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THE LOWER STRUMESNICA VALLEY DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD  
AND IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY \*

Polish-Bulgarian surface and trial investigations in south-western Bulgaria, on the lower Strumešnica (the ancient Doberus<sup>1</sup>) allow us to make a preliminary estimation of the distribution and character of settlement in this area in ancient times, and consequently enable the rôle played by the river valley in ancient times to be specified. These investigations have confirmed the previous hypotheses of numerous scholars<sup>2</sup> as to the importance of one of the three natural routes running along the parallel of latitude, and connecting the valley of the Axios (now Vardar) with the valley of the Strymon (now Struma)<sup>3</sup>.

Complex investigations on the territory bounded on west by the Bulgarian-Yugoslavian frontier, on the south by the northern slopes of the Belasica Mts. (the Bulgarian-Greek frontier runs along the peaks), on the east by the Struma valley and on the north by the southern slopes of the Ogražden - a practically unknown area constituting ipso facto a "terra incognita" in Bulgarian archaeology - introduce many essential elements into the problems connected with the history of this region from prehistoric times up to the period of Turkish rule. The conclusions which may so far be drawn from the investigations are still very general, though of sufficient importance to deserve a short résumé, although only a preliminary exploration of the area has been made.

Before the results of the investigations on the settlement from the Roman and Late Antiquity periods are presented, mention should be made of two problems of a more general nature which in the author's opinion are of basic significance for later considerations.

The first problem is connected with the conditions of surface investigations on so peculiar a terrain. Systematic search was greatly impeded by the occurrence of various geomorphological forms, from mountain ravines, gorges and slopes to the wide flat riverside areas of the flood-plain terrace of the Strumešnica (which has probably changed its bed many times, as evidenced by a short remark of A. Milčev about the different course of the river 30 years ago<sup>4</sup>). In addition, the vegetation covering particular areas (thick bushes in mountain areas, many fields

of tobacco and maize) increased the difficulty. Again, the geomorphological diversity and cultivation of land are connected with the problem of soil erosion, particularly strong in the mountain areas, both on the slopes of the Ogražden and on the Belasica. Especially in the latter - where alluvial cones are clearly visible to the south of the road running from the village of Belasica to Gabrene - it should be remembered that archaeological materials may slip down from the higher parts of the slope and ceramic fragments may shift, occasioning a false picture of the distribution of sites. Neither should the interference of man both in the past and in the present be forgotten. A. Milčev, in the article cited, writes explicitly that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the activity of man in the region of the Kožuh mountain and in the forks of the Struma and the Strumešnica almost totally destroyed the surface remains of an ancient town situated on the slope and at the foot of the mountain (stones dug out by the local people served to build an Orthodox church in the town of Petrič and a church in the village of Muletarovo, not to mention many houses in this village adorned by the owners with fragments of stone and terracotta architectural decorations found in the ancient town)<sup>5</sup>. The present activities connected with the cultivation of land, the plantation of large vineyards (bulldozers are used, among other things, for this purpose), the construction of roads, irrigation canals and artificial water reservoirs, and the development of villages, have conducted to the shifting or destruction of materials (although, on the other hand, as a result the relics hidden in the lower strata are unearthed). Still another form of human activity should be brought to notice, the predatory "piratical" excavations frequently leading to the destruction of the site and the confusion of culture layers. These are problems which should be taken into account in surface investigations; sites recorded must be thoroughly verified and conclusions drawn extremely carefully.

The second, separate problem of a general nature is that of dating the ceramics found in this area. During the surface investigations relatively little ancient material which can be dated with certainty was found (except in some parts of the settlement "Kožuh" in Muletarovo which will be described later). Since there have hitherto been no systematic investigations of the Strumešnica valley and indeed of whole of Macedonia, i.e. the Bulgarian, Yugoslavian and Greek parts, many problems connected with potteries in this region are still awaiting explanation, including the typology of vessels, structure of clay, application of various admixtures, and also the mutual correlation between local and imported wares. However, even a perfunctory examination of the ceramic material shown that the forms elaborated in ancient times and similar

methods of production of vessels are encountered over a very long period of time, even in the late Middle Ages (this also refers to most of the building ceramics - brick and roof-tiles). This traditionalism, imposing earlier models on local craftsmen, makes dating much more difficult, the more so since most sites are multi-cultural and the material found on them is very similar. Numerous uncharacteristic fragments, mainly small pieces of bellies, do not provide much information helpful in dating. Since the material may have shifted, other types of relics collected from the surface (fragments of terracotta figurines, pieces of glass, metal artefacts, coins) do not constitute - in the author's opinion - a reliable criterion for the dating of the site.

Doubtless, much more can be said about a given site after trial excavations have been carried out. However, in many instances man's activity has caused the displacement of culture layers and the total destruction of the site in so far as it makes a full and reliable stratigraphy of the trench impossible. This happened in the case of a site on the peak of Džonkov Vrh in the Kožuh Mountain (investigations of K.Ciałkowicz), or on the Ajdarica site in the village of Mitino (investigations of J.Ostrowski). The relics encountered there permit us to infer only the continuity of settlement in this area from the Hellenistic period up to the Middle Ages, but do not enable us to establish the precise chronology or phases of development of the buildings discovered on the sites. Other trial excavations (e.g. the Kamenarka site in the "Kožuh" complex in the village of Muletarovo - investigations of J.Sliwa) provide almost no material that is characteristic or can be confidently dated, and besides this, the upper layers have probably been displaced. The situation is clearer in the case of trial excavations of tumuli which date from the Hellenistic period (the Tofilica site in the village of Mitino - investigations of M.Grębska, the Grška Cuka site in the village of Javornica - investigations of W.Kic), and so do not throw much light on the period which is the main subject of the present paper.

Considering these reservations and the fact that in many cases ceramics can be only generally dated to the "ancient" period, i.e. from the second half of the 6th century B.C. up to the 6th century A.D., it is difficult to give a precise and comprehensive characterization of settlement in this area in the Roman and Late Antique periods, since too many unknown factors remain to be explained. For this reason the present paper can only be an initial attempt to solve the problem, an attempt which until systematic excavations are carried out in this region, may prove to be incomplete and not very accurate.

In the area included in the surface investigations, out of a total number of several hundred sites, 120 sites were identified (excluding

the "Kožuš" complex in Muletárovo) where material dating to the ancient period occurred (Fig.1). Out of this number 63 sites were situated to the north and 57 to the south of the river Strumešnica, so the "nothern" sites are slightly predominant. Of these 120 sites 15 were singled out where the occurrence of graves was established or information was received that graves had been found in a particular region (naturally, in the latter case, we cannot be certain whether the burials came from the ancient period). 11 out of these 15 sites, and so a decided majority, were situated north of the river: Imaneto (No. 3 on the map) and Cereškite (No.4) in the village Baskalci; Blatišče II (No.19) and Bãrdoto (No.21) in Gega; Belevicata (No.23) in the village Gorčevo; Prisak (No. 24), Rinčinovo (No.25) and Popin Dol (No.27) in the village Dolene; Virovete (No. 40) in the village Zoičene; Subelo II (No.67) in the village Kukurahčevo; and Azmaka (No.110) in the village Čuričene. Four sites are situated south of the Strumešnica: Grobeto (No.36) in the village Drangovo; Breste (No.50) in the village Ključ; the site "south of Grobiščeto" (No.58) in the village Kolarovo; Gohčeto (No. 98) in the village Semuilovo. Numerous tumuli (mainly from the pre-Roman period), most of which are situated north of the river, have not been included among the sites with graves.

The graves discovered differ in size, from 140 cm in length (Gohčeto, No.98) up to 220 cm (Grobeto, No.36) and from 55 cm to 90 cm in width. In many cases (as we were informed by the villagers) the walls and bottom of the graves were faced with terracotta slabs or large-size roofing tiles. Large flat stones with traces of smoothing, 160-170 cm long and 70-90 cm wide, frequently served to cover the graves (the Breste site, No.50). According to our informants, clay pots were found in many graves no longer existing, but we have no definite data on to their appearance and shape.

It was established that there are 29 sites containing only ancient ceramics (both utility and building ceramics), i.e. 25% of the total number of sites; 22 are situated in the north and 7 in the south. There are 8 sites containing only Roman ceramics: 6 in the north (Prisak No. 24 and Alda No.26 in the village Dolene; Kostinovec No.30 and Kiselica No.35 in the village Dolna Ribnica; Skaletó No. 43 in the village Kavra-kirovo; Gramadite No 62 in the village Kãrnalovo) and 2 in the south (Sivica No.10 in the village Gabrene; Remešnica No.51 in the village Ključ). Only Late Antique ceramics were found in 15 sites: 10 in the north (Imaneto No.3 in the village Baskalci; Blatišče II No.19 and Bãrdoto No.21 in the village Gega; innominate site No.34 in the village Dolna Ribnica; "300 m to NNE of Laglovo" No.64 and Maslinica No.66 in the village Kãrnalovo; Zulkata No.69 in the village Mendovo; Čepanica

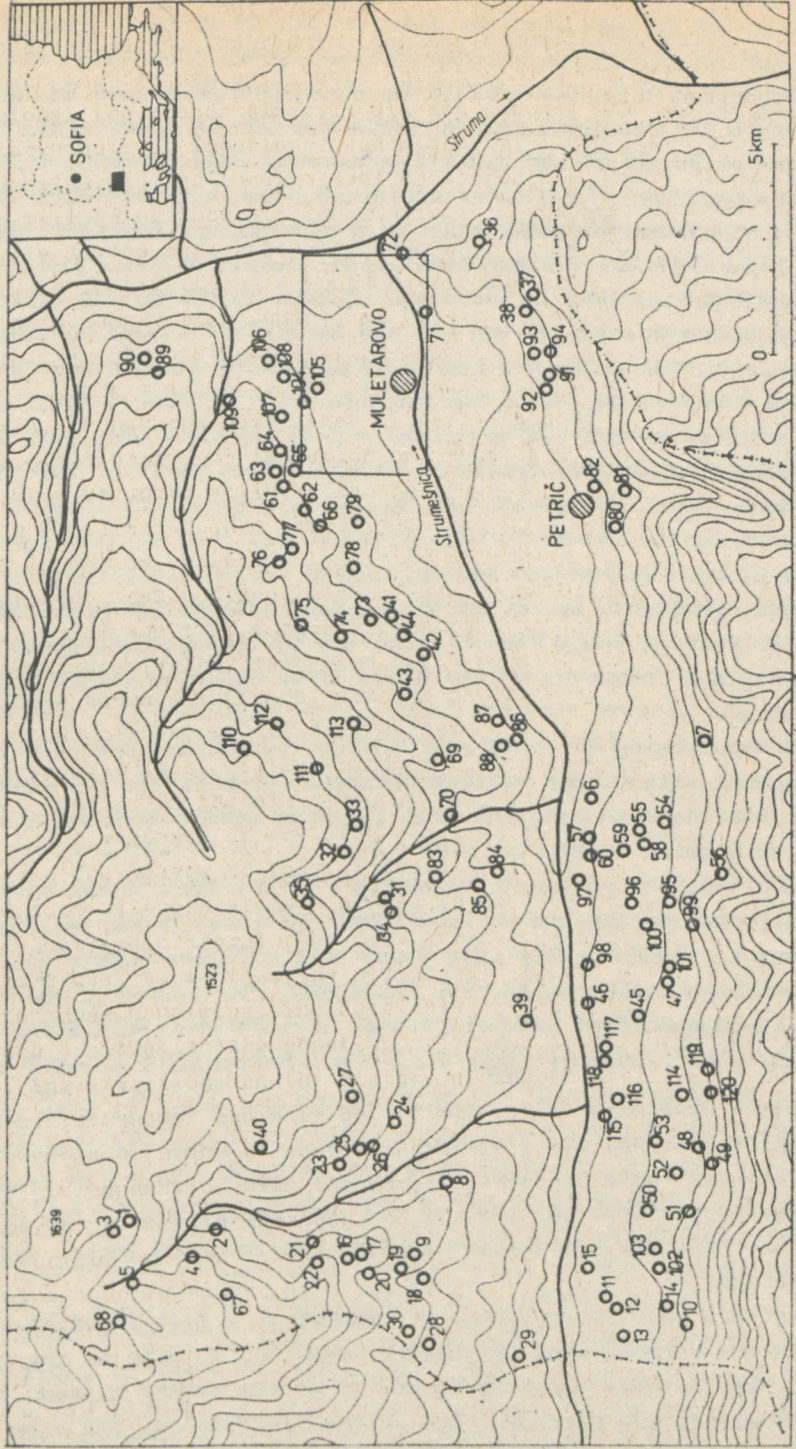



FIG. 1. The lower Strumešnica basin. Archaeological sites from the Roman and Late Antiquity periods (for explanation see site list on pp. 90-93)

No. 74 in the village Mihnevo; Siškovec No. 85 in the village Pravo Bârdo; Veloga No. 87 in the village Pârvomai), and 5 in the south (Karaende-Karaš No. 46 in the village Kamena; innominate site No. 95 and Sreñica No. 99 where the village Samuilovo and Kolarovo meet; Tuhlerski Kooperarnik No. 99 in the village Samuilovo; Luskovica No. 118 in the village Javornica). Five sites contained Roman and "ancient" ceramics: three in the north (Cereškite No. 4 in the village Baskalci; Coliomata Niva II No. 9 in the village Borovičene; Singurica No. 109 in the village Starčevo) and two in the south (Cukata No. 56 in the village Kolarovo; Livadite No. 100 in the village Samuilovo). There is also one site (in the north) which has yielded Roman, Late Antique and "ancient" ceramics (Eukovec No. 32 in the village Dolna Ribnica). Apart from these, there are 8 sites containing ceramics from the Late Iron Age, attributed by Bulgarian archaeologists to the pre-Roman phase of the ancient period, partly coinciding with the Hellenistic epoch. Of these 8 sites, 6 are situated in the north (Starata Niva No. 5 in the village Baskalci; Delvite II No. 17; Ruovica No. 18; Cukata No. 20 - all three in the village Gega; Rinčinovo No. 25 in the village Dolene; Sarenata Cârkva No. 31 in the village Dolna Ribnica) and two in the south (Grobeto No. 36 in the village Drangovo; Boičev Blok, Grâka Čuka No. 114 in the village Javornica)<sup>6</sup>.

On the remaining 91 sites relics from the ancient period occur together with either earlier material (prehistoric - 3 sites), or later (88 sites with ceramics from the late Middle Ages and from the period of Turkish rule).

On 9 sites, out of the total number of 120, finds other than ceramics were collected during the surface investigations. Undoubtedly the most important were coins. They were found on the Pulovo Mogila No. 112 site in the village Curičene (AE, ob. MAKEAONON, rv. a shield, 185-146 B.C.), in the village Zoičene (AE, ob. a bust in left profile, legend on the rim ANASTASIVS PPAV, rv.  follis of Anastasius I 491-518 A. from the mint in Constantinople), and on the Ajderica No. 71 site in the village Mitino (AE, ob. the standing figure of a woman with letters VIC AVG, rv. three signs militaris and legend COHORPRAETPHILIP from the mint in Philippopolis from the turn of the 1st century B.C.). One of the coins come from the Hellenistic period, one from the Roman, and one is late antique.

There were some other finds: a fragment of a cult figurine of a horse and 11 stone weights (the Gâlâbovata Cesma No. 53 site in the village Ključ), clay weights (Gradišćeto No. 97 on the border between the villages Samuilovo and Kolarovo, and on the Livadite No. 100 site in the village Samuilovo), two fragments of stone bas-reliefs: a slab repre-

senting Artemis-Bendis (measuring 34.4 by 27.2 cm) from the 3rd or 4th century A.D. on the Gerkovec No. 101 site in the village Samuilovo, and a very badly preserved relief representing a naked man (?) holding up his arms (measuring 33.5 by 22 cm) on the Keov Rid No. 78 site in the village Mihnevo.

During the surface investigations the remains were found of an apparently Roman or even Late Antique villa rustica (the Debelišče No. 59 site in the village Kolarovo), evidenced by fragments of stone walls bound with mortar (only a small section is visible), and also by a marble capital found near by, which may come from the 5th or 6th century A.D., but it is difficult to establish precisely when it was made since it is in very bad condition. Little can be said about the remains of a building with apses discovered on the area of the village Ribnik (the Gradena Niva No. 90 site), measuring 39 m (along the SW-NE axis) by 20 m, with walls about 1.35 m in thickness. Perhaps these are the remains of a medieval Orthodox church (as on the site Cárkva in the village Mitino), although they may also be remains from the early Christian period, since the ceramics encountered here have been identified as ancient.

Trial excavations at several points in both eastern and the western parts of the Strumešnica valley yielded numerous data as far as earlier epochs are concerned. Trial excavations in the village Muletarovo in the "Kožuš" complex (the Kemensarka site investigated by J.Sliwa, and the Džonkov Vršh site investigated by K.Cisłowicz), and in the village Mitino on the Ajdarica No. 71 site (investigated by J.Ostrowski) were connected with the Roman and Late Antique periods. Since the first two belong to the "Kožuš" complex, they will be discussed later.

Trial excavation on the Ajdarica No. 71 site led to the discovery of the remains of a villa rustica (?) or some other domestic building which had been standing at least from the 1st century A.D. (ceramic fragments and a piece of a voluted lamp) until the 6th century A.D. (coins)<sup>7</sup>. The building had a drainage system - a sewer 36 cm wide and 25 cm deep, paved with slate tiles, was discovered dug in the rock. Another conduit, parallel to the first and made of terracota pipes 18.5 cm in diameter, was laid in a rock ditch. The walls of the building about 1 m thick, consisted of two layers: an outer 0.55 m thick (stones with some bricks bound with mortar), and an inner 0.45 m thick (stones bound with clay). The walls of the building were covered with paintings, as evidenced by the discovery of several hundred small fragments of polychrome plaster (the fragments preserved measure from 1.5 by 2.0 cm up to 15 by 20 cm). In colour, the plaster is cream with black and red stripes, blackish-brown, red, and dark blue with narrow red stripes (0.5-0.7 cm wide). Exploration of the trial trench yielded rich and diverse materials.

Roman pottery is represented inter alia by fragments of thin- and thick-walled vessels made of well prepared washed clay and covered with red and brown glaze, also by the fragment of the voluted lamp already mentioned (the arms and part of the discus). Among the Late antique ceramics three main groups may be distinguished:

1) thin-walled and medium-thick, turned, clay with a small amount of fine-grained admixture. Surface rough, hard and red. Often a grey core occurs;

2) medium-thick walls, turned, washed clay. Surface soft, smooth and red in colour;

3) medium-thick and thick-walled, turned, clay with a small amount of fine-grained admixtures. Surface rough, hard, brown and grey in colour.

There also occur fragments of vessels made of well prepared washed, soft clay, cream in colour, whose surface is covered with numerous small grooves, as well as grey ceramics. Considerable quantities of thick wall medieval ceramics were found, including many moulded or turned fragments.

The late antique ceramics included an oil-lamp with one wick, broad arms decorated with three rows of small bosses, with a convex discus and vertical filled handle, dated to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The ornament of granules is characteristic of Balkan workshops in that period.

Undoubtedly the most important group of finds discovered on the Ajderica site is a collection of 63 coins dated to the period from the 4th century A.D. to the reign of Justin II (565-578). Among them there is a gold solidus of Justin II minted in Constantinople in 519 A.D., and a gold tremissus of Justin II, also from the mint in Constantinople. The discovery of the coins enables us to establish the probable date of the destruction of the building in the second half of the 6th century A.D., which must have been connected with the Slav invasion of the territories of Thrace and Macedonia.

A bas-relief representing the façade of a temple (?) with a pendent garland between two antee (the cornice of a stela?) was also discovered, as well as a small fragment of a similar relief. A slab with a Greek inscription was also found: [...] ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ [...] (very badly preserved), and a small piece of marble with the letters: [...] TH [...].

The finds also include several pieces of nails and iron hooks, as well as several hundred small glass fragments (many rims and handles).

The material discovered on the Ajderica site bears witness to the rank of the building, which flourished from the 4th to the 6th century A.D. Unfortunately, in the Middle Ages (from the 9th to the 11 century?) a cemetery was founded here, causing the destruction of culture layers (the activities of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages had the



same effect when they made predatory excavations and - as we have been informed - pulled down the walls standing on the surface of the ground). In the course of exploration a grave 165 cm long, maximum width 70 cm, and 13,7 cm deep, in which lay the skeleton of a woman, was found hewn in the rock. Among the vertebrae two bronze pendants were found, dated by M. Parczewski to the period of ninth-eleventh centuries A.D.<sup>8</sup>

The Ajdarica site and the adjacent Tofilica site where a Hellenistic grave was discovered, lie on the northern bank of the Strumešnica, opposite the village Muletarovo situated to the SW of the Kožuh Mountain. On the southern, south-eastern, and south-western slopes of the eastern peak of this range, Džonkov Vrah, and at the foot of it, are the remains of an ancient town which A. Milčev - following other investigators - identifies as the ancient Petra, the capital of a Thracian tribe of the Maidoi, destroyed in 181 B.C. by Philip V of Macedonia, as is mentioned by Livy<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand some archaeologists see this place the ancient Orthopolis.

Regardless of which hypothesis is true (so far, there have been no other premises than those which the Bulgarian archaeologists had at their disposal), it should be said that the town which once existed in this area must have played an important role both in the Hellenistic as well as the Roman and Late Antique periods. This is corroborated by the rich finds, mainly ceramics. Fragment of Megarian bowls, Roman vessels covered with red and brown varnish, and also pieces of Late Antique pottery were encountered (these last fall within the categories of the classification system used in the description of the Ajdarica site). Besides ceramics numerous bas-reliefs were discovered in this area (now stored in the museums of Petrič and Sendanski) and architectural details - fragments of friezes, capitals, drums of columns, bases, some of which were reused by the inhabitants of Muletarovo. During surface investigations of the ancient town, several coins were found: Hellenistic (AE, ob. Apollo's head, rv. an eagle on a dolphin?, Istrus, 4th or 3rd century B.C.), Roman (AE, ob. illegible, rv. signs militaria, from the turn of the 1st century B.C.), and Late Antique (two coins AE, almost illegible, most probably from the 4th century A.D.). Small fragments of glass, and marble tiles bearing traces of working were also found.

The aim of the Polish-Bulgarian team was to identify and locate the sites surrounding the ancient town, to establish their hypothetical extent and chronology, and also to single out from among the recorded sites settlements situated in the immediate vicinity of the town. A total area of about 16 sq.km was explored, bordered on the south by the river Strumešnica, on the east by the Strums, on the north-west by a

group of hills, the Kolibarski Rid, and on the west by a modern road running from Petrič to Blagoevgrad. In the course of the exploration of this area, greatly diversified in respect to its geomorphology as well as vegetation, 36 sites were recorded situated mainly to the south, south-west, west, and north-west of the town. Within the sites we succeeded in identifying at least four settlements referred to as "A", "B", "C", and "D", of which the largest are settlements "A" (hypothetical size 1.5 km-by 0.8 km), situated farthest to the west of the town (Fig. 2). The settlements yielded basically homogeneous ceramics and the smallish gaps in the occurrence of material between the sites within one settlement may be explained by farming and building activity in the area. On the other hand, the considerable scantiness or total absence of material between the borders of the identified settlements confirms our hypothesis. The sites grouped to the east and south-east of the villages Kárnalovo and Starčevo may constitute two more settlements "E" and "F" (Fig.2). They are, however, rather far from the boundaries of the ancient town, and have been artificially separated from the other settlements (a road was built here which may have destroyed archaeological materials confirming the connection of these).

In the area occupied by these settlements, apart from a rich ceramic material (inter alia the Kamenarka or Vysoki Rid site in settlement "B" yielded a terracotta head from the Hellenistic period; numerous sites in settlements "A" and "B" yielded clay weights of looms), traces of walls have been identified (the Cervenite Skaly site in settlement "C"; near the Kamenarka site in settlement "B" the shaft of a column can still be seen in situ), and in the area to the west of settlement "A", in the place known as Livarski Rid, a considerable amount of slag was encountered, probably the traces of metallurgic workshop in this place.

Trial trenches dug in the village Muletarovo and on the Kožuh Mt. were intended to establish the chronological continuity of settlement in selected areas. The investigations of K.Ciałowicz on the summit of Džonkov Vrh in the Kožuh Mountain, revealed the remains of a building, not so far identified. Fragments of walls were unearthed and a rich ceramic material from the pre-Hellenistic up to the early Middle Ages was found. The investigations of J.Sliwa on the Kamenarka site (settlement "B") disclosed fragments of ceramics, mainly Roman and Late Antique, a small piece of a terracotta figurine, and a bronze coin minted in Thessalonica in the 2nd century B.C. (ob. the head of Janus, rev. two centaurs and an inscription OESSAΛQN<IK>H<S>). Unfortunately, we found that in both trenches culture layers had been destroyed and the material intermingled, and so a full stratigraphic picture of the trenches could not be obtained. The situation was similar in the case of the third

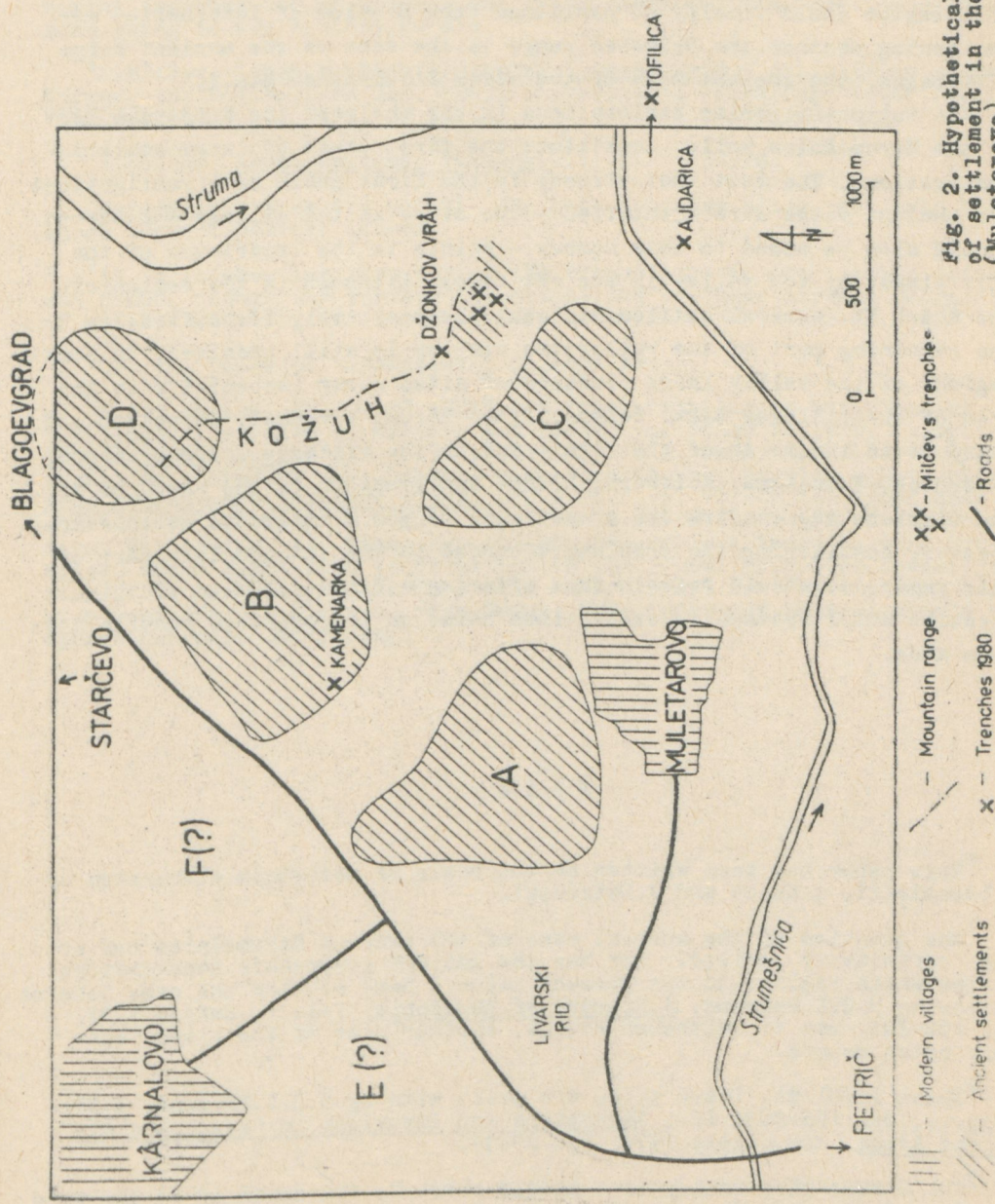


Fig. 2. Hypothetical distribution of settlement in the Kozuh area (Muletarovo)

- ||||| Modern villages
- //// Ancient settlements
- - - Mountain range
- X X - Mitičev's trenches
- X Trenches 1980
- - - Roads

trench on the Rupite site (investigations of I.Kulov) situated to the north-west of the Kožuh Mt.

It seems, however, that if systematic excavations in this area are undertaken, these preliminary findings could then be verified, and also the question of the name of the town could be definitively solved and consequently the problems connected with the historical geography of this region could finally be explained (the problem of Parorbelia, establishing whether the Belasica range is the same as the ancient range of Orbelus, the ancient name of the river Strumešnica etc.).

The Polish-Bulgarian explorations in the whole of the Bulgarian part of the Strumešnica valley constitute the first stage of large-scale investigations. The fact that already in the first phase of investigations 120 ancient sites were identified - the sites in the village Muletarovo should also be added to this number - points to the importance of the role played by the valley in ancient times. Although in the region of the Kožuh Mt. several settlements could be positively identified, in the remaining part of the valley the problem is still unsolved. In some regions of the valley large clusters of sites occur (especially in the area of the villages Gega, Dolene, Pravo Bardo, Pärvomai, Kärnalovo and Starčevo to the north of the river, and in the villages Gebrene, Ključ, Javornica, Samuilovo, Kolarovo, Raždak and Drangovo to the south of it). The clusters may confirm the presence of larger settlements in this area. However, considering the problems advanced in the introductory part of this paper, we should refrain from offering a final solution of this question until systematic excavations based on the previous results have been made.

#### Notes

\* This paper has been written on the basis of materials elaborated by A.Łedomirski, I.Kulov and J.Ostrowski.

<sup>1</sup> The question of the ancient name of the present Strumešnica has not been definitively solved, nor has the ancient geographic nomenclature of the whole region. In the present paper I have adopted the name Doberus following N.G.L.Hammond, A History of Macedonia, Vol. 1, Oxford 1972, pp. 198-203, map 17, although Pontos, another name of the river, also very often occurs.

<sup>2</sup> These problems, inter alia, are dealt with by N.G.L.Hammond, A History..., pp. 198-203; id., Migrations and Invasions in Greece and Adjacent Areas, New Jersey 1976, pp. 29-33.

<sup>3</sup> The Strumešnica valley is a middle road. To the north of it the road ran from Stobi (now Gradsko) along the Bregalnica valley, through Stip

and Pautalis (now Kjustendil) to Serdica (now Sofia). The southern road, however, ran from Eidomene (now Gevgheli) across the southern slopes of the Belasica Mountains range, over the water shed Stena Dov Tepe and through the valley of the river Kumla it reached the lower Strymon. We know that this road was used by Alexander the Great when in 335 B.C. he marched from Macedonia against the Agrians and Peonians, and also by Philip V when in 181 B.C. he marched out against the Maedi. Along the southern road, on the other hand, the army of Xerxes marched during the invasion of Greece, and later Alexander the Great trod this road going to war against Persia.

<sup>4</sup>A. Milčev, Arheologičeski razkopki i proučvanja w dolinata na sredne Struma, in: Godišnik na Sofijskaja Universitet, Filosofsko-Istoričeski Fakultet, LIII, 1, 1959, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup>A. Milčev, Arheologičeski razkopki..., pp. 363-378.

<sup>6</sup>Naturally, these are not all the Late Iron Age sites, but only those where ancient pottery occurs.

<sup>7</sup>It is interesting that during the excavations no prehistoric pottery was found, though the surface investigations produced ceramic fragments of this period. Cf. the paper of L. Perničeva in this issue.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. the paper of M. Parczewski in this issue.

<sup>9</sup>Titus Livius, XL, 22, 23. Milčev's interpretation is based on the philological studies of Kacarov and Dečev, published in 1949. (A. Milčev, Arheologičeski razkopki... p. 362, note 1, p. 363, note 1). Milčev's hypothesis is shared by some Bulgarian authors (A. Tol, Trakija i Balkanite prez rannoelenističeskaja epoka, Sofia 1975, p. 70). On the other hand some modern scholars (E. Gerov) see in this place the ruins of the ancient Orthopolis. All these hypotheses, however are based on weak promises, which might find confirmation in the course of future investigations, but until there are no proofs other than a few inscriptions found at a considerable distance from Kožuh, this important problem should be approached more cautiously.

List of sites from the ancient period in the region  
of the Strumešnica valley

No. of site on map	Village	No. of site within a vil- lage	Name of site
1	2	3	4
1	Baskalci (N)	site 7	(Virovete)
2	"	" 8	(Rāžišćeto)
3	"	" 4	(Imaneto)
4	"	" 5	(Čereškite)
5	"	10	(Sterata Nive)
6	Belasica (S)	" 9	(Pandovica)
7	"	" 12	(Pletonik)
8	Borovičene (N)	" 15	(Petyrče)
9	"	" 12	(Goliamata Nive)
10	Gabrene (S)	" 1	(Sivica)
11	"	" 3	(Kulata)
12	"	" 5	(Dubrava)
13	"	" 6	(Solišćeto)
14	"	" 11	(Cyrcarica)
15	"	" 13	(Inikovica)
16	Gega (N)	" 1	(Delvite I)
17	"	" 2	(Delvite II)
18	"	" 3	(Ruovica)
19	"	" 5	(Eletišće II)
20	"	" 6	(Čukata)
21	"	" 12	(Bārdoto)
22	"	" 13	(Rangel)
23	Gorčevo (N)	" 1	(Belevicata)
24	Dolene (N)	" 2	(Prisak)
25	"	" 5	(Rinčinovo)
26	"	" 6	(Alda)
27	"	" 7	(Popin Dol)
28	Dolna Krušica (N)	" 1	(Furnata)
29	" "	" 8	(Gradišće)
30	" "	" 10	(Kostinavec)
31	Dolna Ribnica (N)	" 1	(Šarenata Čarkve)
32	" "	" 3	(Bukovec)
33	" "	" 4	(Jumerica, Lozsta)
34	" "	" 7	(name unknown)
35	" "	" 8	(Kiselica, Valog)

1	2	3	4
36	Drangovo (S)	site 2	(Grobeto)
37	"	" 3	(Červenata Zemla II)
38	"	" 4	(Červenata Zemla I)
39	Drenovica (N)	" 2	(Derviš Beir)
40	Zoičene (N)	" 2	(Virovete)
41	Kavrakirovo (N)	" 3	(Kostenkata)
42	"	" 5	(Ciganskata Mahala)
43	"	" 7	(Skaletu)
44	"	" 8	(name unknown)
45	Kamena (S)	" 1	(Trâstikite)
46	"	" 3	(Karaende-Karaš I)
47	"	" 5	(Gerkovec)
48	Kluč (S)	" 1	(SE of Bozalaško)
49	"	" 9	(E of Bozalaško)
50	"	" 5	(Breste)
51	"	" 7	(Remešnica)
52	"	" 11	(Mandrata II)
53	"	" 18	(Gâlabovata Česma)
54	Kolarovo (S)	" 1	(Topelišče)
55	"	" 4	(Angelica)
56	"	" 7	(Čukata)
57	"	" 8	(Musovica I)
58	"	" 12	(S of Grobišče)
59	"	" 13	(Debelišče)
60	"	" 14	(Lazarec)
61	Kârnalovo (N)	" 1	(Usip)
62	"	" 4	(Gramadite)
63	"	" 6	(Padarkata)
64	"	" 8	(300 m NNE from Lagiovo)
65	"	" 13	(Keremica)
66	"	" 14	(Maslinica)
67	Kukurahčevo (N)	" 1	(Subelo II)
68	"	" 2	(Groba)
69	Mendovo (N)	" 1	(Zulkata)
70	"	" 2	(Grobovete)
71	Mitino (S)	" 1	(Ajđerica)
72	"	" 3	(Tofilica)
73	Mihnevo (N)	" 3	(Kopanerski Rid)
74	"	" 4	(Čepanica)
75	"	" 6	(Radsica)

1	2	3	4
76	Mihnevo (N)	site 8	(Kostova Polana)
77	"	" 9	(Levkov Briast)
78	"	" 11	(Keov Rid)
79	"	" 15	(Trigornica)
	Muleterovo (N) - 36 sites in all		
80	Petrič (S)	site 19	(Tórna Bair, Ciaur Kalesi)
81	"	" 20	(Petrička Reka)
82	"	" 21	(Kozlak)
83	Pravo Bárdo (N)	" 1	(Kuriloto)
84	" "	" 3	(Čiflika)
85	" "	" 4	(Siškovec)
86	Pârvomai (N)	" 1	(Ahmedov Bair)
87	"	" 2	(Vologo)
88	"	" 3	(Duvanliata)
89	Ribnik (N)	" 2	(Corla)
90	"	" 3	(Gradena Niva)
91	Râždek (S)	" 2	(Diado Pavlovi Košari)
92	"	" 4	(Tumbite)
93	"	" 5	(Kantonski Most I)
94	"	" 6	(Kantonski Most II)
95	Samuilovo- -Kolarovo (S)	" 4	(name unknown)
96	"	" 6	(Srenica)
97	"	" 8	(Gradiščeto)
98	Samuilovo (S)	" 4	(Gohčeto)
99	"	" 7	(Tuhlerski Kooperarnik)
100	"	" 9	(Livsdite)
101	"	" 10	(Gerkovec)
102	Skrât (S)	" 1	(Balkovo, Gârčenica I)
103	"	" 6	(Duksenica)
104	Starčevo (N)	" 1	(Nad Grobiščeto)
105	"	" 2	(Močuro, Mešaloto, Marin Erest)
106	"	" 3	(Zabrenenoto)
107	"	" 4	(Taftinka)
108	"	" 9	(Ramnako)
109	"	" 13	(Singurica)
110	Čuričene (N)	" 1	(Azmaka)
111	"	" 3	(Kuličketa II)
112	"	" 4	(Pulovo Mogila)



1	2	3	4
113	Curičene (N)	site 16	(Kupni Dybici)
114	Javornica (S)	" 1	(Boičev Elck)
115	"	" 2	(Grška Čuka)
116	"	" 3	(Padina)
117	"	" 5	(Jabčakite, Babine)
118	"	" 10	(Luškoviča)
119	"	" 11	(Parcelat na Lefer Lžedžev)
120	"	" 20	(Parcelat na Boris Hristov)