

Space and Identity in Roman Moesia: Rethinking Military and Civilian Spheres in a Frontier Province

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Defining military and civilian spheres in the Roman province of Moesia is no easy task. Although the province's numerous military structures along the Danube Limes (fortified but permeable frontier) and in its inland are well-known, there is certainly some confusion when it comes to the embedment of these structures within Moesia's settlement patterns and particularly their civilian factor. On one hand, epigraphic evidence attests to the common frontier province phenomenon of so-called settlement dualism of canabae (settlement structure featuring soldiers' families and supply units alongside legionary camps and auxiliary forts) and vici (village/civilian settlement structure ranging between urban and rural character) in all the major legionary camp sites of Moesia. On the other, the state of archaeological research in Moesia does not (or not yet) allow a distinct location or spatial separation of canabae and vici at most sites. Instead, the site conditions rather display surprising degrees of mixing military and civilian administration and living spheres contradicting the concept of settlement dualism. By introducing several examples for this situation, this article discusses if it is useful or even necessary in current modes of post-processual, post/-anti-colonial and identity-oriented discourse in Roman Archaeology to spatially divide military and civilian spheres in clarifying everyday life reality and settlement patterns in Roman Moesia.

Introduction

The Roman province of Moesia was founded in the period between 15 and 45 C.E. and separated into Moesia Superior and Inferior in 86 C.E. It belonged to the Danube provinces and frontier zones of the Roman Empire. Due to the continuous presence of Roman military throughout the province's whole history that goes along with this geographical location within the Empire's borders, Moesia has often been considered as a military province. It is believed that the focus within the province clearly lay on the fortification of the Danube *Limes* and the economic exploitation of the province's interior, making the label of a military province predominantly tied to the Roman army as a dominant factor within Moesia's population and social development. Thus, the military history of the Middle and Lower Danube *Limes* is an elaborately researched

area. While the legionary deployments and their consequences at the very beginning of Roman presence in the Balkans are still insufficiently known, the picture becomes clearer from the middle of the first century C.E. on. Until the separation into Moesia Superior and Inferior, the province had three legions, garrisoned in Viminacium, Oescus and Novae.¹ After 86 C.E., Moesia Superior was protected by two legions in Singidunum and Viminacium, while Moesia Inferior even had three – at least until the Marcomannic wars (during Marcus Aurelius' reign 166-180 C.E.) – stationed in Novae, Durostorum and Troesmis.² In addition to these permanent legionary garrisons, an extraordinarily dense occupation of auxiliary forts and watchtower sites can be found both at the Danube *Limes* and in the province's interior.³ These were mostly attached to the major road connections linking the

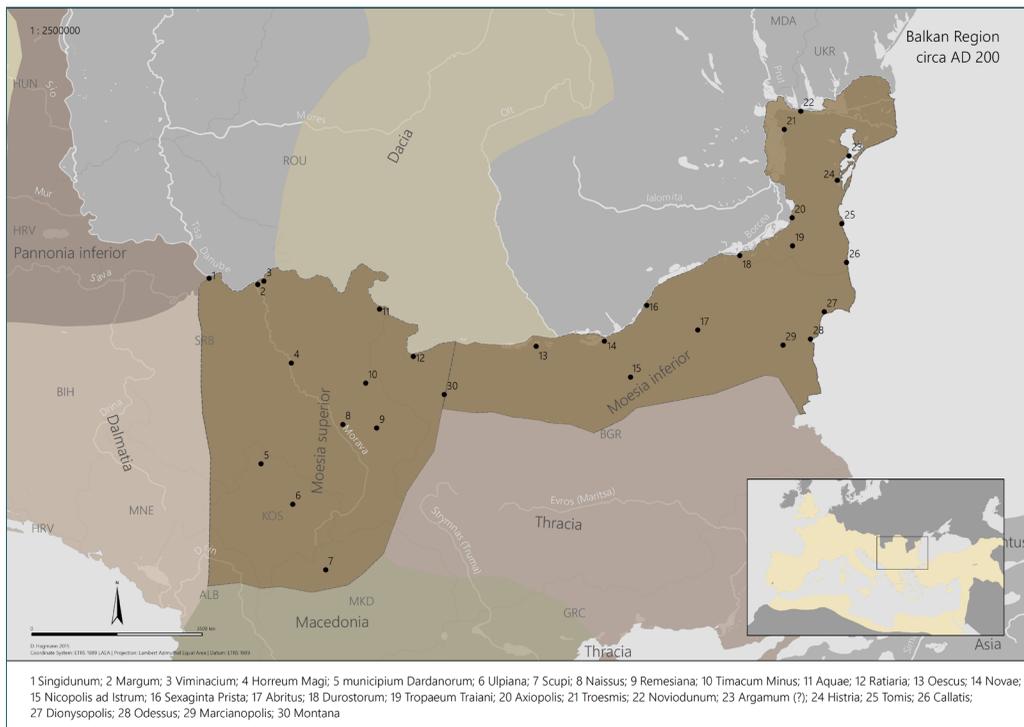


Figure 1: Indication of 30 possibly urban sites within the research area of Moesia Superior and Inferior. © D. Haggmann/L. Diers, 2014.

Danube with the Adriatic and the Eastern Empire or associated with the numerous mining districts mostly in Moesia Superior (Fig. 1).⁴

In contrast to the military history, the urban development and characteristics of Moesia cannot be traced back that easily. While larger military institutions like legionary or auxiliary camps are rather easily detectable with the help of fortifications, towers, gates and inner structures of headquarters buildings or barracks, the identification of related settlement structures as military or civilian as well as of settlements without military presence as urban or rural is more complicated. Firstly, most Roman settlements in Moesia have been massively overbuilt or destroyed in late antique and medieval and/or modern times.⁵ Secondly, criteria for assigning settlement structures an urban (in contrast to rural) or civilian (in contrast to military) character are not clear at all. Applying general factors of settlement classification in the Roman Empire (administrative status, size, monumentality, strategic and economic importance) to Moesia's urban sphere includes 30 settlements, which might be referred to as a 'city': Apart from four deductive colonies,⁶ 11 attested municipia⁷ and the pontic Pentapolis,⁸ there are still 10 sites with no attested status that either show supposed urban building activity or inscriptions providing evidence for an independent administration in Roman times.⁹ Apart from this general problem, we also come across the typical frontier province phenomenon of so-called settlement dualism, meaning a contemporary existence of two civilian settlements in the direct vicinity of a legionary camp. The *canabae* developed on military land around the camp while the *vici* lay just outside the military territory on public land.¹⁰ Although there are exceptions around the Roman Empire¹¹ it is generally believed that municipal status was eventually given to the *vici*, thus turning them into settlements of larger scale (or to

use this term: cities), while the *canabae* still existed alongside the camps to serve their various everyday life needs. This conception has been primarily deduced from ancient sources concerning the public lease system in the Empire. Accordingly, public lease and land use was not exclusively allowed on militarily used territory.¹² However, the evidence from Moesia cannot confirm this generalized concept of settlement dualism and settlement classification, as the following examples will unmistakably show.¹³

Administrative Status and Spatial Patterns: Military and Civilian Spheres in Moesian Legionary and Urban Centres

Viminacium

Being the capital of Moesia Superior Viminacium lies at the Danube Limes in today's Serbia, approximately ninety kilometres from Belgrade and close to the modern village of Kostolac at the Mlava's estuary into the Danube. As one of the first safely attested permanent legionary garrisons in Moesia, the legio VII Claudia had its camp in Viminacium from 70 C.E. on until the end of the Principate.¹⁴ Furthermore, Viminacium is attested as a municipium from Hadrianic times onward, while in the first half of the third century C.E. it was eventually granted colonial status.¹⁵ Viminacium is one of the few Roman sites in the Balkans, which have not been directly overbuilt. Unfortunately, the site is today bordered both by a power plant and a coal mine – and thus massively threatened.¹⁶ Many features of the settlement area around the legionary camp, which embraces an area of around 70 hectares,¹⁷ have already been destroyed, limiting the scope of overall topographical studies. The inscriptions found in the territory of Viminacium as well as the first archaeological investigations in the late 19th and early 20th century attest to the existence of two civilian settlements around the legionary camp: one being

directly attached to the camp, the other lying in a distance of two kilometres on the left bank of the Mlava river.¹⁸ The exact status of these settlements is not known so far, but the spatial layout leaves no doubt that the civilian structures around the military camp were the *canabae*. The area of the second settlement, a proposed *vicus*, is located in the part of the site occupied by the power plant structures. Thus, the only sources available to characterize its layout and hints on urbanity are the early investigations in the vicinity of Kostolac, which are not published in detail.¹⁹ The archaeological features preserved and studied so far are parts of the legionary camp, an amphitheatre as well as baths within the supposed territory of the *canabae*, several urban villas just outside the city's scope and, best known, the necropolises.

However, these aspects cannot really contribute to the question of the civilian settlement spheres' spatial division. As long as the number of settlement structures on the territory of Viminacium and their status is not confirmed, there is no point in calling one of the settlements a city or attaching another to the non-urban military sphere. According to settlement dualism, it would seem most logical for the *canabae* to remain a militarily dominated settlement structure on military land, which is also indicated by inscriptions suggesting the existence of the *canabae* even in the Severan period.²⁰ This would mean that the municipal status was given to the other – yet unclear – civilian settlement in the vicinity of the camp. On the other hand, some aspects rather support the theory of the *canabae* being turned into a *municipium*. Of special interest is the location of the newly discovered amphitheatre of Viminacium, built at the north-eastern edge of the *canabae* settlement area, only some 50 meters away from the camp territory. Such a monumental building clearly suggests urban settlement character, as it provides hints on urban Roman lifestyle and urbanity as social practice. On the other hand, gladiatorial



Figures 2a and 2b: View over the settlement territory of Viminacium from the Amphitheatre, indicating both the power plant and the mining occupation. Photos by L. Diers, September 2014.

games in permanently garrisoned provinces are always specifically tied to the military sphere as well (Fig. 2a and 2b).²¹

Lastly, the current situation in Viminacium concerning urbanity, municipalisation and settlement dualism could be interpreted in several ways. It is possible that municipal status was indeed given to the *canabae*, which would seem surprising in terms of the concept of settlement dualism and comparisons with other frontier provinces. Secondly, it is also possible

that the other, undefined settlement was granted municipal rights. This would follow the model of settlement dualism, but is not very likely due to the spatial layout of settlement structures. As long as there is no new evidence concerning the municipalisation of Viminacium (e.g. the identification of the civilian settlement as a *vicus*) I propose to define urbanity in Viminacium not spatially, but socially. The size of the *canabae* as well as the location of monumental buildings (amphitheatre, large baths) indicate that urbanism was not tied to administrative status and thus municipalisation but to social conceptions of urban lifestyle of both civilians and soldiers living in the camp and the nearby settlements of Viminacium. In spatial terms, the case of Viminacium suggests military and civilian spheres forming one large compound of settlement territory of urban scale. Therefore, Viminacium is a first vivid example for the implausibility of settlement dualism in Moesia as well as for the decreasing need to divide military and civilian spheres to define urbanity.

Novae

The site of Novae offers a similar, but more promising picture. Located on the Danube in Moesia Inferior, partly overbuilt by today's Svishtov, Bulgaria, Novae was home to the very first securely attested legionary deployment in Moesia, legio VIII Augusta in the period from 45 C.E. until 69 C.E.²² After legio VIII Augusta left for the Rhine region, it was replaced by legio I Italica, which subsequently stayed in Novae until the end of the Principate.²³ Recent discoveries of coins and associated ceramic and building materials suggest that there was a hiatus of some years between the exchanging of legions in which Novae was left without a permanent garrison.²⁴ However, the legionary camp in Novae is one of the best-studied and preserved military structures in Moesia. Apart from different sections of the fortification system, the principia has been fully excavated and

recently restored. In addition, there are two baths and the military hospital, an exceptional feature in the whole Balkan Peninsula. As for the urban development of Novae, the situation again tends to be less clear. There is only one inscription naming Novae as a *municipium*.²⁵ This inscription was found in the territory of the supposed city and can be dated to the beginning of the third century C.E. It has been suggested that Novae had already received municipal status under Emperor Marcus Aurelius,²⁶ yet, there is no concrete evidence for this assumption. The general topographical appearance of Novae again shows two civilian settlement structures in the wider area. The *canabae* stretch out to the west and south of the camp but are today mostly overlaid by modern farmland and the outskirts of Svishtov. Their preserved and researched features consist of a Mithraeum, various kilns, parts of the street layout, a peristyle villa and necropolises. While the whole area of the *canabae* covered 70 to 80 hectares,²⁷ the size of the second civilian settlement of Novae, the *vicus* of Ostrite Mogili three kilometres east from the legionary camp was only between 15 and 25 hectares.²⁸ Given the current state of excavations and research, the *vicus* seems to be a rather rural settlement. Furthermore, the *vicus* was most probably abandoned in the beginning of the fourth century C.E.²⁹ Due to the continuous threats of barbarian invasions during the third century C.E. the *vicus*' inhabitants' wish to move closer to the military camp is very understandable. If the *canabae* of Novae were granted municipal rights instead of the *vicus* at some point, this would have surely been a further motivation for them (Fig. 3).³⁰

Thus, the overall situation at Novae as well as decisive factors of settlement size, layout and historical aspects make it more than probable that the *canabae* received municipal rights as the lawful city of *Municipium Novensium*.³¹ Another aspect, which makes this assumption most logical, can be seen even in the name of

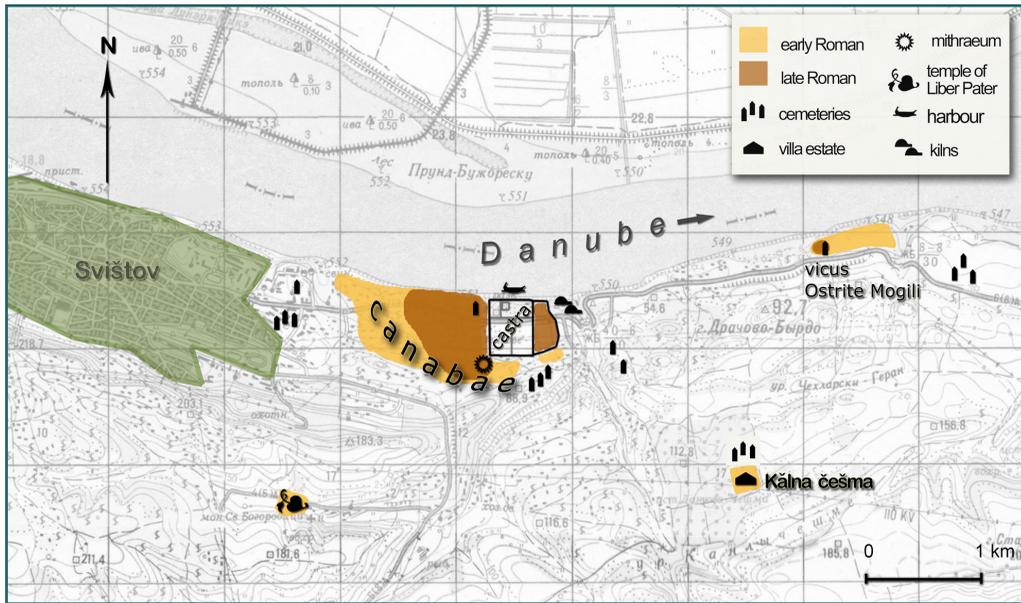


Figure 3: Topographical situation in Novae, showing modern Svištov, the legionary camp, the canabae and the vicus in Ostrite Mogili. © Agnieszka Tomas, Warsaw.

the city. ‘Novae’ could very likely refer to the general character of the *canabae*: After the legio VIII Augusta left the Danube and the new legio I Italica probably only arrived at the site after a short hiatus, the term *novae/Novae* could be related to the renewal of the *canabae*.³² However this may be, the most important question to be answered from future research in Novae is surely the unsolved matter of the municipal rights granting’s dating. If the status of a *municipium* was given to the settlement already during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, both the development of an urban scale in the aftermath and the moving of the *vicus* inhabitants in the third and fourth century C.E. are very plausible and coherent. Still, the question would remain of why the *canabae* were intentionally chosen to be a *municipium* in such a case. If municipal status was given to Novae only at the beginning of the third century C.E., it would be of special interest to detect why the *canabae* indeed showed an urban layout in comparison to the *vicus* even

before its municipal rights granting. This would be a first hint on the conditionality of urbanization and municipalisation in Roman Moesia. Therefore, the evidence from Novae as well as from the other legionary sites discussed here clearly suggests that municipalisation does not equal either urbanization or urbanity. Urbanization is not to be seen as the logical consequence of municipalisation. Moreover, municipalisation is no a priori criterion for turning civilian settlement structures into cities as civilian centres. On the contrary, it rather seems that – at least for the military centres around legionary camps that are discussed here – municipalisation is a consequence of urbanization processes. Civilian and military groups both bundle around legionary camps, thus turning them into centres of military and civilian importance, which eventually leads to concluding this process of urbanization even legally by granting municipal rights. These dynamic processes lastly also contradict a spatial

and theoretical separation of military and civilian spheres, impressively demonstrated with the help of evidence from *Novae*.

Durostorum

Durostorum displays another impressive example for the intermixture of settlement spheres in Moesian legionary camp sites and their consequences for urbanism. It is also located along the Danube *Limes*, in the southwestern part of Dobrudja underneath the modern town of Silistra, Bulgaria and the village of Ostrov, Romania. The development of the Roman settlement area began with the deployment of legio XI Claudia in Trajanic times, which caused the contemporary appearance of both *canabae* and *vicus*.³³ As the territory of the legionary camp and the *canabae* is totally overlaid by modern Silistra, a closer discussion of archaeological material (settlement layout, buildings, building phases, attached finds) is not easy. Still, various rescue excavations since the 1970s have provided enough information for recognising the general topographical layout of the area.³⁴ The camp of legio XI Claudia resided in the southwestern part of today's Silistra, while the *canabae* engaged the space in the north, northeast and northwest of the camp towards the Danube. One of the biggest problems remains to be the determination of the *canabae*'s size. Excavated parts of the street grid and buildings in the *canabae* as well as the limited space between the legionary camp and the Danube embankment indicate a size of 25-30 hectares.³⁵ Still, the excavators hold the belief that singular investigated structures in the wider vicinity of the legionary camp might have belonged to the *canabae* as well, raising the size up to approximately 60 hectares.³⁶ Due to this situation and according to the concept of settlement dualism it has been believed that the urban settlement/city of *Durostorum*, which is known from inscriptions as *Municipium Aurelium Durostorum*, needed to be

searched for elsewhere. Between 1997 and 2007, a survey and excavation project confirmed a *vicus* settlement near the village of Ostrov.³⁷ Various archaeologists have favoured this site for the identification of the *municipium*, as it offers a wider area for the development and growth of a civilian urban settlement.³⁸ Yet, two facts seem to indicate the contrary. First, the confirmed size of the *vicus* is also only approximately 25 hectares, which makes it no bigger than the *canabae*, but maybe even significantly smaller.³⁹ Secondly, the soil in Ostrov is very clayey and soft; it does not provide an optimal base for a larger settlement.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the discovered structures in Ostrov indicate a production centre or rural settlement. So far, numerous pottery kilns, a large *horreum* (public warehouse), and baths have been identified, all within an irregular layout. In contrast to this, the street grid in the *canabae* shows a regular and organised layout.⁴¹ All these aspects indicate that – just as in *Novae* and possibly *Viminacium* – it were again the *canabae* that were turned into a *municipium*. In opposition to the generally leading opinion of urban development of *vici* as *municipia*, this process was already suggested by some scholars of the early debate (mostly Parvan and Gerov) and is now also favoured by most colleagues (Boyanov, Baltać, Tomas).⁴² An interesting contribution to the debate can be found in the inscription, which names the *municipium* as *Municipium Aurelium Durostorum*. It was discovered in a secondary use as building material at the *vicus* site in Ostrov and indicates the municipal rights granting in the time of either Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla.⁴³ According to its reuse in Late Antiquity, the find spot does not provide any information on the municipalisation of either *canabae* or *vicus*.⁴⁴ However, another crucial inscription found in Silistra dates to the year of 209 C.E. and names *vicani*, attesting to the existence of a *vicus* at the beginning of the third century C.E.⁴⁵ If the name of *Municipium 'Aurelium' Durostorum* pointed to Marcus Aurelius,

this would actually be safe evidence for the *canabae*'s development into a *municipium*. If municipal status was only granted under Emperor Caracalla on the other hand, the existence of the *vicus* in 209 C.E. would not contradict municipal rights for either *canabae* or *vicus*. Thus, until the epigraphic base for Durostorum broadens, there can be only assumptions on the exact process of municipalisation. Still, Durostorum again shows that a duality of settlement structures (*canabae* and *vicus*) around legionary camps existed in Moesia, but that the conceptions archaeologists developed concerning this

duality (settlement dualism, separation of military and civilian settlements both spatially and legally, urbanization of civilian settlements) are not applicable here. It also proves again that municipalisation does not necessarily give a concrete hint on the identification and character of urbanity, but maybe rather on the influence of militarily defined circumstances for settlement and population development in frontier provinces (Fig. 4).

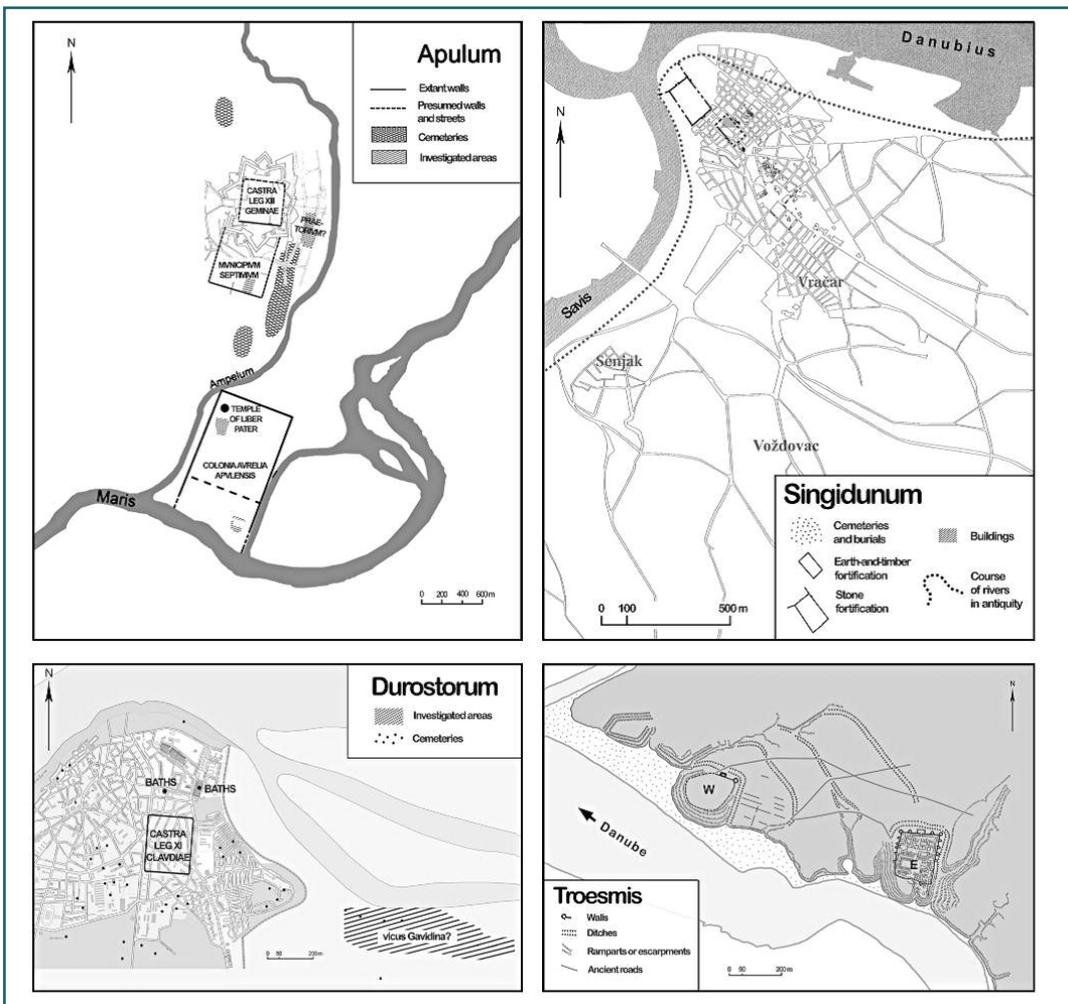


Figure 4: Spatial layout of Durostorum's various settlement structures underneath modern Silistra and nearby Ostrov. © Agnieszka Tomas, Warsaw.

Conclusion: Locating Soldiers and Civilians

The three brief case studies I discussed above showed that given the current state of research, a clear definition and spatial division of military and civilian spheres in legionary camp sites and urban centres along the Danube *Limes* is impossible. Moreover, they indicated that this might not even be useful. Contrarily, it seems that traditional concepts developed to characterize settlement patterns at sites of military deployment in frontier provinces do not suit Roman Moesia. Although a duality of *canabae* and *vici* (or more general: military and civilian settlement structures) actually existed, the conceptions tied to this settlement dualism do not apply to Moesia. Instead of municipalisation and urbanization of *vici*, while *canabae* remained militarily administered, Moesia displays a picture of either urbanization of *canabae* followed by municipalisation as a logical consequence, while *vici* remained of rather rural character (Novae, Durostorum) or urbanization as a process encompassing blurry settlement areas, whether municipalised or not (Viminacium). In both cases, military and civilian spheres in Moesia are absolutely tied together even spatially. Thus, locating people in their everyday life within the compounds of military and civilian aspects and legionary camp sites and urban centres becomes a task of social, not spatial significance.⁴⁶ The evidence from Moesia shows that it is not spheres or settlements being military or civilian but people. Social performance and identity (re-)creation are the factors defining urbanity and urban lifestyle. Therefore, it should not really be surprising to see how the military impact on population and social processes along the Danube *Limes* eventually even lead to developments in municipalisation and urbanization that initially contradict our conceptions of administrative characteristics in the Roman Empire.

A simple but very lively example for this view can be found, if we leave the Danube for the inland auxiliary fort of Timacum Minus, today's Ravna in the Timok valley, Serbia. In the area of the camp site and attached civilian settlement⁴⁷ an inscribed tombstone of late Antonine or early Severan dating was discovered.⁴⁸ It mourns the death of Ulpus Aquilinus, who died at the age of 22 while still in full service as a soldier of legio VII Claudia, whose vexillation was stationed in Timacum Minus (*'miles leg. VII Cl(audiae)'*). In addition to his active military career, he also fulfilled secretary duties (*'librarius'*) in the civil administration of the mining districts in the Timok valley close to Timacum Minus.⁴⁹ Aquilinus' service as a soldier now surely makes him a member of the military sphere. Executing civil administrative tasks in contrast attaches him also to the civilian sphere. Being an active soldier, he of course would have permanently lived in the auxiliary fort of Timacum Minus. But where did he conduct his civil administrative duties? Was there an office building in the fort or in the attached settlement and – if he had one – where did his family live? Given this situation, Aquilinus surely cannot be tied to or spatially located within either military or civilian spheres. Instead, he actively switched between both aspects, uniting them in his personal as well as social identity.⁵⁰ Although derived from a different context, the case of Aquilinus is a good starting point for thinking about the processes of urbanization and Roman urbanity construction in the legionary sites along the Danube *Limes*: Settlements are not to be defined as military or civilian, as the concept of settlement dualism or the overall fondness for categorization in Roman Archaeology might suggest. Yet, people are. They constantly dictate developments and change by performing social practice in their everyday life. Given the geographical, political and historical circumstances in the frontier province of Moesia, it seems that the military aspect in the legionary camp sites along

the Danube *Limes* was so present that it played an essential role in the process of urbanization and the forming of urban centres. This might even have culminated in the municipalisation of *canabae* due to previous developments into urban scale through social agglomeration of military and civilian agencies. Thus, it can be said that the characteristics, developments and both internal and external interactive processes of military and civilian spheres do not fit into a dichotomous concept, but are rather composed of multiple reference points in daily life and identities of Moesian soldiers, civilians and inhabitants of camps and urban settlements in general. The local differences, which are for example indicated by the probable municipal rights granting to the *canabae* in *Novae* and *Durostorum*, cannot be encompassed and explained within future research, if the typically archaeological principle of categorisation blocks the way to a more differentiated picture of dynamic, multiple and discrepant identities,⁵¹ which are lastly responsible for deciding the belonging of people, things or spaces to military, civilian, or mixed spheres.

Endnotes:

- 1 Pollard and Berry 2000; Wilkes 2000.
- 2 Mocsy 1974; Poulter 1986; Pollard and Berry 2000; Wilkes 2000.
- 3 See e.g. in Conrad and Stančev 2002.
- 4 As for example explained by Dušanic 2000, 345. Further general notions in Mocsy 1970, 1974; Mirković 2007.
- 5 e.g. all the sites included in this study: *Viminacium*, *Novae*, *Durostorum*, *Timacum Minus*.
- 6 *Ratiaria*, *Scupi*, *Oescus*, *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. The latter one is included into this category as it surely was a newly founded city. In terms of lawful city status, *Nicopolis* is not attested as a *colonia*, but as a foundation of Greek law.
- 7 *Viminacium*, *Singidunum*, *Margum*, *Horreum Margi*, *Naissus*, *Ulpiana*, *Novae*, *Durostorum*, *Troesmis*, *Noviodunum*, *Tropaeum Traiani*.
- 8 *Histria*, *Tomis*, *Callatis*, *Dionysopolis*, *Odessos*.
- 9 *Timacum Minus*, *Remesiana*, *Aquae*, *Municipium DD*, *Abritus*, *Marcianopolis*, *Argamum*, *Axiopolis*, *Sexaginta Prista*, *Montana*.
- 10 Mocsy 1953, 188; Vittinghoff 1971; Mocsy 1972; Gerov 1977: 299; Piso 1991, 138.
- 11 e.g. *Apulum*, *Dacia*.
- 12 Bohn 1926; Mocsy 1953, 188, 194; Vittinghoff 1970; Vittinghoff 1971, 300, 302; Mocsy 1972, Gerov 1977, 299. After this discussion of text sources, I. Piso published some thoughts concerned with the archaeological verification of the lease system's consequences and settlement dualism in frontier province legionary camp sites, which has afterwards become a work of reference, cf. Piso 1991, 138-139, 160, but has never been questioned concerning *Moesia*.
- 13 Due to lacking space, the discussion will concentrate on *Viminacium*, *Novae* and *Durostorum*. The other permanent legionary bases along the Danube *Limes* (*Singidunum* and *Troesmis*), however, display similar circumstances and developments. A more detailed discussion is in preparation (Diers, forthcoming).
- 14 Mirković 1968; Mirković 1973; Pollard and Berry 2000; Milošević 2002, 151; Spasić-Đurić 2002, 21; Mirković 2007.
- 15 Spasić-Đurić 2002, 23-24, Mirković 2007, Mladenović 2012.
- 16 Korać 2006; Mirković 2007; Mrđić 2013, 272.
- 17 Spasić-Đurić 2002, 35; Korać 2006; Tomas 2011, 158.
- 18 Popović 1967; Vittinghoff 1970, 346; Mirković 1986, 28-31, addendum; Milošević 2002, 151; Spasić-Đurić 2002, 30, 36, cf. Piso's estimations on *leuga* in Piso 1991; Golubović 2011.
- 19 Valtrović, Vasić; cf. Popović 1967.
- 20 Mirković 2007, 53.
- 21 An interesting comparison can be seen in the case of *Carnuntum* (cf. Doneus, Gugl and Doneus 2013; Humer 2014; Gugl, Radbauer and Kronberger 2015): Here, we find two amphitheatres. One is attached

to the *canabae* and the legionary camp and dates to the early phase, one lies outside the enclosed and organized civilian settlement, which turned into a *municipium*, and dates to the second century C.E. On one hand, this situation attests to the significance of amphitheatres for military population and the urban layout of *canabae*, although they were certainly not granted legal city status. On the other hand, however, it shows that in Carnuntum people considered it necessary or preferable after the first prosperous phase of the city to provide a second amphitheatre. This might have been due to population increases or the need to divide between military and civilian population. However, both aspects do not seem to come into consideration in Viminacium. Of course, these aspects do only apply to the question of military and civilian spheres and their definition or even division. The existence of amphitheatres in legionary bases and *canabae* itself is not surprising and is – apart from Viminacium and Carnuntum - attested in three other cases (Burnum, Isca, Deva). For the amphitheatre in Viminacium in general see in Nikolić and Bogdanović 2012.

22 Pollard and Berry 2000; Conrad and Stančev 2002; Sarnowski 2012, 16, 18.

23 Pollard and Berry 2000; Sarnowski 2012, 18.

24 Sarnowski, forthcoming.

25 Vittinghoff 1970, 346, 347; Dorutiu-Boila 1978, 245.

26 Dorutiu-Boila 1978, 245; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1991; Sarnowski 2012, 20.

27 Tomas 2011, 161; Sarnowski 2012, 79.

28 Tomas 2006; Tomas 2011, 157; Jaworski 2013, 52.

29 Tomas 2006; Tomas 2011, 160.

30 Dimitrova-Milčeva 1991; Tomas 2011, 159.

31 Tomas 2006; Tomas 2011; Sarnowski 2012.

32 Sarnowski 2012, 27.

33 Vittinghoff 1970, 346; Donevski 1990a, 931; Donevski 1991; Ivanov 2006; Damian and Baltac 2007, 62.

34 Donevski 1990a; Donevski 1990b; Donevski 1991; Donevski 2012; Ivanov, Atanasov and Donevski 2006.

35 Damian and Baltac 2007, 63; Boyanov 2010, 53.

36 ИВАНОВ, АТАНАСОВ and ДОНЕВСКИ 2006, 227.

37 Donevski 1990a, 931; Damian and Baltac 2007.

38 e.g. P. Ivanov, P. Donevski and E. Dorutiu-Boila; see in Ivanov 2006; Donevski 1990a, 1990b; Dorutiu-Boila 1978.

39 Damian and Baltac 2007, 65; Boyanov 2010, 54; Tomas 2011, 157; Ivanov 2012; Ivanov unpublished.

40 Boyanov 2010, 54.

41 Boyanov 2010, 55.

42 Parvan 1924; Gerov 1977; Damian and Baltac 2007; Tomas 2006, 2011; Boyanov 2010.

43 Dorutiu-Boila 1978, 246; Ivanov 2006.

44 Boyanov 2010, 54.

45 Boyanov 2010, 55.

46 Recently, urbanism and urbanity studies in Roman Archaeology experienced a process of re-emphasis.

In contrast to previous rather processual views of urbanization as political and economic patterning, current trends focus on the aspect of social practice and performance: Urbanity is seen as a construct of performing everyday life in a changing landscape of identity (re-)creation and social negotiation. Although concerned with a totally different geographical area and time (medieval towns and cities in Scandinavia), these concepts have now been impressively applied, questioned and discussed in Christophersen 2015; Fleisher 2015; Kalmring 2015; Müller 2015; Smith 2015. For general aspects of performing personhood and everyday life see in Fowler 2004; Schatzki 2008, especially in antique contexts and urban settings cf. Smith 2011.

47 Unfortunately, there can only be speculations about the layout and character of the vicus site, since it is mostly overbuilt by the modern village of Ravna and the attached farmland. Problems with the local inhabitants have led to the situation that surveys or prospectations could not have been conducted so far.

48 Dušanac 2000, 354.

49 For a full translation, revision and discussion of the inscription see in Dušanac 2000, 354-55, 357.

50 For the constructive theoretical conception, application and development of the identity paradigm in current Roman Archaeology see in Graves-Brown 1996; Chapman 2002; Mattingly 2002; Fowler 2004; Gardner 2004; Mattingly 2004; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Mattingly 2011; Gardner 2013; with special emphasis on the military sphere: Blagg 1984; Gardner 2007.

51 The term and concept of ‚discrepant identities‘ was introduced first and very convincingly in Mattingly 2004.

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