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MARGUM WORKSHOP: MILITARY POTTERY REVISITED

Margum, the Roman town near the confluence of the rivers Morava and Danube, at a strategically important spot on the fortified border at the Upper Moesian *limes*, is one of the key Roman sites in Serbia, unfortunately with still not clearly determined early occupational history. The status of a *municipium Margum* was gained probably in the time of Marcus Aurelius, while in late Roman times the town was known as *civitas Margensis*. The remains of the large fortress were identified in the 19th century (**fig. 1**).¹ Archaeological investigations, conducted over a very limited area in the 1950s and 1980s, revealed at this multi-layered site the remains of 1st to 5th century structures: several buildings, among them large *thermae*, a Roman well, a waste pit, and a pottery kiln were discovered,² as well as necropolises from the 2nd to the 6th century.³ Within the scope of the recent trans-border project *The Town of Margum*, in its first phase, in 2011, mostly medieval structures were explored.⁴

Unfortunately, from those earlier excavations a very limited number of finds is preserved, without the relevant documentation and information about finding conditions and contexts. The pottery recovered is not numerous, and comprises a small amount of around five hundred vessels and fragments with a time span from the 1st to the 6th century. Even though ceramic evidence from *Margum* is the result of choice and selection of the researches, and it cannot depict actual patterns of usage, distributional patterns of a particular classes, or range and scale of local production, it is still an important pottery group. *Margum* finds are valuable as the representation of assemblages from the Roman fortified border, but even more as the collection from one of the rare kiln sites in Upper Moesia, one with recognized large pottery

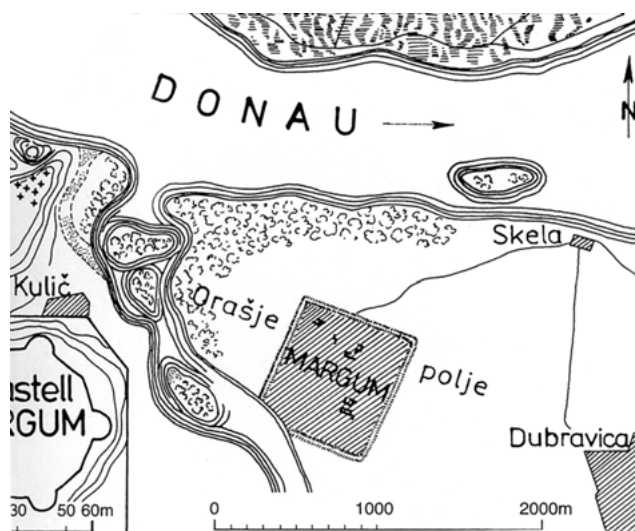


Fig. 1. *Margum* (after KANITZ 1892).

manufacture. Pottery from *Margum* can contribute to our understanding of the development of the Upper Moesian production.

Pottery from *Margum* will be presented in detail in a forthcoming publication,⁵ and questions of the beginning and the full length of the *Margum* production, the scope of the manufacture, consumption scale and connection with the supply mechanisms of the Empire will be discussed. Here we want to focus on a variety of the Early Roman ceramics we consider to be interesting and important for the subject of military pottery, i.e. the influence of the army on the beginning of production in *Moesia*, and the connection of the *Margum* pottery, and generally Upper Moesian pottery, with the phenomenon of legionary pottery.

Among the pottery from *Margum*, examples of red colour-coated wares, bowls, plates, cups and jugs (**fig. 2,1,9; 3,2**), some of them imitations of metal, glass and luxurious ceramic vessels, especially plain terra sigillata (Consp. 36.1.1; 33.5.1; 51.3.1), represent an important group. Plain terra sigillata imitations (**fig. 3,1**) are in forms known in both Italic and Gaulish circles (Consp. 18, 33, 36, 39), typical for

¹ F. KANITZ, *Römische Studien in Serbien. Der Donau-Grenzwall, das Strassennetz, die Städte, Castelle, Denkmale, Thermen und Bergwerke zur Römerzeit im Königreiche Serbien* (Wien 1892) 13–16.

² Đ. MANO-ZISI/R. MARIĆ/M. GARAŠANIN, *Iskopavanje na Orašju. Prethodni izveštaj o radovima u 1947. godini. Starinar 1, 1950, 143–167; MARIĆ 1951, 113–132; M. CUNJAK, Terme na Orašju-Dubravici kod Požarevca. Viminacium 10, 1995/96, 105–120; SPASIĆ-ĐURIĆ 2003, 11–24; MIRKOVIĆ 2007, 57.*

³ A. JOVANOVIĆ/M. CUNJAK, *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubravici (antičkom Margumu) tokom 1989. i 1990. godine. Saopštenja 26, 1995, 107–122; SPASIĆ-ĐURIĆ 2003, 20.*

⁴ V. IVANŠEVIĆ/I. BUGARSKI, *Application of LiDAR Technology in Analyses of the Topography of Margum/Morava and Kulič. Starinar 62, 2012, 239–255; V. BIKIĆ ET AL., Arheološka istraživanja Marguma/Morave u 2011. godini. In: V. Bikić/S. Golubović/D. Antonović (eds.), Arheologija u Srbiji. Projekti Arheološkog instituta u 2011. godini (Beograd 2011) 100–103.*

⁵ The publication will include all finds from *Margum* that are kept in two museums, the National Museum in Belgrade and the National Museum Požarevac.

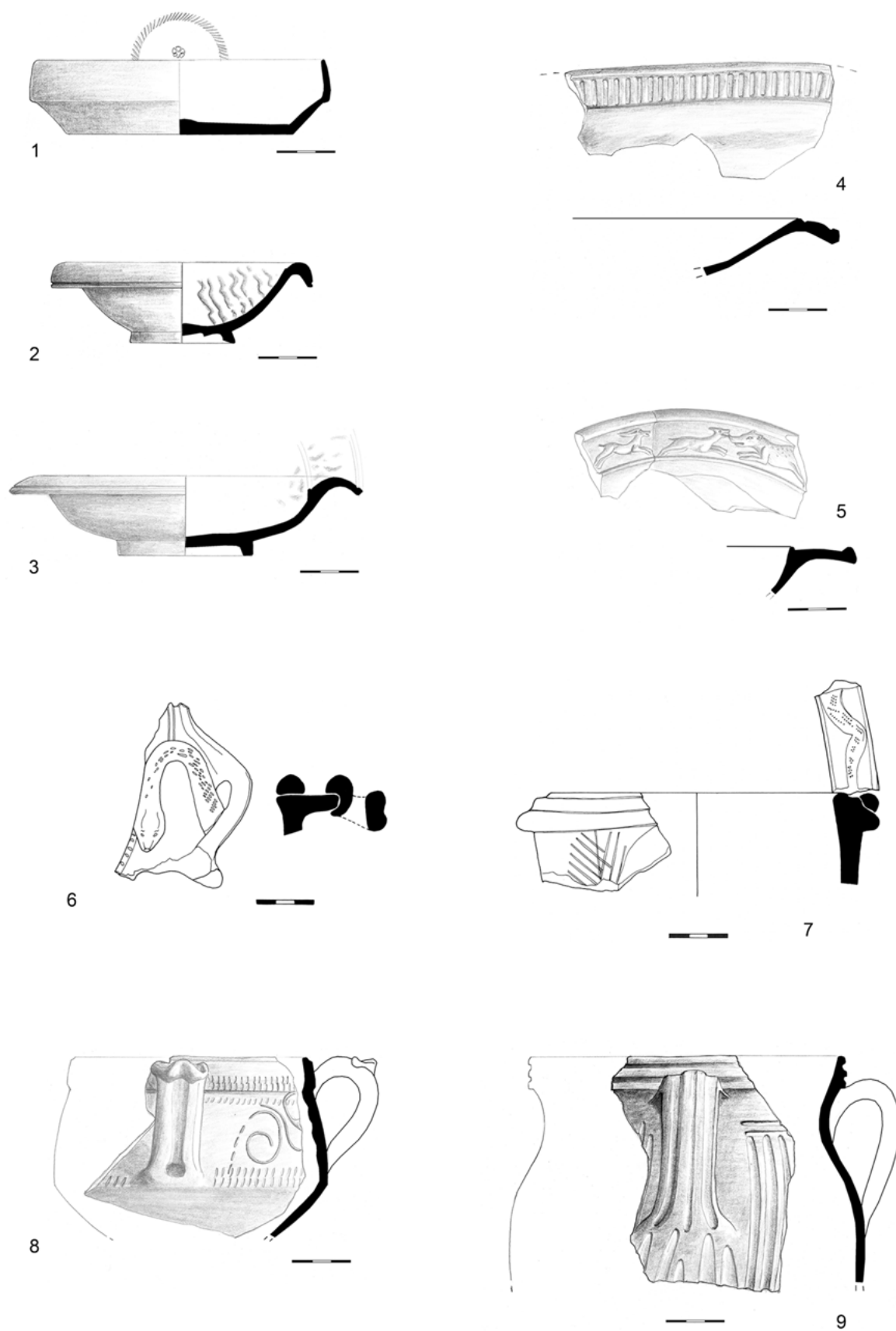


Fig. 2. Variety of red colour-coated, marbled, relief decorated and snake vessels from *Margum* (drawings: A. Kapuran and M. Tapavički-Ilić).



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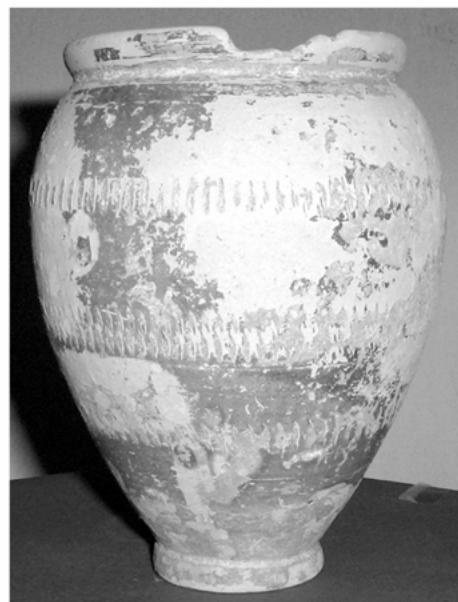
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Fig. 3. Variety of red colour-coated, relief and roulette decorated vessels from *Margum* (Documentation of the National Museum in Belgrade and the National Museum Požarevac).

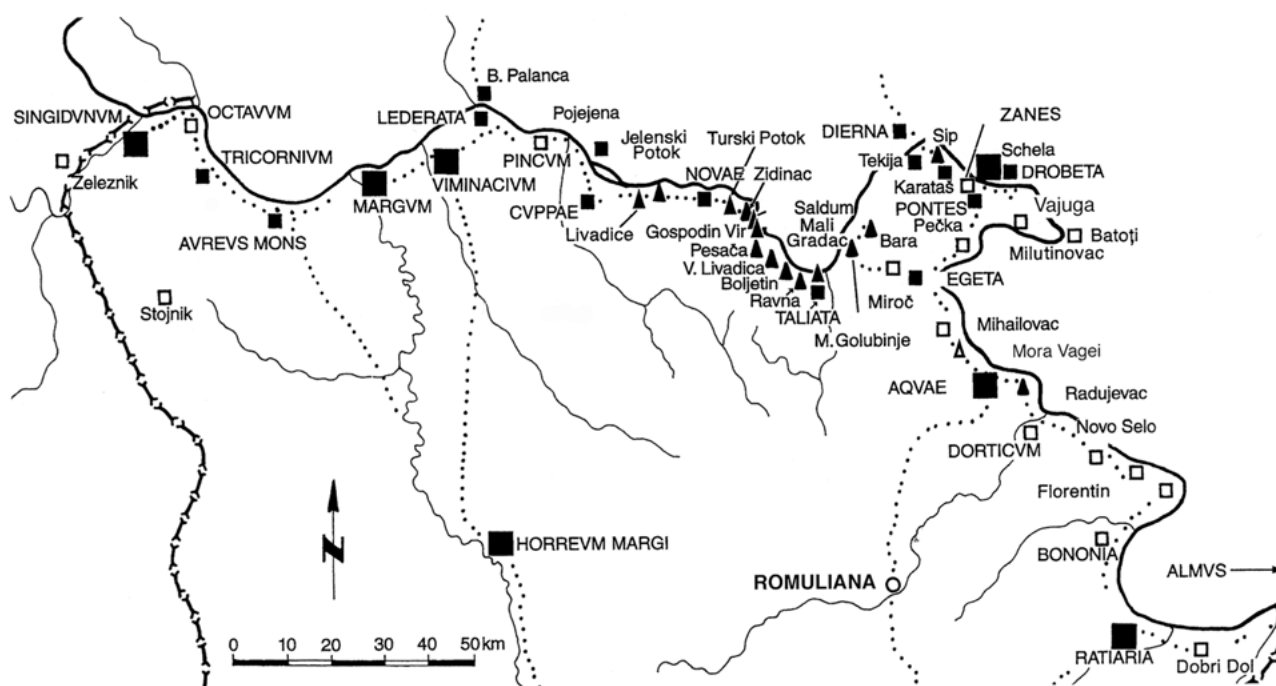


Fig. 4. Limes of *Moesia Superior* (after MIRKOVIĆ 2007).

the end of the 1st and 2nd century, common at other military sites along the Moesian border,⁶ but in the adjacent provinces of *Pannonia*, *Moesia Inferior* and *Dacia* as well.⁷ Marbled wares in Consp. 43.1.1/Drag. 36 form, similar again with finds in *Moesia* and *Pannonia*,⁸ that resemble as well marbled vessels of *Vindonissa*'s third group of red colour-coated wares⁹ are present (fig. 2,2–3). Fragments of terra nigra in form corresponding with terra sigillata production (Consp. 43.1.3) as well as one grey fired vessel with black coating (fig. 3,4) belong to the *Margum* finds. Very diverse is a group of vessels imitating silver plates with threefold handles, a form known as Drag. 39, with metallized surface and relief decoration (fig. 2,4–5). They have parallels in the regional pottery of the 1st to 3rd century,¹⁰ influenced maybe by the late 1st and the early 2nd century Central Gaulish production.¹¹ To this group could belong the handle of a patera with relief decorated rim (fig. 3,3), with parallels in Pannonia in the 2nd century.¹² Fine beakers with rouletted decoration, as those recognized as military production,¹³ and an egg-shelled buff-clay beaker known in the production of the 1st and 2nd century

(fig. 3,5),¹⁴ add to the diversity of forms and techniques represented in this pretty undersized group, as well as a range of vessels with applied decoration, known in the provincial production mostly of the 2nd century (fig. 2,8).¹⁵ Particularly interesting is a group of moulded vessels, snake vessels and vessels with applied medallions (fig. 2,6–7) typical for the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century in Upper Moesia,¹⁶ corresponding to vessels with religious meaning found in Pannonia, Lower Moesia and Dacia, common again at military sites.¹⁷

The kiln discovered at *Margum*, near the river, belonging to the earliest phase of the town's development, suggested organized pottery production at *Margum* at the end of the 1st century, or at latest at the beginning of the 2nd century.¹⁸ Beside the local production of relief terra sigillata, known as the *Viminacium-Margum* workshop,¹⁹ it is assumed that the pottery classes presented here are of local origin as well.

¹⁴ BRUKNER 1981 T. 59,21.

¹⁵ POPILIAN 1976 Pl. 18,219–220; 19,226–227.

¹⁶ T. CVJETIČANIN, Snake vessels from Diana. Die Archäologie und Geschichte der Region des Eisernen Tores zwischen 106–275 n.Chr. Kolloquium in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, 1.–4. Oktober 2000 (Bucuresti 2001) 103.

¹⁷ V. GASSNER, Schlangengefäße aus Carnuntum. In: H. Vetters/M. Kandler (eds.), Akten des 14. Internationalen Limes-Kongresses, Carnuntum 1986. RLÖ 36/1–2 (Wien 1990) 651–656; KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988 Fig. 165; D. SCHMID, Die römischen Schlangentöpfe aus Augst und Kaiseraugst. Forsch. Augst 11 (Augst 1991); V. BOLINDET, Considération sur l'attribution des vases de Dacie romaine décorés de serpents appliqués. Ephemeris Napocensis 3, 1993, 123–141; GASSNER/JILEK 1997 Fig. 5; P. VÁMOS, Schlangengefäße in Aquincum. In: Sz. Bíró (Hrsg.), Ex officina. Studia in honorem Dénes Gabler (Győr 2009) 537–560.

¹⁸ MARIĆ 1951, 121–123; CVJETIČANIN 2014 Fig. 5.

¹⁹ BJELAJAC 1990, 143–172; CVJETIČANIN 2014, 113–117.

⁶ N. JEVREMOVIĆ, Keramika južnog i zapadnog bedema lokaliteta Diana Karataš. Đerdapske sveske 4, 1987, T. 1–3; NIKOLIĆ-ĐORDEVIĆ 2000, 16–66; RAIČKOVIĆ 2007, T. 2–4; 8.

⁷ FÉNYES 2003 Fig. 10,2; 11,7; BRUKNER 1981 T. 69–74; KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988, 3–4 Fig. 6,41; POPILIAN 1976 Pl. 63–66.

⁸ CVJETIČANIN 2003, 59–70; E. KREKOVIĆ, Marbled ware in Pannonia and the Roman Army. RCRF Acta 35, 1997, 41–44.

⁹ ETTLINGER 1951 Fig. 9; ETTLINGER/SIMONETT 1952, 58 T. 16,351–379; T. 32,14.16.

¹⁰ KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988, 14–17 Cat. 67; 76; FÉNYES 2003 Abb. 3, 32.3.b–c, 31.1.b–c.

¹¹ T. CVJETIČANIN, Some observations about Upper Moesian production of terra sigillata vessels Drag. 39. Zbornik Narod. Muz. Arh. (Beograd) 16/1, 1996, 175–181.

¹² FÉNYES 2003 Abb. 32.b–c.

¹³ ETTLINGER 1951 Fig. 10,2.

This highly developed repertoire of forms and various different techniques of surface treatment have overall similarity with ceramic assemblages from several military sites which have been labelled as legionary wares, i.e. having shared characteristics in the production of several legions which can be found after AD 70, present in a complex repertoire influenced both by Italic and Eastern traditions different from the local one.²⁰ Analogies could be found in *Vindonissa*, but the similarities with Pannonian assemblages, such as *Aquincum* and *Brigetio*, *Carnuntum* to a degree, and especially Butovo and Pavlikeni production in *Moesia Inferior*, are more visible.²¹ It is not just the question of parallels for marbled wares and special classes such as moulded vessels – Drag. 39 and snake vessels – that could be found in the repertoire of all the mentioned workshops, but most of all plain terra sigillata imitations and other red colour coated types are of noticeable resemblance as well.²² All attributes speak in favour of *Margum* pottery of the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century being legionary.

The position of *Margum* at the Upper Moesian fortified border, similar to other military sites on the *limes*, is one of the key factors for the quality of the ceramic evidence and for the development of the local pottery manufacture. *Margum* belongs to the fortified Danube border of the Roman Empire, that was developed into the full chain of fortifications at the beginning of the reign of Trajan (fig. 4), showing a gradual increase in expansion and control. At the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century the disposition of troops is stronger, the spacing between the forts in frontier zones is reduced, smaller intermediate garrison posts are introduced, and systems of watch towers are established. Alongside increased military control is control of the supply mechanism and distribution of goods, i.e. the production of necessities for the army. The presence of the army, as it is well known, had strong effects on the supply and production of pottery as well, as could be seen along the Danube.²³ Additionally, the pottery became very significant in both military and civil contexts within the newly conquered provinces, where it has been suggested that it was adopted to symbolize new Roman identities.²⁴ Together with different supply lines, from northern Italy, South Gallia and Pannonia,²⁵ confirmed as well at

Margum,²⁶ we believe that local pottery was in use.²⁷ The kiln found at *Margum* is proof of such a production, being presumably one of the first workshops in Upper Moesia.

The case of *Margum* is not unique for Upper Moesia: sources of locally produced wares were identified in a number of centres, including nearby *Viminacium*²⁸ and *Singidunum*,²⁹ while analyses of the Flavian and Trajanic assemblages at the Upper Moesian *limes*³⁰ provided similar results and correlation with the legionary pottery.

The military troops of *Moesia* in the 1st century, before Flavian times, consisted of legions before units were transferred from Pannonia, Germania and rarely from the East, and main legionary bases are known for *legiones V Macedonica* and *VIII Augusta*, both in the later lower part of *Moesia*, while the camp of the *legio IV Scythica* is still unknown, assumed to be in later *Moesia Superior* territory.³¹ During Flavian and especially Trajanic times, the middle and the lower Danube regions were the focal point of Roman military activities. Huge manpower was concentrated in this zone, and the Moesian army was strengthened with units transferred mostly from Pannonia, Germania and rarely from the East.³² Two legions were stationed in *Moesia Superior* from the reign of Domitian: *legio VII Claudia*, already in *Moesia* from 57/58 AD, at an unknown camp, probably at the Lower Danube, and from Domitian or more likely from Trajan, with permanent camp at *Viminacium*. From AD 86 *legio IV Flavia*

²⁰ GASSNER/JILEK 1997, 301–305; ID. 1997a, 230–244.

²¹ ETTLINGER/SIMONETT 1952; PÓCZY 1956 Abb. 3; 4; 6; B. SULTOV, Ceramic production on the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum (2nd–4th century). *Terra Antiqua Balcanica I* (Serdica-Trnovo 1985); KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988; GASSNER/JILEK 1997a, 230–244; FÉNYES 2003, 101–163; VÁMOS 2012, 395–406.

²² It should be emphasized that at *Brigetio*, as well as in the *Nicopolis* area a developed production of local terra sigillata vessels exists as well, similar to the *Viminacium-Margum* one (FÉNYES 2003, 120, Hadrian-Antoninus Pius times; KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988, 18–21). Butovo, Pavlikeni and Hotnica are ceramic centres supposed to be active from the 2nd to the 4th century, with red colour coated pottery similar to the legionary production, supplying probably *Novae*, and the *Legio I Italica* (KABAKČIEVA ET AL. 1988, 7).

²³ WILKES 2005, 120–121

²⁴ R. HINGLEY, *Globalizing Roman Culture. Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London 2005) 100.

²⁵ D. GABLER, Differences between imported pottery in the Western and Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 38, 1986, 93–104; WILKES 2005, 170–171.

²⁶ The evidence consists of a few terra sigillata vessels from the Northern Italic production (Consp. 20.4.4), the South Gaulish production (BJELAJAC 1990, 10–11), and for the 2nd century, several fragments of the Lezoux and Rheinzabern workshops. Amphorae, another indicator of imperial operations and trade, are represented by just three examples, one of them with the stamp T(itus) FL(avius) TALANIO, presumably in Dressel 6B form, common in Upper Moesia in the last third of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century (LJ. BJELAJAC, *Amfore gornjomezijskog Podunavlja* [Beograd 1996] 13–19).

²⁷ Common mechanisms where either troops are producing necessary ceramics or, local potteries are used, at first especially for kitchenware and often expanding their assortment and very soon starting with manufacture of Roman classes of tableware, supposedly could not be seen at Upper Moesian sites almost to the reign of Hadrian, and that is a surprising situation, one to question. Pottery from pre-Flavian and Flavian times (at least with regard to the tableware), if correctly identified, is considered by previous researchers to be imported, and local production determined for the 2nd century onwards (BJELAJAC 1990, 146–147; NIKOLIĆ-ĐORĐEVIĆ 2000, 187–193). In our opinion, among various necessities that an army needs, pottery is not that significant and does not represent one of the important trading goods. Hardly all demands for kitchen and table ware would be fulfilled by import, particularly of the class that was very common at that moment as it was case with colour coated ware.

²⁸ BJELAJAC 1990, 143–172; RAIČKOVIĆ 2007. The *Viminacium* workshop has already from Hadrianic times very elaborated Roman forms and techniques in its repertoire, indicating excellent adjustment of the local potteries to new ceramic traditions and highly skilful artisans, and we are of opinion that production started at latest at the end of the 1st century. CVJETIČANIN 2000, 245–254; WILKES 2005, 169–170.

²⁹ CVJETIČANIN 2003, 59–70; EAD., Trajanic *limes* in Upper Moesia. A ceramic Viewpoint. *Novensia* 15, 2004, 117–132; EAD., Flavian *limes* in Upper Moesia: a ceramic viewpoint (preliminary notes). In: M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen und der Donau. Akten der regionalen Konferenz, Beograd 16–19 Oktober 2003* (Beograd 2005) 145–152.

³¹ MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 32–34; EAD., *Römer und der mittleren Donau. Römische Strassen und Festungen von Singidunum bis Aquae* (Beograd 2003) 37–38.

³² EAD. 1968, 33; K. STROBEL, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Antiquitas* 1,33 (Bonn 1984) 119–146; ID., *Die Donaukriege Domitianis. Antiquitas* 1,38 (Bonn 1989).

was transferred to Upper Moesia as well. Its first camp in *Moesia*, until the reign of Hadrian, is also unknown, and the assumption is that *Margum* was its base, a conclusion based on finds of stamped bricks and epigraphic material from *Margum* dated to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century.³³ Another possibility is *Viminacium*, until Trajan's Dacian wars. After the Dacian wars, until the reign of Hadrian, it was stationed in Dacia, and from AD 117 its permanent site was at *Singidunum*.³⁴

Therefore, our assumption is that the manufacture in late Flavian times at *Margum* would have been connected with the arrival of the *legio IV Flavia*.³⁵ Is this early Roman pottery from *Margum* and other Roman fortresses in *Moesia* legionary pottery in the strict sense, produced by legionaries and legions, or, in a looser sense, production designed to appeal to the legions/military?³⁶

There is no firm evidence of military production of ceramics at excavated Moesian sites, with the exception of stamped tiles.³⁷ However, there is no question about this pottery being military, in respect of its consumers. Unfortunately, civil settlements from that time have not been excavated, so there can be no comparison between pottery in military and civilian contexts and a possible identification of specific types as strictly used by soldiers. Additionally, with limited knowledge of local pre-Flavian pottery circulation and production, it is hard to identify local traditions, and differences visible in other military (i.e. legionary) workshops. The general craft idea and execution, the forms, types, and techniques of the pottery correspond with legionary ware. Legionary pottery has been identified as a phenomenon related only to particular legionary fortresses and particular periods: in Flavian times it is connected with *Vindonissa* and Nijmegen; in the reign of Domitian with *Argentorate* and the Wetterau; from the late 1st century with *Aquincum*; in the first half of the 2nd century it is relevant for Britain; in the second quarter of the 2nd century for *Brigetio*; and in the 2nd century for the productions of Butovo and Pavlikeni, and in the middle of the second half of the 2nd century for *Carnuntum*. The Upper Moesian assemblages have been omitted from decades of discussion on this topic, and it seems they could contribute to an extent to the ongoing studies.

Initially the term was used to denote legionary production of ceramics at *Vindonissa*³⁸ and the important role of the army in the transfer and spread of ceramic traditions. Ceramic imitations of glass, metal and terra sigillata vessels, and those with specific marbled and colour coated surfaces, different from most of the locally manufactured pottery, were recognized as the production of the *legio XI* stationed at *Vindonissa* from the reign of Vespasian to the beginning of the 2nd century.

A parallel was made with Holdeurn wares and the legionary fortress at *Noviomagus*, and especially with Wetterau wares in Upper Germania. The legionary pottery was believed to be connected with legions stationed during the 1st century in *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and, *Moesia*, and activities of military potters from legions *X Gemina*, *XI Claudia*, *VIII Augusta*, that were transferred from *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia* and *Moesia* and carried the fashion of making such red-coloured pottery.³⁹

This assumption was challenged, and for what was considered to be typical Roman forms executed in various techniques a connection with the East was proposed, especially for the finds from Britain,⁴⁰ where the legions had no previous connection with the Danubian provinces, essentially not recognizing legionary pottery as a specific class of ceramics. Different views have been formulated based on the evidence from *Noviomagus* and pottery stamps with Italian names of some of the artisans found: it was inferred that the *legio X Gemina* gave an economic impulse and was the agent of change that introduced a new type of pottery, so-called Holdeurn ware, with production organized in a way to cover consumption and supply of troops, and a connection with Italy was proposed.⁴¹

Evidence from a pottery workshop at the auxiliary fortress at *Carnuntum* operating for the short period between 165/70–180 AD, with all wares red colour-coated, and among them a number of moulded vessels, identified as manufacture connected with *legio I Adiutrix*, revived the discussion on legionary pottery. The legionary pottery was identified as a phenomenon related only to distinctive legionary fortresses and particular periods, from the last quarter of the 1st century to the end of the third quarter of the 2nd century. Legionary wares produced in *Vindonissa* were identified as the earliest ones, and military operations of this legion, and transfer to the North and Rhine-Main region, as vital for spreading of this kind of vessels. The *legio I Adiutrix* had a contact at the previous camp at *Mogontiacum* with the *XI Claudia*. Potters from *XI Claudia*, potters familiar with Italic tradition initially, could introduce these special forms to the potters of the various legions stationed in the *Agri Decumates* after AD 85 and almost until the 130s and to their vexillations.⁴² Those troops, such as *I Adiutrix*, *XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*, *XXII Primigenia* (or *VI Victrix*, at Xanten, and *XXI Rapax*, after 89 at *Mogontiacum*, in *Germania Inferior*), carried the impulse for the production of legionary pottery to Britain and Danube region, and were themselves producing legionary pottery at their further stations.⁴³

³⁹ EAD. 1951, 110–111.

⁴⁰ K. GREENE, Legionary Pottery and the Significance of Holt. In: J. Dore/K. Greene (eds.), *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond*. BAR Internat. Ser. 30 (Oxford 1977) 115; 126.

⁴¹ J. K. HAALBOS/J. R. A. M. THIJSEN, Some remarks on the legionary pottery ('Holdeuren Ware') from Nijmegen. In: B. L. van Beek/R. W. Brandt/W. Groenman-van Waateringe (eds.), *Ex horreo. Cingula 4* (Amsterdam 1977) 101–104; J. K. HAALBOS, Italische Töpfer in Nijmegen (Niederlande)? RCRF Acta 31/32, 1992, 369; id., Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Nijmegener Legionslagers und seiner Canabae, *Germania Inferior*. In: T. Grunewald (Hrsg.) *Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft und der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt* (Berlin, New York 2001) 471–477.

⁴² GASSNER/JILEK 1997, 306.

⁴³ Ibid. 301–309; GASSNER/JILEK 1997a, 244; FÉNYES 2003, 130.

³³ MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 30; 50; SPASIĆ-ĐURIĆ 2003, 13. – For the production of antefixes see T. CVJETIČANIN, Antefiksi iz Rimske zbirke Narodnog muzeja. *Zbornik Narod. Muz. Arh.* (Beograd) 21/1, 2013, 209–224.

³⁴ WILKES 2005, 150–154; MIRKOVIĆ 2007, 31–32.

³⁵ Pottery ascribed to the *Singidunum* workshop from the 2nd century demonstrates among other things the impact of a newly stationed legion, the *IV Flavia* (CVJETIČANIN 2000, 253).

³⁶ SWAN 2004, 260.

³⁷ Č. JORDOVIĆ, Grnčarski i ciglarski centar u Viminacijumu. *Sopštenja* 26, 1995, 95–106.

³⁸ ETTLINGER 1952, 105–111.

The *legio I Adiatrix* was connected with the appearance of legionary pottery in *Brigetio*, in the beginning of the 2nd century,⁴⁴ while for *Aquincum* pottery, with parallels in Holdeurn ware and *Vindonissa* production, but of different quality, the arrival of the *legio X Gemina*, in AD 105/107 was recognized as a factor for the production that stopped in the late Trajanic period.⁴⁵ In Xanten, forms similar to legionary pottery but of different fabric, from the late 1st and the first half of the 2nd century, were connected with the *legio VI Victrix*.⁴⁶

The phenomenon of the legionary pottery was recognized in Britain as well, as a production by and for legions, such as in *Deva*, *Eboracum* or *Isca Augusta*, and identified as the result of the transfer of troops in Hadrian's time from different locations in the northwest provinces, including Upper Germania and Pannonia, and especially *legio VI Victrix*, transferred from the Wetterau in AD 122.⁴⁷ A number of trained potters may have served in the *legio VI Victrix*, and they may have been ordered to the legions that had already been stationed in Britain for a certain period of time, such as *II Augusta* and *XX Valeria Victrix*. These legions were sent to fulfil different tasks and it is reasonable to expect that potters were transferred together, where needed – the setting-up of new workshops and production of tiles could give impetus to the pottery production.⁴⁸

While legionary wares from Britain, Germany and middle Danubian fortresses have been discussed in detail, sufficient attention has never been given to the lower Danubian sites.⁴⁹ The appearance of the legionary pottery at *Drajna de Sus* or *Durostorum*⁵⁰ is easily explained by manufacture or at least influence of the *legio XI Claudia*, stationed there in the beginning of the 2nd century, but the productions of Butovo and Pavlikeni as well as the evidence from *Moesia Superior* have been rarely in the focus of scholars. And, while considerations that legionary pottery was “practiced by individual legions for long periods, and even transferred with legions when they moved their bases”⁵¹ and that this pottery appears to be linked with a group of legions that came to the Danube from the Rhineland (*X Gemina*, *XI Claudia*, and *I Adiatrix*) where the tradition of production had been developed could be essentially correct for the western Roman provinces, movements of the *IV Flavia*, *VII Claudia* and *I Italica* do not fit this pattern.

It should be emphasized that both the Upper Moesian legions, *VII Claudia* and *IV Flavia*, had been previously stationed in *Dalmatia*, at *Tilurium* and *Burnum* respectively, and that could be a supplement to Ettlinger's theory. However, in those posts there is no such pottery in Flavian times.⁵² Tile production is confirmed: kilns and moulds for the tegulae production were discovered at Smrdelj, nearby Kistanje in *Dalmatia*, with stamps of the *legio IV Flavia*, indicating developed tile production.⁵³ The *legio I Italica*, levied in AD 66, was stationed at *Novae* from AD 70 for centuries; therefore connection with either *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* or *Germania* is out of question.

Two possibilities emerge: pottery produced in Upper and Lower Moesia is the result of fashion, and compelling correspondence with the legionary pottery is the outcome of the strong influence of the Italic tradition (or presence of Italian potters) in the lower Danube area and similar tendencies in accepting new forms and, particularly new techniques. The Roman frontier zone is a broad area of cultural and economic exchange and coexistence, and the patterns of cultural interaction and change are diverse and dynamic, allowing the emergence of pottery similar to legionary wares. Or Moesian production is legionary pottery in the strict sense, and a new hypothesis for its development in this region has to be formulated, as for *Moesia Inferior*. Recently, new evidence from *Oescus*, and other military installations in that region, indicates that production of pottery started earlier than assumed, already in the 1st century.⁵⁴

It seems that time is of the essence when considering the legionary pottery. Its appearance is mostly connected with the building of the permanent stone camps, in Flavian times and the very beginning of the 2nd century, not just on the continent but in Britain as well – a moment of very high military control, and *Margum* belongs to that phase. Could that control be exercised through the organization of the specific pottery production (including transfer of particular potters), with a rather great social value in military areas, especially in the parts with non-existent local production, such as the province of *Moesia Superior*? As Greene considers: ‘high level military decisions were likely to impose extra demands upon production, and might provoke innovations in supply methods’.⁵⁵ Major change for Upper Moesia in the supply of pottery coincided with the great shift in administration.

⁴⁴ E. BÓNIS, Die Töpferviertel ‘Gerhát’ von Brigetio. *Folia Arch.* 30, 1979, 99–105; FÉNYES 2003, 101–163.

⁴⁵ Scale of production and chronology in detail: POČZY 1956, 88; VÁMOS 2012, 395–406.

⁴⁶ B. LIESEN, Legionsware aus Xanten. In: B. Liesen/U. Brandl (Hrsg.), *Römische Keramik, Herstellung und Handel. Kolloquium Xanten 15.–17.6.2000*. Xantener Ber. 13 (Mainz 2003) 124.

⁴⁷ SWAN 2004, 259–285.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 279.

⁴⁹ On the legionary pottery in the East: J. MAGNESS, The Roman legionary pottery. In: B. Arubas/H. Goldfus (eds.), *Excavations on the Site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha’uma): A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, the Tenth Legion’s Kilnworks, and a Byzantine Monastic Complex. The Pottery and Other Small Finds*. *Journal Roman Arch. Suppl.* 60 (Portsmouth 2005) 69–191.

⁵⁰ C. MUSETEANU, Les ateliers céramiques de Durostorum. *RCRF Acta* 33, 1996, 17–21.

⁵¹ ETTLINGER 1951, 111.

⁵² S. ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER/M. KANDLER, Burnum I. Erster Berichte über die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1973 und 1974 auf dem Forum. *Österr. Akad. Wiss., Schr. Balkankomm.* 14 (Wien 1979); Z. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET, Project Tilurium – Roman Pottery from Tilurium. In: M. Sanader et al. (eds.), *XVII ROMEC Zagreb 2010. Proceedings of the XVIIth Roman Military Equipment Conference. Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context* (Zagreb 2013) 471–482.

⁵³ Ž. MILETIĆ, Production of tegulae in Burnum in the context of building activities. In: G. Lipovac Vrkuljan/I. Radić Rossi/B. Šiljeg (eds.), *Rimske keramičke i staklarske radionice. Proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru. Zbornik I. međunarodnog arheološkog kolokvija Crikvenica, 23.–24. listopada 2008* (Crikvenica 2011) 268–269.

⁵⁴ G. KABAKČIEVA, *Oescus. Casta Oescensia. Rannorimskijat vojenen lager pri ustijemo na Isker 1* (Sofia 2000) 60–61.

⁵⁵ K. GREENE, Defining the Romano-British economy: the significance of pottery and the army. *RCRF Acta* 35, 1997, 31.

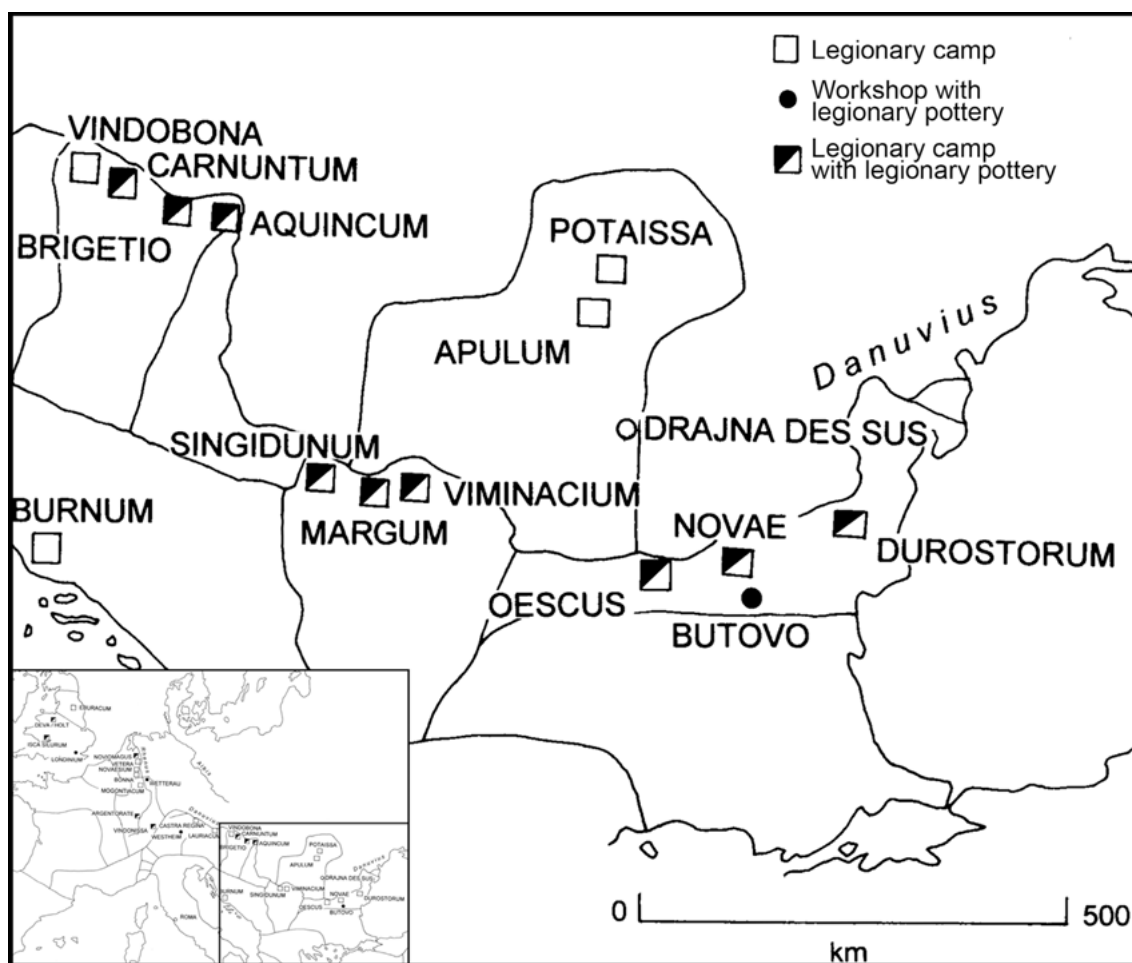


Fig. 5. Middle and Lower Danubian fortresses with Legionary Pottery (based on GASSNER/JILEK 1997).

The preparation for the Dacian wars could also be important: one of the great endeavours was the building of the bridge across the Danube, and different legions and their vexillations, and auxiliary troops were included. The *legio I Italica* was involved as well, and there is a possibility that it was introduced there to new classes of pottery, that influenced the production in the *Nikopolis* area in the 2nd century.

The possibility that the *legio IV Flavia* became acquainted with this particular pottery while its vexillations were partaking in the building of the fortress in *Aquincum* is not convincing, having in mind that in those times, (the second half of the 2nd century) Upper Moesia already had a very developed production.

Naturally, the characteristic pottery style manufactured by the legions influenced local potteries, which adopted and further developed the style even after the cessation of military

production. That could be seen in the *Viminacium* production, and in *Singidunum* as well.⁵⁶ However, pottery from Upper Moesia represents an interesting contribution to this problem and should always be taken into a consideration when this ceramic phenomenon is studied (fig. 5).

The early Roman pottery production at *Margum* was the reason to focus on the legionary pottery again. The legionary pottery, as already agreed, is a complex phenomenon, seemingly limited in time and territory, one that is not spreading linearly. Discussion about supply mechanisms, and influence of the army in its production, needs to be revived. Different models should be proposed, and reference to their context or their use in social and power networks. Quoting Mattingly, 'classical scholars are more comfortable *describing* aspects of the Roman Empire than *interpreting* them'.⁵⁷ Legionary pottery needs to be revisited.

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⁵⁶ RAIČKOVIĆ 2007; NIKOLIĆ-ĐORĐEVIĆ 2000, 11–244.

⁵⁷ D. J. MATTINGLY, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton, Oxford 2011) 271–272.

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