

THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT ON GAMZIGRAD PRIOR TO THE IMPERIAL PALACE *FELIX ROMULIANA*

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Abstract. – The existence of the earlier Roman settlement which arose before the construction of Galerius' palace *Felix Romuliana* was confirmed by archaeological research. The traces of earlier buildings, constructed from the end of 2nd to the end of 3rd century, were discovered inside the fortified imperial residence: 1. three-naved building south from the "Large temple", 2. the building below the earlier southern tower of the East gate, 3. the large building beneath the Galerius' baths and 4. the building in front of the later southern tower of the West gate. Roman settlement from the 3rd century at Gamzigrad could be one of the mining – metallurgical and commercial centers (*vici, civitas*) in the Timok Valley.

Key words. – Gamzigrad, Felix Romuliana, Roman period, Roman settlement, Timok Valley, Roman mining, Roman metallurgy.

Archaeological research at Gamzigrad confirmed the existence of a Roman settlement prior to the beginning of construction of Galerius' palace at the beginning of the 4th century. Sporadic data collected during earlier excavations are thought to be remains of a 3rd century farm (*villa rustica*).¹

However, the analyses of objects that were partially discovered during the 1980's: in the "Large temple" Sector (Building 1),² under the southern tower of the older fortification (Tower 1) in the East gate Sector (building 2), and in front of the entrance to the southern tower of the earlier *Romuliana* fortification (Tower 19) (Building 4), as well as recent archaeological research of the older building in the Thermae Sector (Building 3), shed a new light on Roman Gamzigrad (Pl. 1).³

Building 1

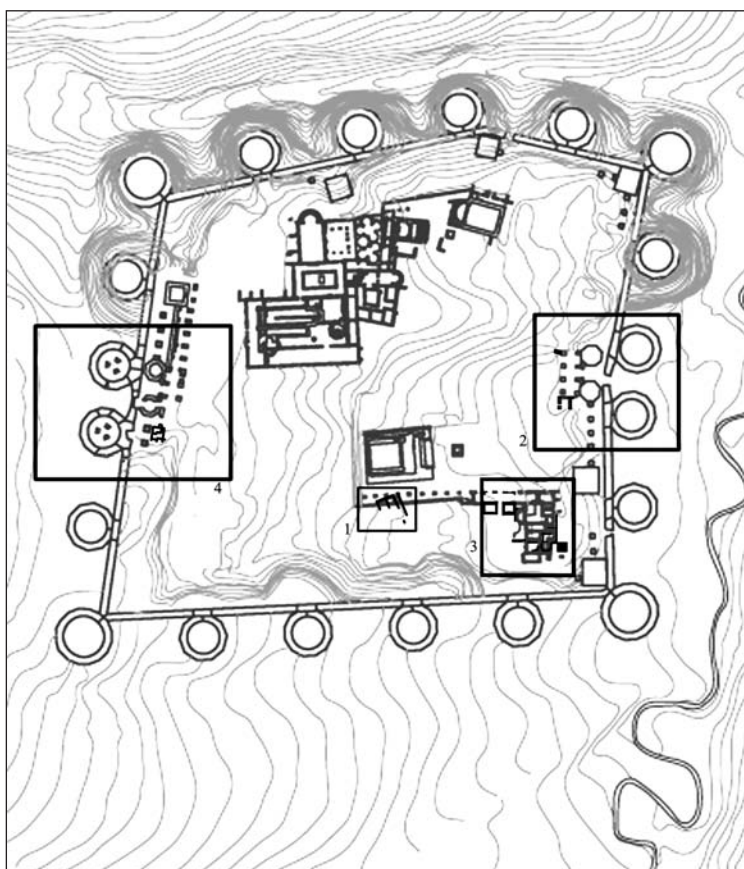
After almost three decades of research in Roman Gamzigrad, a part of a large, three-naved, building oriented northwest-southeast was discovered at the southern part of the fortress, located south of a "Large temple" spreading over the 11.5 x 10.5 m area (Building 1). There were two longitudinal rooms around four meters

¹ Срејовић 1983 а, 21–23; Sreјović, Vasić 1994, 56–57.

² The name "Large temple", used in the article refers to the large sacral construction in the southern part of Romuliana, also referred to in literature as "the Temple of Jupiter". However, finds of decorative plastic suggest that the temple had been dedicated to the imperial cult.

³ Buildings were marked with numbers 1–4 according to the chronology of their construction.

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Plan 1. Finds of buildings from the phase prior to Galerius's construction in the area of the fortified palace.

План 1. Налази грађевина из фазе пре Галеријеве градње на простору утврђене палате

wide, and to the east, a longitudinal “corridor” 1.5 meters wide which was most likely the connection with the central atrium. The “corridor” led to rooms through doors 0.90 m wide with jambs built of brick. The walls of the structure were 0.55 m wide and built of brick and stone in *opus mixtum* technique, and foundations were made of crushed rock cemented with lime mortar (Pl. 2).⁴

The building was demolished around the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century, during the construction of the imperial palace, i. e. southern portico of the “Large temple” temenos and the large structure south from it (Building G). In the layer of soot above the mortar floor of the “corridor”, bronze coins minted at the time of emperors *Aurelianus* and *Probus* were discovered. They represent *terminus post quem non* of the construction of this structure, it being abandoned during the last quarter of the 3rd century.

Judging from small finds from the rooms: fragments of ceramic bowls, lamps and bronze fibulae (Fig. 1) from the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century, it can be assumed that this facility arose at the first half of the 3rd century⁵, and was determined to be *villa rustica* by Dragoslav Sreјović.

Building 2

In front of the east gate's southern tower of the earlier fortification (Tower I) a structure that existed prior to the construction of the fortification was partially discovered (Building 2, Pl. 3).⁶

The southern pilaster of the entrance to Tower I lies on the eastern wall of Building 2, which sunk due to the weight of the tower's stairway vault. It is impossible to determine the function and dimensions of Building 2, because only its northeastern corner was discovered, consisting of three rooms divided by two north-south partition walls. The walls were made of semi-hewn and broken stone cemented with lime mortar. The inner sides of the walls were coated with a layer of lime mortar and chaff, indicating that they had been decorated with frescoes. On one partition wall there was an opening for

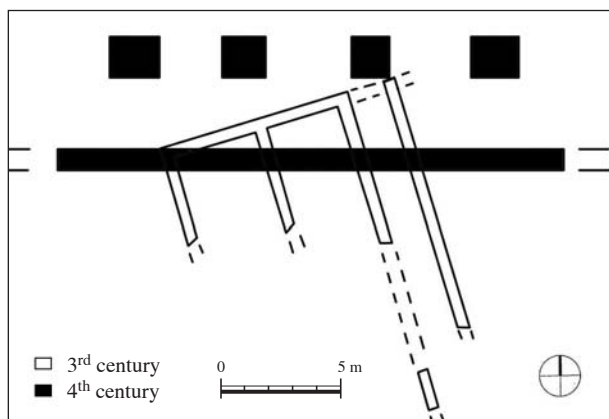
⁴ Срејовић 1983 а, 21–22, Fig. 14.

⁵ Срејовић 1983 а, 23, Fig. 13; Vasić 1995, 318, Fig. 9.

⁶ Building 2 was qualified as the older building V1 by Č. Vasić, but neither did he give any description, nor did he explain its relation to the earlier fortification (Vasić 1995, 317–318, Fig. 8).

the door, with jambs made of brick, and foundation of the threshold made of dressed stone bound with mortar. The walls, 0.80 m thick, were partially preserved up to a height of 0.90 m from the socle, i.e. the mortar floor level. Foundation zone that was wider than the above-ground part (1–1.10 m) was built of crushed rock and cemented with mortar.

Foundations of the building were buried in a layer of greenish-brown clay soil, which contained fragments of Roman and prehistoric pottery. Inside the building four bronze coins were found, corroded and illegible, probably minted in the middle of the 3rd century, two ceramic lamps, a cup on a stem and two goblets with three handles (Fig. 2).



Plan 2. Building 1 in the "Large temple" Sector, built in the first half of the 3rd century

Plan 3. Building 2 in the East Gate Sector, built in the 3rd century, before the earlier fortification

План 2. Грађевина 1 на Сектору „великог храма“, настала у првој половини 3 века

План 3. Грађевина 2 на Сектору источне капије, настала пре изградње старије утврђења палате у 3. веку

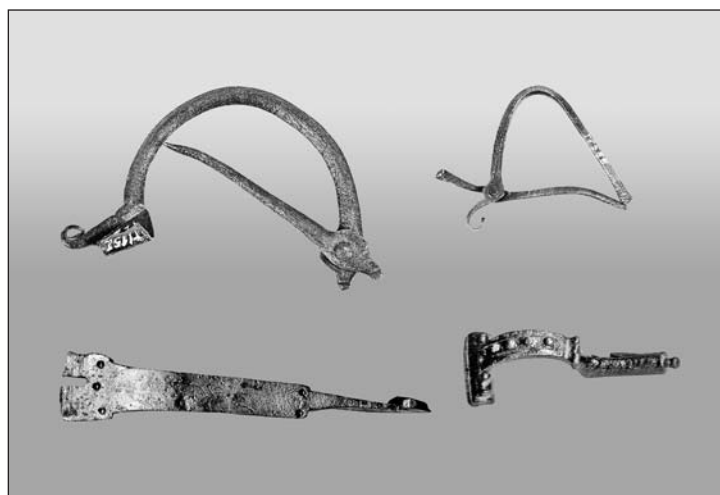
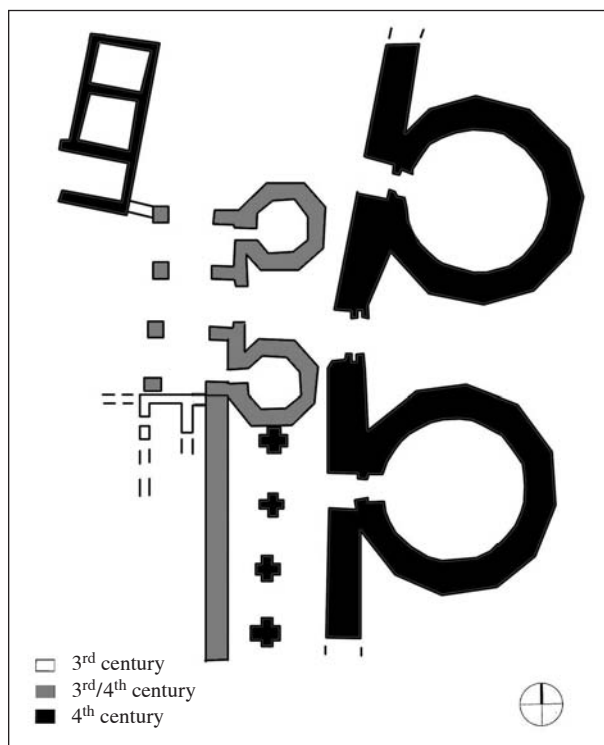


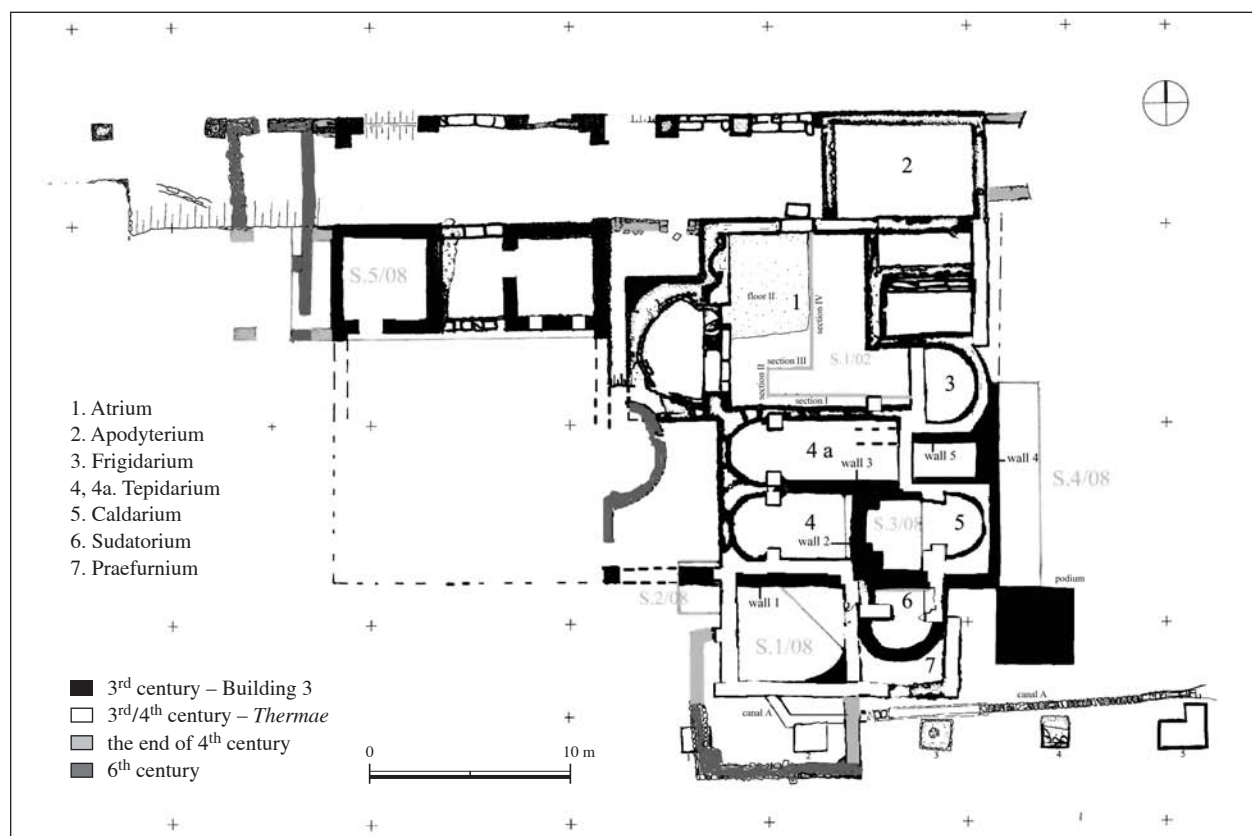
Fig. 1. Bronze fibulae 2nd–3rd century, discovered in Building 1 in the "Large temple" Sector

Fig. 2. Ceramic vessel 3rd century, discovered in Building 2 East Gate Sector

Сл. 1. Бронзане фибуле 2–3. века, нађене у грађевини 1 на Сектору „великог храма“

Сл. 2. Керамичка посуда 3. века, нађене у грађевини 2 на Сектору источне капије





Plan 4. Building 3 in the Thermae Sector, build in the 3rd century and the southeastern corner of the earlier fortification's portico and later reconstruction

План 4. Грађевина 3 на Сектору терми, настала у 3. веку, са југоисточним улом портика старије утврђења и каснијим преградњама

Between the north portico column of the earlier fortification, which flanked the entrance to the northern tower of the east gate (Tower II), and the southeastern corner of the Palace II (Building D 4), a wall of an older building was discovered in the foundation zone, made of crushed stone cemented with lime mortar. Unfortunately, based on the discovered wall it is not possible to determine the size and function of this object, or whether it had any architectural or constructional connection with the building 2 (Pl. 3).

Building 3

During the excavations of 1998–2008, when explorations of baths (*thermae*) from the phase of construction of Galerius' palace were conducted, parts of an earlier building, marked Building 3, were discovered under the *thermae* (Pl. 1, Pl. 4).

Below Galerius' baths a rectangular annex of Building 3 was discovered, measuring 12 x 8 m, divided by partition walls (walls 1 – 3.5) into three rooms.

In the tepidarium (*tepidarium*) and sudatorium (*sudatorium*) areas of thermal baths, at a level of 185.90 m, the remains of a wall of Building 3 were registered, pointing east-west (wall 1). Wall 1 was preserved in the foundation zone (width 0.90 m) and aboveground area in a single row of dressed stones bound with lime mortar (width 0.65 m). The bottom of the foundation is at the level of 184.60 m. The southern wall of the tepidarium was founded on the wall 1 and the foundation of the western façade of Galerius' *thermae* is partly supported by it (Fig. 3). Towards the north, below the caldarium, there was a room with reinforcements in the southwest and northwest corners (Fig. 4–6). The western wall of this room (wall 2) was reinforced by large stone blocks on the southern and northern end during the construction of Galerius' *thermae*, to serve as the foundation for the columns or pillars, which could support the first-floor gallery. There was another, smaller room to the north.

Building 3 extended further to the north, as evidenced by the find of an earlier mortar floor under the



Fig. 3. Wall 1 of Building 3 and foundations of the western façade of Galerius's thermae, viewed from the southeast
 Fig. 4. Room in Building 3 (walls 1–3) discovered in the tepidarium of Galerius's thermae, viewed from the east

Сл. 3. Зид 1 траћевине 3 и темељ западне фасаде Галеријевих терми, са југоистока

Сл. 4. Проспорија траћевине 3 (зидови 1–3) оtkривена у теппдаријуму Галеријевих терми, са истока



Fig. 5. Southwestern corner (junction of walls 1 and 2) of a Building 3 room, discovered in the tepidarium of Galerius's thermae, viewed from the south

Fig. 6. Wall 1 of Building 3, viewed from the north

Сл. 5. Југозападни угао (свој зидова 1 и 2) проспорије траћевине 3, оtkривена у теппдаријуму Галеријевих терми, са југа

Сл. 6. Зид 1 траћевине 3, са севера

atrium (*atrium*) and apoditerium (*apodyterium*) of Galerius' baths (Pl. 4).

Namely, trench investigations of 1998 and 2002, conducted at the location of atrium and apoditerium (trenches 11/98, 2/98, 3/98, 1/02), under the bath floors (floors I–II) and a leveling layer of yellow-brown clay containing fragments of prehistoric and Roman pottery, yielded a mortar floor with crushed brick (floor III).⁷ Floor III was the earliest one and was part of an earlier

⁷ Below the floor made of stone slabs (floor I) and the leveling layer of loose dark brown earth, a mortar floor decorated by a mosaic was discovered (floor II), founded upon an earlier mortar floor and a substructure made of crushed stone. Below this floor there was a leveling layer of yellow dark clay and mortar floor III, below which there was a layer of greenish-brown clay that contained no archaeological finds, characterized as subsoil. Similar stratigraphy was discovered in the apoditerium of the thermae (trench 3/98), with the exception of the earlier floor I (Лаловић, Ружић, Јовановић 2001, 284–285).

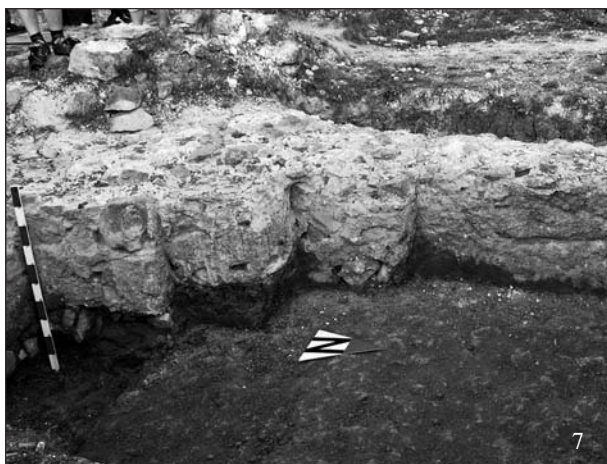


Fig. 7. Wall 2 of Building 3, viewed from the east

Fig. 8. Wall 4 of Building 3 in the foundations of the eastern façade of Galerius's thermae and the remains of the podium foundation, viewed from the north

Fig. 9. Wall 4 of Building 3, viewed from the north

Сл. 7. Зид 2 грађевине 3, са истока

Сл. 8. Зид 4 грађевине 3 у темељу источне фасаде Галеријевих терми и остаци темеља подијума, са севера

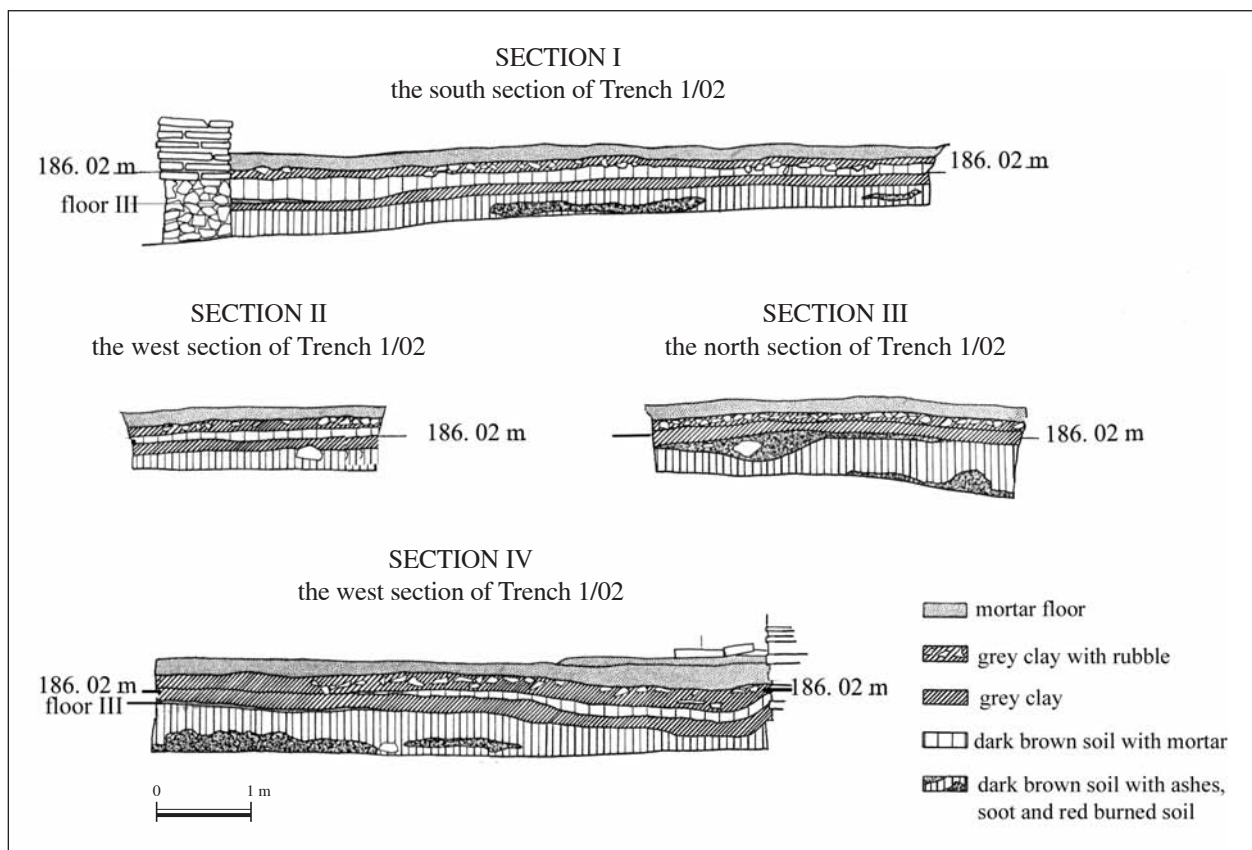
Сл. 9. Зид 4 грађевине 3, са севера

phase of Roman construction in Gamzigrad which preceded the construction of Galerius' palace, corresponding in ground level to the floor of the Building 3 (Pl. 5).

Beneath the east façade of the thermae, a wall was discovered, part of the Building 3 and presumably part of the east façade (wall 4). This wall has a slight deviation to the west in relation to the direction north-south (north-northwest – south-southeast), with foundation zone 1.20 m wide and the aboveground part 0.90 m wide, preserved in one or two rows of dressed stone (Fig. 8–9). It was severely damaged in the area between the caldarium and frigidarium of the Galerius' thermae (Figs. 9,

12). However, the apse of the frigidarium lies on his best-preserved part, where, above the massive foundations, two rows of hewn stone blocks cemented with mortar were discovered aboveground (the crown of the wall at ground level of 185.50 m, Figs. 10–11).

At the southern part of the annex described there were two apses. At the southeastern corner of the southern room of Galerius' thermae, underneath the hypocaust system of floor-heating, a part of the semicircular curved wall was discovered at the ground level of 185.80 m in the foundations area and in one row of dressed stones aboveground. Furthermore, it was noted that the apse,



Plan 5. Sections (trench 1/02) with the remnants of the floor from Building 3 (floor III) in the atrium of Galerius's thermae
 План 5. Профили (сонда 1/02) са остацима пода траћевине 3 (под III) у атријуму Галеријевих терми

previously discovered below the praefurnium (*praefurnium*) of Galerius' thermae was also part of Building 3. It was 4m in diameter and facing south (Pl. 4).

Along the southeast corner of the described annex of the Building 3, outside the Galerius' thermae, in 2005, remains of the squared-shaped foundations were explored, measuring 3.80 x 3.80 m, most likely a podium for a small cult building, an altar or a statue. This facility was negated by the construction of thermae by Galerius and was covered with a mortar floor substructure of the same phase.⁸ Even though its function is not entirely clear, we can assume that this sacral building made an architectural unit with Building 3 (Pl. 4, Fig. 13).

Below the west facade of thermae, wall 1 is preserved only in foundation zone, and one row of dressed stones, and extends westwards. The extension of this wall can be monitored in the western section of the Thermae Sector excavations, where it was preserved in the aboveground part at the height of approximately 1 m.⁹

Wall 1 was used as the foundation of one of the pilasters of the baths' west façade (Fig. 14). This pilaster negated a ceramic water pipe, which runs north-south and lied on the described wall of the Building 3 (Fig. 15). Waterworks, which the ceramic pipe was part of, were built during the period between the erection of Building 3 and construction of the southern room of the baths. It can be linked with a water supply line A, explored during 2004–2005 in the area south and southeast of the Galerius' baths (Pl. 4).¹⁰

⁸ Петковић 2008 b, 66, Fig. 2.

⁹ In the western section of the Thermae Sector excavations, except for parts of earlier structures built with stone bound with yellow clay, a cross-section of a solid, 2 m high wall was noted in 1998, made in *opus mixtum* technique (Лаловић, Јовановић, Ружић 2001, Fig. 1). The wall was damaged during a decade-long collapse of this section.

¹⁰ Петковић 2008a, 61, Fig. 6; Петковић 2008b, 65–66, Fig. 1, Fig. 3–5.

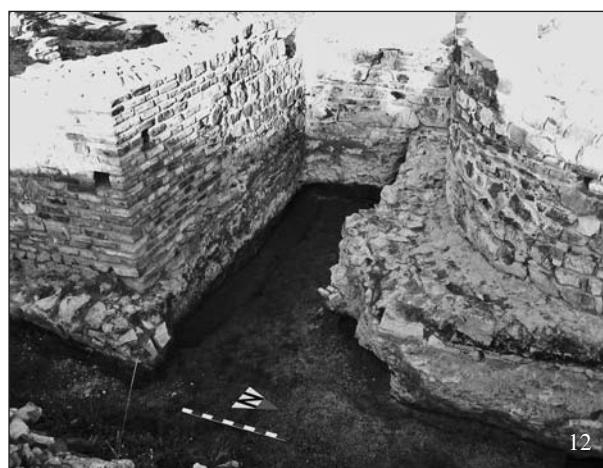


Fig. 10. Junction of walls 4 and 5 of Building 3 in the foundation of the Galerius's baths frigidarium apse, viewed from the southeast

Fig. 11. Wall 4 item, foundation zone and two rows of aboveground stone blocks, viewed from the southeast

Fig. 12. Remnants of Building 3 that constitute the foundation of the eastern façade of Galerius's baths, viewed from northeast

Сл. 10. Сјој зигова 4 и 5 грађевине 3 у темељу айсиде фригидаријума Галеријевих шерми, са југоисточка

Сл. 11. Детаљ зида 4, темељна зона и два реда квадера надземној дела, са југоисточка

Сл. 12. Остаци грађевине 3 који чине темељ источне фасаде Галеријевих шерми, са североисточка

Archaeological excavations conducted south and east of Galerius' thermae in 2004–2005, and 2007, are important concerning the chronology of the earlier and the later fortifications on Gamzigrad and their relationship with the earlier Roman settlement which arose before the construction of the imperial residence. During those campaigns the southeastern corner of the portico of the older fortification was explored, as well as the ducts of the sewer and plumbing systems, which preceded the construction of the Galerius' palace. This was determined by the stratigraphic correlation between

the sewer canals and portico columns of the older fortification (Pl. 4, Pl. 16).

The water supply line, oriented east-west, had been negated by the construction of the southern column of the older fortification's southern portico (pillar 2). Its western tip turns towards northwest and had been interrupted by the southern façade of the Galerius' thermae. Pieces of tegulae and mortar had been used to carefully seal up the canal (Fig. 17).

Parallel water and sewage ducts oriented north-west-southeast (ducts B and C), connect with the pre-

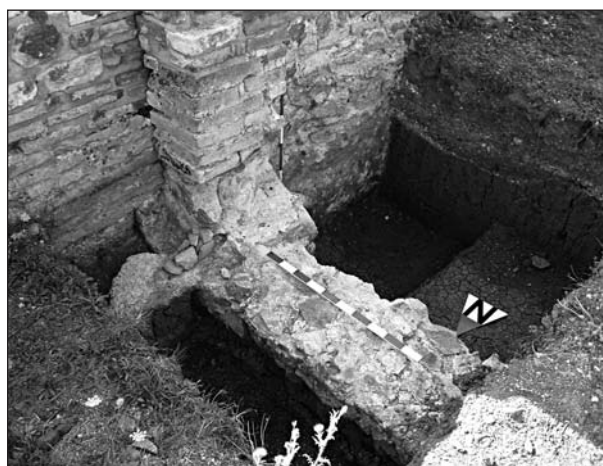


Fig. 13. Thermae Sector, foundations of the square shaped podium, from the period before the construction of Galerius's thermae, viewed from the northeast

Fig. 14. Wall 1 of Building 3, in the foundation zone of the west façade pilaster of Galerius's thermae, viewed from northwest

Сл. 13. Сектор терми, темељ подијума квадraitне основе, из времена пре изградње Галеријевих терми, са североистока

Сл. 14. Зид 1 грађевине 3, у темељној зони пиласира западне фасадне Галеријевих терми, са северозапада

viously described water supply system to form a wider duct D (*cloaca*), in order to drain the excessive water and liquid waste eastwards, through the eastern rampart, into the present-day Dragan's brook (Draganov potok, Fig. 18).

In the Thermae Sector a lead sewer pipe was discovered, oriented north-south. At the northern end, the tube was dismantled during the construction of the water line A. This tube belongs to the system of siphons used to supply water to the Roman settlement in the 3rd century, before the construction of the earlier fortification and the system of walled sewer lines (Fig. 19). A layer of gray-brown or greenish-brown clay (layer G) surrounding the ducts and the lead water pipe contain few small finds. The exceptions were coins dating from the middle and the second part of the 3rd century (*Gordianus III, Valerianus, Traianus Decius, Florianus, Aurelianus, Probus*), fragments of the 3rd century clay and glass vessels, fragment of a lead mirror, fragment of terracotta in the form of the Dionysus' head and a carnelian gemstone with a depiction of a frog, all of which can be dated to 2nd–3rd century (Fig. 20).

Indications that the building 3, discovered beneath the Galerius' thermae extends further to the west, led us to explore the so-called "Late Roman building with a portico". We assumed that the building is actually a

central part of the Building 3, whose eastern annex was negated by the construction of Galerius' thermae. It was evidenced by:

1. part of wall 1 of the Building 3 visible in the western section of the Thermae Sector excavations;
2. portico of the "Late Roman building", with southern peristyle of the "Large temple" temenos, and the portico of Galerius' baths incorporated additionally;
3. the plan of the buildings foundations with a portico and "pylon" flanked with square risalits.

Excavations in eastern risalit of the "pylon" discovered a floor made of high-quality white lime mortar (Fig. 21). It was also noted that during a Late Roman period, a door had been sealed in (1.20 m wide) on its west wall (Fig. 22), as well as two windows (0.50 m wide) on its southern wall, facing the atrium (Fig. 23).

A large quantity of wall frescoes fragments was discovered in the layer of dark earth above the mortar floor, painted in a wide range of colors (yellow, orange, red, violet, purple, blue, turquoise, green, black, white, ocher, brown). Also a fresco-mortar mixed with chaff was discovered on the east wall of this room. This indicates that the walls of the eastern risalit pylon had been lavishly decorated. Scarce finds of fragments of ceramic and glass pottery can be dated to the 3rd – first half of the 4th century. The excavations in the area between



Fig. 15. Ceramic water pipe in the foundation zone of wall 1 of Building 3, negated by the construction of the Galerius's baths pilaster, north view

Fig. 16. South portico of the earlier palace fortification (pillars 3–5) and the 3rd century water line A, viewed from the west

Fig. 17. The 3rd century water line A, negated by Pillar 2 of the earlier fortification's southern portico and the south façade of Galerius's thermae, viewed from the west

Сл. 15. Керамичка водоводна цев у темељној зони зида 1 трађевине 3, неїрана изградњом пиластра Галеријевих терми, са севера

Сл. 16. Јужни портићк сїаријеї ушврђења палаше (сїуїци 3–5) и водоводни канал А из 3. века, са заїага

Сл. 17. Водоводни канал А из 3. века, неїран сїуїцем 2 јужної портићка сїаријеї ушврђења и јужном фасадом Галеријевих терми, са заїага

the risalits showed that in the 6th century, the “pylon” portal had been sealed with large boulders using a dry wall technique (Fig. 20). Considering that it had been built by the same technique as the mentioned wall,¹¹ the apse of the basilica, discovered earlier west of Galerius' baths, probably belongs to the same phase of construction (Pl. 4).

There were two cultural layers with two corresponding levels containing Late Roman 6th century finds. The earlier level consists of a high-quality, yellowish-white mortar floor. During this phase of the reconstruc-

tion of the building with a “pylon”, i. e. Building 3, on the west wall of the western risalit, a door opening had been made, and the original door (1.20 m wide) on the

¹¹ I hereby thank Dr. Ђorđe Jankovic, who conducted trench excavations of the interior of the basilica's apse, on verbal information and suggestions for its dating to the 6th century. Unfortunately, considering the construction technique and the fact that it had been exposed to atmospheric agents for more than twenty years without any preservation interventions, the apse completely collapsed by the start of 2008.



*Fig. 18. Southeastern corner of the earlier fortification's portico (pillar 5) and the junction of the water and sewer canals A–C into the main drain pipe D (cloaca), viewed from northwest
Fig. 19. Pillar 3 of the of the earlier fortification's south portico, water line A from the 3rd century and the earlier lead water pipe (2–3 century) negated by its construction, viewed from southeast*

*Сл. 18. Југоисточни угао портика стареје утврђења (стубац 5) и спој водоводних и канализационих канала А–С у главни одводни канал D (клоака), са северозапада
Сл. 19. Стубац 3 јужног портика стареје утврђења, водоводни канал А из 3. века и старија оловна водоводна цев (2–3. век), негирана његовом изградњом, са југоистока*

south side had been sealed during the Late Roman period, before the reconstruction in the 6th century, most probably by the end of the 4th or the start of the 5th century (Fig. 24).¹²

“Pylon” portal of the Buildings 3 was investigated up to the initial level, where at the entrances to the portico and the building, i. e. the atrium, stone thresholds made of sandstone and limestone were discovered (Fig. 25).

Plan of the large Building 3, which existed before the construction of Galerius' thermae, can only be assumed (Pl. 4): rooms of different purposes were located around the central atrium, the entrance from the portico with four pillars was on the north side (12.35 m long, 4.70 m wide), in the front of the “pylon” (2.95 m wide),

flanked with square shaped risalits (5.15 x 5.15 m). Portico columns were built of brick bound with lime mortar, L-shaped at the corners and square shaped in the middle (0.65 x 0.65 m). Between the middle columns there was a threshold (3 x 0.65 m) made of stone slabs.

The eastern risalit had an entrance from the portico on the west wall (1.20 m wide) and two windows on

¹² Severely damaged walls of the “pylon” risalit were preliminarily conserved after having been exposed to atmospheric agents for longer than two decades, whereas trenches 1/06–4/08 were covered with fine chippings up to the level of the floor of Galerius' construction. This way the floors of the thermae were prepared for conservation-restoration works and presentation.



Fig. 20. 2nd–3rd century finds at the *Thermae Sector* from the *stratum* preceding the *Galerius*' construction (*stratum G*) – a fragment of a mirror, terracotta head of *Dionysus* and a cameo with an image of a frog
 Fig. 21. Eastern risalit of Building 3 and a “pylon” with a sealed entrance to the atrium, viewed from the west

Сл. 20. Налази 2–3. века из слоја старијеје од Галеријеве градње (слој G) на Сектору терми – фрагмент огледала, глава теракоте боја Диониса и камеја са представом жабе.
 Сл. 21. Источни ризалит грађевине 3 и „пилон“ са зазиданим улазом у атријум, са запада

the south wall (0.50 m wide), most likely facing the atrium, whereas the entrance to the west risalit was from the atrium, through the above mentioned door on the south wall (1.20 m wide).¹³ In the eastern risalit, walls had been decorated with polychrome frescoes, while the high-quality mortar floor could have been paved with marble or ceramic tiles. At the entrance to the pylon of the portico a threshold made of stone slabs was discovered. The remains of such a threshold were also discovered at the southern end of the pylon, at the entrance to the atrium (Figs. 24–25).¹⁴

The building was built using *opus mixtum* technique, alternating rows of bricks, slabs of marl and blocks of sandstone, cemented with lime mortar (Pl. 6, Figs. 21–23).

Along the southeast corner of the earlier structure, a square shaped podium was discovered, negated by Gale-

rius' constructions, that could have been the foundation for a smaller temple, altar or statue (Pl. 4, Fig. 4).

Archaeological data at our disposal at this stage of research suggest that it had been a public building, constructed during the second half of the 3rd century.

It is interesting to note that the eastern part of the Building 3 had been completely destroyed, almost razed to the ground during the construction of the baths that

¹³ Windows and doors on both risalits were sealed by ashlar and smaller stones bound by yellow clay during the Late Roman period. In this phase, smaller door openings were noted (0.80–0.90 m wide) on the south wall of the east risalit and west wall of the west risalit.

¹⁴ In the 6th century the entrance to the atrium was walled in by large boulders, partly damaging a threshold.



Fig. 22. Eastern risalit of Building 3, viewed from the southeast

Fig. 23. Southern wall of the eastern risalit of Building 3 with sealed windows, viewed from northeast

Сл. 22. Источно ризалит грађевине 3, са југоистока

Сл. 23. Јужни зид источног ризалита грађевине 3, са зазиданим прозорима, са североистока

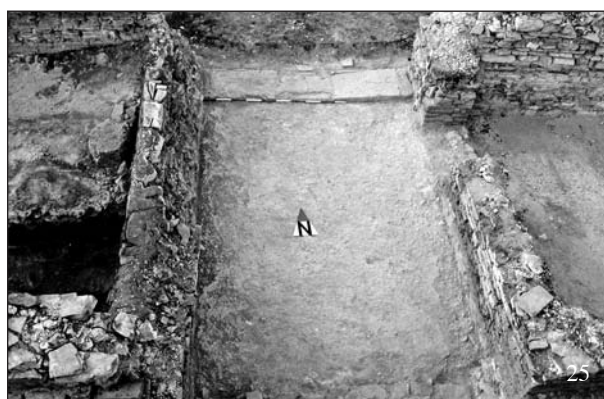


Fig. 24. Building 3 "pylon" with risalits, viewed from the west

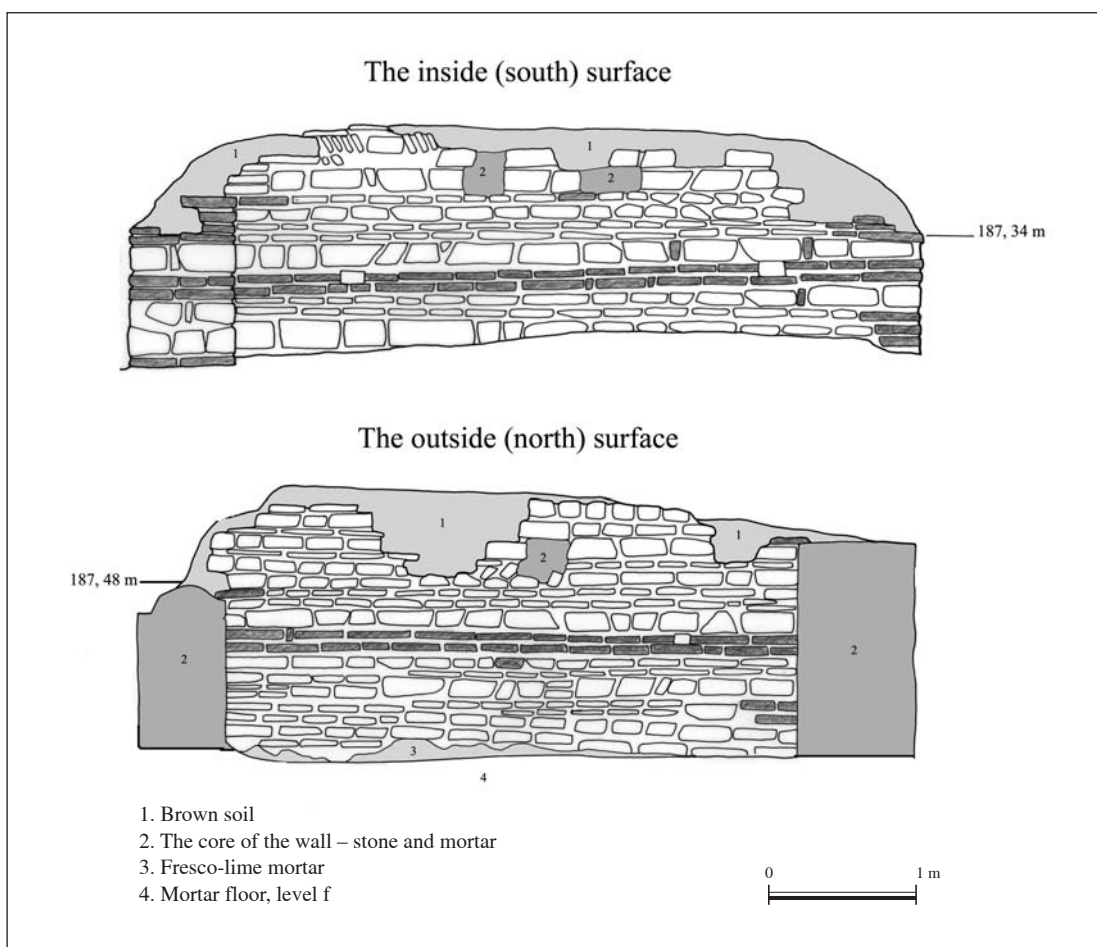
Fig. 25. Building 3 "pylon", viewed from the west

Fig. 26. Item on wall 5 of Building 3, incorporated into the east facade foundation of the Galerius's baths, viewed from the east

Сл. 24. „Пилон“ грађевине 3 са ризалитима, са запада

Сл. 25. „Пилон“ грађевине 3, са југа

Сл. 26. Детаљ зида 5 грађевине 3, уклоњеног у темељ источне фасаде Галеријевих терми, са истока



Plan 6. The appearance of the east risalit's north wall of the of Building 3

План 6. Изглед северної зида істочної ризалитна ірађевине 3

had been funded on the remnants of these walls. The western section with a “pylon” and the atrium had been preserved, even used in later stages of life in Romuliana, from the end of the 4th to the end of the 6th or the start of the 7th century. It was interesting to notice that the southern portico of the “Large temple” temenos was constructed according to portico of Building 3.

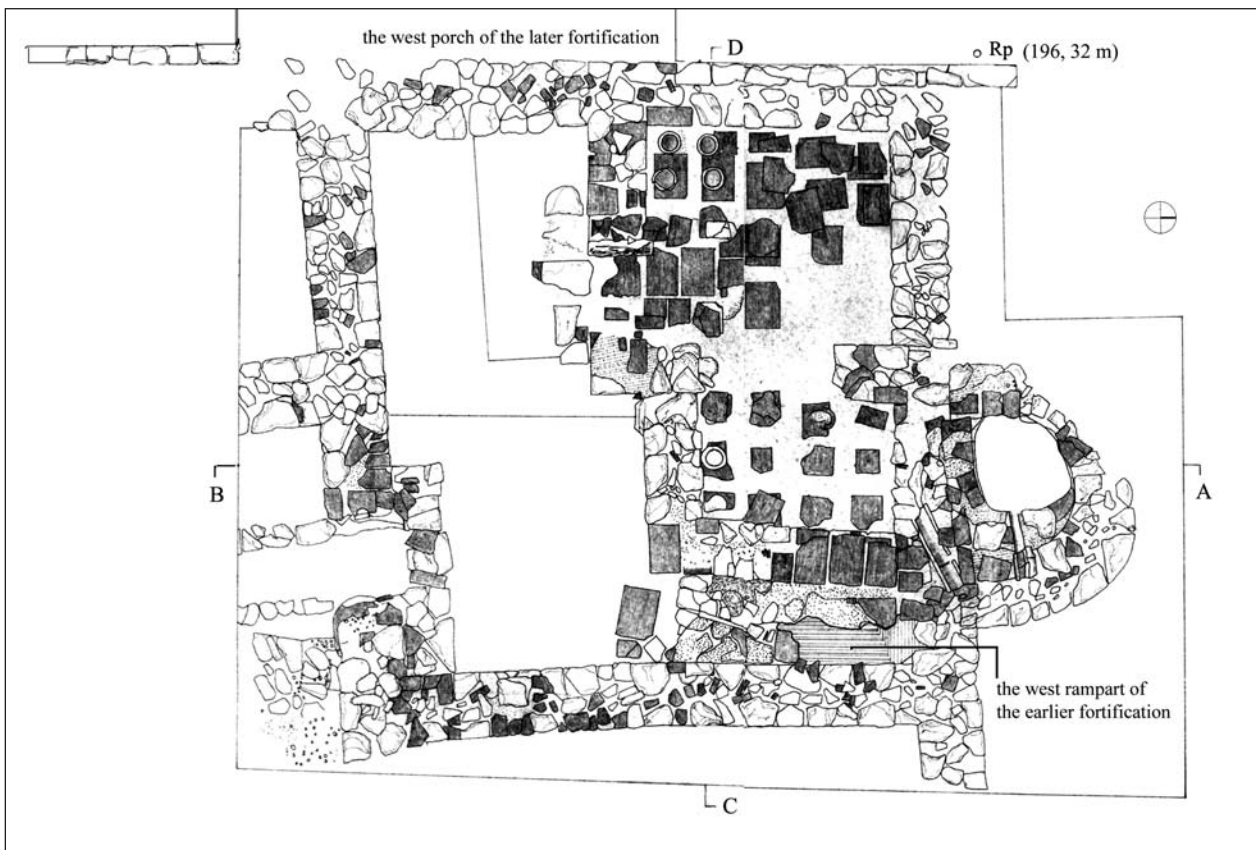
The Building 3 fully reflects the principles of architecture of Romuliana, characterized not by the various stages of construction, which negate the previous facilities, but by numerous stages of reconstructions of buildings or parts of the settlement.

Interestingly, the walls of the Building 3 had been used as foundations for the construction of Galerius' baths: the north wall of the caldarium was funded on wall 3, the southern wall of the frigidarium was built on wall 5, that extends westwards from the eastern façade, which lies on wall 4 (Pl. 4, Fig. 12). Only a part of the eastern

façade of the baths, between these rooms, lies on newly-built foundations (Fig. 26). Crowns of the walls of Building 3 are at ground levels from 185.00 m up to 185.50 m, whereas the bottom of the foundation is located approximately at the ground level of 184.50 m.

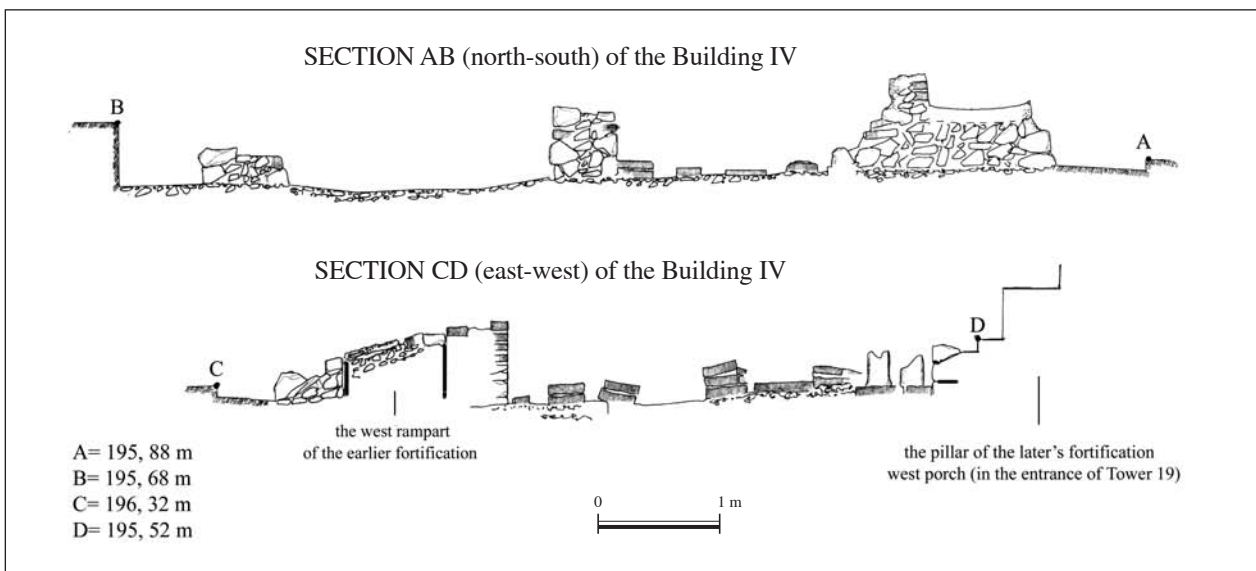
The small archaeological finds from the time of construction and the first phase of Building 3 are scarce. This was caused by the demolition of earlier buildings, and filling and leveling of terrain during reconstruction of the Galerius' residence, by the start of the 4th century,¹⁵ as well as a partial reconstruction of existing

¹⁵ In the southeastern part of Romuliana, in the Thermae Sector, there were leveling layers of yellowish-green or gray-brown clay, along with yellow sandstone below the substructure of the mortar floor of Galerius' construction (Петковић 2008a, 61; Петковић 2008b, 66).



Plan 7. Building 4 in the West Gate Sector, which arose between the constructions of the later and the earlier fortifications of the palace

План 7. Грађевина 4 на Сектору западне капије, настала у времену између изградње старије и млађе утврђења палате



Plan 8. Cross-sections AB (north-south) and CD (east-west) of Building 4

План 8. Пресеци AB (север-југ) и CD (исток-запад) грађевине 4

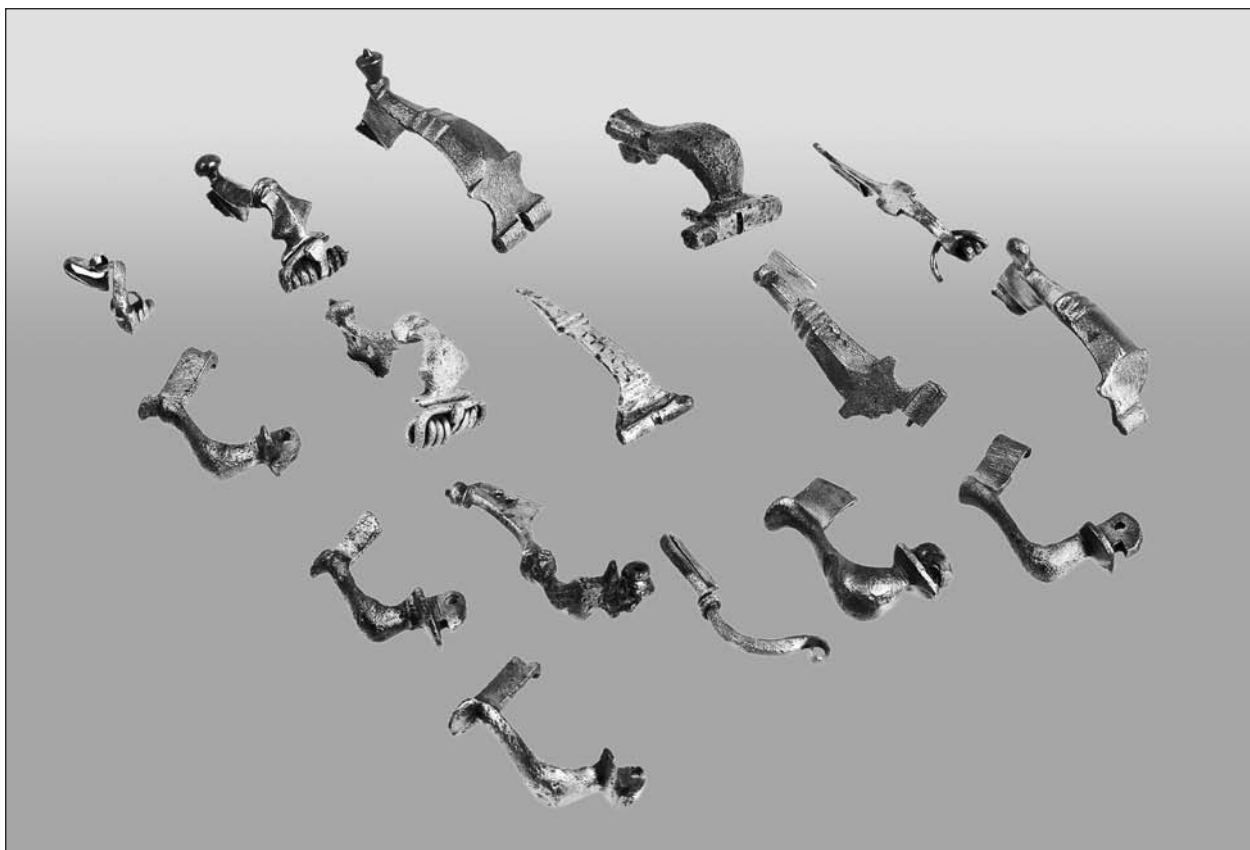


Fig. 27. A group of bronze fibulae discovered at the southeastern part of the fortified palace (*Thermae Sector* ?), from end of the 1st – first half of the 3rd century

Сл. 27. Група бронзаних фибула нађена у југоисточном делу утврђене палате (Сектор терми ?), крај 1. – прва половина 3. века

buildings and their integration into the newly constructed parts of the imperial palace.¹⁶ In the first cultural layer below the level of Galerius' phase of construction in the area of Building 3 (trenches 1/08–5/08, stratum G) fragments of ceramic and glass vessels from the 3rd–4th century were discovered, as well as parts of marble plates, stone and glass mosaic cubes, and glass window's shards. In the earlier strata (stratum H and I) prehistoric Iron and Bronze Age ceramic shards were found, as well as a fragment of a prehistoric bronze needle.

Building 4

In front of the entrance to the southern tower of the later fortification's western gate (Tower 19), in the area of the western portico of the later fortification, a building with the remnants of a hypocaust heating system, Building 4, was partially explored in 1986 (Pl. 1). Building 4 extends north-south and one of the pillars of the later fortification's western portico lies on its western

wall, preserved only in the foundation zone. The northern, eastern and southern walls of Building 4, built out of stone and tegulae using the *opus mixtum* technique, 0.55 m wide, are much better preserved, in some places up to a height of 0.90 m from the floor level (Pls. 7–8).

The discovered northwestern part of Building 4, with a surface area of about 36 m², has a layout that reminds of a roman baths, *thermae*. In the northwestern corner of Building 4, there was a room measuring 2.20 x 1.90 m, and another, smaller one (1.70 x 1.20 m) in the extension along the northern wall, both with a hypocaust system of floor heating. On the outer side of the northern wall, there is an apse, 2.40 m in diameter (Pl. 7).

¹⁶ It has already been stated that the western part of the Building 3, with a "pylon" and atrium had been renovated repeatedly and continuously used during the Late Roman period from the 4th to the 6th century.

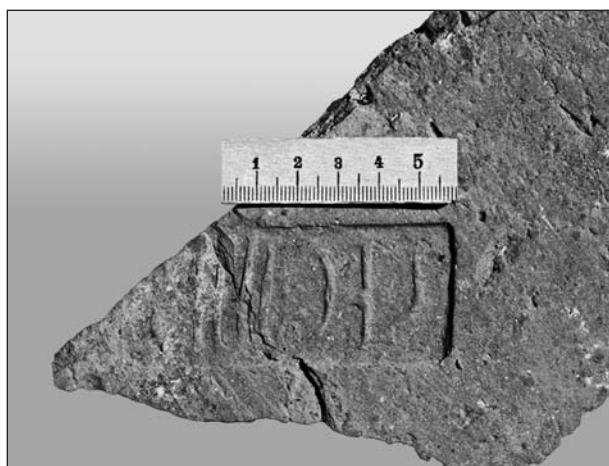


Fig. 28. Brick with a seal of the Legio IV Flavia (LEG IIII FL), from the circular structure of the northern settlement outside the fortified palace

Сл. 28. Опека са печатом IV легије Флавијеваца (LEG IIII FL) из кружне грађевине из северног насеља ван утврђења палате

Between the eastern wall of the building and the small central room with the hypocaust, remnants of a floor with hydraulic mortar were noted. It's especially interesting that the eastern part of Building 4 was built over the remnants, i. e. foundation, of the western rampart of the earlier fortification (Pls. 7–8).

On the southern wall, towards the north there was a small rectangular room, measuring 1.90 x 0.90 m, the interior of 0.80 x 0.80 m, with the remnants of a vault (canal?), which extended towards the south, most likely a *praefurnium*, the furnace of the hypocaust floor heating system (Pl. 7).

Building 4 was partially explored, i.e. it extends further to the east and the south, so we cannot with any certainty speak of its function. Whether the supposed *thermae* were part of a larger building (*villa*) or a self-standing public baths is impossible to determine based on the explored part of the object. Also, it is impossible to determine the dimensions of the entire building. Anyway, since the eastern part of Building 4 lies on the remnants of the west rampart of the earlier fortification, and the pillars of the western portico of the later fortification negates its western wall, it can be said with certainty when it was made: before the later fortification of the imperial palace was built and after the earlier fortification was destroyed, somewhere at the transition from the 3rd to the 4th century. However, according to accepted chronology of the earlier and the later fortifi-

cation of the imperial residence *Felix Romuliana*,¹⁷ a large Building 4 would have had a short lifespan of just a few years.¹⁸

I would like to mention that the artifacts dated to the 3rd century were found in the explored rooms of Building 4: shards of ceramic and glass vessels, iron tools and damaged zoomorphic terracotta.

It should be noted that archaeological finds from the early imperial period (late 1st to mid 3rd century) were also found in the leveling layers under the floors of the Galerius' construction in the earlier archaeological excavations of the fortified *Felix Romuliana* imperial palace. Even though they are not numerous, they testify to the life in Gamzigrad in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Among these finds a group of bronze fibulae found in the southeastern part of Romuliana is the most important (Fig. 27).¹⁹

The relative chronology of the partially explored four buildings in the area of the fortified imperial residence, that predate Galerius' palace, is as follows:

1. The earliest phase encompasses Building 1, discovered under the "building with the portico" (Building G) in the "Large temple" Sector, as well as Building 2 in the Eastern gate Sector, above which the south octagonal tower of the earlier fort's eastern gate was built (Tower I). This phase precedes the time the earlier fortification was built and the imperial residence in general, and based on the archaeological finds, most notably coins, it can be dated to the 2nd and the first half/middle of the 3rd century.

2. This phase encompasses the large Building 3, discovered in the *Thermae* Sector. The relation between the southeastern part of the earlier fort's portico, water duct A and its wall 1 is indicative for its chronology. Namely, water duct A is negated by the pillar of the southern portico of the earlier fortification (Fig. 17), and it lies on wall 1 of the Building 3 (Figs. 14–15). This indicates that Building 3 had been built before the earlier fort's southern portico, at the same time as the water duct, in any case during the 3rd century.

3. Building 4 is the earliest one, and it's especially interesting because it was built at the time when the western rampart of the older fortification was destroyed,

¹⁷ Срејовић 1983b, 24–37; Sreјović, Vasić 1994, 57–58.

¹⁸ According to D. Sreјović the construction of the earlier fortification started in 298/299 and the later not before 303. Sreјović 1995, 299–300.

¹⁹ Петковић, Живић 2006.

and the later one had not yet been built.²⁰ This is backed by the fact that the eastern part of Building 4 was built above the ramparts of the older fortification which were previously razed to the ground, whilst the base of one pillar lies on its western wall. (Pl. 7–8) In absolute chronology, building 4 belongs to the transition from the 3rd to the 4th century.

* * *

Apart from the traces of the Roman settlement that predates the palace within the fortification, archaeological prospection using geophysical methods performed on the *extra muros* area in the 2006–2008 period, indicates that there are building bases to the north and to the southeast from the ramparts of Romuliana, that belong to a settlement, probably either predating or built during the construction of the imperial residence.²¹ Among the residential and economic objects discovered, in the settlement north of the palace, a building with a circular base and a circular peristyle consisting of 16 monumental pillars, 34 m in diameter, and a circular building in the middle, stood out in particular. Trench exploration was performed on this object in 2007.²²

The partially explored circular building had a public character, whether it was a sacral object – a temple, or an imperial monument. Unfortunately, there weren't enough elements to successfully date the building. Among the scarce archaeological finds in the layer of debris, generated by the destruction of this object, two tegulae with the seal of the IV legion of Flavians (*legio IV Flavia*), which can be dated to the 3rd century, stand out in particular (Fig. 28).²³ Up until now, only seals from the V Macedonian legion (e. g. LVM, L.V.M., LEG V M C III) were detected on the bricks in Romuliana, and it should be noted that they originate from the rampart of the later fortification of the palace.²⁴

Finally, there's the problem of identifying the Roman urban settlement in Gamzigrad, which existed before the Galerius' residence was built and called *Romulianum* after his mother Romula. It should be noted that this settlement in *Dacia Ripensis*, according to *Pseudo Aurelius Victor*, was the birthplace of the emperor and his final resting place. Considering the character of the Roman settlement in Gamzigrad, it is less likely that Galerius was of peasant background and that he was a herdsman in his youth, which gave him his nickname (*Armentarius*), like the Roman author claims.²⁵

However, the function of this settlement can be linked to other mining and metallurgy and trade cen-

ters (*vici, civitas*) in the Timok valley, founded at the end of the 3rd century, after the province of Dacia was abandoned in 272 and the province of New Dacia was founded on the right bank of the Danube (*Dacia Nova, Dacia Aureliana*).²⁶

Archaeological data indicates that an urban Roman settlement existed in Gamzigrad in the 3rd century, before Galerius' imperial residence was built. Earlier objects, partially explored in the fortified imperial palace area, show the relative chronology of this settlement: the earliest Buildings 1 and 2 predate the construction of the earlier fortification, followed by the large Building 3, which was constructed at the same time as the round building of sacral or imperial character built to the north of the fortified palace or perhaps built at the same time as the earlier palace, while the latest Building 4, built after the earlier fortification was demolished and before the later one was constructed. There isn't enough material evidence yet for the existence of an earlier phase of a Roman settlement in Gamzigrad, dated to the 2nd century. The only traces of life in Early Imperial period are the small finds dated in the 1st and 2nd century, which originate in the earliest cultural layer in the fortified palace.²⁷ Also, according to geophysical prospection results at Gamzigrad, it can be assumed that the earlier Roman settlement had a larger layout than the fortified imperial palace, stretching from its ramparts further to the north and southeast.²⁸

Translated by Dragan Marijanović

²⁰ Č. Vasić provides a relative chronology of the construction of earlier and later fortifications of the palace in phases I, Ia and II (Vasić 1995, 318–319). Phase I marks the demolition of the portico and the rampart between the towers of the earlier fortification, and precedes the construction of the later fortification that incorporates the earlier towers (phase II). However our building belongs to the period between these phases, that can be named phase Ib.

²¹ Bülow, Schüler 2009, 232–234, Fig. 1.

²² Bülow, Schüler 2009, 246–248, Figs. 9–12.

²³ *Terminus post quem non* of the construction of this building is the Diocletian's administrative reforms and the establishment of Dacia Ripensis (*Dacia Ripensis*) in 284 when the jurisdictions of upper Moesian legions, legio IV Flavia and legio VII Claudia, is taken over by XIII Gemina, camped in *Rataria* and V Macedonica based in *Oescus*.

²⁴ Vasić 1997, 152–154.

²⁵ *Pseudo Aur. Victor, Epitome*, 40, 15–17.

²⁶ Petković 2009, 189–194.

²⁷ Besides the already mentioned group of early fibulae (Fig. 27), in the southeastern part of Romuliana, the earliest Roman stratum (stratum G) contained the fragments of the early, Italian *terra sigillata* and glass vessels from the 1st–2nd century.

²⁸ Bülow, Schüler 2009, 232–234, Fig. 1.

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Резиме:

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РИМСКО НАСЕЉЕ НА ГАМЗИГРАДУ ПРЕ ЦАРСКЕ ПАЛАТЕ *FELIX ROMULIANA*

Кључне речи. – Гамзиград, Felix Romuliana, римски период, долина Тимока, римско насеље, римско рударство, римска металургија.

Археолошка истраживања су потврдила постојање римског насеља на Гамзиграду из времена пре изградње Галеријеве палате *Felix Romuliana* почетком IV века. Трагови старијих грађевина констатовани су на простору утврђене царске резиденције (Пл. 1): грађевина 1, јужно од „Великог храма“ (Пл. 2), грађевина 2, испред јужне куле источне капије старијег утврђења (Кула I, Пл. 3) грађевина 3, испод Галеријевих терми у југоисточном делу утврђене палате (Пл. 4–6, Сл. 3–15, 21–26), и грађевина 4, испред улаза у јужну кулу западне капије млађег утврђења (Кула 19, Пл. 7–8).

Из времена пре изградње царске палате у југоисточном делу Ромулијане истражен је југоисточни угао портика старијег утврђења, заједно са старијим системом водоводних и одводних канала (*cloaca*) из III века п. н. е. (Пл. 4, Сл. 16–18). У истом делу налазишта нађена је *in situ* оловна водоводна цев из II–III века (Сл. 19).

Северно од утврђене царске палате, 2007. године откривено је геофизичком проспекцијом и сондажним ископавањима старије римско насеље. Међу грађевинама овог насеља истиче се кружни објекат сакралног или империјалног карактера, пречника око 34 m, са кружним перистилом од 16 стубова, који је делимично ископан. На три тегуле, које потичу из грађевинског шута у овој грађевини констатован је печат IV легије Флавијеваца (*Legio III Flavia*), што указује да је овај објекат настао у II–III веку, пре Диоклецијанових административних и војних реформи (Сл. 28).

У културним слојевима који одговарају времену грађевина 1–4, констатовани су археолошки налази датовани од краја I до средине III века (Сл. 1–2, 20, 27).

Релативна хронологија четири грађевине настале пре Галеријеве палате, које су делимично истражене на простору утврђене царске резиденције је следећа:

1. Најстаријој фази припадају грађевина 1 откривена испод „грађевине са портиком“ (грађевина G) на сектору „великог храма“ и грађевина 2 на Сектору источне капије, изнад које је подигнута октогонална јужна кула источне капије старијег утврђења (кула I). Ова фаза је старија од изградње старије фортификације и царске резиденције уоп-

ште, а на основу покретних налаза, пре свега новца, може се датовати у II – прву половину / средину III века.

2. Овој фази припада велика грађевина 3, откривена на Сектору терми. За њену хронологију индикативан је однос између југоисточног угла портика старијег утврђења, водоводног канала A и њеног зида 1. Наиме, водоводни канал A негиран је ступцем 2 јужног портика старије фортификације (Сл. 17), а лежи на зиду 1 грађевине 3 (Сл. 14–15). Ово указује да је грађевина 3 подигнута пре изградње јужног портика старијег утврђења, а у исто време кад и водоводни канал A, у сваком случају током III века.

3. Најмлађа је грађевина 4, која је посебно занимљива јер је настала у време када је био срушен западни бедем старијег утврђења, а млађи још није био изграђен.²⁹ О томе сведочи чињеница да је источни део грађевине 4 подигнут изнад, до темеља срушеног, западног бедема старијег утврђења, док база једног ступца западног портика млађе фортификације лежи на њеном западном зиду (Пл. 7–8). У апсолутној хронологији грађевина 4 припада прелазу III у IV век.

У апсолутној хронологији први период старијег римског насеља на Гамзиграду може датовати у II – прву половину III века, други период одговара III веку, а последњи крају III и/или почетку IV века.

Функција овог насеља може се повезати са другим рударско-металуршким и занатско-трговинским центрима (*vici, civitas*) у долини Тимока, насталим крајем III. века, после напуштања провинције Дакије 272. године и оснивања провинције Нове Дакије на десној обали Дунава (*Dacia Nova, Dacia Aureliana*).

²⁹ Ч. Васић даје релативну хронологију изградње старије и млађе фортификације палате у фазама I, Ia и II (Васић 1995, 318–319). Фаза Ia означава рушење портика и бедема између кула старијег утврђења и претходи изградњи млађе фортификације у коју су инкорпориране старије куле (фаза II). Међутим, наша грађевина припада времену између ове две фазе, које можемо означити као фаза Ib.