

## MONUMENTS FROM THE TETRARCHY AND THE REIGN OF THE CONSTANTINIAN DYNASTY IN BULGARIA

This article aims to represent a general picture of the most important monuments from the period 284-363 in the Roman provinces of Bulgaria (map). The period is extremely important for the development of these lands in many aspects. But in fact the number of monuments is too big to be overtaken in such a short text. Within the framework of the article I will consider predominantly the urban planning of several cities, which have passed through radical changes, also some separate buildings (residences, houses, villas, fortifications). Again because of the impossibility all kinds of art to be represented, I will concentrate, with some exceptions, predominantly on the monumental arts - the official portraiture, mosaics and wall paintings.

### *Cities, their new planning and new monuments Serdica and its territory*

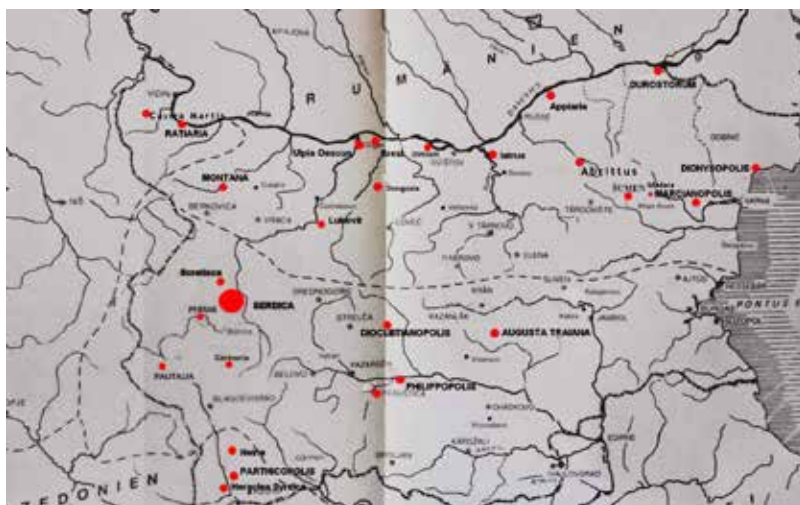
Undoubtedly Serdica was the most important city among the other ones, being the capital of Dacia Mediterranea, the place where the emperors and the caesars have often resided, and also situated not far from almost all the residences of the Tetrarchs on the Balkans. That's why the changes here in the studied period were numerous.

**The new Serdica I.** A new quarter appeared in the Southeastern part of Serdica I near to the eastern fortress wall (Pl. I, fig.2; Pl. II, 1 and 2)<sup>1</sup>, replacing the earlier Roman buildings. Only the bouleterion remained, but it was also rebuilt in the same Tetrarchic period. The entrance to the imperial quarter, a city inside the city of Serdica, is monumental, with a double gate<sup>2</sup>. A relief with the representation of a fortress with towers was found during the excavations and probably it decorated namely the double gate as a symbol of the imperial

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<sup>1</sup> В. Динчев, *Към характеристиката на градоустройството на Сердика*, Археология, 2011, 1, 61-77; Idem, *Античните градски площадни комплекси и тяхната историческа съдба през късната античност: Сердика*, Археология, 2010, ¾, 24-40.

<sup>2</sup> В. Попова, *Късноантичната резиденция и баня (обекти „Корекон” и „Рила”) в Сердика I и техните мозайки*. – Сердика-Средец-София, т. 6, 2016, 77. V. Dinchev thinks that this was a part of the porticus, but the original documentation is very categorical about the existence of three pilons-bases for the double gate



Map of the Late Antique provinces in nowadays Bulgaria

Карта позноантичких провинција које се налазе на територији данашње Бугарске

might and protection.<sup>3</sup> The biggest street in Serdica, 10 m wide, begins from the gate and divides the residential part from the official/public one. Obviously this street served for solemn official processions, maybe even for meeting the emperor at his Adventus<sup>4</sup>, etc. The gates might be controlled and guarded and the access limited only to the high-ranking officials. The Eastern fortress wall protected the inner city, but probably had also a gate or a similar fitting, flanked by two small round tower-like buildings (?) at the other end of the same street. A narrow band of buildings in front of the residential part with a little passage in the middle suggests that probably this was the controlled entrance from the public part to the residence.

There existed a general plan for rebuilding the previous Roman administrative centre of Serdica I, but in my view it has been realized gradually, during the time of the Tetrarchy and of Constantine and his sons. Concerning its plan and functions it may be considered as the next phase of development of the residences and the palaces after the palace of Diocletian in Spalato and before Romuliana and Thessalonica of Galerius. The residential and the official part are separated like in the other Tetrarchic residences and again the dominating volumes are centric (octogons and rotundas), with the impressive oval entrance of the baths. But the scale in Serdica is more modest, except the imperial baths/thermen, and the axis is underlined only from east to west. Thus the association with the planning as a military camp has disappeared.

According to the intention, the residence was the first to be built. It was excavated not completely because of the modern houses over it. The heart of it is a big atrium (or rather an inner court since only few small parts of a column

<sup>3</sup> A. Kirin connected the relief with the palaces and the fortifications, see A. Kirin. The Rotunda of St. George and late antique Serdica: from imperial palace to Episcopal complex, PhD Thesis for Princeton University, 2000. But the place it has been found is in proximity namely of the double gate, see Попова, Късноантичната резиденција, 77

<sup>4</sup> Usually the emperor is greeted at the city's gate when coming from Rome. But when he is returning to his local residence, the place may be the inner gate/gates.

has been found?) with many rooms around. A small octagonal bath with several rooms around is situated south of the residence. It is not clear if it attends to the residence or to the building west of it, with the assumption that the latter may be the place of the praetor<sup>5</sup>. The mosaics, although not well preserved, cover the atrium of the bath, the court of the residence and all its rooms. The only small figurative detail was found in one of the small rooms and shows the club of Hercules (Pl.II, fig.1-2). This mosaic is unusual in comparison to the other pavements from the period, but the rest of compositions in the atrium and the rooms around remind the ones from the Tetrarchy (Pl.II, fig. 3-6)<sup>6</sup>. Hercules was strongly venerated by all the Tetrarchs and especially by Galerius, who has struck this image on the coins, minted in Serdica. L. Lavan supposes that the residence belongs to the praetor or to the emperor, E. de Sena – to Galerius and Constantine and M. Stancheva – also to Constantine.<sup>7</sup> But in connection with the image of Hercules, the similarity with the plans of Romuliana and Thessalonica and the mosaic style it is more probable that not the praetor and not Constantine, but Galerius, first as caesar and then as emperor, has inhabited the residence, while Romuliana and the palace in Thessalonica have been in preparation. It is known that Galerius has stayed in Serdica for long, even for some years. The residence in Serdica could be used also by Diocletian during his constant travels and later by Licinius I.

Next problem in literature is about the interpretation of the small rooms, sticking to the residence from the south. The scientists accept that this part was a separate building, added to the residence, and some of them look for the prototype in the plans of the mausoleums, etc. (Pl.I, fig. 4)<sup>8</sup>. But comparing with the praetorial residence in Aquincum in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C., the palace of Diocletian in Spalato and of Galerius in Romuliana, similar small rooms can be observed<sup>9</sup>, sunk into very thick walls and with thin connecting corridors (Pl.I, fig.5). In Romuliana they are interpreted as dining rooms and for Serdica it can be supposed that they also serve for the same purpose. Indeed their mutual connections, small dimensions, the presence of hypocaust and the decoration with mosaics point to eventually a dining room, rooms with personal function and one

<sup>5</sup> E. de Sena considers the small bath as a Hospitalia, see his *Constantine in the Imperial Palace at Serdica*, In: *The Life of Saint Irenaeus of Sirmium in the Ethiopian synaxarium*, International symposium Constantin, Sirmium and early Christianity (Proceedings), ed. Nenad Lemajić, Sremska Mitrovica, 2014, 7-24

<sup>6</sup> These are schemes and separate motifs from Spalato and Mediana (R. Kolarik, *Late Antique Floor Mosaics in the Balkans*, Niš and Byzantium IV, 2006, 160-177

<sup>7</sup> L. Lavan, *The Residences of Late Antique Governors: A Gazetteer*. – *AnTard*, 7, 1999, 144f; L. Lavan, *The Praetoria of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity*, In: L. Lavan (ed.). *Recent Research in Late-antique Urbanism*. Portsmouth, 2001, 39-56; E. de Sena, *Constantine*; M. Станчева, *За Константиновия квартал в Сердика*, Сердика-Средец-София, т.2, 1994, 53-80; The study of G. Fingarova, *Das christliche Erscheinungsbild Serdicas*. In: R. Pillinger (Hrsg.) *Neue Forschungen zum frühen Christentum in den Balkanländern*. Vienna, 2015, 109-122) repeats the main theseses of several Bulgarian and foreign scientists.

<sup>8</sup> Ст. Бояджиев, *Архитектурният образ и предназначението на късноантичната сграда под „Корекон“ в София*, *Археология*, 2001, 1,-2, 70-78.

<sup>9</sup> В. Попова, *Късноантичната резиденция и баня*, Табл. VII,4

of the rooms playing the role of central distributor to the others. A date at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>- the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century may be proposed on the base of the similarity with Romuliana.

On the left side of the solemn street in the imperial quarter in Serdica I one can see the monumental thermae of the so-called “imperial type”, which seems never to be used as such, most probably because of the constantly changing political events (struggle for power) and economic considerations (sustenance and water supply).<sup>10</sup> Especially the central part of the thermae differs strongly from the residence and has much to do with the monuments from the period of Constantine and his dynasty<sup>11</sup>. In spite of the fact that from the very beginning there existed an initial plan for the imperial quarter, it was realized in parts, not at one and the same time, but consecutively. In this aspect the similarity with the monuments from the period of Constantine makes quite probable the building of the baths to be erected later than the residence and not earlier than the time of the Third - the Fourth Tetrarchy. Because of the usage of one and the same forms and plans in different buildings<sup>12</sup>, it is a problem, like in Thessalonica, to find out the exact function of the reworked Rotunda of the previous baths in Serdica in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Since 324 it could be transformed to a reception hall, a temple of any pagan cult, including that to the emperor, a mausoleum and a Christian church. In spite of the proposed date of transformation to a Christian church at the time of Theodosius I, in my view it could happen earlier, in the 50es – 60-es of the century, before or immediately after Julian the Apostate. We see the example of the martyrium built in the period 313-324 and the first church on the place of the future St. Sofia in Sofia within the period of the mutual reign of Constantius II and Julian.<sup>13</sup> It is necessary to have in mind that this concerns a place outside the city’s walls and the intention for having representative Christian monuments in the central part of the city at that period should be even greater.

**The amphitheatre.** The next building contemporary to the residence was the amphitheatre (Pl. IV, fig.1), built over the Roman theatre and dated at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> It is one of the biggest structures of that type on the

<sup>10</sup> A. Kirin (in his *The Rotunda of St. George and late antique Serdica*) compares the situation with the thermae in Trier, which have been built by the Constantinian dynasty and also never being functioning. Maybe the building of the new baths of Serdica reflects and follows the decision to reuse the imperial baths for another purpose. See В. Динчев, *Обществените бани на Serdica*, В: Ст. Станев и др. (ред.) *Изследвания в чест на Стефан Бояджиев*, София 2011, 101-124

<sup>11</sup> St. Constanza in Rome, the mausoleum of Cencelles in Spain, the octagons and the rotunda of Thessalonica, the octagon for the burial of Constantine to the church of the Holy Apostles, etc.

<sup>12</sup> See note 7

<sup>13</sup> The next periods, referring to the first and the second basilica on that place (and of the other Early Christian buildings in the city and its territory) are not connected with the period of Constantine and his sons and date from the Valentinians up to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. See V. Popova, *The Martyrium under the Basilica of St. Sofia in Serdica and its Pavements*. In: *Niš and Byzantium XIII*, Niš 2015, 131-150

<sup>14</sup> В. Величков, *Театърът и амфитеатърът на Сердика*, В: София – 130 години столица на България. София 2009, 51–61.

Balkans and naturally surpasses the Roman theatre under it. The monumental building was outside and not far from the Eastern gate of Serdica, alongside one of the roads to the eastern direction. A huge plateau is rising above as a natural background and makes the picture different from the amphitheatres, built usually on a flat place.

**The placard for venatio.** A placard for bestiarum found not far from the double gate of the imperial quarter supplies with concrete data about one of entertainments performed here, namely the bloody battles against bears (Pl.IV, fig.3). It is considered that four persons with masks are shown<sup>15</sup> on the platform decorated with garlands. According to my observations and compared with the stele from Ariccia with the Navigium Isidis (Pl. IV,fig.2)<sup>16</sup> these are real baboons, and a rider with the mask of a baboon is the usher (conditor rudarius) of the games, who infuriates the beasts with a whip in his hands. The baboons, the mask of the usher and the crocodile in the centre of the composition are attributes of the cult of Isis at that time. She and Serapis have been venerated in Serdica and shown on its coins. Isis and Serapis in general have been considered by Diocletian and Galerius as their protectors<sup>17</sup>.

Another interesting detail at the left side of the composition is the base and the rising from it pillars, most probably part of the pulvinar, the special box/lodge for the emperor, sitting at the top, while lower the cult effigies are shown as protectors of the city, of the games and of the participants. So we have a placard for the games in honour of Isis (and Serapis?) with a represented pulvinar, which supposes most probably the presence at least of one of the rulers, Diocletian and Galerius. Maybe this performance was one of the earliest one after the opening of the amphitheatre of Serdica at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The style of the placard is typical for the First and the Second Tetrarchy.<sup>18</sup> It has been already noticed that there existed no circus/hippodrome in Serdica, the only exclusion among all the other residences of the Tetrarchs. Probably the lack of enough space has led to this fact.

During the reign of the Constantinian dynasty Serdica I was rebuilt for the second time after the Tetrarchy, at least in its central part, together with Serdica II. The excavations from the recent six years unearthed many new buildings, but the Roman agora/forum is still not discovered. One of the houses near the crossing of the decumanus maximus and the cardo maximus has a well preserved mosaic with geometric patterns (Pl.III, fig.1-2)<sup>19</sup>. The only figurative

<sup>15</sup> Л. Вагалински, *Крѳв и зрелища. Спортни и гладиаторски игри в елинистическа и римска Тракия*, София, 2009, 204 -205, N 122.

<sup>16</sup> В. Попова, *Култът към Изида и Сарapis в римската пластика от България*, Addendum. In: *Studia classica serdicensia V. Monuments and Texts in Antiquity and beyond. Essays for the Centenary of Georgi Michailov (1915–1991)*, София 2015, 208-250

<sup>17</sup> R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World*, London 1997, 51; R. Rees, *Images and Image: A Re-Examination of Tetrarchic Iconography*, Greece and Rome, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser., Vol. 40, No 2, 1993, 197

<sup>18</sup> В. Попова, *Култът към Изида и Сарapis*, 223

<sup>19</sup> М. Иванов, *Bodenmosaiken aus dem sog. Gebäude A 6 bzw. Haus des Felix*, In: R. Pillinger, A. Lirsch, V. Popova (Hgs.), *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Mosaiken Bulgariens*, N 63. Vienna 2016, 20; R. Smith, *The public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculp-*

image is a golden diadem with a central gem and at the opposite side with thin and short red lines standing for the ribbons (*teniae*), which are usually falling to the shoulders. All the features show that this is not the usual *corona civica* with the branch twined into a wreath, but a golden diadem. The most convincing argument is the “golden” colour around the leaves, also the fact that the form of each leaf is not natural, but artificial, cut evenly at the base and that each leaf is filled with precious stones, probably amethysts and emeralds. Usually diadems are not shown on mosaic pavements. They are represented on the heads of emperors, empresses, deities and personifications in sculpture, mosaics, wall paintings and monuments of minor arts. Constantine I introduced the diadem as an official attribute of power and imperial cult after the Hellenistic diadems. From 325-326, when Constantine put such a diadem on his coins,<sup>20</sup> and up to Theodosius I the golden diadems have replaced the *corona civica*: on the averse the emperor is shown with it and once more it can be represented separately on the reverse of the coins and medallions. There exist several types of arrangement, but the construction of the mosaic diadem from Serdica is to be met for the first time: it is chain-like and imitates *corona civica* with a laurel wreath, consisting of equal three-parted configuration of leaves with cut base and precious stones in each leaf.

In the lower part inside the diadem there is an inscription: Felix. The word is often met on the coins of the Tetrarchy and Constantine and describes one of the emperor's virtues – Felicia, which his ruling brings to the whole empery.<sup>21</sup> The imperial diadem and the inscription suggest that the acclamation is addressed not to a private person, but to the emperor himself, who probably resides here. The house may belong also to a high magistrate, responsible for the imperial cult in Serdica, who ordered the mosaic diadem and the official inscription for the ruler. According to the coins and the mosaic style this was most probably Constantius II. Very near to the room with the unique mosaic diadem an impressive apse was excavated, which can be accepted as the apse of the still not found bishop basilica, discussed in connection with the council of Serdica in 343, probably together with the bishop residence. But it could be also the apse of a reception hall (*aula*), part of an enormous palace covered with mosaics, which begins from the West Gate and stretches almost to the *decumanus maximus*<sup>22</sup>. The two big necropolises of Serdica, especially the eastern one, contain numerous burials and tombs from the period we are interested in, and they will be analyzed in the part of wall paintings.

**The residence at Scretisca.** Serdica was also an important city in the studied period for another reason. It was situated on the crossing of two main roads in the Balkans. The first one was coming from the lands beyond

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*ture and imperial Ideology in the early Fourth Century*, JRS, vol. 87, 1997, 177; L. Ramskold, *Constantine's Vicennalia and the Death of Crispus*, Nis i Vizantija XI, 2014, 409 – 456.

<sup>20</sup> R. Smith, The public Image of Licinius I: *Portrait Sculpture and imperial Ideology in the early Fourth Century*, JRS, vol. 87, 1997, 177; L. Ramskold, *Constantine's Vicennalia and the Death of Crispus*, Nis i Vizantija XI, 2014, 409 – 456.

<sup>21</sup> R. Smith, *The public Image*, 198

<sup>22</sup> I. Borisova-Katsarova, *A newfound Late Roman Mosaic from Serdica*, In: Nis i Vizantija XIII, Nis 2015, 151-160

Danube through Bononia to Thessalonica and further. The second one, known as the Diagonal road, is coming from Italy through Illyricum and the cities of Singidunum and Viminacium towards Byzantion/Constantinople and Asia Minor. Another impressive residence has been built at Scretisca/Kostinbrod, near to the Roman mutation.<sup>23</sup> The closeness to Serdica on the road to Mediana and Naissus and maybe the impossibility to find enough space for one more monumental residence in the already rebuilt in the Second-Third Tetrarchy Serdica I was the reason to choose for the purpose namely Scretisca. Maybe the emperor didn't mean to stop in Serdica at all when being on a long journey to and from Byzantion/Constantinople and Scretisca was the very propitious stop for the rest. Because of the unusual impressive dimensions, the very complex plan and its peculiarities, including a real park instead of an inner atrium/court and the round structure whose function is not sure (mausoleum?), the residence at Scretisca is considered to belong either to the praetor of Serdica or to Constantine, the latter more plausible in my opinion (Pl.V, fig. 1-2). The mosaics covering almost all the discovered rooms in the eastern and northern part, are indicative of the vast representative building, which is much more palace, than a usual residence. It is likely, on the base of the mosaics too, that it is from the period after 324.

**The villa at Filipovtzi.** A very interesting villa was excavated in Filipovtzi (Pl.V, fig.3-5)<sup>24</sup>, now quarter of Sofia, to the west direction of Serdica and near to via Diagonalis. It has a residential part with a patio, an exedra and a separate bath, but the plan may include other still not discovered parts too. In front of the exedra a piscine with railing around has been installed and mosaics have been laid. The railing (Pl. VII) shows several portrait herms of men, one of them double. The whole decoration is one of the best among Late Antique villas not only in Bulgaria. While M. Stancheva considers the portraits as relatives because of their similarities, N. Kirova explains them with the hand of the atelier<sup>25</sup>. It is also possible that their images supply the owner with good luck, just as the images on dishes and the fibulae in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century do and the railing of some Late Antique and Early Christian tombs in and around Nish.<sup>26</sup> The young and healthy men, from a boy to adults, can play therefore the role of apothropeions. In the Christian meaning in wall paintings the juvenality could be also associated with the eternal life in the Paradise.

<sup>23</sup> В. Динчев, *Късноримската резиденция SCRETISCA и ранновизантийското селище КРАТИСКАРА*, Археологическите проучвания в м. Градището край гр. Костинброд през 1990–1994 г, Разкопки и проучвания, XXX, София, 2003

<sup>24</sup> See the lit. in В. Попова, *Мозайките на римската вила в квартал Филиповци на София*, Изкуствоведски четения, 2010, 186-193

<sup>25</sup> See the references in Н. Кирова, *Херми от една римска вила в кв. Филиповци*, Изкуство и контекст, Четвърта младежка конференция, София 2008, 242-249, бел. 1

<sup>26</sup> М. А. Giggisberg (Hr.) *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseaugst*, Die neuen Funde, August, 2003, Taf. 46 and 47; see the opinion of M. Rakocija on similar real and painted herms in tomb No3, in his *The Constantine city – ancient Christian Niš*, Ниш 2013, especially 292-297. The portraits of the young man there is also from the period of Constantine by his iconography and style and a parallel for the real herms in Filipovtzi.

The unusual richness of the decoration demonstrates a high status and possibilities. Probably the villa belonged to a civil magistrate or a trader since not a single detail in the herms and the mosaics display a connection with the military sphere from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and especially in the ruling of Constantine I, to whose time the villa is traditionally referred. The portraits in the villa of Filipovtzi do remind the heads of the Constantine I. But they are more material and fleshy, not so classical in its proportions and expression and hierarchical as the portraits of Constantius II, reminding somehow the style of the Valentinians. The mode of the lavishly represented vases, placed at the angles, in diagonals, triangle panels and segments, can be traced mainly from the 60es to the end of the century. These two reasons make it possible that the date of the villa may be later than it is considered, at the end of the Constantine dynasty and the early period of the Valentinians.

#### *The Low Danube - Castra Marits, Ulpia Oescus and Yatrus*

Many other local roads were running into the mentioned main roads, for instance the one connecting Bononia with Romuliana. A military fortress, the well known quadriburgia was built in Castra Martis (now the town of Kula)<sup>27</sup> at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This is a classical Late Antique military fortress. Yatrus, another fortress on the Danubian Limes, has also revealed the period of Constantine very clearly<sup>28</sup>. This Danubian road has been visited many times by Diocletian (for instance in 293) and on a special case by Constantine in 328, when the auguration of the bridge between Oescus and Sucidava has taken part<sup>29</sup>.

#### *Heracleia Sintike*

Heraclea Sintica/Heracleia Sintike, situated on half way from Serdica to Thessalonica and identified recently, gained back at the time of the Tetrarchy its previous importance after three centuries rivalry with Parthicopolis. It is considered that the change might reflect the creation of a state weaving workshop like in Cabile<sup>30</sup>. The recently published golden exnumia with the image of Galerius (Pl.VIII, fig.6)<sup>31</sup> descends from the necropolis in the northwestern part

<sup>27</sup> Й. Атанасова, *Архитектура и градоустройство на Кастра Маритис. Квадрибургий и кастел*, В: Разкопки и проучвания, т. 33, Археологически институт с музей, София 2005, 27-48

<sup>28</sup> Gerda von Bülow, *Iatrus-Krivina. Spätantikes Limeskastell an der Yantramündung*, In: Р. Иванов (ред.). Римски и ранновизантийски селища в България, София 2008, 54-67.

<sup>29</sup> R. Ivanov, *Colonia Ulpia Oescensium*, 14-15, In: R. Ivanov (ed.), *Late Roman Cities in Bulgaria*, Sofia 2012

<sup>30</sup> A forthcoming article of N. Sharankov, *Epigraphical Data for Parthicopolis in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century*, In: Sandanski and its territory in Protohistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages, Sofia 2016

<sup>31</sup> M. Antonova, *The Coins from the Necropolis "Metlata" near the Village of Rupite (f. Muletarovo), Municipality of Petrich*, In: Heraclea Sintica, From Hellenistic Polis to Roman Civitas (4<sup>th</sup> C. BC – 6<sup>th</sup> C. AD), 260



of the plain between Heraclea and the village of Muletarovo. The exnumia was put in the mouth of the buried individ, accompanied by one gold earring next to the head and by a jug in the feet. The thin golden sheet is 24 carats and therefore distinguishes this burial from the rest ones. The complete publication of the necropolis is in preparation<sup>32</sup>, nevertheless because of the only found and totally broken skull it can't be established the gender of the buried person. If a woman, she could be somehow connected with the mentioned already weaving workshop. The total height is about 1.75m and this circumstance plus the single earring point rather to a male, maybe not Roman. But the burial is too simply constructed for a man of a high rank. In all the cases the attention to the dead person was special for his/her merits, but not so high to put a real and a heavier aureus in the mouth as the obolos of Charon. This circumstance and the type of the burial show a person of local importance.

#### *Diocletianopolis and Philippopolis*

Diocletianopolis<sup>33</sup> is the second city bounded tightly with the Tetrarchs, including its new name, fortress walls and urban plan. In fact it was previously a Roman site, but has not revealed much of its early story from the 1<sup>st</sup>- end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Many Early Christian basilicas, some adapted to the military buildings (Pl. X, fig.6) and several important buildings have been excavated inside the city: recently a bath with an inscription and not so long ago a small, probably partly wooden amphitheatre. Until now the studied period has left little traces in Philippopolis, the biggest city of Thracia. In spite of the fact that some archeologists consider the Eastern gate and the wide 13, 20 m street leading from it to the centre as belonging to the reign of Constantine I, it may be later<sup>34</sup>. Most probable the chance of discovering monuments from the studied period is ahead, having in mind the wall paintings of the tomb with coena funebris, which will be analyzed later.

#### *Augusta Traiana/Beroe*

The changes in the urban planning of Augusta Traiana/Beroe are much clearer. An oval piazza was excavated at its Southwestern gate. First it was announced as the forum (Pl. IX, fig.4), but in my opinion it was a place for

<sup>32</sup> J. Bozinova, *Hellenistic and Roman Necropolis near the Village of Rupite*, Petrich Municipality, In: Heraclea Sintica, 238-254

<sup>33</sup> К. Маджаров, *Диоклецианополис*, т. I, София 1993, 125-128; К. Маджаров, М. Маджаров, *Диоклецианопол*, В: Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България, София 2002, 199-217; М. Madjarov, *Late Roman thermal spa in Diocletianopolis (preliminary word)*, Зборник на трудови од меѓународниот симпозиум на тема „Вода, живот и задоволство“. НУ Завод за заштита на спомениците на културата и Музей Струмица. 2009, 59-68; М. Маджаров, *Към въпроса за крепостните порти на Диоклецианополис*, Годишник на Регионален Исторически музей - Пловдив, т. XII, 2014, 145-158

<sup>34</sup> See the article in this volume of I. Topalilov. The Importance of the so-called 'Eastern Gate' Complex for the Christians and Christianity in Late Antique Philippopolis

competitions and entertainments at the open, i.e. a theatre and amphitheatre, confirmed by the excavations<sup>35</sup>. In fact the Southwestern gate, the second one at the west fortress wall, is supplying with an additional access not only to the inside of the city, but to this special piazza. The *thermae* to the north of the piazza have been used probably earlier in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. as a base for the superimposed on them auditorium with monumental colonnade and statues. As seen from the excavations, the first rows of the auditorium were protected by a net against the animals of the *bestiaria*. A base for an equestrian statue is placed at its eastern end (Pl. IX, fig. 5), which is dated later, at the period of Constantine by the same excavator. Several tomb monuments and inscriptions from Beroe witness for the presence of gladiators, also of a famous writer of pantomimes and of theatre performances. All of them were in connection with the venerated cults in Augusta Traiana, victories and visits of the emperors and their civil and military magistrates. Up to now this is the only Roman city in Bulgaria with such entertainments at the open, known usually from the south cities of Greece and Asia Minor. Probably settlers from Asia Minor and Syria have brought this kind of performances at the open together with many other influences from there, most of all in mosaics<sup>36</sup>. So before each competition or entertainment in the 4<sup>th</sup> century the equestrian statue served for the veneration of the imperial cult and the imperial propaganda. Coins under the marble pavement slabs around the postament date from the Tetrarchy. At the moment it can't be revealed to whom of the emperors the equestrian statue belonged.

### *Kabile*

The last city with monuments from the studied period and also visited by Diocletian is Kabile, which changed its status from a military fortress to a city because of the established state weaving workshop. A burial, probably of an officer, contains a vase *diatreta* and a golden ring with the portrait of Constantine I (Pl.VII, fig. 11)<sup>37</sup>. The curved nose reflects his second portrait type<sup>38</sup>. The luxury objects are connected with the imperial *largitio* on the occasion of the ruler's birthday, anniversary of ruling, victories, etc. In the Balkans there have been found silver dishes and ingots of several Tetrarchs, most of all of Licinius,

<sup>35</sup> V. Popova, *Cult Aspects of Roman Portraits in Bulgaria – Helis*, t. III/1, 1994, 269-296; K. Калчев, *Площадът при Западната порта на Стара Загора*, 91-91. В: P. Иванов, M. Мартинова-Кютова, В. Коларова, Ж. Величков, К. Калчев, *Сгради и съоръжения за състезания и зрелища през II-IV в.*, Археология на българските земи, т. 2, София 2006, 80-96

<sup>36</sup> V. Popova, *Itinerant and local Workshops: the Problem of direct Work and indirect Influences on the Roman Mosaics in Bulgaria*, forthcoming in AIEMA-Madrid 2015

<sup>37</sup> A. Dimitrova, Ž. Popov, *Zwei Begräbnisse aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jh. aus Jambol*, In: *Thracia* 4, 1977, 235-258; only the *diatreta* see in A. Dimitrova, *A vas diatretum from Thrace*. *Journal of Glass Studies*, Vol. 16, 1974, 14-17

<sup>38</sup> K. Fittschen, P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, Band I, Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse, Mainz am Rhein, 1985, No 122

in different parts of Serbia and Bulgaria and made in the local officinae<sup>39</sup>. They were obviously gifts to the elite and to the officers in the Balkans. To them should be added golden medallions, aureuses and silver coins from the studied period, also emperor's gifts, placed on the same dishes, as the recent study shows.<sup>40</sup> The idea of belonging of the dishes and fibulae with portraits to the largitio from the period of Constantine is now rejected and they are considered to be good luck symbols from the second part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>.

### *The portraits in the round*

The portraits in the round sculpture belong to the First - Fourth Tetrarchy and of the Constantinian reign, some of them very banal, but others on quite a good level. Expectedly, several of them descend from the Low Danube area and its interior: Oescus, Appiaria and Durostorum and the village of Brest and Lukovit. A rare for the period cuirassed statue, from which only the calligae and the end of the paludamentum are preserved, descends from Ulpia Oescus (Pl. VIII, fig.9).

**The portrait statue of Diocletian from Brest** (Pl. X, fig. 1-2). The most important among them and likely the earliest one is the head from Brest, part of statue. Because of the treatment and some iconographic features there exists a discussion on the official or private character of the head; for the provincial adaptation of the official iconography see also J. Meschner<sup>42</sup>. The head from Brest demonstrates the typical features of the Tetrarchic portrait in the Late Antique provinces of Bulgaria. It takes only the gaze (the fulgor oculorum)<sup>43</sup> and the wrinkles on the forehead from the official portraits. The cubistic form

<sup>39</sup> For the most complete literature see in M. A. Giggisberg (Hr.) *Der spätrömische Silberschatz* (the earlier and the later publications in Serbia, Bulgaria, elsewhere with the new interpretations)

<sup>40</sup> Б. Божкова, *Златни римски монети I – IV в.*, В *Антични и електронови златни монети (VI в. пр.Хр. – IV в. сл.Хр.)* от Нумизматичната колекция на НАИМ-БАН (каталог), София 2012 (в съавторство с М. Доткова и Б. Русева); Б. Божкова, *Мултипликацији – медальони и слитъци от българските земи в IV в.*, Нумизматика и сфрагистика, 1-2, 1992, 5-10; В. Bozkova, *Gold and Silver Medallions (Multiples) from the 4th Century AD found in the Territory of Bulgaria*, Macedonian Numismatic Journal, 2, 1996, 71-87; Б. Божкова, *Находките от днешните български земи и римското златно монетосечене от края на III в.*, Археология 4, 1996, 23-30; Б. Божкова, *Римски златни монети (I-IV в.) от фонда на Националния археологически институт с музей- БАН*, В: сб. Югоизточна Европа през античността VI в. пр. Хр.-началото на VII в. сл. Хр. София 2008, 361-371; Б. Божкова, *Циркулация на сребърни монети през IV в. в днешните български земи*, Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика 6, 2010, 71-84.

<sup>41</sup> М. А. Giggisberg (Hr.), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz*, 299-304; In the Bulgarian literature the same opinion is expressed by Б. Думанов, *Нови наблюдения за фибулите с медальонни изображения*, В: Spartacus II. 2075 години от въстанието на Спартак, Трако-римско наследство, 2000 години християнство, В. Търново 2006, 113-120.

<sup>42</sup> В. Попова. *Идентификация на официалния римски и ранновизантийски портрет от България*, В: Изкуство и идеология, София 2011, 193; J. Meischner, *Zwei Porträttypen Kaiser Diokletians*, In: The Roman and Late Roman city, Sofia 2002, 356-360.

<sup>43</sup> R. Smith, *The public Image*, 182

of the head is less underlined or not present at all. The volumes still bear the plasticity of the soldiers-emperors portraits of the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. and a special attention is paid to the beard and the moustaches, rendered in repeating decorative provincial style. Since now no traces of the official porphyry style east of Naissus can be found as if there is an invisible boundary, in spite that this was the same province. Almost all the Tetrarchic portraits from Bulgaria are treated like that, following the tradition of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century portrait with borrowed only separate iconographic features from the official style. So we have a limited “tetrarchism” in portraiture. Having in mind that the supply with official porphyry statues was centralized and therefore limited to only several important cities<sup>44</sup>, the ones east of Naissus probably had not the chance to be among them, although Galerius resided in Serdica.

**The silver bust of Galerius** (Pl.III, fig.5). Even when the portrait is surely official, it is very close to the described Late Antique provincial style. The same characteristic shows the remarkable silver bust<sup>45</sup>, an attribute of the imaginifer in the Roman troops, without exact provenance. First it was kept in a private collection in Berkovitza, but later was stolen from there and probably sold illegally to unknown place in Europe or USA. The portrait shows a Tetrarch with the paludamentum. The holes for the silver nails affixing to the silver stick are obvious. The iconography is idol-like, but without the strongly revealed cubic image, with gazing eyes and nevertheless minimum plasticity. The physiological features, rendered almost veristic, have also found place in it.

The silver bust from Bulgaria puts three questions: to whom of the Tetrarchs it belongs, where was its original place of finding and where it has been made. It is known the difficulty of identification of the Tetrarchs because of their extremely close similarity or even identity<sup>46</sup>. But in our case we have one important iconographic detail, namely the asymmetry in the upper lip, which is known in some of the portraits of Galerius. Comparing the iconography with the sculptural and coin portraits, we can see that namely Galerius has such asymmetric right part of the curved upper lip. On its turn the silver bust can help identifying the other disputable portraits of the Tetrarchs, especially of Galerius<sup>47</sup>.

The answer to the second question may point to some of the principiae in the military camps in Northwestern Bulgaria. Ratiaria as the biggest city and capital of Dacia Ripensis, also one of the biggest jewellery centres on the Lower Danube and the place for the army supply with weapons may be suspected both as a place of finding and a place of making. Additional argument is that Ratiaria was attacked constantly by treasure-hunters in the recent 25 years and many

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, 183

<sup>45</sup> В. Попова-Мороз, И. Луканова, *Сребърен бюст на тетрарх от България*, Проблеми на изкуството 3, 1994, 36-42; В. Попова, *Идентификация*, 193

<sup>46</sup> R. Smith, *The public Image*, 180

<sup>47</sup> For instance the silver bust from Mainz according to the specific mouth should be also Galerius, not Licinius I, see S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca (eds.), *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Roma 2000, no. 234

monuments from there plundered; also the previous owner of the silver bust is living in Berkovitz, not far from Ratiaria and the story of buying the monument by him from somebody is not quite clear.

The imago from Bulgaria is at the same time similar and different from the known up to now silver busts. This kind of the official cult portrait in the Roman army is known from several silver examples in the German collections<sup>48</sup>. We can hardly suppose that this concrete military standard in the form of the emperor's bust, silver or golden, was centrally supplied from Rome or from the west officinae, for it is different from them: while they have the hair-dress á penna, in our case there is a rich mass ending with round curls; the cubistic form is dominating with them, in our case this it still bears some plasticity. Again in comparison this head is much more veristic, the only borrowed from the west Tetrarchic portraits are the burning gaze of the eyes. Naturally the officina of Sirmium and of Naissus are among the pretenders, but this official monument bears the typical features of the official portrait sculpture east of Naissus, maybe even the officina of Serdica. All the observed details of the iconography and the treatment point to a local Balkan workshop in nowadays Bulgaria, most probably Ratiaria.

**The portrait from Lukovit** (Pl.VIII, fig. 10)<sup>49</sup> represents a head of a statue, the volume very plastically treated, the eyes relatively small in the manner of the pre-Tetrarchic 3<sup>rd</sup> century, with a solid neck, the so-called "neck of Bravery"<sup>50</sup>. But the monumentality, the hair-style and the beard are similar to the First-Second Tetrarchy with short cut strokes. There is a definite similarity to some of the early portraits of Diocletian, but the monumentality shows the next period of the portrait development. At the same time such a deep position in the Balkan mountains themselves could suppose an important military fortress defending the local roads and the state (?) quarries there.

**The marble statue of Licinius I from Ilindentzi** (Pl.VIII, fig.7-8)<sup>51</sup>. Another head of a Tetrarch, part of a statue, was found in situ, probably in a workshop near a rock in proximity to the several marble quarries of Ilindentzi, not far from Parthicopolis in Southwestern Bulgaria. The head is not finished, because there lack irises and pupils, and the moustaches are projected only on the one side, thus representing a typical non finito. According to it I suggested that this portrait of Licinius I was discarded after he has been defeated in 316 and lost his influence in the Balkans. The still middle-aged and not rotten and bloated face does not allow relating it to 324, the year before Licinius' murder by Constantine. On the other side it is not possible the head to represent Licinius II, who was a beardless 6-years boy until his death, while the head from Ilindentzi

<sup>48</sup> E. Kunzl, *Zwei silberne Tetrarchenporträts im RGZM und die römische Kaiserbildnisse aus Gold und Silber*, Jahrbuch der Römisch-Germanischen Zentral Museum Mainz 1983, 381-402; See also the small silver bust of Licinius in Smith, Ward-Perkins, *The Last Roman Statues*, no 522

<sup>49</sup> T. Kovacheva, *Selected Sculptural Monuments from the Regional Historical Museum in Pleven*, Pleven 2014, N o 4.

<sup>50</sup> R. Smith, *The public Image*, 197

<sup>51</sup> В. Попова, *Портрет на тетрарх от Илindenци*. В: *Varia Thracica. Studia in honorem Mariae Cičikova*, Sofia, 2011, 124-131; В. Попова, *Идентификация*, 193

shows an adult man<sup>52</sup>. In this portrait we can follow again the real portrait features of Licinius I and the good sculptural treatment, in spite of the fact that the strokes imitating the hairstyle are artificial and in a strong contrast to the achieved plasticity.

#### *The Portraits from Durostorum and Dobrudja*

Since now there was no chance to find out a portrait of Constantine I in the territory of Bulgaria, in spite of the numerous inscriptions. Durostorum is important in this aspect, because a praesidia has been built during his time. The territory of Durostorum includes the canabae, the camp, the vicus and finally the Late Antique city, all situated partly in Bulgaria and partly in Rumania.<sup>53</sup> A male head from Durostrum/Rumanian Ostrov is thought to represent Licinius or Constantine<sup>54</sup>, but it attends more to the tradition of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century pre-Tetrarchic portraits with the changes made during of the First - Second Tetrarchy. Two more portraits from the Rumanian collections without exact provenance<sup>55</sup>, probably brought from Dobrudja during the wars in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, also belong to the period of the Tetrarchy and of Constantine. M. Alexandrescu Vianu supposes that one of them belongs to Helena (Pl.IX, fig.1) and dates it to the 30es. She also suggests that it can be a private portrait because no diadem is shown, but considers that this argument is not decisive. Another possibility in our view is the head to represent Fausta. The nose is also different from that of Helena, straight and a little bit wider. The curls arranged in the same way with a low knot are shown on Fausta's coin portraits<sup>56</sup> about 326, the year she has been killed. But the eyes remind those of Helena's coin portraits, which could be just borrowed in Fausta's image.

**The portrait of a lady belonging to the Constantinian dynasty from Perustica** (Pl. IX. fig. 2-3)<sup>57</sup>. An important female head comes from Perustica near Plovdiv/Philippopolis. It was kept in the fund of the local municipality, but was stolen from there and I could work only with the photos. The head obviously belongs to a monumental statue of a lady from the Constantinian court – Helena or Constantia, half-sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius I. In spite of her tragedy after the murder of her husband and her son, she supported the emperor and took part in the Church life. Perustica is the place where the

<sup>52</sup> R. Smith. *The public Image*, 170-202; for the Late Portraits of the almost 60-years old Licinius see R. Smith, *The public Image*, Pl. V/3 (from 321-322), Pl. VIII (from the same years); for the coin portraits of Licinius II see Pl. V/6 ; the small silver bust of Licinius is also near to the head from Blagoevgrad, see Smith, Ward-Perkins, *The Last Statues*, N 522

<sup>53</sup> G. Atanasov, *Durostorum – Dorostal(os) – Drastar/Dristia – Silistra*, In: R. Ivanov (ed.). *Thracian, Greek, Roman and Medieval Cities, Residences and Fortresses in Bulgaria*, Sofia, 2015, 494, fig.1

<sup>54</sup> M. Alexandrescu Vianu, *Portraits romains dans les collections de Bucarest*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, t. 110, 1995, No 35, fig. 35.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, No 36, fig. 36; No 37, fig. 37

<sup>56</sup> L. Ramskold, *Constantine's Vicennalia*, fig. 13, A, D, F

<sup>57</sup> В. Попова, *Идентификация*, 193-194; see there the full description and the parallels

famous martyrium, the so-called Red church<sup>58</sup> has been built at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century and the presence of this portrait there maybe is not occasional. It can be supposed that the act of erecting of the martyrium happened to be earlier, around the 30es, when the activity of Helena in the sacred places for Christianity has been copied in Thrace. We can suppose that eventually this lady was one of the donators for the Red-church martyrium. The second possibility could be the existence of an official monument of the members of the Constantinian dynasty in the local settlement or even residence (in the previous Roman site at Pastusha?). The head does not repeat the iconography of Helena in the round sculpture and differs from it in many points. It looks like a reworked in the 4<sup>th</sup> C. head of Faustina the Younger or repeats this type. The crown of the plaits is not wrapping up diagonally the head, but is superimposed horizontally on the top itself and the ends are shown there too. The face is too round and elder, than of Helena, and the gaze look likes the portraits of the Late Constantine portraits<sup>59</sup>.

### Mosaics

Generally the mosaics from Bulgaria from the period 284-363 cannot be studied separately from the other Central Balkan monuments for many reasons (they belong to one and the same or the neighboring province, from the time of one and the same ruler, the residences are nearly situated and it can be supposed that some are laid by one and the same workshops). The basic problem of any mosaic study is the criteria of dating. A pattern of well and strictly dated monuments allows the observations to be maximum correct. In such a case the iconographic and stylistic study is reliable and on its turn can be used for dating unsure monuments.

**Dating by the coins in the mortar.** I had already the chance to draw the attention to the coins, found in the mortar of several monuments from Bulgaria and Rumania<sup>60</sup>. Two of the monuments in Bulgaria from the studied period are well dated because of the coins found in their mortar. The pavement of the villa N 1 in Kalimantzi near Montana (Pl. IX, fig.5) is from the time of Constantine I, while the late mosaic with the seasons from the residence in Marcianopolis (Pl. IX, fig.7) according to the coin refers to the period of Constantius II. From Bulgaria there is one new example of coins found in the mosaic's mortar in the bishop basilica on Han Krum str. in Odessus/Varna, although from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> R. Pillinger, V. Popova, B. Zimmermann, *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Wandmalereien Bulgariens*, Vienna 1999, No 42

<sup>59</sup> A close portrait, but with an enlarging top of the "turban", is that of a lady from the museum in Torlonia, R. Smith, B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *The Last Statues of Antiquity*, Oxford, 2012, no 575

<sup>60</sup> V. Popova, *The Martyrium under the Basilica St. Sofia in Serdica and its Mosaics*, Niš and Byzantium XIII, Niš 2015, 140, note 19

<sup>61</sup> A. Minchev, *The Early Christian Mosaics in the Episcopal basilica of Odessos (late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 7<sup>th</sup> C. AD)*, In: A. Panaite, R. Cirjan, C. Căpiță (eds). *Moesiaca et Christiana. Studies in Honour of Professor Alexandru Barnea*, Braila, 2016, 431-444 (about the coins on p. 436)

In spite of some sceptical attitude, the coins found in the mosaics's mortar (or under the threshold or under a wall) are not occasionally lost, but put on purpose. M. Donderer<sup>62</sup> has come long ago to the same idea and he even included in the cited by him 84 monuments the villa mosaic from Montana. While I supposed that this act is ensuring good luck, he accepted it as an offering to the gods at the beginning of a new building with mosaics (foundation rituals), but in private houses. The example of the martyrium under St. Sofia in Serdica and the docks in Tomis show, that the practice included public and cult buildings too. Meanwhile coins have been found also at the base of the masts in the sunken ships and the explanation is the same – offering to gods for the new beginning/foundation<sup>63</sup>. This is the “coin” part of the general offerings in Antiquity, made to the gods on different occasions and with a many kinds of gifts<sup>64</sup>. So putting coins under the layer with mosaic tesserae has become a habitual and preferred act, witnessed in Bulgaria, Rumania and in all the Roman Empire as coin offering to the gods in the Roman and the Late Antique period. The coins in question can be accepted either as contemporary to the building, or as a terminus post quem, with some distance, even a small one, with the event of building and making the mosaic. But usually the mosaic and the coin are contemporary. In this they differ from some other votives, which can include old and even broken objects and old coins too. The decoration of a building with a mosaic was an expensive act and the attitude to it is reflected in choosing coins in a good state of preservation and within the same period. The main problems of the mosaic study can be resolved by using the described “coin dating from the mortar”, supplying with more or less an exact date, development of the schemes, inserting of new motifs, a change of figural style and repertory.

**Dating by stamps on largitio objects.** Another way of widening the possibilities of the mosaic dating and analysis is to make a parallel observation on the well dated objects with mosaic-like decoration, such as the dishes of the imperial largitio with stamps of the officinae and the responsible administrator. Both ways in combination or separately (the coin dating of mosaics and the stamp dating of mosaic-like decorations) can establish the general development of mosaics, because the schemes can be met widely on many kinds of architectonic and applied art.

**The creation of the Tetrarchic style in mosaics<sup>65</sup>.** The main shift in the monuments from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. was the creation of the Tetrarchic mosaic style, represented in its pure kind in Romuliana. But as a whole the mosaics in the studied period of about 40 years are not homogenous, even if they belong to one and the same year. The earliest examples from the

<sup>62</sup> M. Donderer, *Münzen als Bauopfer in römischen Privathäusern*. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, t. 184, 1984, 177-187

<sup>63</sup> D. Carlson, *Mast-Step Coins among the Romans*, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2007, 36.2, 317-324

<sup>64</sup> G. Hunt, *Foundations Rituals and the Culture of Buildings in Ancient Greece*, A Dissertation, Chapel Hill 2006

<sup>65</sup> Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Art in the Roman Period*, In: R. J. Fox, R. L. Fox. *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon (650 BC -330 AD)*, Brill 2011, 381-382 and the references



Diarchie and the First Tetrarchy, represented by the floor mosaics of Spalato<sup>66</sup> and the bath south of the residence of Galerius in Serdica, are with simple repeating units in bright colours as a continuation of 3<sup>rd</sup> century mosaics. Optical motifs can be used in the schemes themselves and in the separate motifs, but the colours and the rudeness shadow them. The most preferred composition around an atrium may consist of one or several hybrid consecutive schemes around the periphery, like in Spalato, Serdica and Thessalonica. But in the same period compositions and style which differ strongly from all the other mosaics also can be distinguished, for instance the rotunda with Hercules in the residence of Galerius in Serdica. It possesses some impressionistic essence of the complex decorative composition with refined outlines of each motif. The general impression is that mythological and other figurative compositions appear seldom, while geometric-ornamental ones are the main stream.

The real new style was demonstrated in Romuliana with the play of colour of the inserted motifs, of the changing colour background and in the combinatoric play of the abundance of motifs. This was a new decision of the “carpet-like” conception, very concentrated, enriched and movable. In each separate unit is demonstrated an inner dynamics and movement over the vast surfaces. The geometric forms with angles are replaced on the second place by the round and constantly changing insertions. At that phase of the second-third Tetrarchy there appear again big mythological and gladiatorial scenes, representing the best colouristic treatment of the Late Antiquity.

Also during this and the next phase of the Fourth Tetrarchy the early Tetrarchic rudeness disappears and is replaced by the classicizing trend of Constantine and his sons. For instance looking at the mosaic from Montana (Pl. IX, fig. 6)<sup>67</sup> we can conclude, that at the time of Constantine circles still do not interweave, they only tangent each other. Another observation is, compared with the dish of Constans<sup>68</sup>, that the motif already takes all the inner place of the geometric figure and is repeated endless times, which represents a step towards an enrichment of the composition. But still it does not overdo, it is balanced and classicistic in its spirit. The mosaic with the seasons from Marcianopolis (Pl. IX, fig. 8)<sup>69</sup> residence represents the next step of development of the same classicizing trend. The scheme itself becomes extremely complex. The rich laurel wreaths add additional beauty and even material heaviness. It also can be compared with the largitio dish of Constantius II<sup>70</sup>, showing the mode of centric compositions, large forms and proportions, filled almost entirely with different motifs to the state of supreme concentration.

The mosaic compositions from the residence in Scretisca, some parts of the residence in Thessalonica, Mediana, Naisuus and of the recently found mo-

<sup>66</sup> R. Kolarik, *Tetrarchic Floor Mosaics in the Balkans*, “La Mosaïque gréco-romaine IV, Paris, 1994, 171-183

<sup>67</sup> R. Pillinger, A. Lirsch, V. Popova, *Corpus*, No 19

<sup>68</sup> M. Guggisberg, *Forschungen in Augst*, taf. 43

<sup>69</sup> R. Pillinger, A. Lirsch, V. Popova, *Corpus*, No 8

<sup>70</sup> M. Guggisberg, *Forschungen in Augst*, Abb. 51

saic at the West Gate of Serdica also belong to that period<sup>71</sup>. It is obvious that there exist preferred schemes (for instance hexagons), that the usage of colour becomes more refined and complex (double and even triple colour outlines in one and the same form) and that the white colour almost disappears from the background, remaining only in thin lines and small spots.

The pavement of the House of Felix in Serdica resort to the style of compartments, i.e. many schemes used in one composition. The same style and the same colours can be traced in the earliest two west panels of the martyrium under St. Sofia and made by the same workshop. The dominated green and red, typical for the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and some specific schemes remind of the polychrome style of the Goths and other barbarians from the same century and onwards. The essence of this style is in fact different from the classicizing trend and deserves a thorough study in order to trace back its genesis and connections with the Late Antique barbarian culture and art. It is necessary to remind that namely this trend is accepted in the art of Europe in the 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century, because it was synthesized on the base of the Roman art together with the help of 4<sup>th</sup> century barbarian applied art (fibulae, girdles, weapons, jewellery, etc.).

In the villa of Filipovtzi a harbour scene with two different boats, the fortress wall and many fishes as a part of a marina are represented around the piscine. Unfortunately this main scene around the piscine is cut into several pieces and now only the drawings can give an idea for it<sup>72</sup>. The figurative images are not skillfully rendered in comparison to the decorative ones, and shown on the background of schematic parallel waves. The style of the representations is even rude, not accurate and monotonous, all the fishes swimming in one direction, shown in one and the same way with different strips on a dark surface, mixed with bright red, yellow and blue spots. The decorative panels in the exedra are contrasting the rude marina, with their tender pastel palette and colour background, demonstrating extremely abundance of schemes, lavishly decorated with a combinatoric plenty of motifs. The style is different from the classicizing one in Mediana for instance and reveals a new phase of development both in the mosaics and the portrait herms, a kind of a forerunner of the style of compartments (or an encyclopaedian one) in the bishop residence Eirene in Philippopolis<sup>73</sup>. The mosaic workshop of the decorative panels in Filipovtzi is one of the best in the studied period together with the mosaics of Romuliana and Mediana and still met for the first time in the Balkans. Both the harbour scene and the decorative panels with the vases aside them permits the supposition that this is a west (for Bulgaria) workshop, badly copying harbour scenes, but specialized mainly on geometric and floral compositions in an extremely lavish style of the compartments.

<sup>71</sup> I. Borisova-Katsarova, *A newfound Late Roman Mosaic*

<sup>72</sup> В. Попова, *Мозайките на римската вила*, табл. I, 2-6

<sup>73</sup> Pillinger, Lirsch, Popova, *Corpus*, No 40

But not all the mosaics from the Late Roman villas have the same artistic qualities. Some of them like the one in Galatin<sup>74</sup> are very banal, the one from Kalimantzi near Montana is on a good level, well laid and probably with the monogram either of the owner of the villa or of the mosaicist.

It can be supposed that some of the mosaic ateliers in Dacia Mediterranea and Thrace were itinerant, but others, after becoming “residential” or “palatial”, influenced seriously the mosaic development in the Balkans and in the Late Antiquity in general. A connection between the masters of the Thessalonica, Serdica and Scretisca residences can be revealed, also between Mediana, Naissus and Serdica. But the workshop of Filipovtzi is very different and its concrete origin will be imminent to be discovered.

Two of the mosaic monuments are problematic in their dating. The first one is the mosaic of the praetoria (?) in Ratiaria, accepted either as the scene of Orpheus taming the animals, or of the Golden Age, with the peacefully co-existing animals, birds, etc<sup>75</sup>. In fact some of the animals may symbolize the different seasons and the complex composition is very similar to the monuments from the West Balkans and from the West (for Bulgaria) mosaic art. The iconographic and stylistic treatment also points to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, not to the 4<sup>th</sup> one, in spite that it is published as belonging to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>76</sup>. The whole mosaic is different in all aspects from the known up to now Tetrarchic mosaics and similar to the repertory of the mosaics of the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> C, with t. a.q. 284.

The second monument was excavated in Augusta Traiana and covers the floor of the reception hall of a domus (Pl. IX, fig.6).<sup>77</sup> It represents the kingdom of water, placed around an octagonal piscine, with fishes, a cancer, two (?) nereids and an inscription, greeting the visitors. The terrestrial world consists of the seasons represented by animals and by the xenia of rare for Thrace eastern fruits and vegetables. And the heavenly sphere is symbolized by a variant of the Fountain of Life, with two deer and two ducks flanking a crater with coming from it trellised vine. The excavator considered the mosaic to be from the Tetrarchy - first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. In the Corpus of Late Antique and Early Christian mosaics it is re-dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> –even 6<sup>th</sup> century. The arguments are not solid, but rather imaginary. They follow the opinion of Koranda in his unpublished manuscript, that the coins date the building, not the mosaic, which according to him is laid later. Already in my dissertation and later in my small book “24 ancient mosaics”<sup>78</sup> the drawn parallel was the mosaic from Sardis from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. There are two similarities between both monuments: the cosmogonic picture and the animals, symbols of the seasons. But this is not enough to announce their close date, because of several reasons. First of all are the coins, dominated by those from the period of the Tetrarchy and Constantine, while the

<sup>74</sup> *Op.cit.*, No 18

<sup>75</sup> Pillinger, Lirsch, Popova, No 20

<sup>76</sup> G. Kouzmanov, J. Valeva, *Mosaïque d'une salle d'audience de Ratiaria (Dacia Ripensis)*, La Mosaïque gréco-romaine VIII, Lausanne 2001, 355-368

<sup>77</sup> Pillinger, Lirsch, Popova, *Corpus*, No 28

<sup>78</sup> V. Popova-Moroz, *24 ancient mosaics*, Sofia, 1977, 10

coins from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and from the 5<sup>th</sup> century are only two!<sup>79</sup> On the second place are the greeting inscriptions typical for the paganism (“Welcome” and “Be healthy”) in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> C. Especially symptomatic is the iconography and the style of the nereids and the sea marina, typical for the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Also the way the Fountain of Life, the animals and birds in it and the vine are treated has nothing to do with the 5<sup>th</sup> century mosaics. The outlines are thick and decisive, but the colour rendering is remarkable, strong enough to build picturesque forms by strips and spots. Therefore this mosaic can be dated not later than the very beginning of the classicizing period of Constantine I as a sole emperor. The appearance of such an unusual mosaic in Augusta Traiana is due to an itinerant workshop from Asia Minor, invited from the settlers who moved to the Thracian city, but supported all the time any kind of connections with the native lands<sup>80</sup>. In such a way an Asia Minor atelier reveals its work earlier in Thrace, than in its patrimonium. The early date also explains the combination of pagan and Christian symbols (caduceus, cup with wine, Fountain of Life) which is typical for the period 313 - second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### *Wall Paintings*

In the studied period well preserved are mostly the tomb paintings. But in many places the numerous fragments show that the public buildings (such as baths, military buildings, praesidia, praetoria, emperor's residences), private dwellings and Early Christian martyrums, small churches and impressive Christian basilicas had wall paintings too. The new fragment (Pl.X, fig.1) from the canabae of Durostorum shows a boy-servant, next to a bigger image, unfortunately not preserved. The boy has two agraffa (round fibulae) in front of his shoulders in the manner of the barbarians. The building of the form is excellent, sure, artistic, with  $\frac{3}{4}$  posture of the head and close-up of the eyes. In advance it should be underlined that the wall paintings of the famous Silistrian tomb are the most typical not only Italian, but Roman in the sense that the masters have come there from the capital itself. This is a really Roman monument in the remote Durostorum on the Low Danube Limes, made by a Roman workshop, which obviously worked on several buildings in Durostorum, public and private.

The Tetrarchic period has introduced two innovations in the wall paintings: the order and the disintegration of the previous emblem/scene with several participants to separate figures, each in a separate panel. The order was introduced for instance in the wall paintings of the temple in Luxor, but can be met

<sup>79</sup> For the information my gratitude to M. Minkova, *The list is from the Inventory Book of the Regional Historical Museum in Stara Zagora*: 3574 Alexander Sever, Marcianopolis; 3575 Tranquilina, Deultum; 3576 Gallien; 3577 Maximian Galerius; 3578 Constantine I; 3579 Constantine I; 3580 Constantine I; 3581 Constantine II; 3582 Theodosius I; 3583 Constantius; 3584 Anastasios I; 3585 Tiberios II; 3586 Tiberios II; 3587 Anonymous folis; 3588 Anonymous folis; 89 Anonymous folis; 3590 Anonymous folis; 3591 Constantine X; 3592 Manuel Komnin; 3593 Manuel Komnin; 3594 Manuel Komnin

<sup>80</sup> V. Popova, *Itinerant and local Workshops*

in the residences of civil and military magistrates, like in *Novae*<sup>81</sup>. The structure was inherited in the Early Christian basilicas after 313. Such are the wall paintings of basilica N1 in Parthicopolis (Pl. X, fig.5)<sup>82</sup>. There is a thin plinthus, a lower zone with imitation of incrustation, and a middle zone with the fluted columns on bases, panels between two columns with different geometric insertions. The upper part is not preserved. Probably the previous central part of this kind of order structure is known from Macedonia and Greece and is repeated in all the next periods, as seen from the several layers of wall paintings of the bishop basilica of Parthicopolis<sup>83</sup>.

The decoration with garlands and flowers from the 3rd century tombs is repeated in the monument from the Tetrarchy and later. The tomb outside Diocletianopolis has two-periods wall paintings<sup>84</sup>. In the first one the walls and the niches are covered with flowers and panels with imitation of incrustation, fitting exactly the architectural form. The round compositions over the niches also fit exactly. In the second period a kline from bricks has been added, probably from both sides. It was covered by wall paintings imitating of greenish drapery. The cupola was also painted then, surely with a wreath and probably with a painted cross. Thus from pagan the tomb became Christian. In spite of the fact that no columns have been represented, the panels of the wall paintings are very architectonically composed. The kind of structure, including the brick kline and the illusionistic drapery, accompanied by a floor mosaic, is not at all typical for the Thracian lands and it can be supposed that the buried persons are not local and that they have brought with them the structure and the decoration of their native tombs.

The tomb from Philippopolis with *coena funebris*<sup>85</sup> is a very important chain in the change during the Tetrarchy and the period of Constantine. It also has garlands, there also exists a niche with a bird next to the garland. The *coena funebris* represents two men lying on the kline. Probably a small table was in front of them. This was the structure of the 3rd century tomb wall painting, but except them there are several panels with separate servants, men and women. One is carrying a large dish with a meal, the other raises up the jug for wine. The panels are the main change, especially the one (with a woman?) with a pathetically represented image with a longer hair-dress. The representations in the panels seemingly are better in comparison to the *coena funebris*, with rich Late Antique dresses. But unfortunately the preserved heads are not in good state and the idea of their iconography and style can be drawn mainly from the aquarelles made at the time the tomb has been discovered. The date according to the hair-dress of the man, the inventory and the style is around the last two decades of the 3rd century.

<sup>81</sup> Pillinger, Popova, Zimmermann, *Corpus*, Taf. 57, Abb. 51

<sup>82</sup> Pillinger, Popova, Zimmermann, *Corpus*, No 69

<sup>83</sup> *Op.cit.*, No 71; S. Petrova, *The Early Christian Basilicas in the Urban Planning of Parthicopolis*, Niš and Byzantium XIII, Niš 2015, 168-175

<sup>84</sup> Pillinger, Popova, Zimmermann, *Corpus*, No 38, taf. 24, 25, 60, 61/Abb. 100

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.*, No 35, Taf. 20, Abb. 78, 83; Taf. 59

The next step in the development is represented by the three tombs in the Eastern necropolis of Serdica, NN 4, 7 and 8, Pl. X, fig.3-4)<sup>86</sup>. In tomb N 7 a coin of Licinius I has been found. Generally all the three tombs belong to the Third-Fourth Tetrarchy and the new classicizing period of Constantine. Even typologically they demonstrate the most developed structure consisting of four parts (including the barrel vault) and the eschatological ideas of the time, especially of the Paradise with its entrance and the blossoming flowers and trees<sup>87</sup>. The terrestrial zone with incrustation is superimposed on a plinthus. These developed schemes are an echo also of the column order style of the Tetrarchy, but fitted to the eschatological beliefs, without columns, nevertheless architectonic too.

The Silistrian tomb (Pl. X, fig.2)<sup>88</sup> is the quintessence of the Late Constantinian period, when coena funebris has totally disappeared and replaced by panels with standing figures. First of all the referring of the tomb to the time of Theodosius I<sup>89</sup> is wrong for many reasons and more correct is the opinion of a date in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The tomb has been prepared until its owner was alive, but it has never been used because of the devastating Goths invasions in 378. That's why nobody has been buried there and the owner has been either killed or managed to escape from Durostorum and the dangerous places in nowadays North Bulgaria. So we have a firm t.a.q. – 378 – and the wall paintings have been done before this date.

Further the hair-dresses of the servants and their dresses, fibulae etc. show a period near to Piazza Armerina, but not to Theodosius I. A special attention should be paid to the Goths' hair-dresses, which are natural and not as artificial as the Saasons on the monuments from the period of Theodosius I. Only the master has a hair-dress near to the Tetrarchy mode, but it is a military kind, which existed for a long time in sculpture and wall paintings, beginning from the portrait of the man in the coena funebris from Philippopolis. The hair-dress of his wife and of the dapper servant also survived to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C.

The illusionist representation of architectonic elements (the cubes in perspective), the perspective over the central couple, the stepping of the legs over the borders of each panel reveal a classicizing essence, very distinctive too in the way the peacocks and the cantharos have been treated. And finally the palette, especially the inclusion of blue, green and all the basic colours displays

<sup>86</sup> Pillinger, Popova, Zimmermann, *Corpus*, NN 46, 49 and 50, Taf. 32-34, 66, 68

<sup>87</sup> C. Manetta, *Sistemi decorativi delle tombe dipinte di età tardo antica e paleocristiana della Bulgaria: una proposta di classificazione tipologica*, in T. Nogales – I. Rodà (editoras), *Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión*, Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de Arte Romano Provincial, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (Mérida 18-21 Mayo 2009), Colección Hispania Antigua, Serie Arqueológica 13, L'Erma di Brestchneider, Roma 2011, 797-808.

<sup>88</sup> В. Попова, *Силистренската гробница и Късноконстантиновата епоха*, Проблеми на изкуството, 1994, 1, 42-50; В. Попова, *Веризъм и художествен модел в стенописите на Силистренската гробница*, В: Phosphorion. Studia in honorem Mariae Čičikova, София 2008, 452-464.

<sup>89</sup> Д. Димитров, М. Чичикова. *Късноантичната гробница при Силистра*, София 1986

a very rich phase of art, the last one before the death and total replacement of the pagan elements in the second half – end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The underlined verism of realities (dresses, vessels, girdle, fibulae, hair-dresses, etc.) and images also relate the wall paintings to the period of Late Constantine.

The recently study by G. Atanasov<sup>90</sup> of the wall paintings, especially of the colours of the master's dresses and the codicil lead him to the conclusion that a high-ranking military is represented, who probably has got the title of patricius. But a Roman magistrate, including a military commander, always keeps in one hand a rotula and the title of patricius is at the moment possible, but not proved. The barrel vault wall paintings show not the commander during hunt in his younger years, as it is considered, but a common repertory of the symbol of the seasons. Many Eastern trees (palms, dates, etc.) reveal the influence of the Eastern and Early Christian Iconography over such details. But the monument is pagan, including the two candelabres with burning flames and the belief in the happy After life. No direct citing of any Christian connection can be grasped and that's the reason to reject finally the date at the period of Theodosius I. Durostrorum was a city where Christianity and martyrs have been witnessed since the Tetrarchy, where Christianity has been immediately spread after 313 and a pagan tomb could not be created at the time of Theodosius when Christianity became the only religion.

#### *The Christian buildings after 313*

In the Late Roman provinces of Bulgaria since now there has not been found any architectural monument earlier than 313, only gems<sup>91</sup>. It will be more correct to say that the layers from the Tetrarchy and Constantine I inside the big cities are insufficiently excavated and practically unknown. There are known data, considered still legendary, about the visit of St. Andrew at the Black sea shore and about Erm and Theodota in Philippopolis, but recently N. Sharankov argued her real presence in the Christian story of the city at the time of Hadrian<sup>92</sup>.

The first Christian buildings have been erected on the places of martyrdom, for instance the martyrion under St. Sofia in Serdica, the octagon in Durostorum and several other more monuments. There is no problem about small churches and basilicas from 313 on and a lot of them can be related to the period because of the found coins, plans and liturgical implements, also because

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<sup>90</sup> Г. Атанасов, *Римската гробница в Дуросторум–Силистра*, Силистра, 2005; Г. Атанасов, *Късноантичната гробница в Дуросторум–Силистра и нейният господар*, В: История на Силистра. Т. 1. Античният Дуросторум. София–Силистра, 2006, 380–398

<sup>91</sup> See the monuments gathered by S. Pressler, *Die Konstantinische Wende im Bereich des heutigen Bulgarien im Spiegel der Denkmäler*, Diplomarbeit, University of Vienna. Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, 2013

<sup>92</sup> Н. Шаранков, *За датата и мястото на мъченичеството на света Теодота*, В: Bulgaria mediaevalis, v. 6, Studues in honour of Professor Iliya G. Iliev, Sofia 2015, 17-26

of the numerous usage of spoliae in the period of Constantine I. The erecting of Christian buildings then was half original, half from the re-used Roman materials, especially columns and capitals.

The real problem is not of finding enough Early Christian monuments in the period 313-363, because small chapels, churches and middle-sized basilicas have been already unearthed. It still remains unclear where in the big cities the mass baptism has been performed; the dimensions of such basilicas and their baptisteriums; its place in the city planning; the concrete destruction of the pagan temples and the building on their place and ruins of the Early Christian basilicas. For instance in Serdica one of the pagan temples has been only destroyed, but not rebuilt, which means that the main basilica or church were situated in another place. The lack of reliable data creates the impression of a later in comparison to the other places mass baptism, only in the second half - end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. But it hardly can be like this, with the example of basilica No1 in Parthicopolis, erected in the centre and near the supposed agora, with all the necessary archaeological, but also historical data, on the base of which it is assumed that the basilica existed with t.a.q. 343, the date of the Serdician council, and the local bishop Jonah has taken part in it<sup>93</sup>.

The second important problem is that a great amount of monuments has been excavated about 70-100 years ago and the data from then has become already old and insufficient. It is necessary to undergo new excavations and a new Corpus of Early Christian architecture in Bulgaria in order to have the real picture of the Christian architecture in the period of Constantine I.

It is necessary to write down several considerations about the so-called classicizing period of Constantine I, following after the Tetrarchy. One can find in the works of M. Bergmann and R. Smith a criticism of the terminology and the understanding of the historical development especially in the official portrait sculpture<sup>94</sup>. It is quite right that many circumstances, private and public demands, rivalry, trials, lack of a centralized power and canon have lead to the variety of models in the portrait sculpture. But the general expectation then was for a change, because the Age of the Tetrarchs was short, dying and without perspective. It was revealed only in the area of the State government and the State machine, i. e. the bureaucratic layer of power concentration and the official portraits. Much more free and continuing the academic trend was the field of cult effigies, mosaics, wall paintings and applied art. They were opened not only to the classical, but to the barbarian influences, experimenting and developing further the possibilities of each art. That's why the column order has been introduced in wall paintings, the mode of the barbarian fibulae and generally jewellery, the numerous innovations in mosaic styles and the treatment of colour. Constantine I changed several times his own style and his experiments answered perfectly to the demands of the Late Antique society. It was tired since 100 years, with the short exception of the Renaissance of Gallien, of the soldier essence of power, short-cropped hair-dresses, constant tension, murders of the rulers and their children, uncertainty and expected a new Roman

<sup>93</sup> S. Petrova, *The Early Christian basilicas*, 165-166

<sup>94</sup> R. Smith, *The image of Licinius*, 184, 201-202



style in everything. So nobody, including the emperors, meant the classicizing period, because it was only the final result of plenty of experiments. But what Constantine offered, an academic idealized appearance, diadem, youth, smile, the good example of the estimated predecessors (August, Traian, Claudian Gothicus) etc. plus Christianity was totally different from the rude Tetrarchic power, gravity and brutal soldier power. That's why Constantine's new choice was approved, supported and enlarged on the level of state and in the private sphere: it was new, attractive, full of brilliance and representativeness of a new kind. It was not the aim of the development in the Late Tetrarchy – the period of Constantine, but it was the real result, namely the classicizing phase. We can trace it in all kinds of arts, in Bulgaria too, nearer to the 20es of the century and up the pick of the 50es – the 60-es and to the death of Julian the Apostate in 363.

Вања Попова  
СПОМЕНИЦИ ИЗ ВРЕМЕНА ТЕТРАРХИЈЕ И ВЛАДАВИНЕ КОНСТАНТИНОВСКЕ  
ДИНАСТИЈЕ У БУГАРСКОЈ

У овом генералном прегледу споменика из периода од 284. до 363. године углавном су доминантни портрети, мозаици и зидно сликарство. Најпре су анализиране промене у неколико градова (Сердика I, палата I у Феликс Ромулијани, Сплиту, Солуну).

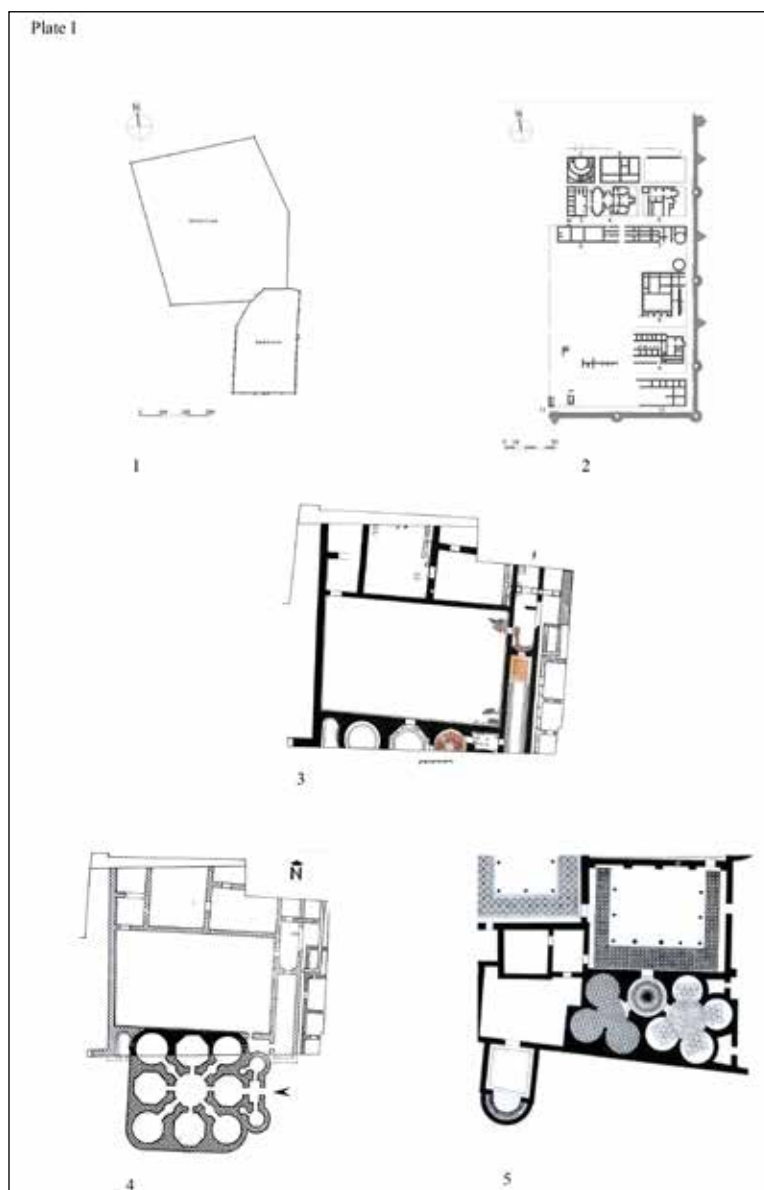
Средином века бројне грађевине су изграђене у Сердици I, укрсници кардо и декумануса, али исто тако и у Сердици II. Кућа Феликса је декорисана мозаиком са геометријским композицијама. Ту се такође налази и јединствени мозаик са приказаном дијадемом и натписом "Felix". Ако је судећи према новцу из времена Констанција II, свет је алузија на срећан период владавине једног цара. Кућа је идентификована као царска резиденција или официјелна резиденција у сврси царског култа у Сердици.

Мозаици не представљају хомогену групу у оквиру ових испитивања. Неки су једноставнији, док су други компликовани са композицијама са Хераклеом. Трећа група представља тзв. Тетрархијски стил, иновацију Друге и Треће тетрархије. Посебна пажња у раду је указана датовању новца пронађеног у малтеру, што представља релативно нову подгрупу испитивања мозаика.

Зидно сликарство је пронађено у јавним и култним грађевинама, које су представљале део архитектуре настале за време тетрарха. Генерално развој је усмерен према стојећим фигурама, што се сасвим јасно може уочити у раним гробницама са *coena funebris* из Филипополиса и у силистријанској гробници која је уништена.

Велики је број ранохришћанских споменика изграђених после 313. године (капеле, артиријуми, цркве, мале базилике или базилике средњих размера), међутим још није довољно познато где су се у великим градовима обављала масовна крштења.

На крају рада указано је да класицистички период Константина није био циљ ниједног цара или цезара, већ да је реч о реалном резултату који происходи из бројних експеримената и генералних промена у том периоду.



**Pl. I** Fig. 1 Map of Serdica I and Serdica II (after de Sena); Сл. 1 Карта Сердике I и Сердике II (по: де Сена); Fig. 2 Plan of Serdica I with the public and residential part (after de Sena); Сл. 2 План Сердике I са јавним и резиденцијалним делом (по: де Сена); Fig. 3 Plan of the residence of Galerius (after M. Stancheva, with mosaic insertions of K. Petkova); Сл. 3 План Галеријеве резиденције (по: М. Станчевој, са мозаичким деловима по: К. Петковој); Fig. 4 The reconstruction of the south part of the residence (according to St. Boyadiev); Сл. 4 Реконструкција јужног дела резиденције (по: Ст. Бојациеву); Fig. 5 Romuliana, the small rooms in thick walls in palace I; Сл. 5 Ромулијана, мале собе са дебелим зидовима у палати I



Pl. II The mosaics of the residence and the bath in Serdica I

**Табла. II** Мозаици резиденције и купатила у Сердици I

Fig. 1 The small rotunda with the image of Hercules (after M. Stancheva)

Сл. 1 Мала ротонда са сликом Херкула (по:М. Станчевој)

Fig. 2 The photo of M. Stancheva of the mosaic with Hercules

Сл. 2 Фотографија М. Станчеве, мотив са представом Херкула

Fig. 3 Mosaic in the first corridor from the Eastern side of the atrium of the residence (after M. Stancheva)

Сл. 3 Мозаик у првом коридору на источној страни атријума резиденције (по: М. Станчевој)

Fig. 4 The scheme of the mosaic of the bath south of the residence (after S. Bobchev)

Сл. 4 Схема мозаика у купатилу, јужни део резиденције (по: С. Бобчеву)

Fig. 5 Mosaic in the second corridor from the Eastern side of the residence (after M. Stancheva)

Сл. 5 Мозаик у другом коридору са источне стране резиденције (по: М. Станчевој)

Fig. 6 Drawing of the bath mosaic south of the residence (after V. Popova)

Сл. 6 Цртеж мозаика из купатила резиденције (по: В. Поповој)



Pl. III Fig. 1 The mosaic in the House of Felix, general view (photo M. Ivanov)

Сл. 1 Мозаик у Кући Феликс, општи изглед (фото: М. Иванов)

Fig. 2 The mosaic diadem in the House of Felix (photo M. Ivanov)

Сл. 2 Мозаик са представом дијадеме у Кући Феликс (фото: М. Иванов)



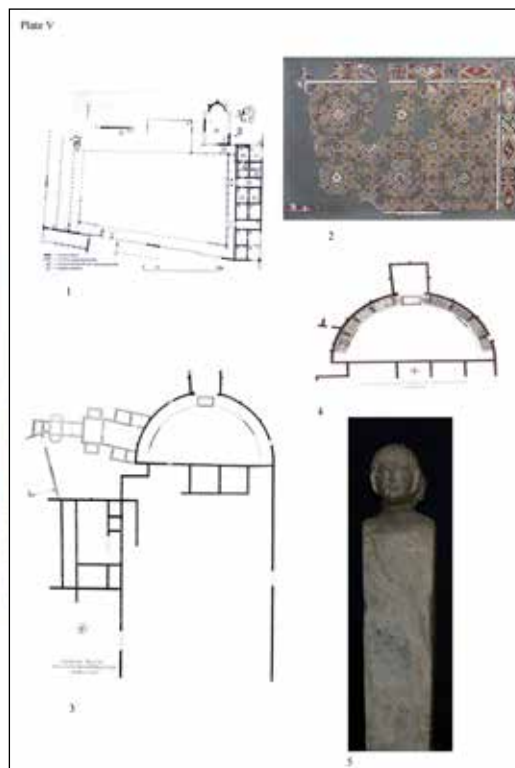
Pl. IV Fig. 1 The amphitheatre of Serdica (after J. Velichkov), *in situ*  
Сл. 1 Амфитеатар Сердике (по: J. Величкову), *in situ*

Fig. 2 The stela from Ariccia with Navigium Isidis. Rome, collection Altemps

Сл. 2 Стела из Ариције са *Navigium Isidis*. Рим, Алтемс колекција

Fig. 3 The placard for venatio from Serdica, National Archaeological Museum Sofia

Сл. 3 Улаз за *venatio* из Сердике, Национални археолошки музеј у Софији



Pl. V Fig. 1 The residence/palace in Scretisca/ Kostinbrod (after V. Dinchev), *in situ*

Сл. 1 Резиденција/палата у Скретисци/ Костинброду (по: В. Динчеву), *in situ*

Fig. 2 The mosaic from the aula in the northern part of the residence in Scretisca, *in situ*

Сл. 2 Мозаик из аула у северном делу резиденције у Скретисци, *in situ*

Fig. 3 The plan of the villa in Filipovtzi (after M. Stancheva)

Сл. 3 План виле у Филиповцима (по: М. Станчевој)

Fig. 4 The exedra with the mosaic panels of Filipovtzi (after M. Stancheva)

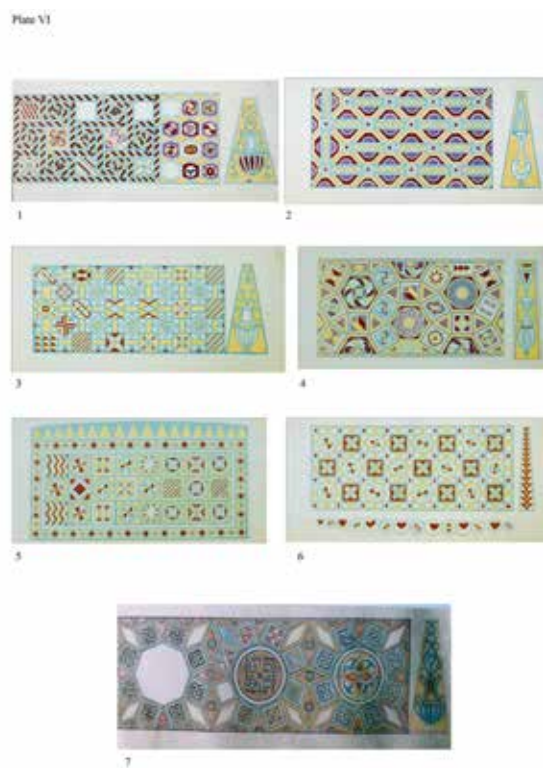
Сл. 4 Екседра са мозаичким панелима из Филиповаца (по: М. Станчевој)

Fig. 5 The double herma from Filipovtzi (photo A. Michailov). Museum of the city of Sofia

Сл. 5 Двострука херма из Филиповаца (фото: А. Михаилов). Музеј града Софије

**Pl. VI, 1-7.** The reconstructions of the mosaic panels from the exedra in Filipovtzi (after M. Stancheva). The originals in the museum of the city of Sofia

**Табла. VI, 1-7.** Реконструкција мозаичких панела из екседре у Филиповцима (по: М. Станчевој). Оригинали су у Музеју града Софије

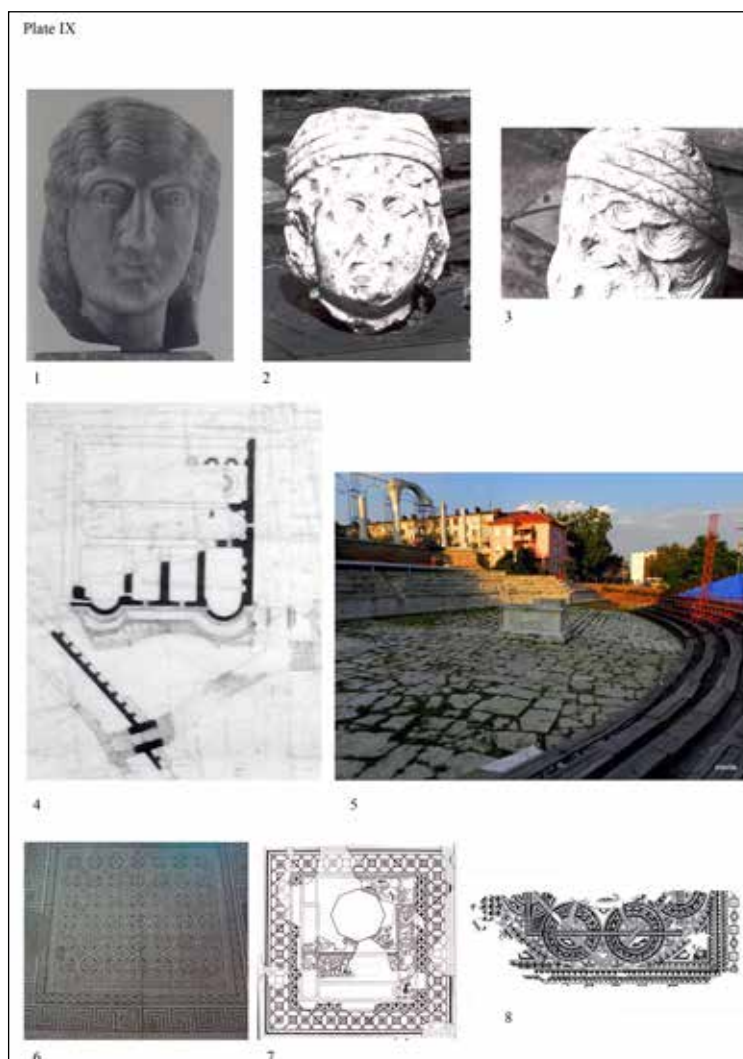


**Pl. VII, 1-6** The heads of the hermae from Filipovtzi (photo A. Michailov). The museum of the city of Sofia

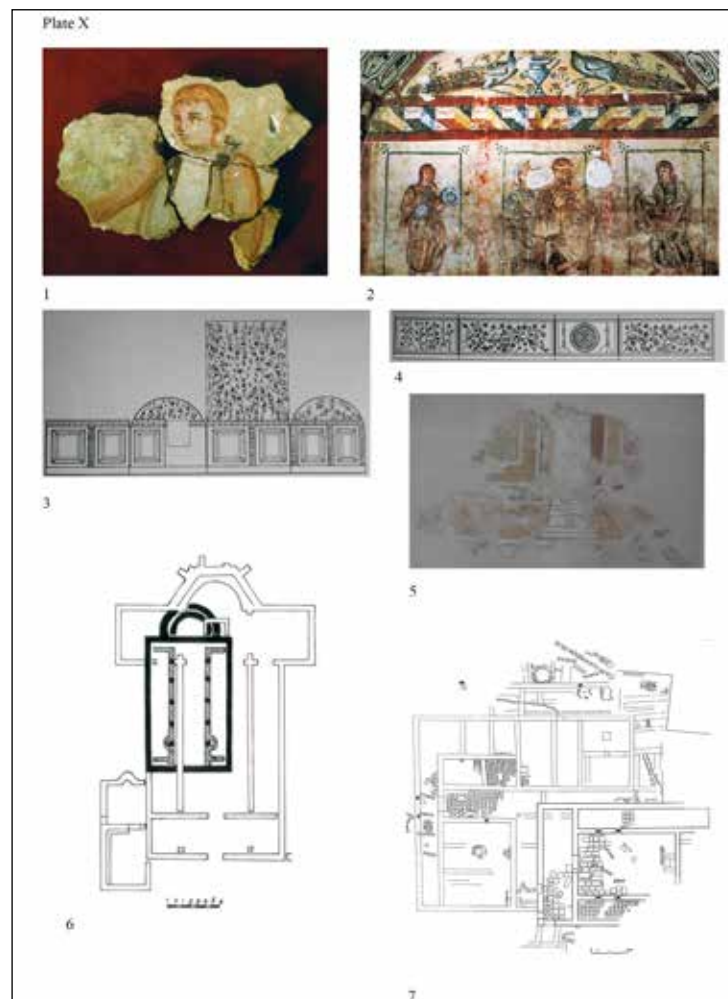
**Табла. VII, 1-6** Главе херми из Филиповаца (по: А. Михаилову). Музеј града Софије



Pl. VIII Fig. 1-2 The head of a statue of Diocletian from Brest (Sofia, National Archaeological Museum); Сл. 1-2. глава Диоклецијанове статуе из Бреста (Софија, Национални археолошки музеј); Fig. 3-5 The silver bust of Galerius from Bulgaria, stolen; Сл. 3-5 Сребрно попрсе Галерија из Бугарске, украдено; Fig. 6 The golden exonumia from Heraclea Sintica (after M. Antonova). Blagoevgrad Regional Museum; Сл. 6 Златна ексонумија из Хераклеја Синтика (по: М. Антоновој). Регионални музеј у Благојевграду; Fig. 7-8 The non finito marble head from a statue of Licinius I. Blagoevgrad National Museum; Сл. 7-8 Незавршена мраморна глава статуе Лицинија I. Народни музеј у Благојевграду; Fig. 9 The lower part of a marble cuirassed statue of a Tetrarch. Museum to the excavations of *Ulpia Oescus*; Сл. 9 Доњи део мраморне статуе тетрарха, Музеј ископавања у *Ulpia Oescus*; Fig. 10 The marble head of a statue of a Tetrarch from Lukovit (photo H. Harizanov). Pleven Regional Museum; Сл. 10 Мраморна глава статуе тетрарха из Луковита (фото: Х. Харизанов). Плевен регионални музеј; Fig. 11 A golden ring with a gem with the portrait of Constantine I from a burial in Kabile (photo G. Iliev). Yambol Regional museum; Сл. 11 Златни прстен са гемом и портретом Константина I из гробнице у Кабиле (фото: Г. Илијев). Јамбол регионални музеј



Pl. IX Fig. 1 The head of Fausta (?) from the Bucurest museum (after M. Alexandrescu Vianu); Сл. 1 Глава Фаусте (?) из Музеја у Букурешту (по:М. Александреску Виану); Fig. 2 and 3. The female head from Perustica, stolen (photo after V. Tankova); Сл. 2 и 3 Женска глава из Перуштице, украдено (по: В. Танковој); Fig. 4 Plan of the southwestern gate of Augusta Traiana with the thermen and the auditorium; Сл. 4 Трг код југозападног улаза Августе Трајане са базом за коњаничку статуу; Fig. 5 The piazza at the southwestern gate of Augusta Traiana with the base for an equestrian statue; Сл. 5 Трг код југозападног улаза Августе Трајане са базом за коњаничку статуу; Fig. 6 The mosaic from Kalimantzi near Montana (photo H. Harizanov); Сл. 6 Мозаик из Калиманци близу Монтане (фото:Х. Харизанов); Fig. 7 The mosaic from Augusta Traiana with the Fountain of Life, the marina and the symbols of the seasons (drawing of St. Goshev); Сл. 7 Мозаик из Августе Трајане са Фонтаном Живота и симболима годишњих доба (цртеж: Ст. Гошев); Fig. 8 The mosaic with the seasons from the residence in Marcianopols (drawing of St. Goshev); Сл. 8 Мозаик са годишњим добима из резиденције у Марцианополису (цртеж: Ст. Гошев)



Pl. X Fig. 1 The wall painting fragment from the canabae of Durostorum with a boy-servant (after G. Atanasov). Silistra Regional Museum; Сл. 1 Фрагмент зидног сликарства из канаве у Дуросторуму са представом дечака-слуге (по: Г. Атанасову). Сиистра регионални музеј; Fig. 2 The central images of the Silistrian tomb, *in situ*; Сл. 2 Централне слике силистријске гробнице, *in situ*; Fig. 3 Reconstruction of tomb No 8 of Serdica (after St. Goshev), *in situ*; Сл. 3 Реконструкција гробнице 8 у Сердици (по: Ст. Гошеву), *in situ*; Fig. 4 Reconstruction of tomb No 4 in Serdica (after St. Goshev); Сл. 4 Реконструкција гробнице бр. 4 у Сердици (по: Ст. Гошеву); Fig. 5 The wall painting with the column order of basilica no 1 in Parthicopolis (after Pillinger, Popova, Zimmermann, Corpus, T. 74, Abb. 187). Sandanski, Archaeological Museum); Сл. 5 Зидно сликарство са редом стубова у базилици бр.1 у Партикополису (по: Пилингер, Попова, Цимерман, Корпус, Т. 74, Abb. 187). Сандански, Археолошки музеј); Fig. 6 Basilica N 1, using the walls of military buildings in Diocletianopolis; Сл. 6 Базилика бр. 1, употреба зидова грађевина војне намене у Диоклецианополису; Fig. 7 Basilica No 1 with the bishop residence in Parthicopolis (after St. Goshev and E. Krondeva), *in situ*; Сл. 7 Базилика бр.1 са епископском резиденцијом у Партикополису (по: Ст. Гошеву и Е. Крондевој), *in situ*