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VOTIVE ALTAR OF
LUCIUS PETRONIUS TIMACHUS

UDC: 904:726.82”652”(497.11) ; 904:725.182.025.3”652”(497.11)
DOI: 10.2298/STA1363053P
Original research article
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Received: November 11, 2012
Accepted: April 23, 2013

Abstract. – During the systematic archaeological excavations in the fortress of Timacum Minus in Ravna near Knjaževac in 1991, a votive altar of Jupiter Paternus, dedicated by Lucius Petronius Timachus, a veteran of the legion VII Claudia, was discovered. The name (cognomen) Timachus was noted for the first time on this monument. It was developed from the ethnonime Timachi, or the hydronime Timachus, known from the historical resources of the Roman period. Timacum Maius and Timacum Minus, the fortifications and settlements in Upper Moesia, were named after the river Timachus (modern Timok), as was, probably, the whole region of the Basin of Timok. The votive altar of Jupiter Paternus was in secondary use as a construction material in the reconstruction of the horreum in the last phase of life in Timacum Minus, in the first half of 5th century A.D. The analysis of the archaeological context of the votive and funeral monuments from Ravna, used as spolia, have distinguished the three periods of their use from the last third of the 3rd century to the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Key words. – Timacum Minus, Ravna, Eastern Serbia, votive altar, Iuppiter Paternus, Timachus, legio VII Claudia, Moesia Superior, Timok.

During the systematic archaeological excavations of the Roman site Timacum Minus in Ravna near Knjaževac in 1991, a votive altar dedicated to Jupiter Paternus was discovered in a large building located at the centre of the fortification, and was defined by the researchers as a horreum.¹ The altar was in its secondary use as a building material. It was discovered together with an anepigraphic altar, built into one of the building’s pillars constructed with small pebbles bound with lime mortar (Fig. 1). The altar was found at the level of the last horizon of life inside the fortification of Timacum Minus, from the first half of the 5th century, which ended in a catastrophic fire, most likely linked with the Hun invasion of Dacia Ripensis in 441/443.² During this phase of construction, or better yet reconstruction, of a building defined as a horreum, spolia from older buildings, as well as gravestones from the nearby necropolis, were used along with river stones and pebbles. This phenomenon was also noted in the Roman fortification in Ravna during the earlier phases of construction and was interpreted by the re-

² Петковић, Јовановић 2000, 279; Petkovicet al. 2000, 15–16.

* The article results from the project: Romanization, urbanization and transformation of urban centres of civil, military and residential character in the Roman provinces on territory of Serbia (no 177007) funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and technological development of the Republic of Serbia.
searchers to be the result of urgent reconstructions of the defence systems in a time of intense barbarian attacks.³

The votive altar dedicated to Jupiter Paternus is made of limestone in the form of ara. It is missing its upper part, whereas the damaged lower part (base) is gradually profiled, the preserved part measuring 34 x 80 x 32 cm. Damage to the monument and the cracks in the base of the altar were caused by the high temperatures of a fire. It is exhibited in the permanent archaeological exhibition of the Heritage Museum in Knjaževac (inv. no. 512) (Fig. 2a–2b).

On the front of the monument there is a seven line inscription that reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Paterno | L(ucius) Petronius | Timachus | vet(eranum) l(egionis) VII Cl(audiae) | [S]e[v]erianae A(lexandrianae) ex opt(ione) | v(otum) p(osuit)

Translated as: to Jupiter, the Best, Fatherly, Lucius Petronius Timachus, a veteran, former optio⁵ of the Legio VII Claudia Severiana Alexandriana, raises a testament.

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The letters are etched deeply, of relatively equal distance and 4 cm high, with paleographic characteristics of inscriptions from the third century.⁶

Ligatures: 2 TE 3 ET RO IVS 4 HVS.

There is a spelling mistake in 2, where P is written instead of R in Jupiter’s epithet Paterno, as well as in 4, in the nomen of Petronius. This error indicates that the stonecutter mixed letters of the Greek and Latin alphabets by replacing R with a Greek P (rho), meaning that he was probably from a helenophone region of the Roman Empire.

At the beginning of 6 there is some damage. Four letters are discernible: the first and the third are illegible, whereas the E in the middle, and the A at the end

⁴ The inscription was published online in the database of the Roman epigraphic monuments as part of the University of Salzburg Ubi Erat Lupa project, Web-Plattform & Datenbanken. Die Internet – Fart der Roman Wolfin (http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org. No. 5522) The reading of the inscription is different in the sixth row: Lacunae of the legion VII Claudia epithet’s letters [S]e[v]erianae A(lexandrianae) are not listed.
⁵ The military rank of optio in the Roman legion is usually equated with the rank of lieutenant in the modern-day army, but it appears to correspond more to the rank of second lieutenant.
⁶ Petrović 1975, 104–121. The arrangement of inscriptions and the onomastic formula tria nomina point to the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries. A large number of ligatures, triangular symbols to separate words, and the distinctive letters M, T and H have been dated to the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries. Likewise, abbreviations are typical of the first half of the 3rd century. However, the specific letter L, with a spiral curved end, is dated between the middle of the 2nd to the 4th centuries, while the specific letter A, with a horizontal serif at the junction of the slanting lines, is dated to the second half of the 3rd and 4th centuries.
form the abbreviation of the epithet of legion VII Claudia Sev(eria) A(lexandriana).

In 5, the second numeral I in VII is smaller, as well as the second letter L in the abbreviation of the epithet Cl(audia) of the legion VII. In 6, the fourth letter A is smaller than the others.

The epithet Severiana Alexandriana of the legion VII Claudia is important for the dating of Lucius Petronius Timachus’ votive altar. The legion was given this epithet during the time of Alexander Severus (222–235), and the year 222 can be regarded as a terminus post quem of the creation of the votive inscription.\(^7\)

Special attention is given to the name of the dedicant of this inscription, as well as his function. As far as we know, no epigraphic monuments have been registered displaying the cognomen Timachus. Likewise, this cognomen does not appear in works of Roman writers. Without doubt, this cognomen, a nickname, is derived from a hydronym Timacus (Timachus, –i, m.), a Latin name for the river Timok in modern-day eastern Serbia.\(^8\)

Pliny is the first to mention the Timaci (Timachi, –orum, m. pl.) among the peoples inhabiting Moesia, and the Timok among the rivers that originate in Dardania.\(^9\) The Timaci are mentioned once again in the name of the auxiliary unit of the Roman army pseudocomitatenses Timacenses auxiliarii in the late Roman document Notitia dignitatum.\(^10\) Also, the toponym Timacum /

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\(^7\) This epithet of the legion Claudia was noted on the tombstone from Viminacium, dedicated to Alexander Severus, built into the medieval fortress of Smederevo, dated to 228 (Mirkovic 1986, 101–102, no. 58), as well as on three votive altars from Naissus, two of which have been precisely dated to 225 and 223 (Petrovic, 1979, 68–69, 74, 77, nos. 3, 14, 21).

\(^8\) There are five rivers with this name in Serbia today, belonging to the Danube basin, namely: Svrliški Timok and Trgoviški Timok, forming Beli Timok. The rivers Beli Timok and Crni Timok (Crna reka) then form the Timok river.

\(^9\) Plin. Nat. III, 149.

\(^10\) Not. Dign. Or. IX, 40.
Timachum (Timachum –i, n.) signifies the settlement and fortification in Moesia Superior, later Dacia Ripensis, in fact two fortifications: Timacum Minus identified in the village of Ravna near Knjaževac and Timacum Maius, previously located at the site of modern-day Knjaževac and more recently located in the village of Niševac near Svrliţ. Cognomen Timachus, in our opinion, does not necessarily indicate the dedicant’s origin or his Timací ethnicity. This name may be related to his service in the Timok Valley. For example, the name Timacenses auxiliarii denoted light cavalry units which controlled important communications behind a number of fortifications in the Timok region, and not necessarily units comprised of the Timací people. This is confirmed by the first two distinctive Latin names in the onomastic formula of the dedicant, praenomen – Lucius and nomen – Petronius, which point to a person whose family was Romanised in the early imperial period. It should be noted that the votive altars to Jupiter Paternus, as a rule, are a testament devoted by strangers abroad to some paternal deity from their homeland.

Another votive altar to Jupiter Paternus comes from Timacum Minus. A small, limestone pillar with a

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11 Ptol. III, 9, 4; Tab. Peut. VIII, 7.
14 Мирковић 1966, 391–393, сл. 10; Мирковић, Душањић 1976, 49, nos. 9–13, 21, 80; Петровић 1979, 35, 76–78, nos. 19–22. – In Moesia Superior, except in Timacum Minus, votive altars dedicated to Jupiter Paternus are confirmed in Singidunum, Rgotina (Argentares?), Naissus and in the vicinity of Prizren (Theranda?).
votive inscription was discovered in a building with a hypocaust, in a Roman settlement west of the fortification in Ravnà. The dedicate is Flavius Bitus DD, a Thracian immigrant (Fig 3a). There is no reliable explanation in scientific literature for Flavius Bitus’ military rank, marked by the abbreviation DD (Fig. 3b). The same markings on the tombstone of Valeria Furnia from Timacum Minus, raised by her children (Rustici-anus, Valerianus, Lucilla, Faestus) and her husband Aelius Rusticus, DD cohortis II Aureliae Dardanorum, with the depiction of dona militaria (torques, armilae, phalerae) above the inscription area, are interpreted by P. Petrović as the abbreviation d(onis) d(onatus). However, the same author later gives another interpretation of the DD inscription, associated with the participation of cohort II Aureliae Dardanorum in the exploitation of mines in the Upper Timok region – d(rome)d(arius), as member of the camel unit, dromedarí. Even though the depiction of dona militaria on the tombstone of Aelius Rusticus gave Petrović a strong argument for deciphering DD as d(onis) d(onatus), he once again offered alternative interpretations, such as d(ecurio) d(uplarius) or d(ecurio turquatus et) d(uplarius). What led him to this conclusion was, most likely, the fact that the two letters D were connected by a horizontal line in a specific manner, identical to the tombstone of Flavius Bitus (Fig. 3b).

The marks of the military rank which consist of two letters D, connected with a horizontal line that ends with oblique serifs on these tombstones, could represent a monogram made up of two D’s, an E, and a T (Fig. 3b–c). In the case of the two epigraphic inscriptions from Ravnà, the monogram can be interpreted as d(ecurio) et d(uplarius), even more so because Aelius Rusticus’ military decorations (dona militaria) are displayed on his tombstone. The unit in which he served is unmarked on Flavius Bitus’ votive altar, whereas Aelius Rusticus was a veteran of cohort II Aureliae Dardanorum. Judging by their gentile names, unlike the majority of the people in Moesia Superior, the family of Flavius Bitus acquired Roman citizenship during the Flavian dynasty, and the family of Aelius Rusticus did so during Hadrian’s rule, indicating their foreign origins. In this case, both decorated officers settled in Timacum Minus upon the completion of their military service.

In this context, we will focus on the position and rank of the dedicate Lucius Petronius Timachus: veteranus legionis VII Claudia Severiana Alexandriana ex optione. From his rank’s formula it is evident that he was a veteran of legion VII Claudia, where he served as a deputy centurion or “a chosen officer”. It can be assumed that Lucius Petronius served on special assignments in the Timok region, most likely in Timacum Minus, as an officer, optio of the legion VII Claudia. He was well renowned for his service in the entire Timok region and received the cognomen Timachus, which distinguished him from another Lucius Petronius who occupied the same, or similar, position. After the completion of military service, he did not return to his fatherland, but settled in Timacum Minus instead.

15 Petrović 1995a, 65, no. 5. – On the tombstones from Tima-cum Minus, the cognomen Bithus (Bithus) appears two more times, determined by the author to be a Thracian name (Petrović 1995, 81, 92–93, nos. 28, 44). Both persons with this cognomen served in the Roman army; the first was the veteran Aurelius Bithus veterans, while the other was Aurelius Bithus Aelius Adiutor cohortis II Aureliae Dar-danorum. More recently, a fragment of a limestone monument with a list of men’s names in a profiled frame was published, most likely a votive inscription, allegedly found in Ravnà and now in the private collection of the villager Marko Markovic, where the cognomen Bithus appears three times – Marcus Aurelius Bithus twice and Publicus Aelius Bithus once (www.ubi-erat-lupa.org. No. 1511).
16 Petrović 1991, 64–65. – Here the author offered two more interpretations of the abbreviation DD – d(ens)d(rophorus) and d(rome)d(arius), but immediately rejected them as unlikely.
17 Petrović 1995b, 199.
18 Petrović 1995a, 95–96, no. 47.
19 The most common nomen in the inscriptions in Moesia Superior, and even in Timacum Minus, is Aurelius, indicating the acquisition of Roman citizenship from the reign of Marcus Aurelius to Caracalla’s Constitutio Antoniniana (Fejfar 2002, 234–235).
20 Individual colonization of a larger number of legionary veterans was recorded in the surrounding areas of legion camps in Moesia Superior, Singidunum (Legio IV Flavia) and Viminacium (Legio VII Claudia), and sporadically in other cities of the province: Horreum Margi, Lederata, Naissus, Municipium DD (Ferjančić 2002, 154–165). The exception is Timacum Minus, in which the epigraphic monuments confirmed four veterans of legion VII Claudia and seven from unknown units, who could have been legionary veterans (Petrović 1995a, nos. 30, 32, 57–60).
21 The military, as well as the administrative rank of optio often refers to specific functions, such as: optio custodiarum – commander of the guard, optio praetorii – assistant in the command headquarters, optioprimiprincipalis – supervisor, optio statorum – head of the military police, optio ad carcerem – prison warden, optio fabricae – commander of the workshops, optio valetudinarii – head of the hospital, and so on. Optio is a duplarius according to the pay scale: he received double the salary of a legionnaire (miles). – Breeze 1971, 132–134; Breeze 1976; Probst 2009.
22 Hirt 2010, 70–71. In Lom (Almus) in Bulgaria, the votive inscription confirmed the optio (legionis) XI Claudiae) agent regionis Montanensium), who could have had a similar function in the region (region Montanensium) of Montana, as Petronius Timachus in the Timok region (territoria metallorum).
The special role of Lucius Petronius Timachus in Timacum Minus and the wider Timok region is a matter of speculation. It is suggested that the Roman army was involved in the exploitation of mines in the mining regions of Moesia Superior. This is confirmed by the tombstone of Ulpius Aquilinus, which was discovered built into the tower of the western rampart of Timacum Minus. The function of this member of legion VII Claudia was miles legionis VII Claudiae, libraries office praefecti territorii metallorum. The military was involved in the transport of ore from the imperial mine regions to the metallurgical centres and the distribution of precious metals, gold and silver, as well as copper and lead ingots to the imperial workshops and mints. To this end, besides employing cohort II Aurelia Dardanorum in these operations, the participation of a number of squads of legion VII Claudia could be expected, as well as officers deployed on special organisational, administrative and financial tasks.

The tombstone of Aurelius Martinianus’ family, a praepositus of cohort II Aurelia Dardanorum, as well as an anepigraphic family stele in the form of a medallion, were discovered in the same building as the votive altar of Lucius Petronius Timacus, dedicated to Jupiter Paternus. The tombstones were used as foundations for wooden columns that carried the roof or porch in the western part of the adapted horreum building. This set of four columns is aligned east to west, from the entrance of the building to its western wall (Plan 1, Fig. 4). The bases of the pillars lie on columns of smaller pebbles bound with mortar and levelled with tegulae and are made of spolia: 1 – two votive limestone altars, one dedicated to Jupiter Paternus and another anepigraphic (Fig. 1), 2 – the upper part of the tombstone of Aurelius Martinianus (Fig. 5), 3 – part of an anepigraphic altar and a massive limestone ashlars’ stele base with holes for the pin and 4 – a tombstone in the form of a medal-
lion, made of white limestone conglomerate, turned face down (Fig. 6). Considering that the entire building was burned in a fire, the tombstones in secondary use were damaged by high temperatures and contain visible burn marks in the form of cracks, altered colour and rock structure (Fig. 7).

The stone monuments in secondary use as bases for wooden colonnades in the last construction phase of the eastern part of the building, defined as horreum, can approximately be dated to the 3rd century.

The most accurately dated was the tombstone that Aurelius Martinianus, praepositus of cohort II Aurelia Dardanorum, raised for his sons Aurelius Marcus and Aurelius Marcianus, together with survivors (super-viventes), wife Aurelia Donata and daughter Aurelia Severina (Fig. 8). The tombstone is made of a massive limestone ashlar, with the top damaged and base missing. The preserved part is 89 x 192 x 29 cm in size. The top of the tombstone has changed colour and contains cracks caused by fire. A rectangular relief is framed with garlands of vines and grapes. In the foreground (lower part) it displays two symmetrically placed riders with short army cloaks, in the half-profile face position. Facing the viewer and in the middle, an athletic man in a short, belted tunic and crowned with a wreath is holding the horses by the headgear, one in

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28 Petrović 1995a, 91–92, no. 42. – Parts of the tombstones discovered in 1983 and 1991 were temporarily attached in order to read the inscriptions, but were later, mistakenly, preserved and reconstructed as two stele. One of them, with the larger part of the inscription, is located at the lapidarium at the ethno-archaeological park in Ravna, and the other one, with the smaller part of the inscription and relief frieze, is in the courtyard of the Heritage Museum in Knjaževac.
each hand. The riders portray the heroised deceased, *Aurelius Marcus* and *Aurelius Marcianus*. They are depicted as adult men. The one to the right, probably the older brother, is depicted with a beard, regardless of their early demise.\(^{29}\) The background (upper part) displays the mother and father on the left and right side respectively, and the daughter in the middle. On both sides of the inscription area, accentuated by a gradually profiled frame, there are longitudinally fluted columns on stepped bases, with Corinthian capitals decorated with acanthus leaves. Thus, the entire tombstone takes the form of the facade of the temple, and the damaged upper part of the tombstone could have been shaped as a triangle or, more likely, an arched tympanum. Based on the rank of the cohort’s *praepositus* (*vir egregius praepositus cohortis*), stylistic features of the stele and analogous tombstones from Gamzigrad, Romania and Bulgaria, it is dated to the last quarter of the 3rd – the beginning of the 4th century.\(^{30}\) This tombstone is kept in the lapidarium in the courtyard of the Heritage Museum in Knjaževac (Inv. no. 450).\(^{31}\)

In the same context, an anepigraphic, medallion-shaped, limestone conglomerate stele was discovered, measuring: \(R = 87\) cm, \(h = 99\) cm (Fig. 9).\(^{32}\) The circular medallion has a groove profiled annular frame, circular relief field and a rectangular base with a rectangular

\(^{29}\) Although *Marcus Aurelius* was between 10 and 20 years old at the time of death, he is listed as *eques Romanus*. On the other hand, *Aurelius Marcianus* died the age of 7. It was unlikely that any of Aurelius Martinianus’ sons could have gained a position in the Roman cavalry during their lifetimes, but as children of the *praepositus* of the cavalry cohort, such a rank was their future prospect.


\(^{31}\) See reference no. 28.

\(^{32}\) Периовић 1992, – On the cover of the *Serbian Archaeological Society Journal* 8, a poor black-and-white field photograph of the tombstone was posted, with a somewhat more extensive legend; www.ubi-erat-lupa.org. No. 5520; Илић 2009, 44.
Fig. 7. Family grave stela of Aurelius Martinianus, damaged in fire
Fig. 8. Reconstructed grave stela of Aurelius Martinianus

Сл. 7. Породична надгробна сійела Аурелия Марцианіана, оштрафена пожежею
Сл. 8. Реконсиструвана йородична надгробна сійела Аурелия Марцианіана

Fig. 9. Anepigraphic family tombstone in the form of a medallion
Fig. 10. Tombstone fragment in the form of a medallion/seashell, flanked by lions from Horreum Margi

Сл. 9. Анейграфський йородичний надгробний спомінник у вигляді медалюно
Сл. 10. Фрагментній надгробної сійолемики у вигляді медалюно–шкілці, флампіїле лавовим (?) із Horreum Margi
pin, used to attach the tombstone to the base. The tombstone is cracked and has changed colour due to fire. The stele is a family tombstone, depicting the busts of the deceased in full relief. In the foreground (on the bottom half of the decorative field) two men are depicted on the right and left side, and two women in the middle. On the left side, an older man with a beard is shown, wearing a long military cloak with tassels, *sagum*, which is fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder. On the right side a young man is shown, wearing a short cavalry cloak (*paludamentum*), which is fastened on the right shoulder by a fibula. The women are dressed as matrons – they are wearing a long cloak (palla) over a long tunic (or dress). Both women are each holding an object in their bent right arm which extends from under their robe. Because of damage to the tombstone, it is impossible to define what each object is. It is possible that the woman on the right is holding a bird in her hand, and the one on the left, an egg or a pine-cone. In the background (the upper half of the decorative field) there are three busts – the largest male figure on the right side is surely *pater familias*, the woman’s figure to the left, his wife, and their son in the middle. The man has a short beard; he is also wearing a long military cloak with tassels (*sagum*). The woman has the same hairstyle as the deceased women displayed in the foreground. Jewellery is carefully displayed and consists of a double necklace made of spherical pearls and earrings with a calotte or a spherical pearl on a small link and a hanging pendant with a spherical pearl at the end. She is wearing a cloak (palla) over a dress. Unfortunately, the faces of all the depicted people are damaged, and the face of the young man in the middle of the background is completely destroyed. However, judging by the analogous depictions on family tombstones from *Timacum Minus*, the Tilva Roš site in Bor and *Horreum Margi–Cuprija*, the style and content of this stele corresponds to the last quarter of the 3rd century (Fig. 10). The clothing and jewellery of the depicted people support such dating: the women are wearing necklaces with spherical pearls, earrings with a calotte or a spherical pearl on a small link and a pendant with a pearl at the end, and the men are wearing army cloaks fastened on their right shoulder by a fibula. Likewise, the hairstyles of the men and women suggest dating to the 3rd century. There is a shell-shaped stele in the form of a free standing medallion originating from Stojnik on Kosmaj (*Demessum?*). It exhibits the same stylistic characteristics of manufacture as the medallion from Ravna. According to the latest interpretation by I. Popović, this family tombstone, depicting a couple with a son, belonged to *Simplicius*, the manager of the silver, copper and lead mines in Avala, Kosmaj and Rudnik (*Metalla Tricorniensia* – *Simplicius vir egregius, procurator metallorum*). In such a case, both family steles in the form of medallions, originating from the Roman mining regions of Moesia Superior, can be dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century. Two more family steles in the form of freestanding medallions from *Moesia Superior* are kept in the Šmederevo Museum – one is shaped as a shell, and the other, very similar to the Ravna tombstone, is dated to the second half of the 3rd century.

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33 *Sagum* could have been made of wool, but also leather or fur, so that the “fringes” on the edge may represent fur used for lining the cloak.

34 Damage on the relief prevents the exact identification of the types of the fibulae shown, but it seems that the older man wears, on his right shoulder, a plate discoid fibula and the younger an arched, probable crossbow or T-fibula. These types of fibulae are generally dated between the middle of the 2nd and 4th centuries (Petković 2010a, 342–344).

35 Depictions of the deceased, who held in their hands a pine cone, an apple, an egg or a bird, are known from the tombstones and sarcophagi from north-eastern Dalmatia and Lower Pannonia. They symbolise belief in the immortality of the soul and reincarnation. (Dautova-Rusevlijan 1983, T. 10, 1, T. 26, C. T. 27; Popović 1996, 143, Fig. 4; Popović 2002, 70, sl. 17; Jovanović A. 2007, 166, sl. 23, 1; Lomu 2004, 44–45, sl. 5).

36 Petrović 1995; Petković 2010b, 120, Fig. 26; Petković 2012, 124, Sl. 11.

37 Jovanović A. 1978, 44, sl. 86.

38 Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 128, Group I, Cat. 60; Popović 1996, 16, typ I 1a, sl. 1, kat. 45.


40 Vučetić 1931, 9, br. 9; Vučetić, Popović 1986, kat. 45; Popović 2012.

41 *Simplicius* was confirmed as *vir egregius* on the votive altar dedicated to the goddess *Orcia* from Avala, dated to 287, and as a hypothetical *procurator metallorum* on the inscription on a silver patera from the silver vessels deposit from Gornji Branetići on Rudnik, stored during the last quarter of the 3rd century (Mirković, Dušanović 1976, 54–55, 159–160, nos. 20, 172–174; Dujmović 1980, 51; Dujmović 1991, 220–221).
century according to its stylistic characteristics. In the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade, there was another family headstone medallion, now lost, with a simple frame, decorated with oblique notches and with a pine-cone on the top, displaying a married couple and a boy – son, in the relief field. A woman is displayed with sophisticated jewellery around her neck and triangular (Sic!) earrings. This tombstone is dated to the second half of the 2nd–3rd centuries according to the clothes and the hairstyle of the deceased. Shell-shaped family tombstone medallions from Lower Pannonia are part of the same chronological framework and they carefully depict portraits and clothes of the deceased. The previously mentioned fragment of the family tombstone from Ćupria (Horreum Margi) belongs to the later type of shell-shaped medallions, flanked with lions, as evidenced by the rustic manufacture of standing figures. These tombstones, perhaps a fragment from Horreum Margi, as well as tombstone medallions from Dacia, can be associated with the social elite of the 3rd century mining regions in the provinces of Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior and Dacia, famous for their gold and silver mines. The family tombstone in the form of a medallion is on display in the permanent archaeological exhibition of the Heritage Museum in Knjaževac (Inv. no. 513). Both tombstones, in secondary use as bases of wooden pillars in the last phase of the reconstruction of the horreum, belonged to the families of the local Roman elite in the settlement Timacum Minus, who were buried in the necropolis, west of the fortification.

Based on the epigraphic tombstones from Ravna, it can be concluded that the upper class consisted of families of officers of the Roman army and civil administration officials, including a significant number of immigrants. Without doubt, the wealthy, romanised, indigenous population was also part of the elite. Both immigrants and the local population were engaged in the exploitation of mineral resources and metallurgy, either as, forced labourers (damnati ad metallo), officers of the imperial administration of mining regions (territoriae metallorum) or leaseholders of mines. Also, the dedicate of votive alters to Iuppiter Paterinus, L. Petronius Timachus, could have settled in Timacum Minus as a veteran, where, during the service, he would have been involved in the exploitation of imperial metallica in the Upper Timok region, and then became a leaseholder of the mine. For the time being, we consider the Timachi ethnicity of Lucius Petronius Timachus an open question.

The question of discontinuities of life in Timacum Minus should be regarded in the context of spolia use from older buildings and necropolises during reconstruction of the fortification and buildings in its interior. This phenomenon was caused by a combination of military, political and economic reasons. It can be traced chronologically from the second half of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century, which corresponds to the political and economic instability of the Roman Empire and the beginning of successive incursions of barbarians from the left bank of the Danube, especially the Goths and then the Huns, who finally destroyed the Roman fort and the settlement in Ravna in 441/443. Considering the fact that there were no quarries in the vicinity of this archaeological site which would be able to provide raw material for the Roman masons, stone had to be imported from afar which was, by the end of the 3rd century, hard to ensure on the unsafe

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42 Булин, 1931, 243, 6p. 648; Пиппович 2009, 20, 23–25, ср. 1, ср. 3. – Unfortunately, it is unknown from which necropolis these tombstones originate, either from Vincea (near Smederevo) or Viminacium (Kostolac near Pozarevac). The steles from Viminacium were used in medieval times as building material for the city of Smederevo.

43 Булин 1990, 175–176, 6p. 9 D.

44 Давота-Русевлjan 1988, 64–65, Т. 7, 2–3. Tombstones from Sirmium and Šimanovci are dated to the second half, or the end of the 3rd century.

45 The relief on this altar is shallow, accentuated by notches. The medallion displays standing figures in cubic forms, with oversized heads and large eyes: in the middle, a bearded man is shown in a long tunic, wearing a sagum, fastened by a crossbow fibula on his right shoulder, with a conical cup in his right hand; to his right there is a boy dressed in a short tunic, wearing a paludamentum fastened by a discoid fibula on his right shoulder, with an aryballus in his right hand, while to the left of the man, there was most likely a woman i.e. a wife and mother. The preserved lion on the right side of the medallion holds an animal in its front paws, and contains portrait features of a human (Fig. 10).

46 Protase 1960, 323–333. A specific local type of tombstone from Dacia is a medallion flanked by lions, which hold in their claws a horned animal, probably a ram. On the other hand, different types of anepigraphic family grave medallions from Dacia are attributed to immigrants from Noricum and Pannonia (Тепсов-Маринеску 1982, 33, 188–194, П, XXX–XXXIII; Ciongradi 2007, 93–96, Тaf. 113–118).

47 Investigations of the Roman necropolises in Timacum Minus indicate that the necropolis of the deceased who were cremated in the 2nd–3rd centuries was in the area called Сирина, west of the fortification, confirmed by geophysical prospecting in this area in 2010 (Петковач et al. 2005, 42; Ипинь 2011, 83–85).


roads of the Timok valley which were endangered by groups of barbarians and bandits, *latrones*. In such conditions, even old altars and tombstones were desecrated and used as building material. It can be assumed that public buildings, primarily shrines, were already demolished when *spolia* or votive altars were taken from them. The same applies to parts of the necropolis of *Timacum Minus*, from which tombstones were taken to be used for construction. This indicates a change in the population structure, i.e., the fact that there were no living descendants of the prominent citizens who erected the steles and would, therefore, oppose the desecration of the graves. Context of finds analysis of tombstones and votive altars, discovered during systematic archaeological excavations at the Roman site *Timacum Minus* in 1975–1991, determined three groups of *spolia*: 1) monuments that were built into the towers and ramparts of phase III of the Roman fortification as building material, 2) monuments that were built into towers and ramparts of phase IV of the Roman fortification and 3) monuments that were used as material for the adaptation of older buildings, inside and outside the fortification, during the last phase of life in *Timacum Minus* (Table 1). Phase III of the Roman fortification in Ravna is characterised by the construction of square offensive towers that protruded half way out of the

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50 The tombstone of Marcus Valerius, who was killed by bandits, was extracted from the eastern wall of the fortification in Ravna, – *... a latronibus interfictus* (Petrovic 1995a, 124–125, no. 93). In Vrbica, about 10 km north of Ravna, a fragment of a tombstone was discovered, belonging to a father and son named Diurpagisa (*Sic!*?) who were killed by *stationares*, most likely robbers, who robbed customs stations, or perhaps even rebel customs officials. The tombstone is dated to the 3rd century, based on its paleographic features (Petrovic 1995a, 132, no. 108).
walls, as opposed to the internal towers of the previous phase. Also, at this stage, the number of towers increased – in addition to corners and the gates, towers were built between corner towers and gates, and their number grew to an assumptive 20 towers (Plan 2). In the northwest tower (tower NW 1) four built-in monuments were discovered, and three more in the towers on the western rampart: two in the tower W 1 and one in the tower W 6. In addition, one monument was discovered in the eastern rampart, south of the northeast tower. Chronological analysis of the epigraphic monuments built into the ramparts and towers of the phase III fortification shows that the middle of the 3rd century can be determined as the terminus post quem of its construction (Table 1).

Phase IV of the Roman fortification Timacum Minus was characterised by the fundamental reconstruction of the ramparts and the change of the fortification’s layout. A new rampart outside the older fortification was built in the opus mixtum technique. Since the new rampart pressed against the older one, the total thickness of the walls was 3.50 m. The gates to the north, west and south ramparts were sealed off by large rectangular towers, so that the only entrance to the fort was on the eastern side. It is assumed that, at this stage, the fortification was defended by 15–17 large towers protruding outside the mighty rampart (Plan 2). At the foundations of the younger tower, which seals off the northern gate (tower N 1), an ashlar base of the tombstone was discovered, and in the foundations of the eastern wall of the north-eastern tower of the Phase IV NE 2 fortification, two stele dated to the second half of the 2nd – the first half of the 3rd centuries were discovered (Table 1). At this stage of the construction of fortifications, spolia were used less frequently and only in the foundation area of the wall. This indicates planned construction which takes the aesthetic aspect into consideration, manifested by the construction of the walls in the opus mixtum technique. The last phase of life in Timacum Minus was explored in the southern gate sector, at a large building in the centre of the fortification, the so called horreum, and a large building with a hypocaust heating system, southwest of the fort, defined as thermae II. These facilities, created in the earlier stages from the 3rd and the 4th centuries, suffered destruction, most likely by the end of 4th and the early 5th centuries. During the first decades of the 5th century, life was restored in Timacum Minus and the buildings were reconstructed into objects for different purposes, predominately workshops and warehouses.

The fortification lost its original purpose and a rural settlement was formed in and around the fortification. At this phase of life the stone monuments used as bases for wooden pillars (Plan 1) were discovered in the horreum, and in thermae II a small pillar with dedicant Flavius Bitus’s inscription dedicated to Jupiter Paternus and a part of Trevius Salustian’s altar were discovered in the partition wall made of pebble and crushed rock (Table 1). As noted, tombstones from the horreum are generally dated to the 3rd century, except for Aurelius Martian’s family stele and the anepigraphic tombstone in the form of medallion which are accurately dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century. Tombstones probably originate from a part of the Roman necropolis at the site Ropinski potok, northwest of the fortification. A biritual burial from the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th centuries was registered here. On the other hand, votive altars of Flavius Bitus and Trevius Salustianus, found in the wall of the last phase of life in the building southwest of the fortification (thermae II), are dated to the first half of the 3rd century. Both altars, undoubtedly, come from a ruined temple which is located near the large buildings marked as thermae II. By the first half of the 3rd century, the assumptive temple had long been unused, and the Christian population of Timacum Minus was not pious towards pagan monuments. It is interesting to note that, in both cases, monuments from

51 During systematic archaeological research, eight towers belonging to phase III of the fortification were unearthed: the northwest corner tower, one northern gate tower, two towers on the western and southern gate and two on the western rampart. (Ипировал, Јовановић 1997, 20, Fig. 16; Петковић et al. 2005, 14, Figs. 1–3; Јилги 2009, 11–12).
52 During archeological excavations in 1975–1998, parts of phase IV of the fortification were discovered: one rhomboid-shaped tower each to the northeast, northwest and southwest corner of the fortifications, three rectangular towers that sealed off the northern, western and southern gate and two on the western rampart (Ипировал, Јовановић 1997, 20–21, Fig. 16; Петковић et al. 2005, 15, Fig. 1, Plan 1; Јилги 2009, 11–12).
53 In the southern gate sector, a large workshop for wood, bone and deer antler processing was explored (Петковић 2001), while in the horreum, a blacksmith and glass furnaces were discovered, as well as grain storage.
54 Петковић, Јовановић 2000, 279; Петковић 2001, 59–73.
55 Петровић 1995, 64, 72, nos. 5, 30.
56 Петковић et al. 2005, 133, 142, Pl. XIII, Plan 5.
57 Based on the finds of epigraphic monuments and cult plastic, the existence of several shrines dedicated to Jupiter, Diana, Mars and Mithras is assumed in the civilian settlement south of the fortification (Петковић, Јовановић 1997, 22; Јовановић 2007, 175–188).
sacred pagan sites (necropolis, temple) nearby were used as the *spoliae*, indicating that there was no systematic, planned destruction, but that suitable construction material was taken from the ruins. Based on the facts presented, we conclude that the dramatic change of life in Timacum Minus occurred in the second half of the 3rd century, during which there was also a change in the structure of the population, probably in the last quarter of this century. It was caused by the abandonment of the province of *Dacia* in 272, at the time of Aurelian, which followed the wars against the Carps and Goths, led by emperors Trajan Decius, Gallien, Claudius Gothicus and Aurelian from 250 until 270. The epidemic of plague that befell *Moesia Superior* during the third quarter of the 3rd century should also not be ignored.59

During the late Roman period, from the last quarter of 3rd century to the middle of 5th century, Timacum Minus was inhabited by a population which was different regarding the ethnic composition, religious ideas, cultural and economic level of development, compared to the previous period. Processes of barbarisation, Christianisation and ruralisation of the population were typical of this period, as evidenced by the research of the late Roman necropolis at the site of Slog, as well as excavations in the southern gates sector of the fortification.60 This demographic situation has a number of causes, including some key historical events:

1. Abandonment of the *Dacia* province during the time of Emperor Aurelian between 272–275, accompanied by the withdrawal of the Roman army and administration, as well as the Romanised population. As a result, in the south-eastern part of *Moesia Superior* and in the north-western part of Lower Moesia, the province of *Dacia Nova* was created,61 followed by *Moesia Prima* in the northwest and *Moesia Secunda* in the southeast, which were formed from the rest of Upper Moesia’s territory.

2. The Gothic War, led by Emperor Valens in 378, ended with the battle of Hadrianopolis, where the Roman army was defeated and the king was killed in a fire. After the victory, Visigoths pillaged *Moesia Secunda* and *Dacia Ripensis*. This was followed by the looting and burning of Roman forts and towns in *Dacia Ripensis* and *Moesia Prima* until 382, when emperors Theodosius I and Gratian gave the *foedus* to the Germanic barbarians on the territory of the Empire.62

3. After the death of Emperor *Arcadius* and the murder of the Roman general (*magister militum*) Stilicho in 408, barbarians started making numerous incursions into the territory of the Empire. In 409, The Huns, led by Uldin, destroyed the fortification *Castra Martis*, ravaging Thrace, Lower Moesia and *Dacia Ripensis*.63

4. In 441–443 Attila’s Huns destroyed the Roman limes on the Danube, from *Sirmium* to the Black Sea. Looting and burning of Roman forts and towns ensued in 447–448 in *Dacia Ripensis* and *Dacia Mediterranea*, all the way to *Naissus*.64

The first change in the population and economy of Timacum Minus happened after the abandonment of the province of Dacia in 272, when the people who died or fled during the wars with the Carpathians and Goths were replaced by immigrants from this province and the newly settled barbarians. Exploitation of mines in the Upper Timoc region and CrnaReka was renewed and intensified in order to compensate for the loss of the Dacian mines.65 Also, the settlement of the Romanised mining population from Dacia, as well as from the closest mining areas, can be assumed (e.g. *Argentariae Pannonicae, Metalla Tricorniciensia*). The immigrants were also recruited into Roman army units, probably into cohort II Aurelia Dardanorum.

The second time that the Roman settlement in Ravna was deserted was after the Battle of Adrianople in 378, during the difficult years of barbarian destruction between 378–382. This time the population was restored by the settling of Goths and other peoples, carriers of the Chernyahov–Sintana de Mures culture.

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58 *CAH* XII, 38–51.
59 *CAH* XII, 40, 50. – The following emperors also succumbed to disease: Hostilian, son and heir to *Traianus Decius* in *Viminacium* in 251, and *Claudius Gothicus*, in *Sirmium* in 270.
61 *Eutrop. Brev.* IX, 15.1 – *Media Moesia* is mentioned in this fragment, named *Dacia (Nov* a) by Aurelian, who inhabited it with a Roman population, whom he brought over from the cities and villages of the province of Dacia. Furthermore, Eutropius states that the emperor divided the two Moesias in such a way – ... *quae nunc duas Moesias dividit...* The new province covered the area where *Dacia Ripensis* and *Dacia Mediterranea* were later formed by Diocletian’s reform.
64 *CAH* XIV, n 704–709.
66 Dating of the stone monuments is based on paleographic, stylistic and historical elements.
67 Inscription is in Greek.
| No. | Year  | Context of finds | Description                                                                 | Literature                                                                 | Dating
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>North-western tower NW 1, phase III</td>
<td>Grave stele of Aurelius Tatius, veteran, and Aurelia Longina, his wife</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 102–103, no. 57.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>North-western tower NW 1, phase III</td>
<td>Tombstone, <em>tabula ansata</em>, Iulia Harita and Titus Claudius Valerianus, raised by husband and father Titus Claudius Valens, veteran of legion II Adiutrix</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 115, no 77.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>North-western tower NW 1, phase III</td>
<td>Grave stele of Flavia Marciana</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 82–83, no. 30.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Western tower N 2 northern gate, Phase III</td>
<td>Fragment of a grave stele</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 126–128, no. 96.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Tower W 1 on the western rampart, phase III</td>
<td>Votive altar to Diana Augusta, by dedicant Marcus Aurelius Quadratinus, tribune</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 54–65, no. 4.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Tower W 1 on the western rampart, phase III</td>
<td>Grave stele of Ulpia Antonianus Agatoneicon, commander of the cavalry cohort?</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 83, no. 31.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Eastern rampart, phase III</td>
<td>Grave stele of Flavia Gaianus Apotoneicon, commander of the cavalry cohort²</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 100–101, no. 54.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Tower on the western rampart, phase III</td>
<td>Grave stele of Valeria Furnia and her husband Aelius Rusticus DD cohors II Aureliae Dardanorum</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 95–96, no. 47.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>In the foundation pit of the north-eastern tower NE 2, phase IV</td>
<td>Grave stele of Antonia Veneria and Masculus Likonisus</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 107–108, no. 65.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>In the foundation pit of the north-eastern tower NE 2, phase IV</td>
<td>Grave stele of Aurelius Castorus</td>
<td>Petrović 1995: 109–110, no. 67.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Building southwest of the fortification (thermae II), sq. A III, phase V</td>
<td>Votive monument dedicated to Jupiter Paternus in the form of a pillar, by dedicant Flavius Bitus DD</td>
<td>Petrović 1995, 65, No. 5.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Building southwest of the fortification (thermae II), sq. A III, phase V</td>
<td>Fragment of a votive altar (?) , by dedicant Trevius Salustian</td>
<td>Petrović 1995, 72, No. 15.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Building at the centre of the fortification (horreum), phase V</td>
<td>Tombstone in the form of a medallion</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org">www.ubi-erat-lupa.org</a> No. 5520; Ilijić 2009, 44.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Building at the centre of the fortification (horreum), phase V</td>
<td>Votive altar dedicated to Jupiter Paternus, by dedicant Lucius Petronius Timachus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org">www.ubi-erat-lupa.org</a> No. 5522.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
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Table 1. Epigraphic monuments discovered during archaeological excavations on the site Timacum Minus–Ravna (1975–1998)

Cavalry units of *pseudocomitatenses Timacenses auxiliarii* were recruited in the last decades of the 4th century from the barbarian tribes that had obtained *foedus* or *receptio* on imperial territory.68

The third hiatus in the life of Timacum Minus took place at the end of the first decade of the 5th century, probably after the invasion of the Huns led by Uldin. In fact, the fortification ceased to exist and its walls offered shelter to the local population of farmers, herders and craftsmen.69 This population remained in Ravna until the final destruction of the Roman settlement of Timacum Minus in 441/443.70

Based on the stated facts, it can be assumed that the cultural and economic continuity of life in Timacum Minus was disrupted in the third quarter of the 3rd century, which led to the depopulation of this Roman settlement. Judging by the archaeological findings from the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries, the interruption was preceded by a period of cultural and economic prosperity for the Roman settlement in Ravna, which had all the characteristics of an urban agglomeration with a building of *principia* in the fortification and public baths, temples and villas in the neighbourhood outside the walls.71

70 Petković et al. 2005, 144–145.
ABBREVIATIONS:


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AKNOWLEDGMENTS:
Photographs by Saša Milutinović – Leteći
Plans and drawings by Sofija Petković
Утративање споменика Луцију Петронију Тимаку

Кључне речи. — Timacum Minus, Равна, источна Србија, вотивни споменик, Iuppiter Paternus, Timachus, legio VII Claudia, Moesia Superior, Тимок.

Првим систематским археолошима ископавањем 1991. године у утврђењу Timacum Minus, у селу Равна код Књажевца (источна Србија), откривен је вотивни споменик Јупитеру Патерну, који посвећује Lucius Petronius Timachus, ветеран VII Клаудијеве легије. На овом споменику први пут се појављује когномен Timachus, највероватније изведен из етнонима Timachi или хидронима Timachus, који су забележени у историјским изворима римског периода. Према речи Тимок (данашњи Тимок) названи су горњомезијска утврђења и насеља Timacum Maius и Timacum Minus, а можда и читања астрографског облика слива ове реке.

Вотивни споменик Јупитеру Патерну северно од Равне секундарно је употребљен као грађевински материјал за адаптацију грађевине у средишту утврђења, од истраживача означене као horreum, у последњој фази живота Тимакум Минуса у првој половини V века.

Након анализе археолошког контекста налаза надгробних и вотивних споменика из Равне коришћених као сполије, изложбена су три периода њихове употребе од последње трећине III до средине V века. Употреба сполија са старијих некропола и јавних грађевина, пре свега храмова, указује на промену у саставу становништва Тимакум Минуса у позноримском периоду, које су проузроковане историјским догађајима: напуштањем провинције Дакије у време цара Аурелијана 272. године, исходом Хадријанопољске битке, односно победом Гота над војском цара Валенса 378. године и инвазијом Атиличних Хуна на територију Царства 441/443. године.