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Canabae Legionis I Italicae: state of Research on Civil Settlements Accompanying the Legionary Camp in Novae (Lower Moesia)...

Światowit: rocznik poświęcony archeologii przeddziejowej i badaniom pierwotnej kultury polskiej i słowiańskiej 9 (50)/A, 155-168

2011

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.
Civil settlements — *vici* and *canabae* — were found in the nearest surroundings of nearly all the auxiliary forts and legionary camps. Their role was subsidiary with regard to the army and they were inhabited by civilians, often with family or commercial ties to the soldiers (ROTTH 1999: 99; VON PETRIKOVITS 1991: 169). The army camp was not a place cut off from the world; it was frequented by civilians from the surrounding settlements and by travelers on business and out of need (TOMAS 2011b: 148). With time the army camps and the surrounding settlements were transformed into single spatial and social units (MROZEWICZ 2000 with further literature). The present article reviews the state of research on *canabae* in general and the current relevant fieldwork being carried out in the Lower Danubian provinces of Dacia and Moesia, before going on to discuss the said settlements in *Novae* (modern Stäklent near Svistov in Bulgaria) and the new research that is planned on it.

1. Administrative status of civil settlements

Land around a camp was in the hands of the army and was treated formally as public land (*ager publicus*) owned by the imperial treasury (*fiscus*) (VITTINGHOF 1974: 110; MEHL 1986). The limits of this land were determined by a radius of one *leuga*, an ancient measure corresponding to 2.22 km (PISO 1991), and it is within these limits that the *canabae* were contained. The civil settlement was most probably subordinated to the legate of the legion, but it was self-governing. The self-government included Roman citizens, who were referred to in inscriptions as *veterani et cives Romanorum conscripti ad canabas*, represented by officials — *magistri*, less frequently *decuriones* (VITTINGHOF 1971: 301). *Canabae* residents were restricted in their right to resettle and could not own land of their own, although they could rent it from the army (PISO 1991: 138). The army also supervised the land and installations essential to its self-government, including Roman *municipia* and their own administration including *ordo decurionum* and *magistri*. The existence of two settlements in the neighborhood of legionary camps is referred to as settlement dualism (MÓCSY 1954: 183; 1974: 139–140). It remains an object of debate whether and when Lower Danubian *canabae* received town rights (GEROV 1977; DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1978).

Settlement dualism characteristic of the 2nd c. AD has not been observed in the case of army camps established in the end of the 3rd c. AD (cf. MASON 1988: 178). *Canabae* municipal administration is also known exclusively from 2nd c. AD inscriptions, the 3rd c. not being in evidence despite the peaking prosperity of *canabae* in this period and despite the fact that some of them were even granted municipal rights, e.g. Brigetio and Apulum (BARKÓCZI 1964). Certain settlements, both *canabae* and *vici/municipia*, became single organisms in terms of the population (MÓCSY 1954: 195). This could have been effected by the growing situational risks in the 3rd c. AD and the simultaneous development of army settlements connected with a policy of granting soldiers permission to live together with their informal families (TOMAS 2011b: 139–140). The end effect was migration of the population ever nearer to the camp walls. Yet the existence of a *vici* by the camp in *Durostorum* was attested even in the beginning of the 3rd c. AD (DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1978: 246).

2. Topography and state of exploration of Lower Danubian settlements

Research on *vici*, that is, auxiliary fort settlements, is much better developed than that on *canabae*, which are legionary camp settlements (HANEL 2007: 413). Well-investigated civil settlements next to legionary garrison sites are few and the list is dominated by sites from the western part of the Roman Empire: Deva/Chester, Isca/Caerleon, Nonsomagus/Nijmegen, Bonna/Bonn. Carnuntum/Bad Deutsch-Altenburg; to this one can add the central European *Aquincum*/Budapest (HANEL 2007: 410–411; VON PETRIKOVITS 1991). Regular excavations have revealed the layout and sometimes also the architecture of these settlements. Buildings and public features typical of Roman towns can be found there: squares (*fora*), amphitheatres, temples, baths, and also inns (*mansiones*) taking on the form of large villas. Infrastructure in the form of water conduits, street and road networks, burial grounds and workshop centres, was an important element of the development of camp environs.
The Lower Danubian camp settlements (Fig. 1) are much less investigated than their counterparts in the western provinces of the Empire. Current, mainly ground survey and salvage work has resulted in determining the localization of such settlements and in some cases also their extent. In the last few years investigations have been undertaken again on a few of these sites, mostly in an effort to protect remains that are being devastated and plundered. The worst case of such intensive destruction has occurred in Ratiaria/Arcax, one of the hypothetical seats of the Flavia legion (Giorgetti 1983: 21). In other cases, the situation is made more difficult by the presence of late antique and medieval towns, which developed on the site of Roman legionary camps and which constitute today the old-town fabric of modern cities (Singidunum/Belgrad, Apulum/Alba Iulia, Durostorum/Silistra).

Apulum merits special attention among recently explored Lower Danubian settlements associated with the Roman army (Fig. 2). The specific topography of this settlement complex is sometimes interpreted as the effect of legionary camps in two locations: the first on the site of the later colony (castra legionis I Adiutricis) and the second, permanent camp of the XIII Gemina legion at modern Alba Iulia (Opreanu 1998). Undeniably, canabae existed next to the latter camp and recent excavations have uncovered successive fragments of architecture to the south and southeast of it (Timofan 2010). Non-invasive prospection has permitted some of the streets and architectural remains to be reconstructed (Oltan 2007: 170, fig. 5:36B), contributing to the known set of data limited so far to the praetorium and baths, which had been explored in the 19th c. by A. Cerni. An analysis of aerial photographs has also located the necropolises, one on the northwest (Oltan 2007: 190–191) and the other on the south (Ota 2009 with further literature).
The canabae of the XI Claudia legion in Durostorum were situated to the north of the camp, covering an estimated area of 60 ha (DONEVSKI 2009: 108, figs. 1, 2). Salvage excavations in the town have recorded several dozen features, including three villae and a freestanding public bath. Many tombs from the early Imperial and late Antique periods have also been explored (DONEVSKI 2009). The vicus settlement located in Ostrov, 4 km east of Silistra on the Rumanian side of the border, has also been excavated (DAMIAN, BALTAC 2007), producing among others a reused inscription containing the word municipium (PARVAN 1924). This has given rise to speculations concerning the granting of town rights to this settlement (BOYANOVA 2010: 54–55). Its modest architecture and area covering 24 ha recalls an analogous settlement at Nova (cf. TOMAS 2006).

The localization of the first earth-and-timber fortifications on the site of the later canabae at Singidunum also merits attention (CRNOBRNJA 2005: 118, fig. I). The sole architectural remains known from this settlement are the baths discovered at Studencki Trg, which is identified with the forum of canabae, and some buildings and other features cleared on the slope of Kalemegdan hill (NIKOLIĆ, 1924).
It is believed that the old-town street network in the northern part of the slope corresponds to the street plan of the canabae (Pop-Lazic 2002: 8). Knowledge of the necropoleis is fairly extensive (Pop-Lazic 2002; 2005). At Viminacium, which was the garrison of the VII Claudia legion, the fortified civil settlement was located west of the fortress gates and occupied 72 ha (Sasvic-Djuric 2002: 34–35). Colonnaded streets 5 m wide were discovered there, as well as aqueduct and sewage systems and a bath complex (Mocsy 1974: 168). The localization of the amphitheatre is also known. The most extensive studies have been carried out on the cemeteries (Zotov, Jorovic 1990). Remote sensing surveys in recent years, carried out approximately 300 m to the northeast of the fort, have located habitation architecture (Miskic, Stojanovic, Mrdij 2006).

Almost nothing is known about the topography of canabae of army camps in Oescus/Gigen and Troesmis/Iliiga (both V Macedonica legion). An analysis of the topography of Oescus, the remains of which were located in the center of the later colony Ulpiia, suggests the possible localization of canabae to the east of the legionary camp (Kabanikhera 2000: esp. 98–99; Boyanov 2008: 70–72). The topography of Troesmis is quite misleading, as it appears to be made up of two separate fortified settlements, eastern (E) and western (W), and an extra muros settlement to the east of the latter (Fig. 2). The identification and chronology of the two forts at Troesmis were studied by G. Tocilesu who worked there in the 19th c. In keeping with these determinations, the E fort is believed to be the place where the legion was stationed, while the W one was an oppidum of the Getae (Vulpe 1953: 570; Dorutiu-Boila 1972: 137 and note 8). Coin and pottery finds have dated the disuse of fort W to the 6th c., although the adjacent extra muros settlement appears to have existed to the 11th c., in the very least, similarly as fort E (Dorutiu-Boila 1972: 139; Manucu-Adamianenu 2010: 439–441). The location of epigraphically confirmed canabae (Vulpe 1953; Aparaschivei 2007: 192–195) remains conjectural, even though the topography of fort E and surrounding plateau suggests the location of the actual camp; the canabae then would have been situated to the northeast of the fortress. Once the legion left for Potissa/Turda in AD 167/168, the settlement disappeared from the epigraphical record (Vulpe, Barnea 1968: 167; Aparaschivei 2007: 189–190).

Even less can be said of the fort and civil settlement at Potissa/Turda, where the Fifth Macedonian legion was stationed as well (Gudea 1997: 109–111, no. 103). The localization of a camp of the IIII Flavia at Ratiariori or its environs is purely hypothetical (Ivahov, Ivahov 1998: 199), similarly as that of the legio VII Claudia at Naissus/ Nis (Mocsy 1974: 51; cf. Syme 1999: 207 and note 53).

The localization of some short-lived camps, mainly from the time of the conquest of Dacia, is also known, e.g. Nicopolis ad Istrum/Nikjup (Baakoka 2000–2001: 102) in Moesia, Ulpiia Sarmizegetusa, Beraovia, Zavoi/Ascania (Gudea 1997: 29–30, 34–37, nos. 12, 18, 18a), Bistrec (Bondoc 2006: 44) and Schela Cladovei in Dacia (Tudor 1978: 300–301). There is no data on any accompanying civil settlements in these cases. Building materials and pottery have been signalled in the vicinity of the latter, which was garrisoned probably by two legions (Tudor 1978: 300–301; Bondoc 2006: 43–44).

3. The camp in Novae and a topography of the environs

The first camp of the VIII Augusta legion was established shortly after putting down the rebellion of the Thracians in AD 46, even though the first earth-and-timber architectural remains have been dated to slightly later (Sarnowski 1981: 43–44; Hadhira 2002: 10–11). The First Italic legion arrived in Novae in the beginning of the 70s and its presence in this location is attested epigraphically through the 430s at the very least (Sarnowski 2005; Sarnowski, Kovalyvkaja, Tomas 2012).

The camp in Novae was laid out on an extensive plateau on top of a high river escarpment between two gorges: on one side the deep valley of the Deriven river and on the other a slightly shallower and shorter hollow (Fig. 3). The fort itself covered 17.99 ha on the plateau, which falls away toward the Danube, from about 70 m a.s.l. at the northern end to just 40 m a.s.l. in the southern one. The topography of the area to the east of the fort is quite complicated. The northern part was transformed with the building of a monument commemorating Bulgarian independence in 1877, while the southern part rises quite suddenly, compromising its defensive potential. This inconvenience, which was avoided usually when planning army camps (P.-Hyg., LVII–LXIII, after: Richardson 2004: 76–77), was removed only in the end of the 3rd c., when a separate circuit of walls was erected around this hill and the neighboring area to the east of the fort. Hills are located on either side of the Derumen river, to the south and south-east of the camp, the highest altitude being 175 m a.s.l. The only available, more or less flat ground is located to the west of the camp, but even here there is a relatively high hill.

4. Localization of canabae in Novae

The impact of permanent army presence on the provincial settlement network is best observed in the immediate neighborhood of where the units were stationed. Civil settlements accompanying camps were temporary in nature and moved with the unit. The residents of the first canabae of the VIII Augusta legion left with the army in the second half of the 60s. A more permanent settlement developed in connection with the longer presence of the First Italian legion; residents were composed of mainly peregrines and veterans (Mrzcléwicz 1980: 351). A list of analogous sites from the European frontiers of the Empire
put together by I. Piso (1991) demonstrates that the area under army supervision was limited to a radius of the said leuga, that is, 2.22 km. A second civil settlement, the vicus, was established usually just beyond the sphere controlled by the legionary commanders (VITTINGHOFF 1974). This second settlement was under the supervision of the provincial administration. In Novae, the second settlement was located 2.5 km to the east of the camp (Figs. 3, 4), at the Ostrite Mogili site (TOMAS 2006).

The localization of the canabae and vicus of Novae was initially the subject of debate with localizations proposed either to the west or to the east of the fortress: among others, T. Sarnowski (1976: 62; 1990: 239), L. Mroziewicz (1981), S. Parnicki-Pudełko (1981) and B. Gerov (1977). Repeated ground surveys and longtime topographical observations have sustained the theory regarding the localization of the principal part of the civil settlement to the west of the army camp (Fig. 4).

Another issue debated by researchers working in Novae for the past few dozen years is the function of the so-called eastern extension. This is the said territory lying east of the camp and surrounded by a separate, additional circuit of defenses, built most probably in the end of the 3rd c. BC (PRESS, SARNOWSKI 1990: 240), similarly as at Oescus (ИВАНОВ, ИВАНОВ 1998: 203). Even so, excavations of the fortifications east of the fort revealed pre-Roman burials and finds dated to the 1st-2nd c. AD (ČÍCKOVÁ 1980: 62).

5. Administrative status of civil settlements in Novae

Extra leugam settlements advanced to municipal status usually reached a few dozen hectares in size. The settlement located at Ostrite Mogili, 2.5 km to the east of the camp of the First Italian legion, was approximately 15 ha, part of this being most likely a cemetery (see TOMAS 2006: fig. 9). Archaeological surveying and testing on the site have confirmed the presence of a multi-phase occupational unit starting in all likelihood in the Flavian period as indicated by identifiable sherds of imported pottery. Neither the size of the site nor the nature of the finds is impressive and an archaeological analysis suggests a reduction of ground area after the middle of the 3rd c. In the opinion of the present author, it is highly probable that the canabae received municipal status not earlier than at the beginning of the 3rd c. AD (cf. GEROV 1977: 300; TAVCHEVA 2004: 80; TOMAS 2009: 42; PISO 1991: 148). Growing disquiet and external menace in the later half of this century, which resulted in the decline of municipal institutions, must have caused the vicus residents to migrate nearer to the walls of Novae (similarly SARNOWSKI 1976: 62), which meant that these settlements were abandoned before the 4th c. At the same time, new regulations introduced by Septimius Severus, allowing soldiers to live with their families (TOMAS 2011b with literature), were instrumental in spatially integrating the camp and surrounding settlements into one civitas.
The shortness of the interval, during which canabae had the status of a municipium with separate social and functional structures, may be the reason why virtually no inscriptions have been preserved mentioning either the town's legal status or magistrate officials. The sole evidence attesting the municipal status of Novae is an inscription erected by a priest of the imperial cult (augustalis), in which a single letter refers to this status (KOLENDO 1970). The case of Durostorum may have been similar, in my opinion, with the canabae enjoying municipal status for a rather short period of time, while the other settlement, that is, the vicus at the site of Ostrov (most probably Gavidina), never received this status and was eventually abandoned in the 4th c. (BOYANOV 2010). The question when Durostorum (and indirectly also Novae) was granted municipal rights is linked to the question of the dating of inscriptions giving the title of imperator to either Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla (AE 1925, 110). Opting rather for the latter of the two emperors in this case, I would move to not earlier than AD 198 the date when the settlements were elevated in their status (cf. PARVAN 1924: 319; GEROV 1980; ДОНЕВСКИ 2006a; 2006b).

The nearest vicinity of the legionary camp at Novae has been investigated so far mainly by extensive field surveying. More extensive investigations were carried out in the canabae and neighboring sites by a Bulgarian-German expedition headed by S. Conrad and K. Stančev (2002). The canabae and vicus at Ostrite Mogili were explored by
(SARNOWSKI 1979; TOMAS 2006), and the vicus excavated by
P. Doncevski (ZAHARIČKI 1991). Current estimates of the size
of the canabae during the Principate have placed the figure
at 70–80 ha (CONRAD, STANCEV 2002: 674), but the
approximate nature of these estimates should be kept in mind.

The sole features in the territory of the canabae,
which have been investigated more fully, are the villa and
late antique basilica with burial ground located about 150
m to the west of the camp (ČÍČIKOVA 1997; BAJÁKOVÁ
2006). Salvage excavations have been conducted in the
temple of Oriental divinities to the southwest of the camp
(NAJDENOVA 1999) and the sanctuary of Dionysus/Liber
Pater to the south, beyond the lenta border (ĐJKOLOVA
1961). Smaller settlement units were located, among others,
to the south of Novae (CONRAD, STANCEV 2002: 676–677)
and in the nearby town of Svistov, a little over 3 km to the
west of the fort (ČTĚHAHOB 1958: 341 ff.). A planigraphic
analysis also included an alleged villa situated in Kalna
češma, 2.5 km to the southeast of the camp (SARNOWSKI
1979). The water-supply system has been investigated
extensively (BIERNACKA-LUBANSKA 1979; TOMAS 2011a)
and the location of the cemeteries is fairly certain (KORKÓWNÁ
1961; BAJAB 1965). Only the fortifications of the so-called
eastern extension have been investigated, even though
pre-Roman and early Roman remains were recorded while
excavating the second line of the defenses around the said
extension (ČÍČIKOVA 1980: 62; ĐIMITROV ET AL. 1967:
139–140). The results have not contributed substantially
to knowledge of the potential architecture in this area.
Excavations were preceded by a search for sources and
a catalogue of part of the finds from this area, held in the
local museum and elsewhere (NOWICKA 1961), but a compre­
hensive study of all the artifacts originating or poten­
tially originating from the civil settlements around Novae,
including the canabae, has yet to be carried out.

6. New research
and selected methodology

The extensive and complex units constituted by
army camps and associated civil settlements with their in­
frastructure require more comprehensive and interdisci­
plinary methods than the traditional broad-scale excavations,
which are extended in time and produce an incomplete
view of the cultural space that is being reconstructed and
evaluated. Testing and regular excavations usually give an
idea of individual buildings, which has no anchoring in
reality without knowledge of general site topography,
anient landscape, hydrological networks, street grid and
aqueduct connections, for example.

In the case of settlements of the canabae type,
which were turned into towns in late antiquity, the choice
of research methodology requires extensive preparatory
study. The multiphase aspect of the occupation of Novae
constitutes an additional difficulty. Increasingly active and
well organized treasure hunting carried out on modern land
plots existing in this area presents an even greater problem,
discouraging researchers from investigations and leading to
the destruction of many features under our very eyes. In
this situation it is necessary to choose methods that will
produce results as quickly as possible and as extensive as
possible, while focusing attention on the destruction of
antiquities in the region, which is an ongoing process done
with impunity. Non-invasive methods are an obvious
choice in this situation.

A grant from the National Centre of Science has
opened the way to the exploration of the territory of the
canabae. The project aims at conducting extensive labora­

ory analyses of organic microremains sampled during exca­
vations in 2009, when a full stratigraphic cross-section
through the remains of the Roman army camp and the late
antique town was opened. The first season in March 2012
was also dedicated to a search query in local museums,
financed from a grant from the Foundation for Polish
Science. This project will document finds, which are now
in contexts outside the army camp, but which can be
connected with the civil settlers.

Natural site conditions will be reconstructed based
on precise ground mapping. A digital elevation model will
be generated based on extensive ground measurement, ena­
bling a visualization of army camp topography and the pro­
gressive erosion of the river escarpment at the north, which
constituted a continuous threat for architectural structures
built in this part of the site (SARNOWSKI, KOVALEVSKAJA,
TOMAS 2012: fig. 1). The territory of the canabae will be
covered by GPS RTK measurements, producing a full
model of the ground of both the camp and the associated
settlement. Further data on the flora will be obtained from
laboratory analyses of organic micro-remains.

A significant research issue is aerial photography,
which started already in 2011. The objective is to identify
sites for exploration and, in specific cases, to discover fea­
tures which can be seen only from the air. A ground survey
using metal detectors will be carried out in the field, the
goal being to establish limits of the site marked by the
presence of archaeological material, as well as to identify the
nature and chronology of this material. A planigraphy of
finds made by metal detector should help in creating maps
of chronological distribution and perhaps even to establish
the position of metal-production sites, indicated already by
local residents or deduced from indirect premises. The most
important element of the planned ground prospection are
geophysical surveys using the magnetic and electrical-
-resistivity methods.

Conclusions

Modern archaeological research should encompass
a broad range of methods exceeding the traditional frame
of broad-scale excavations. It is particularly so in the case
of settlement studies, the aim of which is a reconstruction of
landscape and environment in the past. Any investigation of Roman army camps and forts “from wall to wall,” so to speak, produces a defective and perhaps even false picture, if the surroundings are not known. After all, context is all-important in archaeology.

*Translated by Iwona Zych*

The archaeological survey is financed by

The research on the archives and finds kept in the National Museum in Sofia and Historical Museum in Svištov (Bulgaria) is financed by

(Decision No. DEC-2011/01/D/HS3/02187)

**Abbreviations**

*Ps.-Hyg.* Pseudo-Hyginus, *De mitionibus castrorum* (see: RICHARDSON 2004)

ИМСЗБ Известия на Музейте от Северо-западна България

ИРИМВТ Известия на Регионален Исторически Музей Велико Търново

ААНУнг Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae

AE L’Année épigraphique

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt


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CANABAE LEGIONIS I ITALICAE. STAN WIEDZY NA TEMAT OSADNICTWA PRZYBOZOWO-GÓRSKIEGO W NOVAE (MEZJA DOLNA) W ŚWIETLE INNYCH STANOWISK Z PROWINCJI DOLNODUNAJSKICH

Obozy wojskowe wraz z otaczającymi je osiedlami i infrastrukturą stanowiły jeden organizm, zarówno pod względem przestrzennym, jak i społecznym (Tomas 2011b: 148), dlatego nie należy traktować ich jako osobnych struktur osadniczych. Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie aktualnego stanu wiedzy o osiedlach przybo佐owych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prowincji nadunajskich: Dacji i Mezji, oraz bardziej szczegółowe zaprezentowanie canabae w Novae (Bulgaria) i planowanych tam badań.

Osiedla przybo佐owe (canabae) lokowano na ziemi publicznej, w granicach okręgu wyznaczonego długością antycznego miary leuga, tj. 2,22 km (Piso 1991). Jego mieszkańcy nie mogli posiadać ziemi na własność, jednak jako gmina wybierali własny samorząd i władze quasi-miejscowe, podobnie jak gminy współczesnej zabudowy.

Stan badań nie jest zadowalający, przy czym o wiele więcej wiemy na temat tego rodzaju osadnictwa w prowincjach zachodnioeuropejskich (HANEI 2007: 413). Na planie takich osiedli odnajdujemy budowle i obiekty publiczne typowe dla rzymskich miast.

Dotychczasowe badania, prowadzone na stanowiskach dolnodunajskich, pozwoliły przed wszystkim określić ich lokalizację i zasięg. Problemy związane z przeprowadzeniem badań wynikają m.in. z ich intensywnego niszczycielskiego badania. Wadzeniem badań wynikają m.in. z ich intensywnego niszczycielskiego badania.

W Novae zdycybowanie większości osiedli było canabae. Zdaniem autorki jest wysoce prawdopodobne, że ponad połowa stanowisk jest zasilana przez canabae, podobnie jak rzymskie miasta.

Studium stanu osiedlianego, które z dwóch osiedli otrzymało rangę municypium, i które w Novae zdecydowanie większym osiedlem było canabae. Zadaniem autorki jest wysoce prawdopodobne, że ponad połowa stanowisk jest zasilana przez canabae, podobnie jak rzymskie miasta.

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Canabae Legionis IItalicae: State of Research on Civil Settlements Accompanying the Legionary Camps


Isotnym problemem badawczym jest określenie, które z dwóch osiedli otrzymało rangę municypium, a które w Novae zdecydowanie większości osiedli było canabae. Zadaniem autorki jest wysoce prawdopodobne, że ponad połowa stanowisk jest zasilana przez canabae, podobnie jak rzymskie miasta.

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Celem badań osadniczych jest odtworzenie środowiska i otoczenia, w którym żyli ludzie w przeszłości. Badania rzymskich obozów legionowych prowadzone jedynie w obrębie ich murów dają obraz ułomny, pozbawiony istotnego kontekstu, jaki stanowią dla nich otaczające je osiedla przyobozowe. Szeroka paleta metod badawczych, wychodząca poza ramy tradycyjnych badań wykopaliskowych, jest do tego celu narzędziem najodpowiedniejszym.

Agnieszka Tomas