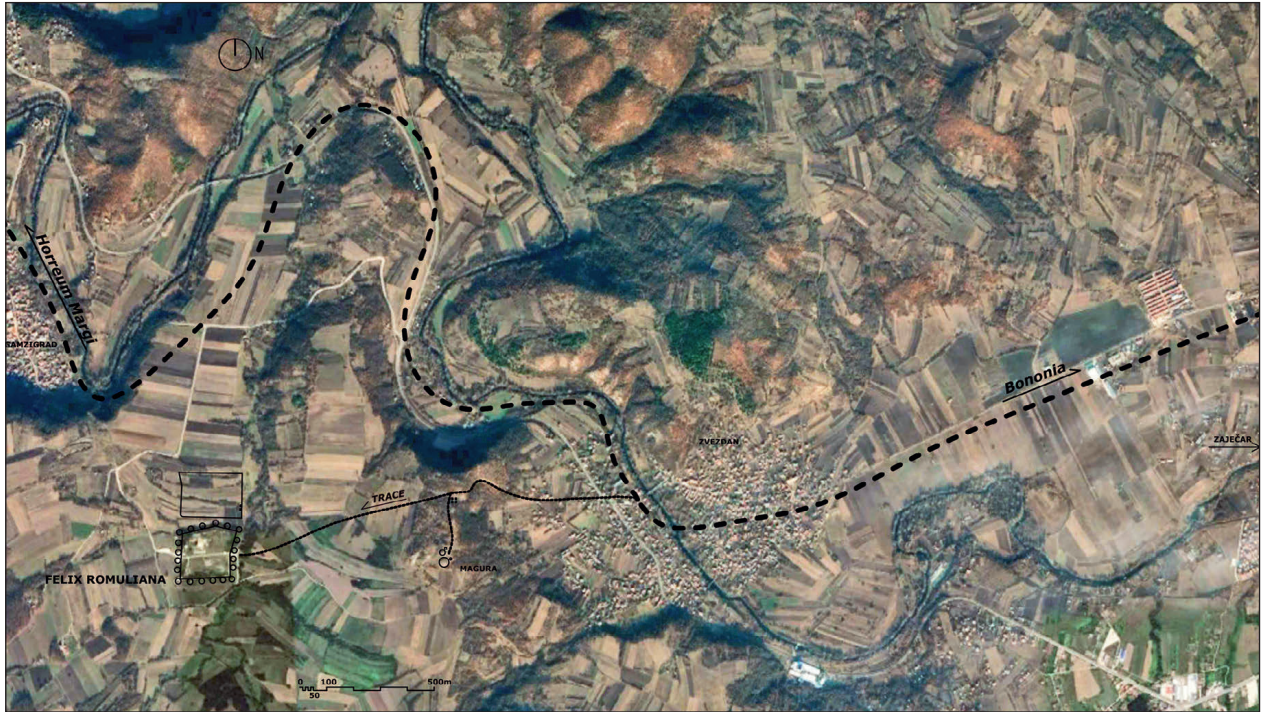
where the modern road crosses the mentioned slope, and then ran in a straight line towards the eastern gate of Romuliana.<sup>14</sup> This route corresponds better to the second hypothesis that the road ran along the Draganov Potok. The second hypothesis about the alternative road is also supported by the extremely steep approach to the tetrapylon from the east, i.e., from the village of Zvezdan. Among other things, Vitruvius, in the first book of his work ‘On Architecture’ (*De architectura*), writes that besides a healthy place for dwelling and sufficient food it was also necessary to provide the town’s inhabitants with easy access to the town by a good road.<sup>15</sup> Going from the direction of the village of Zvezdan there is a slope, which is too steep for animal drawn carts,<sup>16</sup> so it

<sup>13</sup> Васић 1993, 148–163; Srejić, Vasić 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Чанак-Медић 1978, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Витрувије I, 62.

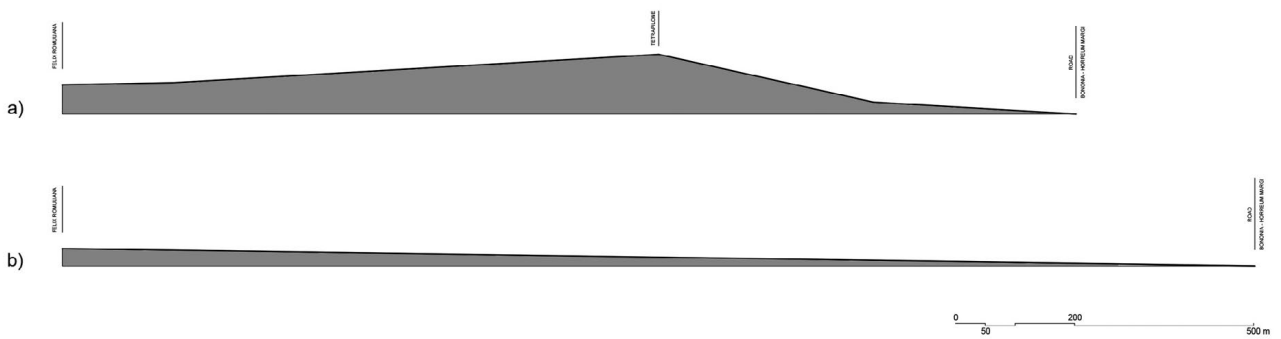
<sup>16</sup> Carts were most often used for delivering the building materials necessary for the construction of the structure.



**Figure 4.** Current assumed route of the road towards Romuliana, illustration by B. Popović, photo Google Earth © 2019

is reasonable to doubt that this route was in use. Using that route would mean it was necessary to surmount a difference in altitude of almost 100 meters over a distance of 650 meters, a slope of  $13^\circ$  or 13.5%.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, there is a possibility that in Antiquity that road followed another route, which followed the isohypses and was an easier

way to overcome the rise, or that the slope was not so steep at that time. The route along the Draganov Potok is somewhat longer, but has gentle slope of  $1^\circ$  or 1.2% and the height difference to overcome was 31 meter over 2 km<sup>18</sup> (fig. 5). Such an incline would have been suitable for all forms of transportation as well as for pedestrians. Both



**Figure 5.** Representation of the terrain inclination: a) route over the Magura saddle; b) route along the Draganov Potok, drawing by B. Popović



**Figure 6.** Assumed road routes along the Draganov Potok, illustration by B. Popović, photo Google Earth © 2019

assumed routes would have joined the antique road running from Bononia to *Horreum Margi*, which ran along the Crni Timok River. However, at the present level of investigation we cannot confirm that hypothesis and it remains only an assumption. An important factor, in light of new investigations, is the so called ‘northern settlement’ dating from the time before Galerius’ palace,<sup>19</sup> which was most probably used by the palace builders and certainly had an approach road.<sup>20</sup> The access road to the ‘northern settlement’ most probably ran along the Draganov Potok, as the slope is gentle and it would not have been necessary to go over the saddle at Magura. We are of the opinion that this road was used in the course of building *Romuliana* for delivering material and all service purposes. The crucial question regarding the route determination is the construction of mausoleums, tumuli and tetrapylon at Magura. As D. Srežović says, judging by the coins discovered during excavation of the northern tumulus, which apparently belonged to Romula, mother of

Emperor Galerius, the tumulus and the mausoleum are dated to AD 305–306. The larger, southern tumulus and mausoleum, assumed to have belonged to Emperor Galerius, are dated to AD 311, when he died in Serdica.<sup>21</sup> The question of the dating of the tetrapylon is not solved but it is reasonable to suppose that the procession carrying a wax figure of Galerius dressed in a triumphant robe passed under its arches.<sup>22</sup> We do not know if

<sup>17</sup> The absolute height of the tetrapylon was 239 m ASL, while the absolute height at the plateau next to the Crni Timok was 145 m ASL.

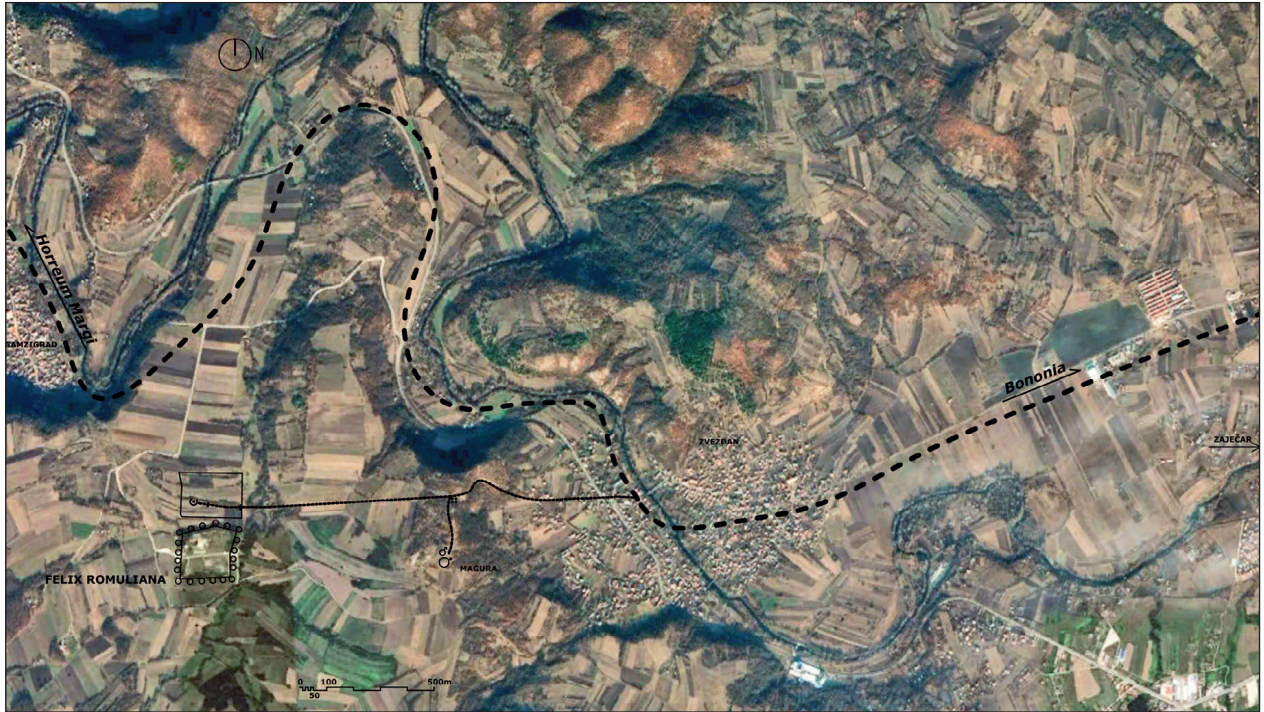
<sup>18</sup> The absolute height of the eastern gate of Romuliana was 188 m ASL, while the absolute height of the terrain by the river is 157 m ASL.

<sup>19</sup> Bülow, Schüler 2009, 231–249. Петковић 2010, 39.

<sup>20</sup> It is not out of the question that there were two or even more service roads.

<sup>21</sup> Срејовић 1993, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Васић 1996, 20.



**Figure 7.** Assumed road route from the tetrapylon towards the ‘northern settlement’, illustration by B. Popović, photo Google Earth © 2019

a similar procession was arranged after the death of Galerius’ mother, i.e. whether the tetrapylon had already been built at that time or if it was built for Galerius’ apotheosis. In any case, we assume that the tetrapylon could not be dated any earlier than around AD 305. If the tetrapylon was not constructed earlier, we suppose that there would be no need for a road over the saddle at Magura. Only after the construction of the mausoleum and tumulus of Galerius’ mother and the tetrapylon would the road approaching the mausoleums have been built completing the whole complex at Magura. Thus, we came to conclusion that until the construction of the tetrapylon and the road bypassing it, the only road and access to *Romuliana* and the ‘northern settlement’ was along the Draganov Potok (fig. 6). In that case, we may expect that between the two fortifications there was a bridge (most probably of wood) over a fast flowing brook, which next to the northern rampart of *Romuliana*. Remains of that bridge have not been recorded thus far. Access located in

such a way was also recommended by Vitruvius who said ... *Roads should be constructed in such a way to lead to the gate not directly but from the left. It is done because when the enemy attacks his right flank, which is not protected by the shield is closer to the walls.*<sup>23</sup> After the construction of the tetrapylon and the road<sup>24</sup> it was necessary to construct a bridge across the Draganov Potok in front of the eastern *Romuliana* gate. Nothing has been found so far that could be related to the bridge structure in the area in front of the eastern gate, so it could be assumed that it was a wooden bridge, if it existed at all in that area. There is a possibility, which is less probable, that the road from the tetrapylon ran in a straight line towards the eastern gate of the ‘northern settlement’ with the

<sup>23</sup> Витрувије I, 62.

<sup>24</sup> We could not say at this point of the investigation if the road or the tetrapylon were constructed first or that they were constructed at the same time.





**Figure 8.** Two road routes used to approach Romuliana, illustration by B. Popović, photo Google Earth © 2019

bridge across the Draganov Potok and from there towards the eastern gate of *Romuliana*. Such an assumption resulted from the fact that there are certain regularities regarding the position of the tetrapylon, the eastern gate of ‘northern settlement’ and the tholoid structure in the western section of the ‘northern settlement’ (fig. 7). Namely, they are almost along the same line, which coincides with an east-west direction. The tholoid structure could be identified as a cult building and could have been erected to honour significant imperial military campaigns and victories.<sup>25</sup> It could be associated with the tetrapylon, which could also have been built to honour a military triumph, in the same way as Emperor Galerius erected a monumental tetrapylon triumphal arc in Thessalonica to honour his victory over the Persians.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, this assumption is less plausible for the simple reason that the complex at Magura was directly connected with *Romuliana* and, thus, it would be expected that the road went directly to its eastern gate.

The likely conclusion is that *Romuliana* most probably had two approach roads, one of a service character along the Draganov Potok that was also used for the ‘northern settlement’ and the other over the Magura saddle that had more of a symbolic and parade character (fig. 8). Naturally, after new archaeological investigations, we would be able to determine more precisely, first of all, the date of construction of the tetrapylon and the road, as well as the route of the road, which led from the tetrapylon to *Romuliana* and the position of the assumed bridge over the Draganov Potok. Also, we would be able to confirm or reject the assumption regarding the road from the Crni Timok along the Draganov Potok to the ‘northern settlement’ and *Romuliana*.

*Translated by Mirjana Vukmanović*

<sup>25</sup> Петковић 2010, 40–41.

<sup>26</sup> Beloyannis, Mirtsou 1995, 181.

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