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**ABSTRACT  
OF DISSERTATION**

**for awarding the educational and scientific degree  
"Doctor"**

in professional field 2.2. History and Archaeology  
(Ancient History)

**on the topic: "THE THRACIAN LANDS AND THE LEGAL TEXTS OF THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE (AD 212 - 249)"**

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The dissertation contains an introduction, four chapters (each of them includes its own hierarchical structure of different thematic elements), a conclusion, a list of used literature (abbreviations, ancient and medieval authors, and contemporary studies) and four appendices - catalogues (I. A separate appendix, including a papyrus with the Edict of Caracalla of 212; three catalogues, including texts relevant to Thracian lands: II. Epigraphic monuments with legal content; III. Catalogue of legal texts, preserved in the *Codex Iustinianus* and IV. Catalogue of legal texts preserved in *Digesta*). The total volume of the study amounts to 300 pp.

The text was discussed at an extended meeting of the Department of Ancient History, Thracology and Medieval History at the Faculty of History of Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", held on February 26, 2025, at which it was voted to open a procedure for public defense.

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## INTRODUCTION

Formulated in Rome and gradually becoming a state doctrine, Roman law has been invariably applied and developed in the provincial parts of the Empire over the centuries. Enriched by local customary law and locally established norms and rules in the individual provinces, it acquired a specific shape, lacking uniformity and imperial pressure for such. The application of Roman law in the individual provinces is indisputable, but the establishment of specific norms and their local adoption is dependent on the preserved heritage. The task of thoroughly and in detail revealing the manifestation of Roman law in Thracian lands and the very mechanism of its application is too complex to explore, due to the scarcity of material with specific legal narratives for the period, as well as the lack of preserved specific legal regulations for the governance of the provinces on the present-day Bulgarian territory. The intended object of study in this dissertation is the Thracian lands within the boundaries of the Roman Empire in the first half of the 3rd century and the manifestation of Roman law therein. Apart from the relevant epigraphic monuments bearing information of a legal nature for the period under study, the subject of study in the thesis are also the extant legal texts in the *Corpus Iuris civilis* (and in particular the *Codex Iustinianus* and the *Digesta*) containing legal norms and/or legally relevant circumstances, that directly concern and/or are applicable to the Thracian lands. By examining the object and subject matter, it can be established to a certain extent that there is historical conditioning of the social processes and regulated relations reflected in their respective normative/legally relevant expression.

The monuments and texts examined in the work have been selected on the basis of thematic, geographical and chronological criteria.

Viewed in a complex way, the topic of the study has not been addressed before. The very formulation of the title implies an examination of the extent to which such legal records of the Roman Empire are available for the Thracian lands and a measurement of their proportion among those of other provinces, as well as an indication of the sources of these texts. Also, the subject implies parallel knowledge and approaches to it - the need for historical insight and legal justification, insight into the chronology and specific processes in the development of the Roman Empire, as well as the different periods and features of Roman substantive and procedural law.

The Thracian lands have been studied for a long time and the studies of the significant authors in the Bulgarian historiography examine the subject through the appropriate prism and in a certain scientific direction.

In 20th century studies, the focus was on archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic and narrative sources. It should be emphasized, that in the case of epigraphic and narrative sources, when information with legal elements is present, it has most often not been examined in detail by the researchers who laid the foundations of Thracology as a science. At the same time, the analysis of extant legal sources in order to extract information about the social development of our lands in the period under consideration, here is rather exceptional.

The use of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* in its entirety or as its distinct components as a source of information on the application of Roman law in Thracian lands has not been the subject of consideration so far, as far as the period of the first half of the third century studied here is concerned. The extant jurists' interpretations of the Digests and/or the imperial constitutions in the *Codex Justinianus* have been analysed by specialist jurists in purely legal studies concerning the development of Roman private (basic) and/or public law or its specific institutes. The study of military diplomas is usually through the prism of military affairs, related to the types of military formations and their movement through the provinces, to their stationing in the military settlements formed, to the origins of the soldiers. Relatively little research is concerned with their nature as extracts from imperial constitutions and their legal implications for veterans and their families. Similar is the case with tomb monuments, seen mainly as epigraphic ones, but whose inscriptions include formulations indicating strict regulation, rules to be followed, bound by sanctions, as a result of pre-imposed legal norms by state/local authority.

The aforementioned gaps in research to date necessitated the formulation of the topic of this dissertation, which focuses on the application (documented and presumed) of Roman law in Thracian lands. Mainly extant written records in the Digests and the *Codex Justinianus* are subjected to analysis. The present work seeks to reveal the functioning of Roman law in the two Thracian provinces without claiming to be categorical or to impose an interpretation, but by presenting a possible reconstruction based on the facts established by the research.

## **Tasks, aim and methods of the study**

The dissertation has the following **tasks**:

1. Identification of the available monuments with legal content, directly mentioning the Thracian lands in the period under study, as well as relevant ones, revealing the application of Roman law there; analysis of the normative texts, interpretation of their scope and meaning.

2. Revealing the context of the drafting and application of legal texts in the unfolding of the political, social and economic development of the Empire and its reflection in the Thracian lands; if possible, highlighting the characteristic processes in the development of Roman law there, according to the content of the acts.

3. Outline the processes in chronology reflected in the legal texts with emphasis on the events reflected.

4. Identification of the types of legal acts found in epigraphic monuments with legal content in our lands, as well as those preserved in codifications concerning Thracian lands; clarification of the probable reasons for their compilation and publication; their main thematic content and issues as part of the general processes in the empire.

5. Against the background of the reigns of the individual emperors, to trace the legal acts issued by them (preserved to this day in epigraphic monuments and codifications) in terms of their type and relevance to the Thracian lands, tracing also the activity of the provincial governors there, and accordingly sketching the historical picture in these territories.

6. Through selection, analysis and comparison, to form an overall picture of the available data from monuments with legal content against the background of the historical development of the region in the period under study.

The fulfilment of the above tasks **aims** to trace the application of Roman law in the Thracian provinces with the revelation of probable specifics in its penetration and practice in these lands. The formulated aim is also achieved by positioning Lower Moesia and Thrace in the general picture of the development of the empire in the first half of the 3rd century.



**The methods** are usually presupposed by the objectives to be achieved. By means of a synthesis, expressed in the selection of the relevant and pertinent texts to the period of the study and, subsequently, an analysis based on the logical scientific method, the classification and grouping of these texts according to the signs and characteristics of the different types of legal texts is achieved. The qualitative content analysis with chronological and thematic approach to legal acts is used in the study. The inductive theoretical method was applied, through which, with the material already available and collected, its examination and interpretation began in order to assess and construct an explanation of the established pattern. The conclusions based on the analysis drawn should also reveal the relation of the private to the general, or in this case, law enforcement in Thracian lands as part of the general Roman law-making and administration of justice, respectively the regularities in province-empire relations and vice versa.

The limited amount of relevant data found in the written records (epigraphic monuments and codifications) necessitated the use of the deductive method. In this way, a more complete picture of the legal peace in Lower Moesia and Thrace is achieved and it is possible to verify whether the general principle of the application of Roman law observed in other provinces of the empire was also valid for the Thracian lands. Outlining the general trends in the administration of justice and its imprint on the processes taking place in the empire builds up a picture of its probable application in Thracian lands as well. The analysis traces the types and themes of the constitutions in the codifications issued in relation to other explicitly mentioned or unidentified provinces, which were the product of the period 212-249.

Given the subject matter of the study, which relates to the scope of two scientific fields (law and history), historical methods of analysis (chronological stratigraphy, textual criticism) are applied to imperial constitutions from the time of late classical Roman law, as well as to legal texts reflected in epigraphic monuments or relevant ones. At the same time, methods of legal scholarship, such as comparative law, formal-legal, logical (searching for the meaning of the legal prescription) and systematic (establishing the links and interaction between the different norms) interpretation of legal provisions, have also been used in the study.

## **Structure of the study**

The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, a conclusion, an appendix with legal texts and a bibliography. The first chapter includes the following parts: general historical information about the Thracian lands until the beginning of the 3rd century AD. The first half of the third century AD; an outline of the characteristics of Roman jurisprudence in the first half of the third century AD; an introduction to the history of Roman jurisprudence. A picture of the mechanism of the application of Roman substantive and procedural law in the Thracian lands; an analysis of four epigraphic monuments from Lower Moesia and Thrace, which are outside the period of the dissertation but are a necessary basis for its completeness because they date from the time when Caracalla was Augustus of the empire together with his father Septimius Severus and already actively involved in the imperial administration of justice. The following chapters, from the second to the fourth, examine the constitutions issued by the various emperors in the period 212-249, with an analysis of their legal texts and an emphasis on the likely issues as the occasion for their issuance, as well as a look at the formal procedure of their publication. The issuance of imperial constitutions concerning the Thracian lands is also correlated with the general picture of imperial administration of justice and procedural rules.

Due to the specificity of the dissertation's topic, as well as the particularities of the source data used, the individual chapters have a different structure. However, the direction followed aims to cover the subject matter as much as possible by revealing the actual historical situation in the Thracian lands during the period, as well as reviewing and examining the available, extant, relevant legal texts and information about these territories.

## **Sources for the period from 212 to 249 AD**

The main sources used in this study are epigraphic monuments from the Thracian lands and legal codifications (*Codex Iustinianus* and *Digesta*), containing legal texts and/or relevant ones. Information is also drawn from the narratives of ancient authors who wrote about the period. Of course, numismatic and papyrus materials also provide information to fill in the gaps in the puzzle for the period.

The legal sources used in the dissertation are the texts from *Codex Iustinianus* and *Digesta*. The analysis of the relevant information takes into account the different purpose of their creation

by the compilers, on the orders of Emperor Justinian. Their value is indisputable despite the probable changes for the purpose of updating and the interpolations proven by the researchers on the authentic texts of the laws and legal opinions. From the content of the latter, one can notice the current issues whose solution was sought, the public relations that needed regulation and, accordingly, draw a conclusion about their growing importance in the life not only of the empire, but also of the provinces specifically considered. The process of lawmaking, the legal branches that found a place in the constitutions, as well as the procedure for their promulgation, also become clear. By examining the normative texts, one gains an idea of the stage of development of jurisprudence, the approximate volume of the normative base and the public relations covered by the legal system in this period.

For the purpose of the analysis, English translations were used, consistent with their Latin prototype from the electronic data of The Law Roman Library. The laws issued by the emperors in the period 212-249 were examined in chronological order and, accordingly, texts (where available) were extracted and analyzed from the legal acts of the crowned heads, cited in the opinions of the jurists in the Digests. In the presentation, the individual laws are grouped by topic in order to trace the tendency of individual successive emperors to continue, interrupt or terminate the legal regulation of the relevant issues in the normative acts. The examination of the constitutions of the emperors also provides an opportunity to look into and emphasize specific features when pronouncing on certain topics and their interpretation, in order to be able to outline characteristic features in their rule itself.

The period from 212 to 235 is saturated with more testimonies of narrative sources, and from eyewitness authors, who provide a certain point of view (albeit subjective) from the first person, whose credibility should also be carefully assessed in the aggregate of additional data and taking into account relevant characteristics, relationships and events. After this period, the testimonies become more contradictory and scarce, most of them provided by late authors, non-contemporaries of the events. But many of them use sources lost to us.

For the studied 37-year period, the numismatic material is significant. It appears as an auxiliary unit, certifying the state policy pursued by the emperors, as a way of correspondence of the government with the population in economic terms and, above all, with its propaganda goal and statement. Thanks to the coin images, the illiterate and those who do not know the Latin

language can learn what the current emperor looks like, and the knowledgeable - to obtain information about his victories and the magistracies he held through his title in the legend, about his actions through the specifically sought divine intervention. Although they have no direct relation to the application of law in our lands, they give a clear sign of the specific current policy followed by the respective emperor, his goals and priorities, the professed ideology and values, as well as the activity of the imperial family. In addition to the fact that the coins take into account the stability of the monetary system in a certain period, they reveal with the opposite sign the real state of state power. Epigraphic sources with legal content are used as a source of information in this study. They are considered not only as a type of legal act of the emperor or issued by the relevant local Roman authorities, but also as a practice of state justice and correspondence with the population in the province. They are a vivid example of the administrative subordination and observance of the regulated order in the Roman state structure. The honorary, dedicatory and construction inscriptions, as well as the miliary columns also testify to the activities of the emperors, the provincial Roman government, as well as to the activity of the provincial urban communities. Tombstones are another type of epigraphic sources that provide information about the iura sepulcrorum, the inheritance of this sepulchral right and, accordingly, the protective sanctions against its violators.

The papyrus documents that provide evidence for the period come mainly from Egypt, probably due to the specific climatic conditions that create conditions for the preservation of papyrus as a material. This is also the case with the only papyrus source used in the study, in which the Greek text of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is found. In this regard, some of the papyrus documents are an element of the legal system of the empire.

## CHAPTER I. ROMAN LAW AND THE THRACIAN LANDS

### 1. History of the Thracian lands until the beginning of the 3rd century

It is necessary to take a brief retrospective look at the initial period of the imposition of the Roman presence in the Thracian lands and the formation of Roman Thrace in general terms, in order to more clearly see the development of the administration and application of law in this territory, upon reaching the time of the period under consideration.

The creation of the province of Moesia was a long-lasting process, covering at least the period from the 1st century BC to the very beginning of the 1st century AD. The origin of the name "Moesia" is the subject of numerous disputes and opinions, as a result of the unclear information of ancient authors.

Given the border, respectively risky for security, location of the province on the lower Danube limes, Moesia was subject to distribution and subordination to the emperor, initially being under the control of the governor of the province of Macedonia. The administration was entrusted to a cavalry prefect and invariably implied the deployment of legions – two (“...*legionum duae in Moesia attinebant*”) at first, as well as auxiliary troops. Originally organized as a military prefecture with separate tribal districts, given the proximity to the allied kingdom of *Remetalcus*, as well as the lack of previous urban centers, the imperial government was in no hurry to build provincial structures, but laid the foundations for their future development.

Rome began building a road network there with the deployment of a military contingent along the Danube River from west to east - *via Danubia*, further built and strengthened by a series of subsequent emperors. Other strategic roads built were through *Haemus* from *Oescus* to *Philippopolis*, from *Durostorum* through *Marcianopolis* to *Anchialus*, from *Oescus* to *Serdica*, from *Nicopolis ad Istrum* to *Augusta Traiana*. The construction and maintenance of roads in the Thracian provinces ensured the rapid movement of troops, goods and services, and was especially necessary and valuable for the tours of the Roman. Probably only towards the end of the reign of Octavian Augustus can one claim a comparative stabilization of the region with the help of military forces and relative pacification. The processes of administration and management seem to have followed the provincial organization of Moesia, and the construction of urban structures

probably dates back to a later stage. Despite its creation as an independent imperial provincial unit with an appointed governor with consular rank - *legati pro praetore*, Emperor Tiberius placed it under common governance, together with Achaia and Macedonia under the managerial control of the governor of the latter until the time of Claudius (44 AD). Subsequently, the common governance and unified command of the three provinces was discontinued and they were separated probably about three years before the creation of Thrace. The expansion of Moesia in an eastern direction began, gradually reaching Pontus. It is believed that *Tomis* (today the city of Constanta, Romania) was transformed into the center of the provincial administration of Moesia.

The creation of the province of Thrace after the assassination of *Remetalcus III* (38-46/7) put an end to the client relations between Rome and the royal dynasty, and led to the introduction of a new status for these Thracian lands. The previously indirect control exercised by the empire over the territories of the allied kingdom was not sufficient to quell the internal dynastic struggles, respectively to ensure peace in the region, nor did it allow for the full use of the resources there. Moreover, after the death of the Thracian king, a supporter of Rome, there was probably a danger of a decrease in Roman influence and of shaking the already precarious situation in the Thracian territories. The relatively secured northern border of the empire, as well as the support from the province of Macedonia from the southwest, enabled Emperor Claudius to make the strategic decision to organize the lands of the Thracian kingdom on the principle of provincial government. The formation of the new province of Thrace during the time of this emperor was entrusted to the management of an imperial procurator with equestrian rank, who performed mainly administrative and financial functions. Unlike Moesia, colonies were established in the province of Thrace soon after its formation. The most famous are the *colonia Claudia Aprensis* / *Apri* colony, for which little information is known about the foundation (presumably by the emperor Claudius, who ruled from 41 to 54 AD), as well as the colony *Deultum* (*colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium*), established by the emperor Vespasian (69-79 AD), most likely in 70 AD.

The administrative organization in the Thracian lands, initially preserved by the Romans after 47 AD, gave way to the constant Roman policy of building cities with Roman-style governance and a developed administrative structure. There is no doubt that the goal of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian with the urbanization of Thrace was to expand and consolidate the

Roman model in the region and in particular in the provincial structure. This is evidence of a far-sighted and long process of building large cities in the province of Thrace and of a gradual transition from local municipalities to Roman administration with city government. It is precisely these goals, for the implementation of which it was necessary to separate lands from the Thracian strategies for joining the urban centers, that were successfully realized.

The formation of each of the Thracian provinces is peculiar given the territorial and strategic position of each of them and the respective way of joining the empire. Hence the main differences in their status, legal status, organization and regulation, as well as in their further social and cultural development. The gradual absorption of rural territories around the cities leads to the concentration of lands in the hands of the urban aristocracy, as the rural population, which does not participate in the city government, is also obliged to pay taxes to the city. It should be borne in mind that resistance during the conquest and in time ahead, was provided by the population in both provinces.

The historical development of today's Bulgarian lands until the Roman period has invariably left its marks on the territories and population in cultural, socio-political and ethnic terms. It is for this reason, and as a result of it, not only were the Thracian lands in the north and south mastered in different ways and means, but also after the establishment of the Roman presence in them, they were treated differently, with a specific regime. The administrative management of the cities in the provinces was carried out through the local self-government of the municipalities and served as an intermediate link between the Roman authorities and the local elite. This connection provides, on the one hand, an opportunity for the penetration of Roman laws and influence in the local communities, on the other hand, after a decision was made by the community, for quick communication with the Roman authorities, even with the emperor. Such autonomy was permissible for internal issues concerning the community, in which the Roman representatives in the respective province did not interfere. Depending on the type of community in the city and its affiliation (Hellenistic or Latin), the municipalities had their own national assemblies, councils and magistrates. With the end of the reign of the "good emperors" (Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) in 180, a dynamic era began for the empire, including the Thracian lands, in which, along with the prosperity of the cities as Roman

cultural and economic centers, the emperors increasingly began to pay attention to them as territories favorable for recruitment, military deployment and logistics.

The studied period of the first half of the 3rd century outlines a situation of changes that began in all spheres of the life of the empire, noticeable to varying degrees in its individual parts. The Thracian lands began to become a place of particular political, economic and strategic importance. The recruitment and increase in troops in the region also led to active coinage in cities along the military routes to the East and *vice versa*. As a result of the general political picture in the empire, by the 3rd century the function of local self-government bodies began to decline. Financial pressure had an impact on the voluntariness of assuming civil positions and public duties, as a result of a decrease in the free funds of wealthy princes to provide funds for public needs. The complicated picture was complemented by external invasions and military operations conducted in the Thracian territories.

## **2. Roman jurisprudence in the first half of the 3rd century AD**

Classical jurisprudence is not characterized by a systematic order. The imperial acts as part of it are also not an ordered and synthesized set of norms and rules during the Principate. Attempts to organize the probably conscious and previously legal documentary chaos practically begin during the Dominate in harmony with the highly centralized autocratic power.

The rich jurisprudence that developed at the end of the Republic and at the beginning of the Principate, in the 3rd century, was already limited to its main sources – the imperial constitutions – an expression of the imperial legislative power, as well as the *leges* and *senatus consulta*. Thanks to this rich jurisprudence, the legal principles, norms and opinions of the jurists were preserved over time, which were applied, examined and assessed with new force and awareness during the Dominate. In fact, the glory of Roman law and its influence on subsequent generations is due to the work of the jurists of the Principate. Lawyers produce *ius*, which in a peculiar way examines, interprets and comments on the meaning and logic of the created laws.

Generally, the period from Octavian Augustus to the middle of the 3rd century is defined as the time of classical Roman law (in fact, this is also the upper chronological limit of this study). After the middle of the 3rd century, the activity and productivity of classical jurisprudence



gradually began to fade and lawyers gained anonymity in favor of the rich productivity of the imperial chancellery, which was facilitated by the political and cultural changes of the period.

### **3. Application of Roman substantive and procedural law in the Thracian lands**

During the first two centuries of the Principate, Roman law spread to the provinces of the empire as a consequence of the policy of granting Roman citizenship, part of the general process of Romanization. Unlike the western provinces, which were conquered earlier by Rome and whose legal customs weakened over time, in the Hellenistic eastern provinces local legal traditions and perceptions continued to exist and Roman law did not spread so quickly and sustainably.

In addition to the initial provincial agreements with Rome and the edicts issued by the governors, the regime for the governance of the provincial communities and their conditions of existence were visibly often renegotiated with the Roman authorities. This was done through the activities of petitions and the letters and requests sent, which we understand from the imperial constitutions, and in particular the rescripts. The practice of sending petitions represents an interesting process in Roman jurisdiction. This is essentially a referral to the emperor, giving him the opportunity to decree and legislate either in his palace or on the move in the provinces, or in a courtroom, for which he has other means, but this is an additional opportunity to enrich the administration of justice.

However, it can be assumed that the influence of Roman law was continuous, but unobtrusive, attractive in terms of order, systematization and written consolidation, a symbol of civilization and a bearer of benefits. It should also be borne in mind that Roman law was then developing and constantly updating, including the principle of precedent in the administration of justice by the emperor. Local law and customs, in turn, existing in parallel with Roman law, were applied in a form and manner for generations. It was inevitable that local traditions would adopt the current and practical solutions to cases offered by the common Roman law, subject to the mixing of these legal systems existing in parallel. Gradually, the provincial elite began to adapt and mix with the Roman one, a process that was already at its peak in the 3rd century. The increasingly strong Romanization of the provinces began to depersonalize the previous political,

social and cultural differences with Rome. The policy pursued by the imperial government envisaged the use of local government to maintain order in the province by gradually creating a system through which local elites would maintain ties with their own population (tribes), and on the other hand, create ties with the Roman elites. In this way, the provincial elites were linked to the local and imperial administrations. Gradually, with the increasing centralization of the empire (from the Severans onwards and with a military bias), the attractiveness of state positions not only in local government, but also in the imperial higher services, increased. The provincial system of the empire relied precisely on the local aristocracy, loyal to the emperor, to maintain order and the established local structures, as well as for the successful collection of taxes.

In all likelihood, the communities were guided by their own norms of their local legal systems and disputes between fellow citizens were resolved according to their generally accepted rules and customs, institutions and practices (*mos regionis*). The terms *civitas*, *regio*, *provinciae*, *consuetudo*, *mos* are frequently encountered in legal sources. However, the actual application of customary local law in the provinces in the classical period, to what extent and how it supplemented, amended or repealed Roman law in the cities, has not been definitively established. But it is likely that the local laws of the cities also provided for cases in which Roman law was applied or at least its presence on the territory of the city or province was enshrined and reflected in writing. It is striking that the mention of Thrace and Moesia in *CI* is included only in post-classical texts, and in the Digests the Thracian ethnonym is completely absent, with the Moesian being reported only in one text by the classical jurist Ulpian.

Both codifications have the thematic feature of organizing the acts depending on the regulated legal matter, as well as according to individual features and qualities of the addressees. The compilers used the gentile names of the emperors, including those “artificially” adopted and used by the crowned heads – a common phenomenon in this period. The acts of different emperors who ruled in different periods are mentioned in one chapter, united by the theme of their provisions. In general, the leading number is the rescripts, followed by the edicts in the late period of the Principate and the transition to the Dominate. Undoubtedly, the preserved imperial constitutions are a wealth that speaks of the potential of the classical period in jurisprudence. Unfortunately, however, direct evidence of their application by the imperial, respectively by the provincial administration in the third century, is missing. In this regard, the task of clarifying

precisely the content of the acts currently in force in this period, the form in which they were applied, their practical implementation, respectively sanctioning in case of non-compliance, in a word, the application of the law in force at that time, is an extremely complex task, due to the lack of written evidence for this. In such a case, in order to gain a probable idea of the administration of justice in our lands, we should review the development of jurisprudence in the 3rd century, the application of law in the empire, in order to look for references to our lands or presumably to correlate the established legal practices with them.

#### **4. Legal texts in epigraphic monuments**

For the reconstruction of the legal reality in Lower Moesia and Thrace, the legal texts of epigraphic monuments have been analyzed. These are: the imperial letter (epistle) from Nicopolis ad Istrum from 198/199, Lower Moesia; Inscription from Tyras (epistle) from 201 AD, Lower Moesia; Inscription from Pizos (edict) from 202 AD, Thrace; Inscription from Scaptopara (subscript) from 238 AD, Thrace, as well as military diplomas as certification documents, representing extracts from the imperial constitution. Observations on them reveal the application of Roman law with consideration of regional specificities such as issues, imposition of general legal standards and regulations, but also consideration of local customs and practices. At the same time, it becomes clear about general trends and characteristics of the period, inherent in other parts of the empire, in which the actions of the emperor and the state administration are identical. The epigraphic monuments with legal texts for the period fixed in the work that have been preserved to this day are scarce in number. Of those described, three of the monuments (the epistle from Nicopolis ad Istrum from 198/199, the epistle from Tyras from 201 and the edict from 202 from Pizos) are from years preceding the time studied, but are included in the exposition, since they are the product of the joint rule of Septimius Severus and his elder son Caracalla as Augustus (198-211). Presented in the work, they inform not only about the existing legacy in law enforcement in the Thracian lands until 212, but also reveal the accumulated legislative experience of Caracalla, which unfolded in his administration of justice during his independent rule. I consider the inclusion of these documents in the study to be absolutely necessary in view of its completeness.

## **CHAPTER II. INDEPENDENT RULE OF CARACALLA AND THE YEAR AFTER HIS MURDER (212-218 AD)**

### **1. The Legacy of Septimius Severus**

The legacy left by his father Septimius Severus (*Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax*, 193-211) within the state was a temporary pacification and suppression of claims to the throne, an established and centralized imperial power without regard to the opinion of the Senate, the replacement of the Praetorians with his own guard, recruited from legionaries from the Danubian provinces, and a militarized administrative apparatus. Septimius Severus expanded the border of the empire eastward to the Euphrates River and took care of strengthening the defense forces on the borders. He also carried out a military mobilization of the non-Romanized population, especially in the Danube region.

Severus' special attention to the army and the needs of soldiers is expressed in a significant increase in the number of military units, in an increase in legionary salaries, accompanied by bonuses, and in allowing soldiers to marry while still in service. Given Severus's legacy, the imperial attitude towards the army gradually contributed to the creation of a military elite, which, due to the centralized state, became the driving force in the empire. The military privileges provided opened the way for career growth and inclusion in the equestrian class. During the 18-year reign of Septimius Severus, he maintained strong and centralized power in the empire, exercised direct control over the army, not allowing arbitrariness in its actions. The neglect of the Senate and its powers, and the emperor's concentration on the army, created the prerequisites for the construction of a military monarchy, the development of which was irreversible.

Severus's special attitude towards the Danubian provinces was reflected in his tours in Lower Moesia and Thrace. His benefactions to some cities there, by granting city rights and privileges and supporting the urban planning policy for, as evidenced by a number of epigraphic monuments, led to the flourishing development of the cities there during the reign of Septimius Severus, including during the co-rule with Caracalla (195 – 211 AD) and the subsequent ones of the dynasty. In fact, from Septimius Severus onwards, the empire turned its attention to the Thracian lands in general, which is set as a trend.

The ideas, actions and reforms carried out by Septimius Severus influenced the development of the empire after him. The Roman citizenship granted by the edict of Caracalla from the beginning of 212 to all free inhabitants of the Empire (excluding the *dediticii*) provided opportunities for social, political and military growth regardless of rank, origin and career. In the conditions of serious dangers for the empire in the 3rd century, this leads to disorder and destructive consequences. All these changes are part of the reasons that led to the cataclysms of the 3rd century. The characteristics of a military dictatorship that Septimius Severus established in his rule would gradually neutralize the constitutional element in the empire of the 3rd century.

## **2. Caracalla's independent rule**

Accompanying his father on his campaigns from a young age, a direct witness to the toleration of the army and the disregard for the Senate, the elder son of Septimius Severus *Marcus Aurelius (Severus) Antoninus* - Caracalla came to power first as "Caesar" (most likely as early as 195), and then as "*Augustus*" (January 198). This outlined his path as a harsh soldier and cruel emperor. After the death of their crowned father, the two brothers took power in the empire as co-Augusti, but their shared rule ended in fratricide - Caracalla killed his brother Geta (*Publius Septimius Severus Geta*). Geta's removal from power was followed by cruel purges against Caracalla's opponents, who disagreed with his policies and the fratricide.

To consolidate his position, in 213 Caracalla set out for Rhaetia against the Alemanni tribes, who had begun to descend to the southwest and attack the province. After pacifying the region and now with the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, Caracalla set out through Pannonia towards Thrace. It is noteworthy that it was during this period that the number of rescripts issued by Caracalla was significant. This was the time of his fourth consulship, which he held jointly with *Balbinus*.

Following his father's foreign policy, Caracalla showed his interest in the Danube region by recruiting soldiers for his legions for the war in the east with the Parthians. Caracalla's attitude towards Lower Moesia and Thrace, and the loyalty of the provincial governors there, is indicative. It is for this reason, but also because of the frequent attacks from the north, that in 214 Caracalla remained in Lower Moesia and Thrace for nearly a year. There is evidence that he successfully pacified the northeastern border of Lower Moesia. From there, his route was through

Thrace, when Caracalla also visited Philippopolis in person in 215, where sports games were organized in his honor at the stadium there, representing the second edition of the Thracian koinon.

He operated in the east in the period from 215 to 216, managing to expand the borders of Mesopotamia after subjugating the Parthian king Vologases, but failing to conquer Armenia and Media.

Caracalla was assassinated near Edessa (modern-day Turkey), presumably on the orders of the Praetorian prefect Macrinus. After his assassination, until the end of the period under study (i.e., until 249), there is no other direct heir to the throne attested to rule independently.

## **2.1 *Constitutio Antoniniana***

It is no coincidence that the present study begins in 212 AD. This is the year of the already independent rule of Emperor Caracalla (*Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus*, born *Septimius Bassianus*, according to the “History of the Augustans”), in which the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is supposedly issued – undoubtedly an act with fateful consequences for the Roman world.

The issuance of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 AD by Emperor Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus) is undoubtedly an event that arouses interest, controversy, and comments to this day. It is mentioned by Cassius Dio (c. 155 – c. 235 AD) in his “Roman History” with the historian’s personal opinion expressed about the goals pursued by the imperial act. The jurist Ulpian (c. 170 – c. 223 AD) briefly reports the fact of the widespread granting of Roman citizenship. This is the direct evidence attributing the act to the authorship of Caracalla. There are also other narratives and legal texts that report the granting of Roman citizenship with imperial sanction, including such texts attributing it to another imperial initiative.

The extremely fragmentary text of the so-called *Constitutio Antoniniana* is preserved on a papyrus (*P.Giss.I.40*) found in Giessen, Germany. Its content corresponds to Ulpian's direction for the widespread granting of citizenship in the empire, but it also raises a number of questions systematized in Besson's thematic work. What was the purpose of this papyrus (composed in Greek, but probably translated from Latin), which includes two more edicts, different in content,

is a controversial issue. It may represent a compilation of edicts issued by the emperor for a specific purpose for use by the administration or systematization of legal grounds for common cases concerning the status of persons in the province.

Opinions about the place and significance of the Edict are diverse among researchers.

The adaptation process is probably long. In certain areas of public life, changes occurred more quickly. One such area, with very urgent needs in the period, is the army: now all free people - citizens from the provinces can serve in any military unit of the army. The other visible and traceable consequence in many of the provinces of the empire is the change in the names of the new citizens, mostly with the adoption of the first two names of Emperor Caracalla - *Marcus Aurelius*.

The granting of Roman citizenship even before 212, aimed at gaining influence, clients and powers, was actually always part of the general political doctrine of Rome for power, control and influence. Citizenship has proven over time to be a unique type of strategy for the successful management of Roman society and all subsequently conquered territories.

With the issuance of the Edict, and respectively with the extension of its effect, the issue of granting citizenship and the conditions for it disappeared as a case from the legal world, and it also disappeared as a form of gesture of donation, as a "*beneficia*" from the emperor in its previous form.

The consequences of imposing Roman citizenship are not only of different intensity, but are also polar. On the one hand, it is a unifying factor for all free inhabitants of the empire to be Romans, to have a common self-awareness of such. On the other hand, it is with it that the identity of the concept of "Roman", created as an ideology in the deep antiquity of Rome, is lost. The values and virtues, so characteristic of the Roman citizen in the past, have to be tendentiously and differentiatedly selected, proclaimed artificially and propagated by the state through various means in order to achieve imperial and military goals in the 3rd century. Although citizenship is now imposed as a status throughout the empire on a heterogeneous population, given the growing external threat on the borders of the empire, it is necessary to follow a unifying line in politics and the activity of the resistance forces along the limes. During this period, it is the proclamation "*victoria*" that wins the victory among all other postulates. This

is probably the unifying idea of Roman society, which turned its gaze increasingly towards the East during this period, but also proved vital for the existence and retention of imperial power.

At the end of the 3rd century, when the situation in the empire stabilized, it became more clearly noticeable that it was no longer the same, both as a social structure, as an economy, and as a political conjuncture. Along with the many complex reasons that led to the replacement of state and moral foundations and the collapse of the Principate at the end of the 3rd century, one of the constituent elements of this transformation was the issuance of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and its consequences.

## **2.2 Rescripts of Caracalla**

Rescripts of Caracalla, selected according to thematic features characterizing the regulation of basic relations in the period, are analyzed. The emphasis is on rescripts, probably issued during the emperor's stay in the Thracian provinces in 214-215; rescripts issued upon requests from soldiers and such concerning issues related to their rights and obligations, personal and property status; rescripts in which indulgences are granted by the emperor; rescripts related to the holding of state offices and the performance of public duties.

## **3. Macrinus's rule and the question of his rescripts**

The short rule of Marcus Opellius Macrinus (217–218) of about fourteen months made him the first emperor who did not come from the senatorial class, and who did not manage to reach the capital Rome. The already existing rift between the Senate and the imperial power from the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, is even more clearly visible in the Senate's attitude towards Macrinus in connection with his origin and lack of legitimacy of power (despite the fact of his initial recognition).

In addition to his low origin, several other circumstances further set the senators against Macrinus: the failure to observe the established *cursus honorum* both for himself and for his close associates, to whom he distributed high positions (prefects, proconsuls, governors of provinces), the crackdown on those who disagreed with his empowerment, who had served his predecessor. Probably, the initial reactions of senatorial and popular approval were due to the encouraging



news for them, related to the removal of Caracalla, and the subsequent actions of the new emperor gradually escalated the dissatisfaction.

The beginning of the displacement of the senatorial representatives from power by those of the equestrian class was firmly established not only in the provincial Roman government, but also in the central one. Given his previous career and lack of military experience, Macrinus tried to maneuver in the relations between the Senate, the army and the complex political and military situation in order to satisfy their claims. Although he was the first emperor - a representative of the equestrians (as well as the first emperor to hold the position of praetorian prefect) and was part of the entourage of the early Severi, he hastened to cancel, including the decrees of Caracalla regarding inheritance and release, which affected mostly the senators.

Emperor Macrinus continued the trend of previous emperors to assert the continuity of the Antonine dynastic line, with his son Diadumenianus being proclaimed Caesar Antoninus (May–June 217), and in early June 218 – as "*Augustus*". Temporary support from the Senate, his uncertain political actions, the lack of continued support from the army, as well as the rapid intervention of relatives of the Severan dynasty, in the person of Julia Maesa (sister of the empress Julia Domna), led to the proclamation by the legions of a new emperor (on 16 May 218) – this was her grandson *Varias Avitus Bassianus*, known as Elagabalus. Macrinus was defeated near Emesa and killed in Cappadocia, and his son Diadumenianus subsequently died. Macrinus' frugality and his attempts to impose discipline - methods similar to those of Pertinax - as well as his lack of military ambition and poor judgment of the situation are some of the reasons why he failed to please and impose himself on the army and thus ended his life.

The codifications under consideration do not preserve any constitutions that are explicitly stated to have been issued by Emperor Macrinus. Nor are there any constitutions of other emperors that refer to or mention previous ones issued by Macrinus or even reflect the very name of this emperor.

## **CHAPTER III. THE LATE SEVERANS (218 - 235 AD)**

### **1. The rule of Elagabalus and the question of his rescripts**

The newly-crowned emperor, known as Elagabalus (218-222) after the Syrian god of the same name, was his high priest and, although elevated to rule the empire, continued to serve him by introducing him as a deity in Rome and building him a magnificent temple. The actual rule of the empire was probably carried out by a close circle of trusted people, under the supervision of the grandmother Julia Maesa, considering that the emperor's mother Soemia was also a fanatical supporter of the sun god.

The absurd appointments made by Elagabalus and the imposition of the eastern god caused discontent in Rome, with pretenders to the throne appearing. With his actions and behavior, Elagabalus affected the political and religious foundations of Roman statehood, which are inextricably linked. Perhaps the most prominent aspect of Elagabalus' exercise of imperial power was the crude seizure of Roman religious identity by imposing the cult of the supreme Syrian deity over those of the original Roman Pantheon. Despite the assumed full authority of the emperor, by desecrating and interfering in the conservative sphere of sacred Roman objects and customs and with his absurd behavior, Elagabalus trampled on laws and customs during his reign, which affected people of diverse quality and occupation. The puzzling lack of coinage in the large cities of Thrace during the reign of Macrinus finds a logical explanation in the special attention paid by Elagabalus to Perinthus and Philippopolis. They received neocoronic titles, and Philippopolis was restored to its right to the metropolis. The non-recognition of the legitimacy of the Macrinian dynasty now brings privileges and distinctions to these cities.

During the reign of Elagabalus, there is no information from ancient authors about wars waged by the empire or external threats to it, which indicates either a lack of such due to temporarily resolved conflicts by the emperors preceding Elagabalus, or attacks that were present, but insignificant and not posing a threat to the empire. He spent the time of his reign mainly in the east, and for the four incomplete years, if not inaction, then at least activity on the part of Elagabalus in military and political terms is not reflected by the authors. It is likely that the imperial office acted in an official capacity, and accordingly the remuneration of the army was maintained standard, without change, in order to avoid unrest.

The dethronement of Elagabalus seems to have been decided "from within", again as a result of flexible consideration of the circumstances and a timely sober assessment of the relatives of the self-forgotten emperor. In the organized family succession of emperors, there is again military participation – carried out by loyal Praetorians, but the plan and preparation are the work of the grandmother Julia Maesa and the mother of the newly elected emperor Mamaea. The murder of Elagabalus and his mother Soemia reveals the “necessary” extreme measures that were taken by their relatives in order to survive their positions of power and prevent the probably expected unrest and civil unrest. At the same time, the categorical position and the important place that the soldiers occupy in the succession of individual emperors is demonstrated once again and their significant role in politics and the social structure.

Elagabalus's entry into the imperial line of government is remarkably long, given his characteristics, but it is probably based on the skillful maintenance of the power of Julia Maesa and the imperial chancellery. His ascension to power was again with the help of the soldiers, as was his overthrow from the throne with the cruel death that, according to his contemporaries, he deserved. On his way to Rome, Elagabalus passed through the territory of Thrace and Lower Moesia, reflected in the coinage of the provinces and celebrated solemnly in Philippopolis, which received the favor of the emperor (similar to the donations of his alleged father) through the title of neocoron and the name of metropolis. His constant stay in the capital and his disinterest in state affairs did not stop the functioning of the empire.

Against the backdrop of the huge mass of imperial constitutions during the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and subsequently independently by the latter, no constitutions are found in *CI* and *Digesta* explicitly stated to have been issued by Elagabalus.

## **2. The rule of Severus Alexander and his rescripts**

At the skillful and resourceful insistence of Messa, Elagabalus was inclined to adopt his cousin Severus Alexander in a ceremony on June 26, 211, and after the assassination of Elagabalus, *Marcus Iulius Gessius Bassianus Alexianus*, still thirteen years old, became the continuer of the Severan dynasty. For history, he remains under the name *Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander*.

The new emperor ruled under the influence of his mother Julia Mamaea, and there is no evidence that he wanted to emancipate himself from her care. As a result of the policy pursued, peace and agreement with the senatorial aristocracy were maintained, stability in the state administration, support for civilians, improvement of public supplies and needs. The state began to exercise control over production, crafts and trade. The imperial government strictly observed financial policy, which allowed for some tax relief.

From the history of Herodian we understand that judicial work was of great importance for imperial affairs during the reign of the last representative of the Severan dynasty. The possibility of access to justice is also reflected in *Dig.49.1.25*, the right of appeal was maintained and protected by the emperor, and in case of obstruction of the right of defense and appeal, a sanction was provided by the emperor, who acted as a guarantor of the implementation by exercising control over his subordinate civil servants.

His rule was moderate, rather conservative, expressed in maintaining the political symbiosis with the Senate and the exceptional role and influence of the Imperial Council.

Alexander demonstrated respect for the institutionality and Roman values, without manifestations of warlikeness and faltering towards the interests of the army. The policy he pursued was also reflected in the coinage, with the largest percentage being those of the deities, followed by the images of the virtues.

The emperor's rule was aimed at strengthening financial stability without seeking sources in revanchist seizures. Moreover, when opportunities were considered, the emperor showed favor and forgave tax debts.

Following the policy of his ancestors from the dynasty (we exclude Elagabalus, for whom there is no evidence of such interest), the emperor attached importance to border security, and in particular to the Danubian provinces.

The emperor's tour upon his arrival in Lower Moesia was accompanied by the supervision of the strengthening of roads and bridges, as evidenced by the placement of military columns on the roads to Marcianopolis and Durostorum. Probably, the activity of Decius was significant and active, considering the inscriptions that have reached us. It is possible that it was precisely

because of the successful management of Lower Moesia by Decius that the emperor decided to re-appoint him as governor of Lower Germany at the specific moment of preparation of military operations on the Rhine.

From 231 onwards, when the situation in the empire changed drastically in view of the looming threat from the east, along the Danube Limes and in the northwest direction, until the end of the period studied here (249), the concentration of efforts, military actions, recruits, even the administration of the empire, was precisely in the direction of the Balkan provinces and the southeast. The victories of the Persian Sassanids over the Parthians and the revival of their powerful empire led by Ardashir (Artaxerxes), crowned in 226, threatened the Roman provinces there (especially Syria), as did the conquered Mesopotamia. Severus Alexander, at the head of a large army, set off east with the aim of carrying out a large-scale invasion.

The sudden arrival of news from the west about devastating attacks by the Germans on the Rhine and Danube rivers provoked not only anxiety in the emperor due to the proximity of these lands to Italy, but also discontent among the soldiers, especially among the recruits from the region in question, due to Alexander's slow actions.

Severus Alexander's establishment in Moguntiacum (modern Mainz) and the undertaking of diplomatic actions against the Germans instead of a sudden attack unleashed resistance among the soldiers. They recognized and declared the future emperor the experienced in military affairs, Maximinus, called Thrax because of his origin. He was appointed by the emperor as a military commander with the position of praefectus tironibus, who was engaged in training Moors, archers recruited from the east, including deserters from the eastern army.

Severus Alexander died together with his mother, probably in February-March 235. He was the first emperor to be assassinated due to the army's dissatisfaction with his failure to handle military affairs.

Despite his relatively long (under these historical conditions and in this period) thirteen-year reign, Severus Alexander did not manage to permanently (but only temporarily) change the already established processes in Roman society and state. He failed to discipline and influence the capricious army (probably he did not set such a goal), and the equestrian class retained its leading role. The emperor helped restore the dignity of the Senate, but not its previous powers.

After the death of Severus Alexander, the Senate gradually lost almost all of its resisting political forces. That is why Severus Alexander is considered to have made the last attempt to consolidate civil power over the military, after which the army machine could no longer be stopped. With him, the dynasty of the Severi finally ended, the last representative of which was the complete opposite of its creator. Roman jurisprudence continued its rapid development during the reign of Severus Alexander. In addition to the work of famous jurists, the emperor's legal activity, which we judge by what is preserved in the codifications, is also impressive and significant for the period. It is likely that the crowned person strove during his reign to adhere to the principle that "nothing is so inherent in an empire as living according to the laws", expressed by himself in a rescript of 232.

Severus Alexander continued the policy of his predecessors from the Severan dynasty regarding favoritism towards the army. His rescripts addressed to magistrates and other state offices, as well as a number of rescripts containing criminal law norms, have also been examined.

## **CHAPTER IV. THE MILITARY EMPERORS in the period 235 – 249 AD**

The next fifty years marked a time of military arbitrariness, weakness and vacillation of the Senate and a general political, social and economic crisis for the empire. According to De Blois, the two decades from 230 to 250 were a period of increasing regional problems, which erupted in a series of crises thereafter. The situation in the different zones of the empire was different, so it is necessary to “regionalize the crisis of the third century”. The most affected by attacks and raids, external and local, by devastation, regular and extraordinary recruitment, impoverishment and desertion, were the areas in which active hostilities were waged, as well as those which were permanent military routes for the passage of troops. It was the border region of the Danube (Moesia) as an object of direct attack and Thrace, as an area of passage of troops (often of direct raids), that suffered some of the greatest upheavals in the third century. The militarization of power and the consequent imposition of military service on society and the recruitment of more and more foreigners for service, especially from the border regions of the empire, began with the rise of Septimius Severus from the Danube legions and developed dramatically from the time of

his reign onwards. The ruling so-called "soldier emperors" imposed the standard of being raised by the army, with Rome (and its people) and the Senate (with rare exceptions in time, which have been examined) remaining in the background in these decisions.

### **1. The rule of Maximinus Thrax and the question of his rescripts**

Taking over the empire at a time of external threat, as an experienced military commander, *Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus* (235-238) managed to temporarily stabilize the situation. His accession to the throne marked the categorical imposition of military rule, introduced by Severus in the conditions of almost continuous raids on the borders of the empire, and mainly the Danube. Unlike Macrinus, who had also held civil posts before his imperial enthronement, Maximinus had a completely military background. Considering the interests of the army and the conduct of military operations as a priority, he did not even arrive in Rome for the official recognition of his imperial title. Maximinus focused only on the military and their affairs, taking active actions for the defense and security of the attacked borders.

Probably at the end of 236 (until early 238), Maximinus settled in Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia) in Pannonia, which was a suitable base for wars against Germans, Sarmatians and Dacians. Soon after, Maximinus adorned himself with the titles *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus*, which, however, are not reflected in the coinage (probably due to the locality of the battles), where only the title "*Germanicus*" finds a place.

Epigraphic, numismatic and narrative sources provide fragmentary information about Maximinus' movements in the empire, and together a certain picture can be drawn. Maximinus' motives and actions, of course, are entirely related to military preparation and defense in the risky areas of the empire against invasions.

It can be assumed that Maximinus' route was along the Danube in the upper northeastern parts of Lower Moesia (Lower Scythia), then down the Black Sea coast. His actual imperial presence in Philippopolis was probably honored, since this is the city with the most inscriptions dedicated to Maximinus and his son Maximus. This probably happened in the spring of 238, immediately before his departure for Italy. Maximinus was the first to come to power solely by the will of the soldiers, without the sanction and support of the Senate (at least initially), without being a senator himself, and without ever reaching Rome. He managed to prevent several

attempts at rebellion, initiated by individual military units. To prevent subsequent such unrest, he not only doubled the salaries of soldiers and officers, but also raised the status of the position of *primus pilus* to procuratorate level. His coins are predominantly of military theme. In addition to the battles with the Germans deep in their territory, he probably also fought with the Sarmatians, Carpi, "free Dacians" and other tribes. Maximinus also undertook the reconstruction and maintenance of roads, the erection of military columns with inscriptions - a program that continued until the middle of the 3rd century. However, all these military campaigns, construction programs and a loyal army needed supplies and funds. The Senate initially accepted Maximinus, who was elevated by the legions as emperor, and there is no evidence of its opposition to the proclamation of Maximinus' son Maximus as Caesar. The demonstrated proclamation of emperor by the soldiers is probably due to Maximinus's belief that the constitutional legitimation for this was provided to him by the army and that this was sufficient for his recognition. Moreover, after suppressing the army rebellions, Maximinus removed the soldiers with senatorial rank from his army and replaced them with his own soldiers. Herodian describes (with exaggerated negative bias) the actions of Maximinus, to which the need for funds to service the army led him and which became the cause of an open and extreme reaction against him and his policies.

In the east, the Persians undertook conquests against the cities of Nisibis and Carrhae, and Maximinus, fighting in the north, does not seem to have planned to wage war against Persia. Thus, the internal discontent and unrest in the empire against Maximinus was combined with an external threat - a dangerous coincidence, which the empire had not faced before. The local conflict that broke out in Africa at that time led to the murder of a procurator of Maximinus, due to abuses committed by him (confiscation of property) against wealthy landowners. The rule of Maximinus, which lasted less than three years, considered in historiography as the beginning of the era of the so-called "soldier emperors", reflects the idea of domination of the periphery over the center, a providentia, which appeared earlier, but now imposed itself and in the future became absolute for the empire. His military experience and combat merits, as a result of the path taken in his formation as a warrior and his loyalty to the Roman idea, build him as a follower of the early Severi and their army principles and militaristic techniques. For Maximinus, the will of the army is of paramount importance, its legitimation is fundamental, not that of the Senate. His Thracian origin (regardless of the nuances) provides him with the adaptability and knowledge of



the border Danubian territories, as well as the understanding of the regional specificity of the population for the purpose of recruiting and training new contingents.

Maximinus Thrax is one of the emperors who issued very few constitutions (one constitution is found in the Code of Justinian, which explicitly indicates his authorship, but is not mentioned in the Digests), usually explained by their military activity and movement in the empire. Despite this fact, even if the emperor neglected administrative work, it would be impossible for requests and inquiries to the emperor to have been absent and, accordingly, for the chancellery to have not functioned. Given the unstable situation, associated with exceptional pressure on the local population in the provinces (visible unbearable from the middle of the 3rd century onwards), subject to external attacks, it is unlikely that dissatisfaction was not expressed in petitions and complaints to the emperor. This fact raises doubts about the lack of rescripts issued by the imperial chancellery, but probably not preserved in the codifications or attributed to another emperor as authorship.

## **2. Rule of the emperors elected by the Senate**

Due to the unrest in Africa and due to the apparently unbridled dissatisfaction with the rule of Maximinus, the rebels proclaimed (March 238) the governor of the province - proconsul of Africa *Marcus Antonius Gordianus*, known as Gordian I (about 80 years old), together with his son of the same name Gordian II (consular legate of the province of Africa), as emperors. The joint rule of the two Gordians probably lasted twenty-two days. A crackdown on Maximinus' supporters began in Rome. The Senate appointed 20 statesmen (*XXviri ex senatus consulto rei publicae curandae*), most of whom were close and trusted people of Severus Alexander with high status, to protect Italy and defend against Maximinus. The Senate demonstrated its supreme power at this historical moment by electing emperors on equal terms (without any blood relationship between them), which was a precedent in its essence. The two vigintiviri elected – *Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Caelius Calvinus Balbinus* – ruled together as co-emperors for about 3-4 months (from late April to early August 238). Their constitutional position was unique in the history of the empire, as they ruled as completely equal rulers. The Senate conducted their election by voting, and the two who won the most votes with the "opinion of the majority", were proclaimed Augustus and were granted all imperial honors by decree.

The news of the Senate's election spread throughout Rome, and discontent escalated against the two newly elected emperors, and especially against Puppienus and his actions as city prefect; the people's demand was to elect an emperor from the Gordian line. According to Herodian, Balbinus and Puppienus, in order to calm the crowd, presented the young Gordian to them, as "the Senate appoints him Caesar".

Meanwhile, tensions escalated into violent clashes between veterans of Maximinus and senators, which was also joined by the Roman plebs against the Praetorians. Puppienus raised an army with recruitment from all over Italy to resist Maximinus.

At this time, Maximinus set out from Pannonia for Italy with his Danubian legions. In the well-fortified and secured Aquileia, Menophilus and Crispinus, two of the vigintiviri with military experience, were ready for battle. Maximinus was forced to besiege without any supplies, while Puppienus, with an army nearby, awaited the outcome of the war. Due to discontent within Maximinus' army, he was attacked and killed along with his son by his own soldiers from legio II Parthica.

### **3. The rule of Gordian III and his rescripts**

There were no further civil unrest, probably due to the elevation of the Praetorians as Caesar on behalf of the people (in late July, early August 238) and the recognition by the Senate of the grandson of Gordian I - the minor *Marcus Antonius Gordianus*, known as Gordian III (238-244).

Having come to power and calming the internal tension in the state, the young Gordianus faced the wars in the north - along the Danube border and in the east - against the Persians. The attacks were probably large-scale, since through Moesia the raids from the north reached Thrace and were very disturbing for the Roman state. A significant role in the rule of Gordian III, his maintenance and guidance in the right direction, was played by *C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus*, a prominent figure from the time of Severus Alexander. At that time, the Persians made efforts to capture the city of Hatra (which had been in Roman hands since the time of Severus Alexander) and reached the Euphrates. Probably before the march to the east, the emperor took measures to strengthen the army, restore the defense system and road infrastructure along the Danube border, including in Lower Moesia, in order to organize a large-scale military

campaign to the east in 242. According to *HA*, on the way to Syria, he passed through Moesia ("made a road") and managed to defeat and expel the invader, including in Thrace. Gordian III managed to regain Carrhae and Nisibis, which had been lost as a possession under Maximinus Thrax. The emperor also captured Antioch and pushed the Persians into their territories. Advancing along his route, Gordian III entered into battles, moving along the Euphrates River, on the way to the capital Ctesiphon, which were marked by victory. Meanwhile, however, Timesiteus died of illness, probably in the winter of 243-244. In his place in the military command was elected *M. Iulius Verus Philippus* (a native of Arabia and called Philip the Arab) – praetorian praefectus, the future emperor.

Entering southern Mesopotamia, Gordian's army was ambushed by Shapur's, who won a victory, and the emperor was forced to retreat northwest to the Euphrates River, to the city of Zaita. In all likelihood, he was wounded and died there, but opinions on this matter are contradictory. Meanwhile, discontent arose in the army, probably fueled by Philip and his brother, who deliberately withheld the supply of necessary supplies, shifting the responsibility to Gordian.

During the reign of Gordian III, who took over the empire although at a very young age, there is a desire to deal with external threats from the northeast, to reconquer the eastern territories and oppose the Persian threat, as well as to pacify and calm domestic politics, including a policy of understanding between the emperor and the Senate, as well as a temporary cessation of the Senate-army confrontation. The policy of the previous emperors to stabilize and strengthen the Danubian border continued. Gordian III pursued a policy of establishing order and law in the provinces, evident in the acts he issued, paying attention to the actions of state officials there. He managed to skillfully retain and balance the attention and loyalty of the soldiers thanks to his close, established military leaders. However, the fickle will of the army and the skillful direction of its interest led to another change in the choice of the bearer of supreme power.

The tradition of granting legal privileges to soldiers, visible in the preserved rescripts, continued under Emperor Gordian III. Constitutions, issued by the emperor, related to public law norms, such as those addressed to magistrates and other civil servants, rescripts related to burial law, were examined. From the time of the reign of Gordian III, a significant number of rescripts have been preserved in the Justinian Code, which varies according to the opinions of the authors.

It is noteworthy that in the period under study, the rescripts from the codifications, attributable by the names of their addressees to the Thracian lands (without being able to specify specific provinces), are fixed in the reigns of only the emperors Severus Alexander and Gordian III. This could be due not only to the productivity of the significant Roman jurists of their time as administrators, consultants and interpreters of the current law, but also to the activity of the state administration, including considering the minority of the emperors in the first years of their reign.

Last but not least, this circumstance can be explained as a consequence of Caracalla's decision to grant Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire. It seems that it took the Thracians some time to realize the possibilities that this new status gave them, especially for direct petition to the emperor. It can probably also be considered as evidence that the enactment of the Antonine Constitution of 212 had not only immediate financial dimensions, but also had a delayed effect in time and its manifestations were clearly noticeable even before the middle of the 3rd century. At the same time, the commented rescripts indicate indisputably the lasting preservation of the Thracian ethnic element in onomastics under the conditions of the adopted Roman citizenship.

Among the soldier emperors from this period, the legislative and law-enforcement activities of Gordian III are the richest preserved in the Codex, followed by those of Philip the Arab, who took over the empire after the death of Gordian III.

#### **4. The rule of Philip the Arab and his rescripts**

*Marcus Iulius Verus Philippus*, known as Philip the Arab (244-249), was elevated and recognized by the Senate as emperor by the troops. He seized power during the war in the East, elevated by the fighting soldiers and, like Macrinus and Maximinus, was from the equestrian class. Unlike them, however, he wished to strengthen his position with the legitimation of the Senate and, having concluded peace with the Persians, without haste, headed for Rome. Philip the Arab took a number of steps aimed at ensuring stability in his rule and in the position of the empire - he deified Gordian III with the support of the Senate, proclaimed his son Caesar, appointed his brother Iulius Priscus as governor of Syria and Mesopotamia, called *rector Orientis*. In order to secure the other very attacked border of the empire, Philip also appointed his son-in-law Severianus to govern Moesia and Macedonia.

Making peace with Persia, as evidenced by a series of coins struck with the legend *Pax Fundata cum Persis*, Philip retained parts of Mesopotamia (including Osroene) and Armenia, but paid a huge sum of money to Persia. Thus, the empire's expenses became considerable, considering the financial means paid under the treaties with the Goths and Persians, the maintenance of the road infrastructure and the army, while at the same time gradually reducing the value and silver content of the antoninian coins minted. However, during the reign of Philip the Arab, there was no significant collapse and devaluation of the coins.

Numismatic and epigraphic evidence suggests a circuitous route taken by Philip towards Rome in the summer of 244, as part of his journey included passage through Moesia and Thrace.

Philip also fought successful battles against the Carpi in 247-248 on the Danube border, probably on Dacian and Moesian territory, with the barbarian tribes even being forced to sue for peace. Despite Philip's victories, attested by the title *Carpicus Maximus*, enemy attacks in Lower Moesia and Thrace continued, and Severian and the governor of Lower Moesia, *Prastina Messalinus* (244-247), failed to neutralize them.

The celebration of the millennium of Rome during Philip's reign in 247/248 is significant, aiming to mark a new era in the development of Rome and the rule of the new dynasty. A large coinage of high value was minted to commemorate the event. Meanwhile, his son Philip II received the title of "*augustus*" probably in the summer (July) of 247.

In addition to the wars waged in the north and east, Philip also faced unrest and usurpers in late 248 and/or early 249. To deal with the rebellion and to deter Pacatianus, Philip sent the former provincial governor of Lower Moesia since 234, *Gaius Messius Quintus Decius Valerinus*, to the apparently strategically important Danube border for the empire as supreme commander in both Pannonia and both Moesia.

Decius managed to temporarily deal with the invaders and suppressed the rebellions, restored order and discipline in the region and in the army, and the soldiers recognized him as their representative and proclaimed him emperor (probably May/June 249). With the assembled army, probably in the late summer of 249, Decius defeated Philip. His son Philip II was also killed.

During Philip's reign, the dynamics of the barbarian invasions from the north and northeast were intensified, and the empire made enormous efforts to find suitable military leaders to be sent to the Danubian border to deal with the tense situation. During the period under review, military operations were conducted almost continuously, with the main battlefield being Lower Moesia, mainly in its eastern parts and less frequently in the western direction. The depletion of all types of resources of the empire was already noticeable, with the hardships of the population from different strata and the lack of state financial discipline also evident in Philip's issued rescripts.

Despite the overwhelmingly negative attitude of ancient authors towards Philip, his short five-year reign shows his desire for understanding with the Senate, as well as his ability to administer the processes in the empire. Philip shows responsibility for constitutionality in the leadership of the empire and makes efforts to improve the situation of the provincials, grants amnesty to those sent into exile and deported. He makes efforts to stabilize the central government and demonstrates an aspiration to achieve a stable dynastic line. Philip the Arab takes care of maintaining and restoring the border defense and road infrastructure. His rule cannot be defined as weak or inadequate. According to the historical conditions of the period, it is relatively long, with the emperor making efforts, according to the situation, to react and act in the interests of the empire. During his reign, as a result of external attacks, the most devastated provinces became Lower Moesia and Thrace. Under Philip, the line of domination by the will of the army, which guides the policy in the state, continues. He undertook a number of adequate reforms, evidently with a clear awareness of the situation in the empire. Philip implemented ideas related to strict centralization of the empire by appointing his relatives to crucial posts and hot spots in the empire in order to counteract immediate attacks. His too limited family circle of trained soldiers led to the need (given the continuous raids) to rely on an additional external and experienced contingent in the person of Decius, a former confidant of Maximinus. The successful performances (again temporary) of Decius made him suitable for the soldiers for another change of the Roman emperor.

Despite his engagement in military operations, supported by the work of the state chancellery, Philip the Arab was active in issuing constitutions, as evidenced by the preserved heritage in codifications, mainly the Code of Justinian. In the norm-making carried out by him through the issued constitutions, again the predominant part was that of private law norms.

Philip was another emperor under whom the legislative process continued to be active, as evidenced by the preserved constitutions in the Code of Justinian. It was under Philip that his son was included in the rescripts with the title *Caesar*.

The study focuses on his rescripts to magistrates and other civil servants, to soldiers and their civil law relations and status, constitutions related to burial law, with the application of procedural law norms.

## CONCLUSION

The main source of law in the period were the imperial constitutions. By issuing them, the emperor managed not only to legislate, but also to administer justice. The previous legal heritage of the *leges* was not forgotten, but was often cited in the rescripts, as well as the decrees of the Senate, issued with imperial sanction in the period. The most significant role was played by the jurists who assisted in the process of issuing the aforementioned acts. Through their interpretations, opinions and opinions on issues that they dealt with daily in their capacity as civil servants, they shaped the appearance of the period called the late classical heyday of Roman jurisprudence.

The application of Roman law in the provinces of the empire is part of its general concept of Romanization. However, the introduction of Roman norms into the social relations of citizens in the provinces was carefully considered, taking into account the specific regional characteristics and local issues. Thus, as in each individual province of the empire, it can be assumed that in the Thracian lands, a complex legal system was formed, including the standard Roman law norms (*ius civile*), relevant to Roman citizens, a set of rules governing private law relations between foreigners and Roman citizens and only between foreigners on Roman territory (*ius gentium*), as well as locally applied norms related to the urban self-government of local municipalities. Cases of collisions between Roman and local law are not uncommon. The establishment of a specific decision by the emperor in a rescript on an issue characteristic of a specific region implies a good knowledge of local problems by the imperial administration. This is probably related to the frequent referral for the resolution of such problems to the relevant provincial governor, familiar with local specifics. By setting the framework of legal parameters, Rome allows for the interpretation and adjustment of regional specifics of local law and customs. It is a question of an exchange of opposing norms, not of a straightforward imposition of the Roman legal tradition. It is probably to this liberality that the sustainability of the application of Roman law in the provinces is due.

The Edict of Caracalla facilitated the legal situation, leveling the legal regime for resolving cases in relation to the already largely Roman citizens, but also helped to deepen the integrity and mutual influence of Roman and local provincial norms, which were often contradictory. The mixing of these legal systems was invariably and visibly evident at the very end of Antiquity. The



*Constitutio Antoniniana* actually rested on a solid foundation, created by the norms that had already been applied for centuries in the municipalities and colonies. Sufficient evidence in the Thracian lands indicates that the application of Roman law and the Latin language did not completely erase ethnic characteristics and clan affiliation there. The application of a common legal framework for the empire that created these local entities and the reference to Roman law for resolving disputes between Roman citizens in the provinces is also visible here.

Since the end of the 2nd century, as a result of the general trend evident from the preserved rescripts in the codifications, the voluminous lawmaking of the emperor and the jurisprudence accompanying the lawmaking, the equal activity of the provincial governors has also been significantly prominent, undoubtedly advised by legal consultants.

In the period under study, the issued imperial constitutions were mainly rescripts, judging by the huge number of them preserved in codifications and in epigraphic monuments. Their creation is associated with a foreign, external initiative, related to an inquiry, that is, an explicit referral to the emperor (or the relevant magistrate), in order to be issued. This is the situation with other constitutions – decrees and mandates, respectively provoked by the establishment of a specific problem or a separate case that reached the emperor's knowledge or a unilateral decision to regulate a certain administrative process. Generally speaking, the opinions in these constitutions are created ad hoc, with no prior predictability and planning for the application of the norms. Only the edict as a type of constitution makes an exception for pronouncement by the emperor, who sets norms for the future publicly and comprehensively.

Obviously, the nature and type of the applied constitutions is conditioned and invariably related to the ongoing historical processes in the empire.

In the first half of the 3rd century, the imperial constitutions, already with the status of *leges*, were absolutely different from the previous *leges*, issued at the end of the Republic and at the beginning of the Principate in terms of type and content and in terms of their authorship and issuance. The previous laws, aimed at public application, concerned for the most part the regulation of private law relations. The situation was identical in the 3rd century, when inquiries to the emperor and/or magistrates again reflected specific private issues concerning citizens in the empire. This is explainable in view of the type of legislative acts related to the right granted to

interested citizens to individually seek legal assistance from those in power. It was the interpretation and provision of opinions on the most common private law cases and areas that was taken over by the jurists, who during the period developed their legal technique and created legal works that fall into the category of *ius*, part of Roman jurisprudence. A significantly smaller part (codified and epigraphic) is occupied by the imperial constitutions, dealing with public law issues. As can be seen from the acts examined here, it is striking how well the emperors (the imperial chancellery) knew the laws and regulations previously issued by their ancestors. Many of the rescripts state that this had already been enacted, including some emperors going back decades in their references. This circumstance clearly marks a continuing tradition of continuous legislation by each successive emperor, which was probably never interrupted until the end of the ancient Roman Empire.

The turbulence of the 3rd century, invariably reflected in the sources, was already palpable in the period under study and affected all aspects of provincial life, especially in regions threatened by attacks. The consequences of the reforms carried out by the first Severi began to manifest themselves everywhere, reaching their culmination with the period of the so-called "Soldier Emperors". After the end of Severus Alexander's reign, the constitutional structure of the empire was seriously shaken, as the Principate virtually ceased to exist in its usual form. The imperial throne became an extremely dangerous position to win and hold, with military claims and arbitrariness playing a major role, causing civil chaos in the state, typical of military dictatorships.

Despite the serious threat to the survival of the empire and the devastation (especially in the southeastern provinces), the administration of justice did not stop. After Severus Alexander, a decrease in the number of rescripts was observed. However, it is evident from the codifications, mainly *CI*, that until 249 the preserved rescripts of Philip were also issued steadily. The emperor continued to decree and pronounce. However, the activity of jurisprudence began to decline, losing resources, creative power and state privileges.

As can be seen from the researched sources (legal, epigraphic, numismatic), the Thracian lands in the period of the first half of the 3rd century were an inseparable part of the political and economic development of the empire. Moreover, given their geographical location, they were a

major military terrain for recruiting any resource, a cross-border territory and route for passing armies, but also lands that were attacked and devastated.

In the context of the development of Roman law and jurisprudence, the Thracian lands are invariably linked to the policy of applying imperial law to Roman citizens in the provinces, to the regulated provincial and local law. As part of the provincial government of the empire, the urban structures of Thrace and Lower Moesia combined the Roman normative resource and the usual local norms in their administration of justice under the supervision of the Roman governor. The studied preserved epigraphic and legal sources provide a partial and incomplete picture, but still allowing to gain an idea of the political, economic and social situation in the Thracian provinces as an integral part of the general processes in the empire, but also to highlight their specifics, place and role in the general framework of the Roman state.

All the emperors examined in this work passed through the Thracian lands on their routes, some even stayed there for a while and left their traces, reflected in epigraphy, in narrative accounts and issued coin issues.

Probably with the exception of Elagabalus, all the emperors mentioned here personally inspected the provinces, following the policy of maintaining the border line with the restoration of roads and defensive facilities, considering external raids and in the protection of the cities and the population.

In the preserved rescripts of the emperors, a significant identity is noticeable in the social relations that they sought to regulate with their norms, but the direction in which they ordered themselves is also relatively the same.

In addition to the usual private law relations that are affected in the rescripts, related to marital status, guardianship, inheritance, property rights, issues concerning soldiers during and after their military service, public duties, performance of state services, the status and punishments of decurions, etc., related to problems of the period and providing information about their regulation and the attitude of the imperial authority towards them, are regulated there. It can be assumed that these are processes affecting the entire empire, and not just a separate province.

On the background of the large number of preserved imperial constitutions, a very small part of them directly concerns the Thracian provinces and accordingly from this scarce information we strive to extract maximum data. The information of narratives, epigraphy and numismatics is added to the rescripts in order to trace the points of contact and to create a picture of the period, although not very clear. The creation of each of these sources has a specific purpose and the information it carries. The legal acts from the codifications as a source of information serve the specific historical moment, the publisher and the addressee, who seeks to solve his specific problem. This casuistic element of the acts is too specific to allow the reality of the period to be described in concrete terms. It allows, in general terms, to possibly understand the publisher's attitude towards this type of legal relationship, their regulation up to that point, the frequency of occurrence of similar cases and of course the specific resolution of the case or referral by competence to a specific civil servant/magistrate.

By superimposing the general processes in the empire, together with the sources considered – epigraphic, numismatic and narrative, an idea of the Thracian lands as a territory cared for by the empire is gained. For Lower Moesia as a border area on the Danube and a main object of attacks, it is understandable that it was maintained and monitored by the emperors in this period. Despite its internal and relatively protected location, Thrace was often exposed to raids and devastation during the period, representing also a crossroads of routes between the East and the Western provinces, with rich and flourishing cities in its territory at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century.

The legal information of the Roman Empire can supplement the acquired idea from other sources, but cannot do without them. Given their characteristics, they reflect a partial and incidental answer to a specific question posed for resolution by the emperor or a magistrate.

It is striking, however, that the emperors knew (undoubtedly with the help of advisors and lawyers) the state and problems in the empire in the implementation of their justice and through it, aiming at stabilization, but also management of the legal peace. The activity that the emperors carried out was justice and legislation in one. The executive power, in which they also had a share, was also delegated to magistrates and civil servants. By carrying out his functions, the emperor fit into the system of creating norms, relevant for the period and in this way, dispensed justice.

The work of lawyers in the period under study takes on the form of a common compilation, unknown until then – the gathering into one of the administrative service, scientific development through legal writings based on legal knowledge and experience, in the service of imperial ideology. This cooperation between rulers and lawyers leads to the exceptional development of late classical jurisprudence and categorically supports the state policy pursued by the emperors with legal backing.

The preserved constitutions in the codifications show a desire for regulated administration of justice and settlement of public relations in the various provinces of the empire, taking into account regional arrangements, granted local freedoms and privileges, but taking into account Roman norms. Urban communities and structures, in turn, regulated and controlled the smaller settlements in their area.

The empire that emerges after the end of the crisis is already significantly different from what it was. The crisis ends with the establishment of the rule of Diocletian and the division of the empire into eastern and western parts. The image of the princeps has disappeared categorically, to make way (without hidden characteristics) for the idea of the emperor - monarch and dominus (master) of the Roman world.

## **CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DISSERTATION**

1. The available legal texts in the Code of Justinian and the Digests relating to the Thracian lands were searched for, and a complete review was made of them.
2. The dissertation examines for the first time selected epigraphic monuments with legal content from Lower Moesia and Thrace for the period under study, as well as legal texts from the Code of Justinian and the Digests, which provide information about the development of these Thracian lands and the application of Roman law there.
3. The legal texts are analyzed chronologically in relation to the time of rule of the individual emperors in the period 212-249 in order to reveal the historical processes and the regulated relations in the legal acts.
4. The main types of imperial constitutions applied, reflected in the epigraphic monuments and in the legal texts of the codifications, are established.
5. The main thematic content of the issued constitutions and the issues addressed in them as part of the general processes in the empire are clarified.
6. The governance and activity of the provincial governors in Lower Moesia and Thrace are traced and the historical picture in these territories and the application of Roman law there is accordingly outlined.
7. The availability of information about Thrace and Moesia and their mention in the codifications is established.
8. On the basis of the analyzed legal texts, the policy pursued by the individual emperors in the region is examined and conclusions are drawn about the ongoing processes in this period, as well as about the attention shown by the crowned heads to the problem and the respective province.
9. The legal texts from epigraphic monuments from Lower Moesia and Thrace have been systematized, as well as the rescripts of the emperors who ruled in the period under study, concerning the Thracian element and the orders to the governors of the provinces, preserved in the Code of Justinian and in the Digests, have been systematized.

## **PUBLICATIONS ON THE TOPIC OF THE DISSERTATION**

### **Articles in a scientific journal**

1. “Publius Iuventius Celsus: A Notable Roman Jurist as Governor of the Province of Thrace” [Publius Iuventius Celsus: A Notable Roman Jurist as Governor of the Province of Thrace] In: History [Istoriya-History], volume: 30, issue: 6, 2022, pp.: 587-600, ISSN (print): ISSN 0861-3710, ISSN (online): ISSN 1314-8524, doi:<https://doi.org/10.53656/his2022-6-2-pub>, Ref
2. “*Constitutio Antoniniana* – the beginning of the end of ancient Roman identity” In: History [Istoriya-History] (in press)

### **Articles in a collection (of conferences, etc.)**

1. “Was Celsus a surveyor?”- In: Scripta Manent. Desislava Vladimirova, Anita Georgieva, Deniz Hasan (compilers), University Publishing House "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2022, pp. 9-14. ISBN:978-954-07-5616-5