

Wine and the Vine in Upper Moesia Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence

Abstract: Vine-growing and winemaking in the area of the Roman province of Upper Moesia are looked at based on the information supplied by the ancient sources, and the archaeological and epigraphic evidence (inscriptions, artistic depictions, vine-dressing and winemaking implements, drinking and transport vessels). Viniculture is associated with the Greco-Roman cultural orbit, while the native central-Balkan tribes typically consumed alcoholic beverages made from cereals. Therefore the goal of the research is to shed as much light as currently possible on the significance of vine-growing and wine in the life of the inhabitants of Upper Moesia.

Keywords: wine, vine-growing, inscriptions, tools, amphorae, Balkans, Upper Moesia, Dionysus, Liber

The Roman province of Upper Moesia was not particularly known as a wine-producing region and it certainly could not compete with other provinces in that respect. There is no detailed contemporary information about the growing of grape vines in Upper Moesia, a plant the cultivation of which required both physical effort and knowhow. The cultivation of grape vines and the consumption of wine have been ascribed to the influence of Greco-Roman culture. This is why it seems important to shed as much light as currently possible on the role of vine-growing and winemaking in the life of native and incomer populations in the province.

The framework of this study is territorially limited to the province of Upper Moesia. Given that its boundaries, first established in AD 86, changed frequently over the centuries, what is usually taken as the perimeter of the province is the one that emerged in the first half of the second century.¹ Thus, the territory of the province of Upper Moesia examined in this paper covers most of today's central Serbia (except a smaller western part which belonged to the province of Dalmatia), the northwest portion of today's Bulgaria to the Tsibritsa (Ciabrus) river, and the region of Tetovo in the north of today's FYR Macedonia (see Map on p. 31). A good part of the archaeological material included in this study dates from the third and fourth centuries, that is, after the territorial reorganisation of the Roman Empire. It could be said, therefore, that the material comes from the emerg-

¹ Mirković 1968, 13ff; and 1981, 75–76.

ing provinces of Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Prima and Dardania. Due to the importance and richness of the archaeological and epigraphic monuments from these areas, all of them have been included even if they date from a later period.

It is commonly held that the preferred beverages in continental Europe were those made from cereals, mead and beer. Viniculture, on the other hand, is associated with the ancient Greeks and Romans.² From the few studies on the subject, it appears that Illyricum belonged to the continental culture of alcoholic beverage consumption.³ The little information that can be gleaned from the contemporary sources suggests that, prior to the Greek colonisation of Dalmatian islands or the Roman conquest of the mainland, wine had been virtually unknown to the Illyrians, as it had been to the Celts and Germans; yet, some hold that the vine might have been grown there even earlier.⁴ Strabo (5.1.8 [214]; 7.5.10 [316–317]) mentions the absence of wine among the native population of Illyricum, and Cassius Dio (49.36.3), a third-century governor of Pannonia, describes the quality of local wines as poor. According to the sources, beverages typically drunk in Illyricum were beer (*sabaia*, *sabaium* or *κάμιν*) and mead. The Greeks had been associating beer with the Thracians, Phrygians and other northern neighbours since the seventh century BC (Nelson 2008, 21 ff). Cassius Dio (49.36.3) and Ammianus Marcellinus (26.8.2) claim that the local population in Pannonia grows barley and oat, from which they brew a sort of beer known as *sabaia*. Marcellinus says that *sabaia*, a beverage brewed from barley or some other cereal, is the drink of the poor inhabitants of Illyricum. He even calls the emperor Valens, who was born in Illyricum, a *sabaiarius*, or beer lover. St. Jerome (*Comm. in Isaia* 7.19) also mentions the drink called *sabaium*, made by the native population of Pannonia and Dalmatia, and compares it to *zythos*, a beer brewed in Egypt. On the other hand, Archilochus of Paros claims that wine and beer have been known in

² The bias against beer was essentially ideological. It was considered a barbarian beverage and thus unbecoming of the Greeks and Romans; cf. Nelson 2003, 101–120.

³ The sources (Theopomp. apud Athen. 10.443a–c; Polyb. 3.4.6; Liv. 44.30–5–6) claim that the way in which the Illyrians drink wine is different and that they are very prone to getting drunk; cf. Dzino 2006, 74.

⁴ For the view that the vine was introduced by the Greeks and Romans, see Dzino 2005, 57–63; and 2006, 74. For the opposite view, that vine-growing and winemaking were known in Illyricum even earlier, see Zaninović 1976, and 2007, 27–30. For a discussion about both possibilities, see Škegro 1999, 151–154. For the view that the importation of vine and wine into southern Illyricum did not increase until the classical age, see Škegro 1999, 145 (with earlier literature).

Thrace since the seventh century BC,⁵ which is the period when the first Greek colonies were established there, while Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast were founded a little later (Dyczek 2007, 238). One of the earliest references to Thracian wine can be found in Homer (*Iliad* 9.72). Although the central Balkans was undergoing an intensive process of Romanisation until late antiquity, the question is to what extent the culture of alcohol consumption changed over time.

Bearing in mind the above-outlined Greek and Roman attitudes to wine and beer on the one hand, and those of the various tribes in the Balkans on the other, we should remember that the ethnic makeup of the future province of Upper Moesia was quite heterogeneous both before and after the Roman conquest. The south was inhabited by the Dardani, while the areas north of them were populated by the Picenses, Tricorneses, Moesi and other tribes (Papazoglu 1969, 45, 84, 97, 264–265; Dušanić 2000, 344). The period of Roman domination was marked by the Romanisation of the native populations, more prominent in the urban environments than in the countryside, and by the migration and settlement of people from other parts of the Empire. The epigraphic evidence shows the presence of Illyrian, Thracian and Celtic names, and there also occur names which suggest the land of origin, such as Gaul, Italy, Macedonia, Greece or Syria (Mócsy 1974, 70, 124).⁶

Greek influences were probably instrumental in introducing the native population to viticulture. As the latest research has shown, even before the creation of the province of Upper Moesia in AD 86, the local population of the southern parts of the future province had been in contact with the Greek world and with wine. From the end of the fifth century BC the process of Hellenisation had been spreading northward, beyond Macedonia and Paionia, across the Vardar/Axios, as evidenced by the archaeological sites along the upper course of the Južna (South) Morava — Kacipup near Preševo and Kale in the village of Krševica near Bujanovac (Popović 2007, 125ff) — the northernmost known settlement sites exhibiting Hellenic features. Bearing in mind the role of wine in the Greek world, these sites are of particular interest for our topic.

The concentration of Greek finds on the site Kale-Krševica suggests that it was an urban hub which, owing to a network of roads and well-developed trade, maintained close contact with the valleys of the Vardar/Axios and Struma rivers and the Aegean (Popović 2005, 40ff). All test pits have yielded amphorae, and some of their stamps suggest that a consider-

⁵ Nelson 2008, 25 ff (with an overview of the sources and literature on wine and beer in Thrace).

⁶ Cf. the inscriptions in all volumes of the *IMS*.

able amount of wine was supplied from Thasos (Popović 2007, 129). Given the diversity of shapes, the amphorae probably came from other centres as well, such as the Khalkidhiki and the broader Aegean region. On the other hand, some were locally produced in imitation of Greek pottery shapes. The assumption that the local population had been familiar not only with wine but also with the Greek god Dionysus even before the Roman conquest is corroborated by the discovery at Novi Pazar of a Greek black-figure olpe showing Dionysus holding a rhyton and accompanied by a satyr. The olpe has been dated to the late sixth century BC.⁷

The Roman army brought its own customs to the conquered regions, including the practice of wine drinking, and it first came to the northern part of the province.⁸ Some sections of the overland road through the almost impassable Djerdap (Iron Gate) Gorge, along the Upper Moesian Danube border, were completed as early as the thirties of the first century. Due to this road and the establishing and garrisoning of permanent military camps, it was there that the earliest and most comprehensive Romanisation took place.

It seems likely, therefore, that the first encounter of the native population with wine took place in the late fifth century BC in the southern part of what was to become the Roman province of Upper Moesia, and that the Danube region became familiar with it much later, in the first century AD. The possibility should not be ruled out that the population of the eastern part of the province, which included Thracians, had known wine even before the Roman conquest.

This account of how the inhabitants of Upper Moesia came to know wine should be complemented with an analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence which may confirm its consumption if not its production. The evidence includes Bacchic monuments, which indirectly speak of the significance of the vine and wine, and will be used here only as an additional corroborative argument; artistic depictions of grape harvesting, which attest to the knowledge of viticulture; commercial amphorae; and finally, the most important confirmation that the inhabitants of Upper Moesia produced and consumed wine: tools used in vine-growing and winemaking.

⁷ The olpe was found in association with a large amount of jewellery and luxurious pottery which probably came from a burial context. It is difficult to say if it was a single or multiple burial, but the absence of any military equipment suggests either that the grave was plundered or that it was a female burial. Cf. Mano-Zisi & Popović 1969, 13; Babić 2004, 158, cat. no. II/8, 98, 99, 113, 121, 122. On the Archaic Greek finds from the central Balkans, see Babić 2004.

⁸ During the six centuries of Roman and early Byzantine domination in the Balkans, these military camps formed one of the Empire's most important lines of defence. Cf. Mirković 1968 21ff; Petrović 1986, 41–55.

The sources attest to vine-growing in Upper Moesia, notably in the area of present-day Smederevo, a town on the Danube 45 km downstream from Belgrade. They refer to the emperor Probus as the one who planted the vine not only in Pannonia, around present-day Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium), but also in Upper Moesia, on the Golden Hill.⁹ The Golden Hill (Aureus Mons) was a Roman settlement in the environs of Smederevo, near the place where the stream Udovički Potok flows into the Danube (Mirković 1968, 37). It is there, in the modern-day village of Udovice, that a bronze appliqué of the first or second century showing a maenad with a wreath of flowers and leaves on her head was found (Veličković 1972, 83, no. 125; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 79). The Smederevo area also yielded an inscription dedicated to Liber.¹⁰ This area might have been planted with vineyards even before the reign of Domitian (r. 81–96), who issued an edict forbidding vine-growing in the provinces.¹¹ The ban was lifted much later by Marcus Aurelius Probus (r. 276–282).

The province yielded numerous artistic depictions belonging to Dionysian imagery,¹² as well as depictions of implements used in vine-growing. Dionysian iconography will not be discussed here, only the scenes that can be of relevance to our topic will be pointed to. One of perhaps the most significant representations of the kind can be found on a pilaster on the front face of the eastern gate of the younger fortification of the late Roman palace at Gamzigrad.¹³ The central relief shows putti picking grapes (the *Vindemia*). Their naked figures in various poses are set among vines and grapes. The lower part of the scene shows two figures, one of them holding a ram. A special place of Dionysian subject matter in the iconography of

⁹ Eutropius (IX.17) credits the emperor with introducing vine-growing to the provinces: *Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit, opere militari Alman montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit et provincialibus colendis dedit*. According to Aurelius Victor (Epitome de Caesaribus, 37): *Probus, genitus patre agresti hortorum studioso Dalmatio nomine, imperavit annos sex. Iste Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae imperatores effectos oppressit. Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit. Opere militari Alman montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit. Hic Sirmii in turri ferrata occiditur*.

¹⁰ IMS II 27: *Liberio Pat(ri) | Aug(usto) sa[c(rum)] | [- - -]*

¹¹ The most explicit information about this edict can be found in Suetonius' account of the life of Domitian (7.2). The ban has been interpreted as an attempt to boost grain production, but also to ensure a competitive advantage to the vineyards in Italy. Cf. Levick 1982, 67; Gransey 1988; Unwin 2002, 133ff (with an overview of the sources and literature).

¹² For the depictions of Bacchus and his *thiasos*, see Pilipović 2011.

¹³ Although the area in which the palace is situated became part of Dacia Ripensis in a third-century territorial reorganisation of the Roman Empire, it seems important to note it. Cf. *Rim. car.* 1993, 210, cat. no. 52; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 69.

the emperor Galerius' palace at Gamizigrad (Felix Romuliana) has not gone unnoticed.¹⁴

The tools used in vine-growing are shown in two bronze statuettes from an unknown find-spot, broadly dated to a period between the second and fourth century, now in the Belgrade City Museum. One is the standing figure of Bacchus, with an apron around the waist, holding a knife in his right hand, probably the knife for pruning vines (*falx vinitoria*) or for cutting off grapes (*falcula vineatica*), and a bunch of grapes in the raised left hand (Bojović 1985a, cat. no. 19, fig. 19; *Ant. bronz. Singid.* 37, no. 17; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 38). The other is a satyr carrying the child Bacchus on his raised left hand, and holding a knife (*cultellus*) in the other (Bojović 1985b, cat. no. 22, fig. 22; Srejšević & Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1987, 78, no. 30; *Ant. bronz. Singid.* 39, no. 27; Pilipović 2011, cat. 39). Apart from these two statuettes, there are numerous depictions of Bacchus with a cantharus or pouring the contents of a wineskin into a patera (Pilipović 2011, cat. nos. 11, 12, 15, 26, 27, 29–31, 33, 34, 37–39, 41–43, 49–51, 54, 55, 57).

Yet, much more relevant to understanding the role of the vine and wine in Upper Moesia are various archaeologically recovered implements for tending vineyards: from tillage tools to tools for pruning vines and cutting off grapes. One should be cautious, however, not to be too definite about the purpose of any one tool, because one tool could have several uses (Popović 1988). One of the oft-mentioned tools in the ancient sources is the billhook. Billhooks could be used for pruning in general (*falx arboraria*, *falx putatoria*), and therefore for pruning vines (*falx vinitoria*), leaves (*falx selvatica*), for cutting off various fruits (*falcula*) and for cutting off bunches of grapes (*falcula vineatica*) (Popović 1988, 76). The potentially multiple uses of one tool and the variety of different tools (hoes, knives etc.) that could have been used in the vineyard require caution when attempting to identify the possible location of ancient vineyards. Regardless of the purpose for which the discovered billhooks were used, it should be noted that their highest concentrations have been registered at Ravna near Knjaževac (as many as ten), in the Danube region of the province (seven at Boljetin and four in the environs of Obrenovac), and at Caričin Grad (Iustiniana Prima) near Leskovac (eight) in the south.¹⁵ Billhooks have been found on

¹⁴ The close association between the palace at Gamizigrad and the cult of Dionysus has been noticed by Srejšević et al. 1983; Petrović 1995, 247; Dušanić 1995, 77–98; Živić 1995; Pilipović 2011, 110–116.

¹⁵ For the various types of billhooks found at these sites, see Popović 1988, 76–88.

many other sites in the Danube region and on the sites of the sumptuous late Roman villa at Mediana and the imperial palace at Gamzigrad.¹⁶

The province has also yielded the remains of two winepresses (*torcularia*). The base of one winepress, made of poor-quality stone, dark green schist, was discovered at Vrbovec near Lebane (Filipović 1968, 5–7; Petrović 1976, 125–126; Jović 2002, 38, no. 9). The other was discovered at Mediana (Petrović 1976, 125–126; Dobruna-Salihi 2007, 256), near the thermae. It is circular in shape (1.20m in diameter) and has a wide groove for fluid escape. Its upper part, which was probably cubic and made of wood, has not survived. These discoveries provide tangible evidence for vine-growing in the province. Apart from the presses, also worthy of note is the find of a grape seed (*Vitis vibifera* L. subsp. *vinifera*) from Gamzigrad, discovered in a context dated to the latter half of the third century. The find can hardly serve as a proof of the presence of vineyards, but it should be noted that it is not the short and round type of pip typical of the wild species (Medović 2008, 156).

The evidence of the worship of Dionysus/Bacchus/Liber is also suggestive of the significance of wine in Upper Moesia. The most explicit of the evidence which unambiguously emphasises the role of the deity as the patron god of wine and vine-growing can be found in inscriptions. The inscription from Pusto Šilovo near Leskovac (*IMS* IV, 109) mentions *Liber Laetus*, while the inscription from Naissus (*IMS* IV, 25) refers to Liber in association with Hilara.¹⁷ Both the Latin adjective *laetus*, *-a*, *-um*, meaning “cheerful, merry, fecund”, and *hilaris*, *-e*, which comes from Greek *hilaros*, mean cheerful. Therefore, the inscriptions attest that Liber and Libera were worshipped as deities of festivity and fertility, and, by extension, of wine and grapes. Moreover, the inscription from Pusto Šilovo comes from a rural area (Jović 2002, 40; Petrović 1976, 140): the votive altar was set up by a father and son, and the father probably was the village head, given that the altar was set up for the good health of the villagers.¹⁸ The ancient name of the settlement defined as a *vicus* remains unknown.

¹⁶ The largest number of billhooks of various types was found at: Karataš, Hajdučka Vodenica and Saldum; followed by Salakovac, Braničevo County, and Brodica near Kučevo. Individual finds also come from the environs of Obrenovac; from the Danube area of the province: Singidunum, Železnik, Čezava, Porečka reka, and Pontes; and from the central part of the province: Jagodina. For more, see Popović 1988.

¹⁷ For the inscription from Pusto Šilovo, see *AE* 1968, 449; Petrović 1965, 245ff, no. 1, fig. 1; *IMS* IV, 109; Jović 2002, 34, no. 1; Pilipović 2011, cat. 10. For the inscription from Naissus, see *CIL* III, 1680=8248; *ILS* 3383; *IMS* IV, 25; Pilipović 2011, cat. 9.

¹⁸ For the good health of the dedicants, father and son, and the villagers: *pro salutes suas et vicanorum posuerunt*; cf. Petrović 1976, 140, and 1995a, 109; Pilipović 2011, 90, 94, 96.

The area that yielded these inscriptions also yielded other artefacts showing Dionysian iconography. The silver intaglio set in an iron ring from the site known as “Musin grob” (Musa’s grave) near Leskovac, dated to the mid-second century, shows Pan dancing with a goat (Zotović 1997, 23–27, fig. on p. 24; Pilipović 2001, cat. 113). From Naissus comes a fragment of a statuette of a maenad (Vulić 1941–48, no. 259; Petrović 1976, 56, fig. 23; Srejšević & Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1987, 132, no. 57; Tomović 1992, 93, no. 94; *Rim. car. gr.* 1993, 226, no. 79; Drča 2004, no. 67; Pilipović 2011, cat. 64), in fact the head with a childish-looking face wearing a narrow band around the low forehead and a wreath of flowers and leaves in the exuberant hair.

When it comes to other depictions and inscriptions dedicated to Liber, things get more complex. It is possible that Liber was worshipped as the god of fecundity not only of the above-ground realm, i.e. of agriculture, including vine-growing, but also of the underground realm, i.e. of the earth’s mineral riches. Liber and Libera in two inscriptions from Singidunum (*IMS* I, 16 and 17) may have played this complex role (Pilipović 2011, 88, with earlier literature). One inscription was dedicated to Jupiter, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera, while the other was dedicated only to Liber and Libera. They were found in close proximity to one another in the greater Belgrade area (the former was recovered from the vineyard of the Krenić family), possibly on what were the suburban estates of Aurelius Atticus, the veteran of *legio IV Flavia* who dedicated the first-mentioned inscription. The dedicant of the other inscription remains unknown. Some have suggested that Atticus might have been linked with the mines on Mount Avala near Singidunum.¹⁹ A comparably complex role may have been played by Dionysus shown in the triad with Zeus and Hercules in the relief from Bukovo near Negotin. It should be noted that the Negotin area has been known as a vine-growing region since ancient times (Jovanović 2005, 520).

What should also be mentioned is the ample evidence that wine was supplied to this region by waterways from the early days of Roman domination. Wine was transported in amphorae, vessels specifically designed for storage and transport, and so were other foodstuffs intended for Roman military personnel and civilian population (Bjelajac 1996, 9, 17), such as olive oil, salted fish, fish sauce (e.g. *garum* and *muria*), olives, grains and dried fruit. The original content of the amphorae discovered on Upper Moesian sites is a little-studied issue. The sites have reportedly yielded only a few amphorae with food residues, and their original content has been conjectured from the findings of other researchers.

¹⁹ Also, his service in the decurionate of Sirmium may be linked with the *argentariae Pannonicae* which were administered from Sirmium; cf. Dušanić 1990, 588ff.

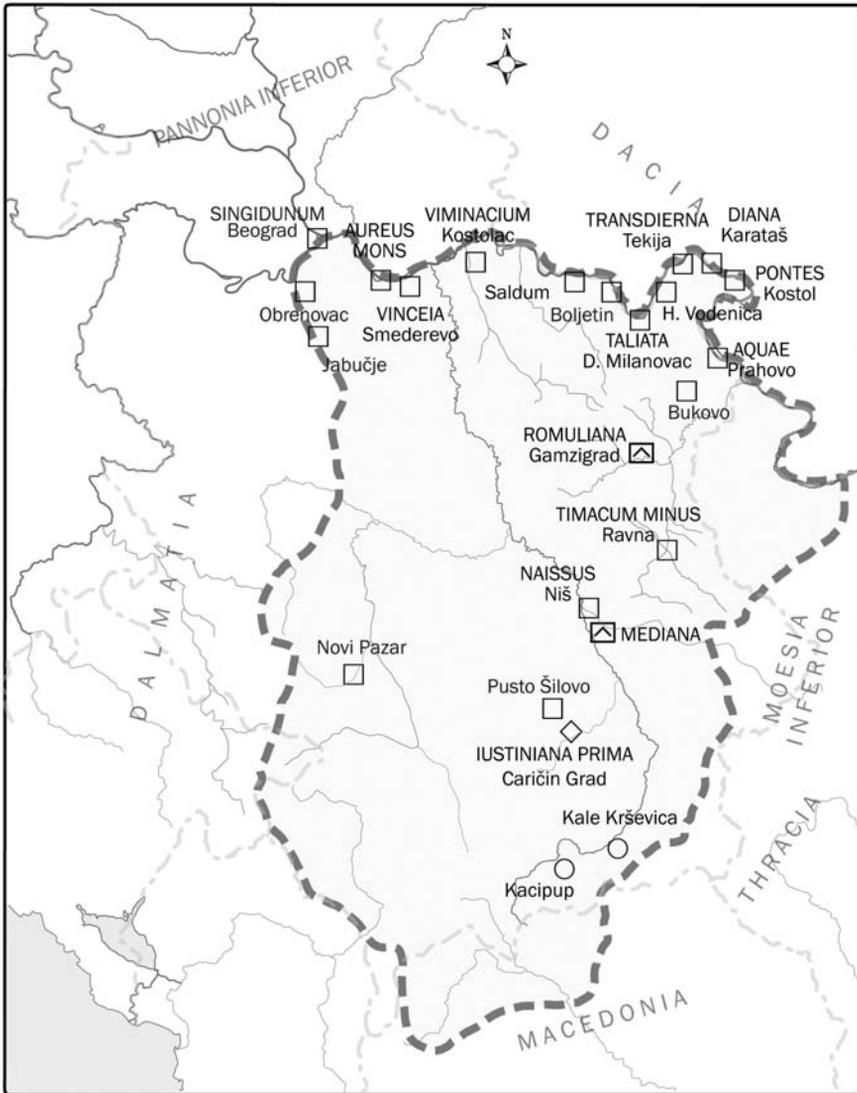
The presence of resin on the inner surface of the amphorae is characteristic of the wine amphorae: it was the traditional method of flavouring wine. Resin was found in some of the amphorae belonging to the west-Mediterranean type (Bjelajac 1996, 23) recovered from Singidunum and Viminacium on the Upper Moesian Danube frontier. Resin was also found in some Pontic amphorae (Bjelajac 1996, 54, 69). Apart from them, there are many finds of amphorae whose shapes or analogies suggest that they served for the transportation of wine. These west-Mediterranean, African, Pontic and east-Mediterranean amphorae of various types have been recovered from various sites along the Danube. Most come from sites in Belgrade (Singidunum) and Kostolac (Viminacium), but also further downstream: Saldum, Boljetin, Ravna, Donji Milanovac (Taliata), Hajdučka Vodenica, Tekija (Transdierna), Karataš (Diana), Kostol (Pontes), Mala Vrbica, Kurvingrad, Milutinovac, Ušće Slatinske Reke, Prahovo (Aquae) and Mokranjske Stene (Bjelajac 1966).

The Roman invasion did not only bring wine and the custom of wine drinking to the conquered areas, but also luxurious wine vessels. The province of Upper Moesia has yielded many lavish wine drinking vessels, which first appeared there as early as the beginning of the first century (Popović 1995, 145ff). Among them are the silver cup showing Dionysus and Ariadne (*CIL* III, 6334; Hirschfeld 1874, 423=*CIL* III *Suppl.* 8278; Cichorius 1901, 303; Vassits 1903, Pl. 1/1,2; Greifenhagen 1967, 27–63, figs. 1–10, 13; Baratte 1976, 33, Pl. 1/1; Veličković 1983, cat. no. 45; Popović 1994, 277, cat. no. 180; Pilipović 2011, cat. 41), or the silver cup from Jabučje near Lazarevac, also decorated with Dionysian imagery (Veličković 1983, cat. no. 35; Popović 1994, 225, cat. no. 140; Pilipović 2011, cat. 88). These are imported objects whose forms, craftsmanship and decoration suggest the post-Augustan Campanian production centres working in the tradition of the Alexandrian workshops of the Hellenistic age (Popović 1994, 46–48; Cvjetičanin 1995, 163). According to the inscription, the owner of the Ariadne cup was Lucius Flavius Valens, the prefect of an auxiliary unit recruited in Spain and stationed on the lower Danube. The owner of the vessel recovered from the hoard at Jabučje was either a well-to-do person or perhaps a soldier who had looted the valuables in Italy and brought them with him to Upper Moesia in the early phase of Roman domination. These examples suggest that wine was drunk out of luxurious wine cups at an early date.

The evidence described above appears to suggest that the first encounter of the native population, traditionally consuming beverages brewed from cere-

als, with wine had taken place as early as the end of the fifth century BC in the Hellenistic settlements in what was to become the southern part of the Roman province of Upper Moesia. On the other hand, a more significant encounter began much later, with the arrival of the Roman army in the Danube area in the first century AD. It is not impossible that the population of the eastern part of the province, which included Thracians, had known wine even before the Roman conquest. The amphorae, frequently with a resin lining for improving the quality of wine, and luxurious wine cups decorated with Dionysian motifs, began to be imported in the early days of Roman rule, which makes them a remarkable testimony to the significance of wine for the Romans who served, or later settled, in the region. According to the sources (Eutrop. IX.17; Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* 37), the vine was grown on the Golden Hill (*Mons Aureus*) in the environs of Smederevo, the site from which come a few artefacts belonging to the Dionysian/Bacchic cult. Many monuments of the Dionysian/Bacchic cult from the province may be indicative of the significance of the vine and wine. Most of them are broadly dated to the second and third centuries. Perhaps the most important are the inscriptions (*IMS* IV, 25 and 119) attesting to the worship of Liber as the god of the vine and wine in Naissus (Niš) and in the environs of Leskovac. It may be interesting to note that it was near Lebane, to the southeast of Leskovac, that a winepress (*torcularia*) and a number of billhooks were found. The exact purpose of the discovered agricultural tools, which include a considerable number of billhooks, is difficult to pinpoint. Even so, the highest concentration of billhooks was found at Ravna (on the site *Timacum Minus*). Implements used in vine-dressing were found on the sites of a late Roman villa and an imperial palace as well. The late Roman villa at Mediana yielded a winepress and numerous billhooks, which were also found at the imperial residence at Gamzigrad. The discovered presses and no doubt some of the billhooks may corroborate the assumption that wine was not only consumed but also produced in the region. Finally, it should be emphasised that this research makes no pretensions to offer any definitive conclusions; rather it is meant as a contribution to a little-studied topic, the understanding of which will hopefully be furthered by new archaeological discoveries.

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Wine and vine in Upper Moesia
Find-spots of archaeological and epigraphic evidence

Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
<i>Ant. bronz. Singid.</i>	<i>Antička bronza Singidunuma</i> , ed. S Krunić. Belgrade: Belgrade City Museum, 1997.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selecta</i> I–III. Berlin 1892–1916.
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptons de la Mésie Supérieure</i> I, II, III/2, IV, VI, Belgrade 1976–1995.
<i>Rim. car. gr.</i> 1993	<i>Rimski carski gradovi i palate u Srbiji</i> , ed. D. Srejšović. Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1993.

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