

IRENA V. LJUBOMIROVIĆ¹

UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

NAISSUS: A REVIEW OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE CITY FROM THE 1st TO THE 5th CENTURY

ABSTRACT. This paper is the result of the research of the history of ancient Naissus. Its aim is to present the history of Naissus in the ancient time when the city was a part of the Roman Empire. The research is based on literary and epigraphic sources and archaeological finds. The territory of Naissus was a part of two provinces, Dacia Mediterranea and Dacia Ripensis. Since Naissus was an ordinary provincial city, ancient writers of that time did not show much interest in its history. Thus, information on Naissus in literary sources is quite scarce and occasionally inaccurate. Some information on Naissus is found in the work of Procopius (*De aedificiis*), the document *Notitia dignitatum*, recording a workshop for making weapons and military equipment. Naissus also appears in the Theodosian Code, as one of the numerous towns where the emperors issued edicts and laws. Epigraphic monuments are of particular importance for studying the history of any Roman city. These provide valuable information on the way of life, customs, religion, government, and military and social organization of the ancient world. Besides literary and epigraphic sources, the archaeological finds—

¹ irena.ljubomirovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

This paper is the result of a research which is a part of the project *Christian Culture in the Balkans in the Middle Ages: the Byzantine Empire, the Serbs and the Bulgarians from the 9th to the 15th century* (N^o 177015), funded by The Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia and the project *Niš and Ponišavlje in the ancient time and in the middle ages* (N^o 0-17-18), funded by Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, branch in Niš.

This paper was submitted on August 29th, 2019 and accepted for publication at the meeting of the Editorial Board held on September 16th, 2019.

remains of ancient buildings, temples, roads, bridges, objects of material culture, weapons, tools, jewellery—all contributed significantly to shedding light on the past of the city of Niš.

KEYWORDS: Naissus; Dacia Mediterranea; roads; workshops; Goths.

In order to comprehend the history of Naissus in Late Antiquity, it was necessary to present a brief overview of the events and changes that took place in the Roman Empire at the beginning of this period. In fact, during this period there were significant changes in the state organization, the army, and religion. Diocletian made a new administrative division of the Empire, in which the prefecture of Illyricum with its provinces, including *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dacia Ripensis*, would increasingly gain importance. Diocletian's reign (284–305 AD) marks a turning point in Roman history for several reasons. He carried out a series of reforms, which were necessary for the shaken Empire but also to Diocletian himself, to overcome the current crisis of the Empire and to strengthen the supreme authority of the emperor. Diocletian's reforms are reflected in the reorganization of the entire state administration.

As the empire reached enormous proportions, stretching from the British Isles to Asia Minor, from the Danube, Rhine and Main to North Africa, there appeared the need for the division of its territory and the imperial power. Diocletian chose the division of power between the four rulers – tetrarchy. Two rulers held the title of Augustus (Diocletian and Maximian) and one was governing the eastern, whereas the other was ruling the western half of the Empire. In addition, each Augustus was accompanied by one Caesar that was not a blood relative of the Augustus, but was chosen by merit and then adopted. Diocletian's co-ruler, with the title of Caesar, was Gaius Valerius Maximianus Galerius (Barnes, 1982, pp. 195–198; Jones, 1964, pp. 37–42; Christensen, 1974; Leadbetter, 2009).

Research of the history of Niš in the period from the I to the IV century is based on literary and epigraphic sources and archaeological finds. Since Naissus was an ordinary provincial city, ancient writers of that time did not show much interest in its history. Thus, information on Naissus in literary sources is quite scarce, and occasionally inaccurate. Constantine's biographers, including Eusebius of Caesarea, and Stephanus of Byzantium, for instance, wrote about the city in the context of Constantine's birth and his visits to

Naissus. Data on the roads that passed through the city and connected significant areas or cities are only found in the itineraries. Some information on Naissus is found in the work of Procopius (*De aedificiis*), the document *Notitia dignitatum*, recording a workshop for making weapons and military equipment. Naissus also appears in the Theodosian Code, as one of the numerous towns where the emperors issued edicts and laws.

Valuable information for researching the ancient Naissus was provided by epigraphic monuments from the territory of the city itself. The stone monuments found in the niches of the Turkish fortress contained inscriptions mainly in Latin. Much of the epigraphic material from the territory of Naissus was published in the third and fourth volumes of the collection *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*. The inscriptions are followed by lemmas, comments, and photographs. Epigraphic monuments are of particular importance for studying the history of any Roman city. These provide valuable information on the way of life, customs, religion, government, and military and social organization of the ancient world. Funerary inscriptions often contain data that could be used in topography or onomastic research. Honorary inscription set up by city councils supply information about the communities that erected them. Military inscriptions contain data on the places where the soldiers came from, as well as the tribes to which they belonged.

During archaeological and restoration works on the Fortress of Niš in the last century, a large number of monuments was discovered that were built into the towers and walls. The importance of epigraphic material was recognized in the XIX century when the first lapidarium was set in Niš in the place of the former Hunkjar – mosque (Kanitz, 1985, p. 168). The contemporary Lapidarium is in the Fortress of Niš as well. It is located near the mosque (Exhibition Hall 77) and contains approximately forty Roman monuments: tombstones, sarcophagi, altars and sculptures (Janković-Mihaldžić, 1986, p. 91). Epigraphic material is particularly important because the texts of Latin inscriptions contain information for the study of the city's population and their status, administrative organization of the city, organization of military units, religion in the city, the work of local workshops, customs, etc.

Besides literary and epigraphic sources, the archaeological finds—remains of ancient buildings, temples, roads, bridges, objects of material culture, weapons, tools, jewellery—all contributed significantly to shedding light on the past of the city of Niš. Thanks to

archaeological sources, various aspects of the city's history could be researched (e. g. architectural development, urbanisation, romanisation, religion). Although the earliest researchers in the city cannot be considered archaeologists in true sense of the word, their work represented the initial foundation on which the future work of archaeologists would be built. The first of the researchers was Felix Kanitz who started research in the mid XIX century, only to be continued by Anton von Premerstein and Nikola Vulić at the end of the same century (Ljubomirović, 2013, pp. 74-96).

NAISSUS – ROMAN MUNICIPIUM

The name of the city Niš is a Slavic form of the ancient name Naissus. The name Naissus cannot be interpreted in Latin linguistic resources, which means that the Romans took it over from the indigenous population (the Celts, Illyrians or Thracians) (Loma, 2003, pp. 15-23; Loma, 1994, pp. 7-26). The longest prevailing hypothesis in modern research has been the one that the name of the town was of Celtic origin, based on the name of the river on whose banks the city was located. The city of Naissus was part of Dardania, eastwards of the South Morava River and it was located in its most northern part. Ptolemy noted that cities Naissus, Scupi, Ulpiana, and Aribantion were part of Dardania (Ptol. III 9, 4). Pliny also testifies that Naissus was in the north of Dardania. He states in the *History of Nature* that the *Margus* (the Morava), *Timacus* (the Timok) and *Pincus* (the Pek) are the rivers that flow from the land of the Dardanians (Plin. III, 149). Ptolemy's and Plinius's data is confirmed by one epigraphic evidence. In a fragmentary funerary inscription from Rome, a candidate for one of the command posts reserved for members of the equestrian order (*militiae petitor*) was mentioned and he came from Naissus in Dardania (*Naisso Dardaniae*) (CIL VI, 32937; Papazoglu, 1969, p. 156).

One of the most important events in the history of Naissus was the clash of the Roman army, led by Emperor Claudius II, with the Goths in the vicinity of the town, in 269 AD. The aforementioned ruler himself had been born in Dardania, presumably in the region of Naissus and was familiar with the terrain, which was crucial for the outcome of the battle (Jovanović, 2006, p. 33). The Goths had jeopardized the Balkan Peninsula at the end of the reign of his predecessor Gallienus. In the summer of 268 AD, together with the

Heruli and Peucini, they sailed along the Black Sea coast and entered the Aegean Sea through the Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespontus. They embarked in Greece and raided the Balkan provinces. They were progressing to the north and the main battle took place near Naissus in 269 AD. The battle was fought on both sides of the river Nišava and since he knew the terrain, the emperor Claudius II managed to besiege the barbarians and attack them from all sides (Kamerau, 1934, p. 82).

The surrounded Goths resisted for some time, but were eventually defeated, some of them were captured and others surrendered themselves. The victory was important because the barbarians were pushed away from the Roman borders for a longer period. The emperor added to his name the title *Gothicus*. It is certain that his victory resounded in the city and contributed to its further fate. Although Claudius II Gothicus reigned for two years, he gained his fame precisely with this great victory over the Goths. His reputation was such that even Constantine connected his origin to this ruler. After Maximian's execution, Constantine's connection to the imperial family was interrupted and he was forced to seek legitimacy by associating himself with a distinguished ancestor. Constantine chose Claudius II Gothicus probably because of the fame and reputation the Emperor gained by the victory over the Goths (Ferjančić, 2013, pp. 49-50).

Ancient authors are prone to attribute a lively building activity in Naissus to Constantine because the Emperor was born in the city (Firmicus Maternus, Math.1.10.12; Origo 2, 2). Stephanus of Byzantium states that the Naissus is Constantine's hometown and "ktisma" (Steph. Byz.s.v.Naissos). His exaggeration is obvious since Naissus has been an important urban centre of the province of Upper Moesia, which means that many buildings had already existed and that Constantine simply continued with the construction and decoration of the city. When the construction and decoration of the city is in question, one should especially be careful, because the Naissus was at one time under the control of Constantine's co-ruler Licinius. After the death of Diocletian's Caesar in 311 AD and the victory over Maximinus Daia in 313 AD, he established control over the Balkan provinces and Asia Minor.

Until the first conflict with Constantine in 316 AD, the city of Naissus was ruled by Licinius. It is possible that the Emperor was passing through the city on his way to Asia Minor, but this hypothesis cannot be confirmed by edicts, as in the case of other emper-

ors, because Licinius' signatures from the laws collected in the Theodosius and Code of Justinian are missing. The fact that in the imperial workshop in the city, silver plates with the inscription *LICINI AUGUSTE SEMPER VINCAS* were made in preparation for the celebration of his *Decennalia* strengthens the connection of Naissus with Licinius (Mirković, 1974, pp. 132-152; Vasić, 1975, pp. 221-228; Ljubomirović, 2017, p. 27). Since the city of Naissus, after the first conflict of the two emperors in 317 AD, was ruled by Constantine, in times to come, he would be passing through the city and staying in it for some time. It gave him an opportunity to intensify the building activity.

THE ROAD NETWORK IN THE CITY TERRITORY

Archaeological research revealed that ancient Naissus was located on the right bank of the Nišava, on the territory partially covered by the Niš Fortress (Petrović, 1967, pp. 56-60; Jovanović, 1956, pp. 365-372; Milošević, 2005, pp. 149-162). The ancient town developed on a wide and flat terrain, which offered good conditions for settlement, but also for raising fortifications. According to modern scholars, the urban settlement on the right bank of the Nišava was preceded by a small native village (*vicus*), which was important for the erection of the town fortifications (Petrović, 1999, p. 49). The archaeological investigations carried out in some ancient cities in the Balkans, for instance in Viminacium, have revealed that the Roman military camps were usually erected near indigenous villages, because their garrisons were supplied with food and water from these villages. Indigenous population in the region of Naissus (Dardania and Thracians) is relatively well documented by epigraphic evidence (IMS III/2, P.65, n.5, IMS III/2, p.81, n.28; IMS III/2, p. 92-93, n.44; IMS IV, 96.).

Numerous roads were linking Naissus with the surrounding regions and villas in the countryside. We learn about them on the basis of epigraphic and archaeological material, milestones, and remains of roads, but also on the basis of the location of the necropolises, which in the classical period often sprang up near the suburban roads. The road leading to the east crossed the Nišava by a stone bridge, whose remains were visible not far from today's Benetton factory. (Nenadović, 1961, p. 169). The road led further over "Gabrovac land", intersected with streams over which the remains

of the three stone bridges from the Roman period were found. This route led to Mediana, a suburb with villas three miles distant from the city (Amm. Marc. XXVI 5, 1).

Since Naissus was located in the central part of Upper Moesia and during the late antiquity, Dacia Mediterannea, its territory was covered with a network of important roads, connecting the western parts of the Roman Empire with the eastern ones. The road *Viminacium-Naissus-Serdica-Byzantium/Constantinopolis* was the shortest route from the western part of the Roman Empire to the provinces in the East. The road started in the Danube region, specifically in Singidunum, and led south to Naissus along the valley of the Velika Morava. Then it turned to the east and, following the valley of Nišava, it led in the direction of Serdica, and further to Byzantium i.e. Constantinople. The road had been used for trade and for military purposes, as well.

Another important road connecting the region Pomoravlje with the southern parts of the province of Dalmatia was the road *Naissus-Lissus* (Samardžić, 2015, pp. 69-78). The section leading to Macedonia and the harbour of Thessalonica over Scupi branched from it south of Naissus: *Ad Herculem, Hammeum Ad Fines, Vindenae* and *Vicianum*. From Vicianum station (Vučitrn) one section ran towards Lissus and another towards Scupi (Vulić, 1925, pp. 1-5; Mirković, 1960, p. 252; Čerškov, 1961, pp. 123-130).

Throughout the Timok valley stretched one of the most important roads (*Naissus-Ratiaria*) that linked Naissus and the central Balkan areas with the region of Podunavlje (the Danube basin). The road led from Naissus to the East, along the right bank of the Nišava (across the areas of Jagodin mala and Vrežina) and, at the modern village of Malča, it turned towards the North, following the route of the modern road and railroad to Svrlijig. Further to the northeast, the road led through the valley of Svrlijski Timok and was passing through Plužina where a milestone of Trebonian Gallus was discovered (251-253 AD) (Vulić, 1948, n.417; IMS IV, 131-132.n.127; Petrović, 1976, p. 45; Petrović, 1992, pp. 130-131.). The road left the river valley near a place called Palilula because the river was entering impassable canyons and the road ran south of Knjaževac over the mountain pass Tresibaba, where it connected to the sections that led from the West (*Praesidium Pompei*) and the South (*Turres, Remesiana*) (Petrović, 1999, p. 118).

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Since the second half of the second century AD, Naissus was garrisoned by the cohort I Aurelia Dardanorum. Epigraphic evidence testifies to the presence of legionary veterans in the city. They were discharged from the legion VII *Claudia* which was stationed in Viminacium, on the Danube. Some of them might have returned to their hometown, while others probably chose Naissus because it offered ample business opportunities (IMS IV 34; IMS IV 26, 36, 37).

Active legionaries appear in Naissus at a relatively late date, in the first decades of the III century. Their names and rank of *stratores consularis* are recorded on the altars dedicated to Jupiter (Ferančić, 2010, p. 466). *M. Ulpius Martinus* and *M. Gaius Aurelius* served in the VII *Claudia* legion, and *T. Aurelius Atta* and *M. Aurelius Valens* in the IV *Flavia* legion. Judging by his cognomen, Aurelius Atta, was of Dardanian origin. (IMS IV, p. 71, n.8 (220.)=CIL, III, 12672; IMS IV, p. 72-73, n.9, 11 (221-222.); IMS IV, p.74, n. 14 (225.); IMS IV, p. 70, n.7= CIL, III, 8249; IMS IV, p. 68, n. 3 (222-235) = CIL, III, 8244).

Specific data on the construction of military facilities during the III and IV century is missing and *Notitia Dignitatum*, the main source for the army during the Late Empire, offers no clues to the military importance of Naissus. So the question is why the military importance of the city was not confirmed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Ammianus Marcellinus implied that the city was important, stating that Naissus was besieged several times, but it was well protected by its walls and the lion courage of the garrison and had never succumbed nor had ever been conquered (Amm. Marc. XXI, 22, 1). The existence of the imperial workshop for making weapons in the city cannot be imagined without a well-organized and strong defence (Not. Dign. Or. XI, 37). The city was at the intersection of important roads that linked the western and eastern parts of the Empire so it had to be a strong military checkpoint, garrisoned by strong and numerous forces, as it had been in the previous period, when its importance was not as great as in late classical epoch.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

The economic structure of the Roman Empire was largely based on the exploitation and processing of ore which were supervised by the Emperor himself. The need for processing ores led to the establishment of workshops and craft centres where many artistic products were created (Jones, 1964, pp. 855-865). Romans intensified ore production especially in those provinces that were rich in mineral wealth which could have filled the state's treasury. Among the Balkan provinces, *Moesia Superior* was noted for its ample ore supplies and it was regarded as the province of mining, like Africa was a land of wheat (Antique Silver, 1994, cat.13). The Dardanian mines were located in the valleys of the Ibar, the Toplica, the Binačka Morava, the Moravica, the South Morava and on the Timok spring. The most important mining areas that gravitated towards Naissus were the territories of Ravna near Knjaževac (*Timacum Minus*) and Bela Palanka (Remesiana).

Timacum Minus is an auxiliary fortress and a station on the road between Naissus and Ratiaria. Epigraphic monuments indicate that cavalry cohort *II Aurelia Dardanorum* was stationed in the *castellum* (IMS III/2, p. 66, n. 8; p. 67, n. 9; p. 73, n. 18; p. 74-75 n. 19, n. 20; p. 76 n. 22; p. 91-92 n. 42, 43, 44; p. 93-94 n. 45; p. 95 n. 46, n. 47; p. 96, n. 48; p. 98, n. 50-51). Such units were particularly suitable for mine protection and ore transport. Given that the barbarians could compromise the safety of the mines, there was a need for their better protection. This role would be entrusted to cohorts *equitate* that were being established in the mining districts and along the mine roads from the end of the I and the early II century AD (Dušanić, 2000, pp. 343-363.).

The second mining centre, Remesiana was established on the road *Naissus-Serdica* (Pejić, 1992, pp. 79-83; Gušić, 1987, pp. 21-35; Milošević, 2004, pp. 121-133). In that Remesianian district apart from silver and lead, the exploitation of iron and gold was confirmed, in particular. The ager of Remesiana was part of the imperial domain extending to western Thrace, beyond the eastern border of Upper Moesia. The remains of the ancient mines have been discovered on the slopes of mount Jasenovik, which lay south of the Svrlijig Mountains in the basin of the Nišava, like Remesiana. It was a central settlement of a large imperial estate with numerous mines (Dušanić, 1980, p. 31).

Various objects of art, pottery, and jewellery were made of precious metals, money was minted, as well. Crafts centres, which were established in the provinces by the Romans were crafting objects suitable to the taste of the conqueror. However, in those workshops, local craftsmen produced objects on foreign models that suited the needs of local residents. The document *Notitia dignitatum* confirms that a workshop for manufacturing military equipment (*fabrica armorum*) was located in Naissus. The workshops were built near the mines from which they received metals, primarily iron, necessary for making weapons. Factories were organized as parts of military units and were managed by supervisors (Antique Silver, 1994, p. 61.; Petrović, 1999, p. 145). The existence of one such *fabrica armorum* in Naissus was also significant for the rulers who were passing through the city. Julian the Apostate, preparing for the battle with Constantius, was staying in Naissus from October to the end of November 361 AD. The Emperor's choice of a town was not accidental. Most important were the military reasons, since he could replenish his troops in Naissus, recruiting Illyrians and other soldiers passing through the city. Control over a workshop producing military equipment had to be of great importance for Julian during the civil war (Kaegi, 1975, pp. 161-170).

For the production of articles of precious metals, workshops of Naissus, as we have already mentioned, could have been supplied with raw materials from nearby mines. Silver ore, copper and iron were found on the Stara Planina (Old Mountain) and in the Timok valley, where the ore was intensively exploited (Jovanović, 1986, pp. 195-199). Among silver pottery, various decorative items and jewellery were being crafted in the workshop of Naissus. *Fibulae* (brooches), of various types, forms and materials were crafted particularly often. Military belts were decorated with them, especially in Pannonia, where they were an integral part of the uniform. *Fibulae* were usually made of bronze, but there were luxurious pieces of gold and silver (Popović, 1996, pp. 48-50.). Luxury and opulence is attested by the gold - plated bronze *fibulae*. The process of breeding bronze with gold was often used in the course of the IV century, especially in the case of massive cruciform bow brooches. These brooches, made of precious metals were probably imperial *donativa* and were given as gifts to prominent military officers or civil servant (Popović, 2013, p. 172).

In the workshops of Naissus, mosaics which decorated some of the buildings both in the city and on Mediana were made. It is

assumed that the mosaics on Mediana were the work of a group of masters from the Eastern Mediterranean area. Giordana Trovabene pointed out the similarity between these mosaics and the floor mosaics in Northern Africa, particularly those discovered in Tunisia (Trovabene, 2006, pp. 127-144). The similarity has confirmed the exchange of models, but also possibly the arrival of African artists in the Balkans in the period immediately after Diocletian's Tetrarchy, when this territory became an important meeting place for Roman emperors. It is assumed that during the IV century there were special masters who created mosaics in imperial courts, as well as in private residences that were under the control or authority of the Emperor, such as Mediana (Jeremić, 2006, p. 157). In the Christian church from the last decade of the IV century there is a modest mosaic field that could be made by one of the local craftsmen trained in the workshops of artists from the larger mosaic centres.

Given the central position of Naissus in Dacia Mediterranea and the fact that the rich mines were located in the hinterland of the city, soldiers, craftsmen and merchants began to settle in the town. During the III and IV century city became an important meeting place for Roman emperors who passed through it, but also sojourned in it. Emperors, traveling from East to West and vice versa, often passed through Naissus, an important junction of several roads. Short or long sojourns of the emperors essentially influenced the development of Naissus and nearby Mediana, as presumed imperial residences. Imperial portraits or already mentioned silver plates with imperial honorary inscriptions are also associated with Emperor's stays in Naissus. Sojourns of Constantine and his co-ruler Licinius were confirmed by signatures on several imperial edicts, collected in the Theodosian Code. Emperors like their predecessor Diocletian, Constantine's sons, Julian the Apostate, Valens, and Valentinian were also passing through Naissus or residing in the city for certain periods of time (Barnes, 1982, pp. 80-82).

During their visits to Naissus, Roman emperors resided in specially built palaces, residences of some high officials, or in one of the villas, which were able to receive distinguished guests. Namely, during his journeys, the Emperor was not traveling alone. He was accompanied by the staff that took care of the needs of the imperial family, as well as the officials issuing imperial rescripts and other acts. Given the existence of the imperial workshop supervised by a

senior official (*magister officiorum*), important personalities with public functions could have stayed for shorter or longer periods in Naissus. They may have resided in the building with an octagonal space - vestibule, on the north terrace of the town wall, today outside the Ottoman walls (Petrović, 1993, pp. 57-81; Petrović, 1994, pp. 20-21; Milošević, 2005, pp. 153-154). This building with mosaic floors whose walls were painted in frescoes, while the side rooms had the official and private character could be intended for a stay of prominent personalities. On the basis of archaeological finds, methods of construction and decoration (mosaics and frescoes), the building could have been built during the period of the Tetrarchy and was used during IV century (Petrović, 1993, p. 68-69).

While the aforementioned building could have served as a place where the Emperor received officials, the objects which he used for private purposes could have been the villa at Mediana. Archaeological research so far has shown that we can identify the villa at Mediana as residential imperial villa. Emperor's palaces were spacious buildings with large-scale monumental façades located near the city walls, and they might have included a hippodrome where the emperor would present himself to the masses (Milošević, 2008, pp. 174-175.).

THE GOTHS

The Gothic invasion in the second half of the IV century caused a significant damage to Naissus and temporarily stopped the development of the city. The Romans learned about this Germanic tribe in the I century AD, when the Goths inhabited the territory of present-day north-eastern Europe (Zečević, 1997, pp. 11-12). From there, they moved to the southeast, only to be found in the region of Pontus at the beginning of the III century. From this area, the groups of Goths were frequently invading and pillaging the Roman provinces (CAH XIII, 2008, pp. 488-518). They were temporarily stopped by the emperor Claudius II, who defeated them at Naissus. A few decades later, Gothic incursions were renewed, and Scythia, Dacia Ripensis, and Thrace were the most vulnerable areas.

The Goths who had been settled on Roman territory by Valens started to pillage the province of *Dacia Mediterranea* in 377 AD. They plundered the wide region between Naissus and Serdica and presumably stayed in Naissus for a while. The main reason for their

pillaging was the raging hunger (Amm. Marc. XXXI 5, 5-7). After the Gothic sojourn in the area of Naissus, the third architectural phase started at Mediana (Vasić & Milošević, 2014, p. 259). Large rectangular buildings were erected in the north-western and north-eastern parts, which indicates that the settlement was far from insignificant after 380 AD.

It is certain that after the Gothic invasion and destruction, Mediana developed as a rural settlement (Milošević, 2011, p. 174). In addition to the existing buildings being reconstructed and divided, two churches were built. In 2000, the first church of smaller dimensions (8x6 without narthex) was discovered west of the villa with a peristyle. A small mosaic field decorated with a Christogram was discovered in the naos of the church (Jeremić, 2006, pp. 145-158; Vasić, 2004, pp. 290-291). This church is the first ecclesiastical building from the end of the IV century in our area. Archaeological excavations in 2001 have revealed that the church was a parochial church and that the graves surrounding it belonged to the last phase of Mediana, younger than the church itself (Vasić, 2004, p. 291). In 2007, the foundations of another church marked with number 2 were discovered, parallel to the church with the monogram of Christ, about 8 m to the north from it. The building was oriented east-west and is considered as one-nave church. It has yielded numerous finds, such as a significant amount of the ceramic pottery, fragments of fresco paintings brought from the surrounding buildings.

Two early Christian churches at Mediana indicate that life at the site continued after the battle at Hadrianople in 378 AD and the penetration of Goths in this region. The arrival and settlement of barbarians led to disorganization and ruralisation of the area, but life continued nevertheless. It is presumed that Mediana was given to the Goths as a pledge for their alliance. The fact that two churches were built in the same period opens the question on church organization of the city at the end of the IV and the beginning of the V century.

The life on Mediana faded after the invasion of the Huns in 441 AD, when the city of Naissus was destroyed. After the siege of Naissus, the Huns headed towards Serdica and destroyed it as well. The attacks of the Huns, in 441 AD and then again in 447 AD, marked the beginning of the extensive pillaging of the provinces in the territory of the former Upper Moesia (Jones, 1964, pp. 193-194; Bury, 1923, pp. 271-276).

SOURCES	Amm. Marc.	<i>Ammiani Marcellini rerug gestarum libri qui supersunt</i> , ed. C. U. Clark, Berolini 1910.
	Cod. Theod.	<i>Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges classiq ad Theodosianum pertinentes I-II</i> , ed. T. Mommsen-M-Meyer, Berolini 1905.
	Dio. Cass.	<i>Dio Cassius Roman History</i> , trans. E. Cary, Loeb Classical Library 1954.
	Not. Dign.	<i>Notitia dignitatum</i> , ed. O. Seeck, Berolini 1876.
	Plin.	<i>Die Geographischen Bücher der Naturalis Historia des C. Plinius Secundus</i> , ed. D. Detlefsen, Berlin 1904.
	Procop.	<i>De aed.Procopii, De aedificis</i> , ed. J. Haury, Leipzig 1963.
	Prisk, fr.	<i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. By Carl Müller, Cambridge Library Collection 2011.
	Ptol.	<i>Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia</i> , ed. C. Müllerus, vol. I, Parisiis 1883-1901.
	Steph. Byz.	<i>Stephanus De urbibus</i> , ed. Gu. Xylander, Basiliae 1568.

REFERENCES	Античко сребро у Србији/ <i>Antique Silver from Serbia</i> . (1994). Beograd.
	Васић, М., Милошевић Г., Гавриловић, Н. (2014). Ископавања Медијане у 2010. и 2011. години. <i>Сџаринар</i> , LXIV, 231-263.
	Гушић, С. (1987). Урбанизам Ремезијане од I до VI века. <i>Саопштења</i> , XIX, 21-35.
	Душанић, С. (1980). Организација римског рударства у Норику, Панонији, Далмацији и Горњој Мезији. <i>Историјски гласник</i> , 1-2, 7-57.
	Јанковић-Михалцић, Д. (1983). Лapidаријум у Нишу. <i>Гласник српској археолошкој друштва</i> , 3. 91.
	Јеремић, Г. (2006). Мозаици Медијане – нека разматрања. <i>Ниш и Византија IV</i> , 145-158.
	Јовановић, С. (1986). О античком рударењу на Старој планини. <i>ГСАД</i> , 3, 135-199.
	Јовановић, Д. (1956). Неки топографски подаци о старом Нишу. <i>Сџаринар</i> , V-VI, 365-372.
	Каниц, Ф. (1985). Земља и становништво од римског доба до краја XIX века, књ. II:Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga.
	Лома, А. (2003). Откуде Ниш?. In: М. Ракоција, (Ed.). <i>Ниш и Византија I</i> , (15-21).Niš: Skupština grada, Prosveta.
	Љубомировић, И. (2013). <i>Никола Вулић – историчар антике</i> . Ниш: Филозофски факултет.

- Милошевић, Г. (2005). Италијански план Ниша из 1719. године као повод за реконструкцију изгледа средњовековног и античког града. У: *Ниш и Византија* III, (149–162). Ниш: Град Ниш, Просвета.
- Милошевић, Г. (2004). Ремезијана – слика једног античког града. *Пешчаник*, 2, 121–133.
- Мано-Зиси, Ђ. (1958–1959). Бела Паланка (Remesiana). *Сџаринар*, IX–X, 381–382.
- Мирковић, М. (1974). Нека питања владе Константина и Лицинија. *ЗФФ*, XII (1), 139–150.
- Ненадовић, А. (1961). Ранији римски налази у Нишу и његовој околини. *Лимес у Југославији* I, 165–179.
- Пејић, П. (1992). Прилог топографији Ремесиане. *Нишки зборник*, 11, 79–83.
- Петровић, П. (1967). Нови миљоказ Филипа I Арабљанина – прилог топографији античког Ниша. *Сџаринар*, XVIII, 55–60.
- Петровић, П. (1976). Станица Timasum на путу Naissus-Ratiaria и античко насеље код села Равна. *Сџаринар*, XXVI, 43–56.
- Петровић, П. (1992). Антички Сврљиг. У: С. Петровић (ур.), *Културна историја Сврљија* II (121–132). Ниш: Просвета.
- Петровић, П. (1993). Naissus – задужбина цара Константина. У: Д. Срејовић (ур.), *Римски царски прагови и њалаше у Србији (57–81)*. Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности.
- Петровић, П. (1995). *Ниш у античко доба*. Ниш: Просвета.
- Поповић, И. (1992). *Римски накит у Народном музеју у Београду. I њрсиње*. Београд: Народни музеј.
- Поповић, И. (2013). Sirmium и Naissus као центри израде, тезурисања и дистрибуције предмета од племенитих метала. У: *Константијин Велики и Милански едикт 313. Рађање хришћанства у римским провинцијама на њлу Србије (162–174)*. Београд: Народни музеј.
- Самарџић, Г. (2015). Биљешке о путној станици и насељу Vindenisна комуникацији Naisus-Lisus (један примјер из прве половине IV вијека). *Зборник радова Филозофског факултета*, XLV (1), 69–78.
- Ферјанчић, С. (2013). *Константијин*. Београд: Службени гласник.
- Чершков, Е. (1961). Римски пут Naissus-Scupi и станица Viciano. *ГМКМ*, VI, 123–130.
- Varenes, T. D. (1982). *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge Mass. And London.
- Damerau, P. (1934). *Claudius II Gothicus*. Beiheft XXXIII.
- Jones. A. H. M. (1964). *The later Roman Empire 284–602* vol. I. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Jovanović, A. (2006). *Serbia homeland of the Roman emperors*. Belgrade: Princip Bonart Pres.
- Kaegi, E. W. (1975). The Emperor Julian at Naissus. *L' Antiquité Classique*, XIV, 161–175.
- Milošević, G. (2008). A residential complex at Mediana: the architectural perspective, Gerda von Bülow/Heinrich Zabehlicky (h.) Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad. *Spätantike Paläste und Grossvillen im Donau-Balkan-Raum. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Bruckneudorf vom 15. Bis 18. Oktober 2008*. Bonn. 167–176.
- Petrović, P. (1976). *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure IV: Naissus-Remesiana. Horreum Margi*. Beograd.
- Petrović, P. (1995). *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure III/2: Timacum Minus et la vallée du Timok*, Beograd.
- The Cambridge ancient history* vol. XII. (2008). The Crisis of Empire a.d. 193–337. Ed. By Alan K. Bowman, Petar Garnsey and Averie Cameron, Cambridge University Press.
- Trovabene, G. (2006). Mosaici pavimentali della villa di Medijana (Niš): analisi e conronti. *Ниш и Византија IV*, 124–144.
- Vasić, M. (2004). Bronze Railing from Mediana. *Сѵаринар*, LIII–LIV, 79–109.
- Zečević, N. (1997) *Vizantija i Goti u balkanskim provincijama (324–491)*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Belgrade: Faculty of Philosophy.

ИРЕНА В. ЉУБОМИРОВИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НИШУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
ДЕПАРТМАН ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

НАИСУС – ПРЕГЛЕД ПОЛИТИЧКИХ И ЕКОНОМСКИХ ПРИЛИКА
У ГРАДУ ОД I ДО V ВЕКА Н. Е.

Наисус је био један од муниципалних градова у римској провинцији Средоземној Дакији. Преко територије града пролазиле су важне копнене саобраћајнице које су повезивале западни део Царства са Истоком због чега је и сам град морао бити јак војнички пункт. Војни и стратешки значај Наисус је задржао и за време владавине Константинових наследника. Чињеница да се у граду налазила и радионица за производњу оружја битно је утицала на Јулијана Апостату да током сукоба са Констанцијем изабере Наисус за своје војно упориште. Поред радионице за производњу оружја, велики број предмета пронађених на територији

града потврдио је и постојање царских радионица. Рад радионица био је могућ и захваљујући богатим рудницима у ремезијанском агеру и залеђу *Timacum Minus*. Економски просперитет и материјално благостање града у IV веку привукли су све више занатлија који су унапредили производњу у градским радионицама. Град није био опасан високим бедемима што указује да су економија, привреда и пољопривреда биле изнад одбрамбеног значаја.

За период боравка Гота на Медијани недостају историјски извори тако да је само на основу поменутих археолошких налаза немогуће створити потпуну слику о животу Гота на Медијани. Сигурно је само да је до упада Гота Медијана имала пагански изглед, док су изградњом ранохришћанских цркава Готи бар за извесно време унели хришћански дух. Крајем IV и почетком V века, након готских упада наступа период економског опадања који је имао одјека и у самом Наисусу. Продором Хуна 441. године уништена су утврђења на лимесу, а затим и градови у унутрашњости, међу њима и Наисус. Град ће након тога бити обновљен, да би потом поново страдао у новом налету Острогота. Након што су се Остроготи повукли у Италију 488. године балканске провинције, али и град Ниш, неко време биће поштеђени упада варвара.

Кључне речи: Наисус; Средоземна Дакија; путеви; радионице; Готи.



Овај чланак је објављен и дистрибуира се под лиценцом Creative Commons Ауторство-Некомерцијално Међународна 4.0 (CC BY-NC 4.0 | <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).

This paper is published and distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial International 4.0 licence (CC BY-NC 4.0 | <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).