

City Supplies, Currency and Payments along the Pontic Coast of the Roman Provinces Moesia Inferior and Thracia

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This survey¹ is focused on the general trends of the Roman economy along the south-western Black Sea coast. Here, the ancient Greek cities Apollonia, Odessus, Mesambria, Dionysopolis, Bizone, and Anchialus played a decisive role in the trade taking place along the coastal border zone, as well as its administration.

Political Background

Traditionally, the Pontic region was an open area for active contacts as an intermediate between the Balkan region and the eastern Mediterranean world. The oldest cities on the south-western Black Sea coast were founded by Hellenic immigrants of Milesian and Megarian origin in the late Archaic – early Classical Age. Searching for appropriate places for settlements during the second phase of the great Hellenic colonization, the settlers from Miletus, Megara, Byzantion, Kalhedon, and their successors looked for naturally defended geographical areas like peninsulas (Apollonia, Mesambria, and Anchialus), high plateaus rising over the sea coast (Dionysopolis, Bizone), and terraces (Odessus). All of these provided the best opportunities for visual communication and transports (fig. 1). This resulted in the integration of nature, town-planning, and geo-strategic advantages.² These cities came within the range of Rome's military-political and economic interests in the course of the Republican wars against Mithridates VI Eupator. The establishment of Roman power in these cities took place at the end of the 1st century BC, and the beginning of their integration into the Roman Empire's provincial administrative and economic system occurred under the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties. Therefore, during the 2nd–3rd century AD they turned into self-governing municipalities under the military, political, juridical, administrative and financial control of the Roman administration and of the princeps.³

Economic life in the circum-Pontic region was concentrated traditionally in the coastal urban settlements. During the period of the Principate, the most significant of them, Odessus and Anchialus, strengthened their positions and like other administrative, financial, and harbour centres were fortified in the region of the Pontic coast of Moesia Inferior and Thrace (fig. 2). Odessus was on the road to Nicopolis ad Istrum – Melta, while Anchialus was linked to the same city by the alternative parallel transport corridor that ran through the pass of Diulino in the eastern part of the Stara Planina Mountain.⁴ Both cities revealed evidence of substantial economic development and the potential for assuring the transition and the temporary dislocation of the staff, the

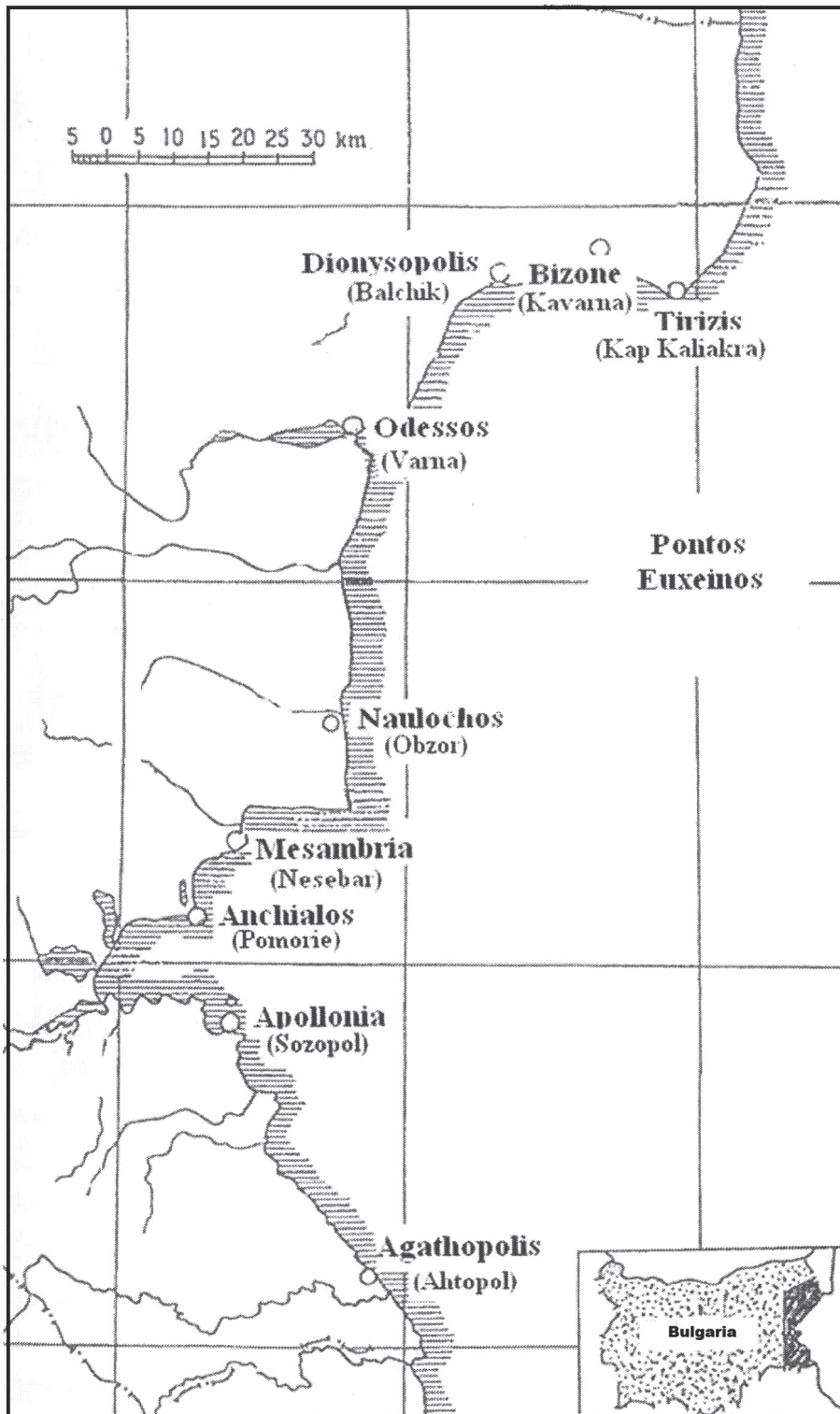


Fig. 1: The geographical location of the south-western Pontic Greek cities.

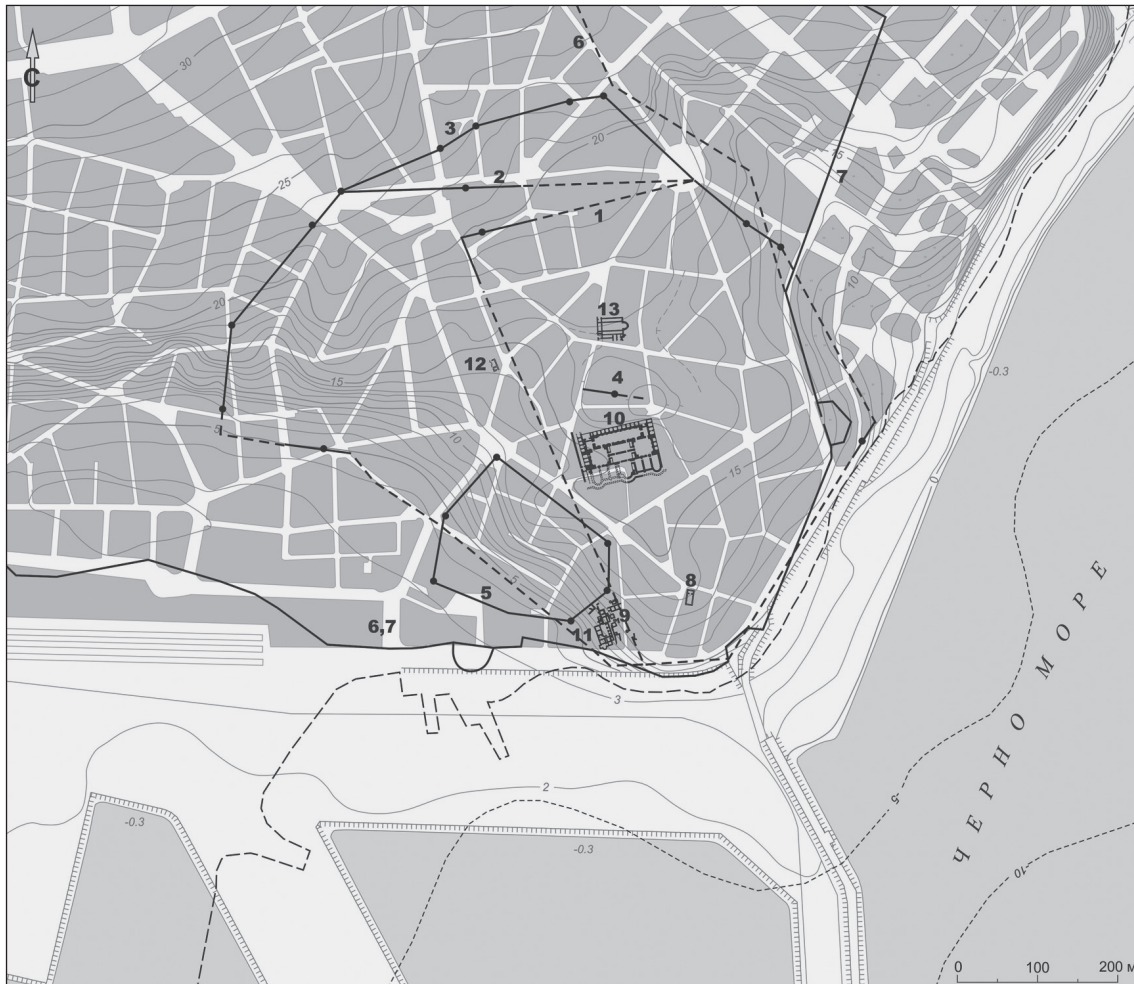


Fig. 2: Odessus-Varna – historical topography. ■ city morphology (1984); --- coast line and harbour works (1879); -.- coast line and ▤▤▤ harbour works (1984); ... bathymetric data (1854); — (— — probable) fortified city space: (1) IV–I BC, (2) I–III(IV) AD, (3) (IV–)VI AD, (4) XI–XII AD, (5) XIII–XIX AD, (6) 1828, (7) 1834; ● researched city walls; (8) Apollo temple; (9) sanctuary of Heros Karabazmos; (10) Roman baths; (11) early Byzantine baths; (12) temple of Theos Megas; (13) early Christian basilica.

equipment, and the provisions of the Roman military units along the transport corridor Rhine – Danube – Black Sea – northern Asia Minor – Euphrates. This comprised part of the external boundary ring of the empire and supported it.

Infrastructure

Sea transport had a greater significance for the economy of the coastal towns. The traffic started or ended in their harbors, which were integral infra-structural places at the sea border of Moesia Inferior and Thrace. Fixed stocks of Roman type supported the landing of universal *naves actuariae*, rowing Roman ships of the type *liburna*, and sailing trade ships of the type *corbita* in the aquatorium of the bays of Anchialus and Odessus up to the end of the 3rd century AD.⁵ The nautical vessels that participated in the regional sea transport are also displayed on the reverse of the coins of Anchialus (fig. 3),⁶ on the walls of the public baths,⁷ and on *tabula ansata* of sarcophagi in Odessus (IGB I² 212 bis). Such illustrations are available in the vicinity of Odessus in the territory of a Thracian settlement. A sailor and an iron anchor have been cut *affresco* into the walls of the tomb chamber of a brick masonry ciborium vault in the sanctuary of Hero Proastios.⁸ Despite the presumable early Christian symbolism of these pictures, they realistically depict this type of vessel as well as the equipment that was used for coastal navigation in the region during the early imperial and late Roman periods.



Fig. 3: Bronze coin from Anchialus.

Mass Market

Archaeological evidence from the Roman and late Roman period reveals the great importance of the mass-produced ceramic, glass, and marble products imported by sea from the eastern Mediterranean and circum-Pontic region.

Wine, olive oil, processed fish, and probably other goods in ceramic amphorae arrived chiefly from the southern Black Sea, the Aegean, and areas of Asia Minor.

Amphorae Shelov of the A, B, and C type, with a long slender neck and made of pale red to pale brown clay, were imported from the end of 1st century BC to the 4th century AD. Their origins should be sought on the southern shores of the Black Sea (e.g. the region of Heraclea Pontica and Sinope). They were used mainly for wine in several chronologically distinguished variants.⁹ These are known from: the harbours of Bizone and Tirizis,¹⁰ Dionysopolis (Balchik-Museum), as grave goods in Kokodiva (a Thracian coastal settlement near Odessus)¹¹ and in Odessus,¹² from offshore contexts between Odessus and Mesambria,¹³ from the southern harbour of Mesambria,¹⁴ in the coastal region of Apollonia,¹⁵ and from the underwater excavations at Urdoviza.¹⁶

Amphorae of the Shelov D type is made from pale brown to pink brown (after baking) clay and has a short conical neck. They were used to transport wine from the southern Pontic region to the northern coastal region of Odessus,¹⁷ the southern one of Mesambria,¹⁸ and Anchialus.¹⁹

Amphorae of the Dressel 2–4 type, in provincial variants from the area of Heraclea Pontica and Sinope are known to the north – from Odessus, Bizone, Cape Kaliakra, and from the sea near Caron Limen.²⁰

Aegean wine was imported in the 3rd century AD and later in orange-red amphorae of the Kapitän II type: its body is in the shape of a wide upside-down cone and has handles that rise above the level of a heavily profiled rim.²¹ They are found all over the Bulgarian Black Sea coast: in Bizone,²² Odessus,²³ Mesambria,²⁴ Anchialus,²⁵ Apollonia²⁶ and Urdoviza.²⁷

Red amphorae of the Zeest 80 type, probably coming from area of Propontis has deep horizontal grooves below the rim and massive round grooved handles.²⁸ They are found in the western bay of Tirizis and the harbour of Bizone,²⁹ as well as in Roman grave № 10 in Kokodiva.³⁰ Wine, olive oil, and maybe fish products were transported in some of them.

Amphorae of the Dressel 24 type were discovered in Anchialus, in the storage space of a vineyard from the 2nd–3rd century AD. They were of the “familia” type with a funnel profiled rim, and were red to light brown.³¹ They were found next to the wine press. Next to wine, olive oil³² was transferred in these vessels, whose production was lately suggested in the eastern Mediterranean region.³³ In the same storage in Anchialus, rose- to red-brown amphorae of the Knossos 26/27 type, with overhanging everted rim (Bourgas Museum), were probably reused as well. This type, produced in the region of

Sinope,³⁴ was used to transport wine and olive oil also in the region of Bizone, Tirizis and Odessus in the 2nd–3rd century AD.³⁵

In this period, other types of red amphorae of the Zeest 72 type, which were manufactured in the production centres on the northern Black Sea coast (Panticapeum, Myrmekion), entered the south-western Pontic harbours. These orange-red amphorae had a cylindrical body and perhaps vessels with the same colour and oval-shaped body were used for salted fish. Examples of these are found in the harbours of Bizone and Apollonia.³⁶

Oval-shaped and dark orange Istro-Pontic amphorae of the Zeest 75 type were more common vessels, and examples are known from the harbour of Bizone,³⁷ offshore between Odessus and Mesambria,³⁸ Anchialus, as well as Apollonia.³⁹ Other than for transporting wine and olive oil, they were probably used for salt-cured products, herbs, and resins.

Lead-glazed pottery (e.g. stemmed cups and skyphoi), which was manufactured in western Asia Minor in the workshops of Smyrna, had relief decoration that originated from the Pergamon region.⁴⁰ Such vessels were imported to Odessus and Apollonia from the middle of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD.⁴¹ East Roman red gloss vessels in the 1st–2nd century AD from Asia Minor also arrived,⁴² including the type “Çandarlı” from the region of Pergamon during the 3rd century AD.⁴³ The production of the latter was introduced in the middle of the 1st century AD also in Moesia Inferior and Thrace,⁴⁴ including Apollonia,⁴⁵ Anchialus,⁴⁶ and Odessus⁴⁷ on the south-western Black Sea coast.

Egyptian producers also were present in the imports of ceramic lamps in Odessus from the 1st century BC – the 2nd century AD, represented by a lamp-model for a mould,⁴⁸ and a rare terracotta-lamp of Izida and Chor.⁴⁹ The fashion of figural lamps comes also from Egypt (fig. 4).⁵⁰ In the second half of the period, Cnidian ceramic lamps of different types began to prevail in the markets of Odessus. Among them is a rare *Thymiateria* lamp, which had cultic and utility functions in some of the urban sanctuaries or in a home altar;⁵¹ it carried a dedication “To the gods take”, that was cut into its stand. From the end of the 2nd century AD Athenian producers like ΠΙΠΕΙΘΟΣ,⁵² ΕΥ(ΤΥΧΗΣ),⁵³ ΠΙΠΕΙΜΟΣ,⁵⁴ ivy leaf,⁵⁵ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ,⁵⁶ ΛΕ,⁵⁷ ΑΠΙ,⁵⁸ and ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ gained popularity in Odessus.⁵⁹ Attic imports seldom entered the smaller coastal settlements, probably as reimported goods from the bigger harbour centres in the region like Odessus. In Bizone for example they are represented by one single item – an imitation of a Corinthian-type lamp with a trapezium-shaped nozzle.⁶⁰

Until the end of the Principate, vessels from the eastern Mediterranean, including Syrian, Cypriot, Egyptian, Phoenician glass bowls,⁶¹ cups,⁶² bottles,⁶³ jugs,⁶⁴ balsamaria,⁶⁵ amphoriscs,⁶⁶ anthropomorphous and cylindrical-conical vessels,⁶⁷ as well as flasks⁶⁸ were preferred as table vessels in Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesambria, Anchialus and their *territoria*. Equally important were the liquid and powder substances transported within them, such as oil, wine, cosmetics, medical goods, and other items.



Fig. 4: Odessus: a figural ceramic lamp.

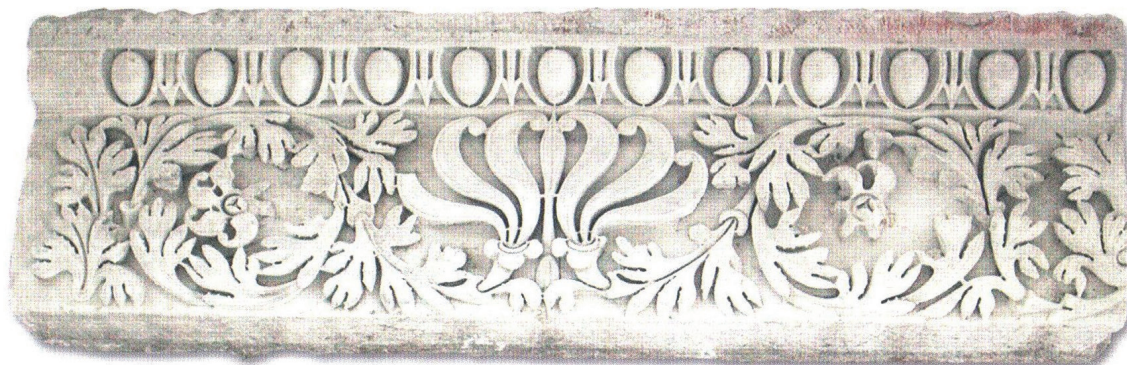


Fig. 5: Anchialus: an architrave frieze of Proconnessian marble.

Nicomedia's overseas agency was a preferred partner in the trade of marble from the middle of the 2nd century AD (fig. 5).⁶⁹ Odessus has evidence for marble fluted capitals,⁷⁰ Corinthian capitals,⁷¹ pilaster capitals,⁷² and prefabrications of garland sarcophagi.⁷³ They were produced in the quarries on the island of Proconessus, and their style followed the leading stone-cutting schools of Asia Minor.⁷⁴ The main group of sarcophagi that was manufactured from the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century AD in Asia Minor is represented by column sarcophagi, probably from Dokimion in Phrygia.⁷⁵ During this period, Attic products were also imported to Odessus. Among them were sarcophagi with mythological decorations, such as Achilles and the Amazons, those of uncertain origin (?) and such with a kline-lid.⁷⁶ Some of the Proconnessian marble gravestones found in Odessus were produced in the workshops of Byzantion, Cyzikos, and Smyrna.⁷⁷

Taxations

Trade in its different aspects did not exhaust the possibilities for distribution and the re-distribution of the economic product. In the urban centres along the Bulgarian Black Sea coast in the Roman age these were accomplished also financially through direct and indirect taxation. Its imposition in favour of the Emperors' fiscal regulations and the municipal treasury is revealed indirectly by a number of tombstones from Odessus (IGB I² 134, 214, 216, 218) and Mesambria (IGB I² 346, 348, 349). They contain information on the imposed fines (from 100 to 10,000 denarii) for tomb profanation in these cities in the 2nd–3rd century AD.⁷⁸ Another category of taxes related to the turnover of commodities comes from a decree from the 3rd century AD from Mesambria that was issued by the *agoranomos* (IGB I² 317). They were required for the registration of foreign merchants according to the law and the habit of the poleis.⁷⁹

Other important urban income sources were endowments. These were made by wealthy citizens partially under social pressure, partially on a voluntary basis for dif-

ferent activities (e.g. *honor* and *munus publicum*) that required the expenses for public purposes. Through this burden, itself a kind of income taxation, different problems of a town could be solved, such as its development, food supply, religious practices, entertainment, and other social needs.⁸⁰ The structure, the extent and the character of this activity in Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesambria, Anchialus, and Apollonia do not create the impression of wastefulness.⁸¹ It rather had utilitarian features and reveals the relatively limited economic performance of their wealthy citizens compared to the analogous practices in other Roman provinces in Asia Minor, North Africa, and Italy.⁸²

Coins

The coins of the coastal Pontic cities and their circulation in processes of commodity exchange and payments are a specific barometer for the region's military-political and economic situation.

In Antiquity, one used to undertake any activity only after winning a deity's benevolence. Traditionally, the reverse of the coins from Dionysopolis, Odessus, and Mesambria portray the divine protectors of vegetation, fecundity and commerce: Demeter, Triptolemos, Bonus Eventus, Dionysos, Hermes, Theos Megas, as well as their attributes like wheat-ears, grape clusters, caduceus. Next to them, as on the emissions from Anchialus, are images typical for a sea town such as Poseidon, Isis Fariah, Tyche on a *prora*, fishes, sailors, and dolphins.⁸³

When the mints of Dionysopolis, Odessus, Anchialus, Mesambria and Apollonia renewed their work, they adopted the standard of the regular Roman base-metal denominations (fig. 6). After the period of a "prestigious" minting under the first Antonines, characterized by a relatively balanced and uniform delivery of the mint's emissions, the value of the bronze coins shifted under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The inflation seems considerable, because under the Severans, the first nominal in Odessus lost more than the half of its weight, the second lost about 2/3, and the fourth lost almost a half of its weight.⁸⁴ Thus, the urban administration, similar to other Moesian and Thracian centres, reacted to the crisis at the same time as the wars with the Marcomanni, the invasions of the Costoboci, and the plague epidemics.⁸⁵ In the time of the Severans, the financing of defence and the monetary supply stimulated by the concentration of money markets in Moesia Inferior is reflected in the mints of the coastal cities. A new stage occurred of intensified minting, which was characterized by the mobilization and the simultaneous use of more nominals, prevailing greater ones.⁸⁶ After Caracalla's death, under the rule of Elagabalus and Gordian III, the urban minting, providing mainly the extraordinary expenses of the military units and the salaries of the soldiers like in other members of the monetary league, acquired the character of a "military" mint with a great capacity (fig. 7). It was oriented more towards greater denominations.⁸⁷

Emperor/City	Dionysopolis						Odessus						Anchialus							
	denominations																			
	5	4	3	2	1	1/2	10	5	4	3	2	1	1/2	10	5	4	3	2	1	1/2
Domitianus											1									
Trajanus									1		2	2	1							
Hadrianus									2		2	2	1							
Antoninus Pius				1(?)		1			2		1	2	3			4		10	3	4
Marcus Aurelius									1			2				1	5			
Commodus			1	2					2	4	2	1				6	5	6		
Sept. Severus	1	1		2					16	5	9	2				84	8	11	13	
Elagabalus									16	1	1	1								
Sev Alexander	1	1	1		2															
Maximinus I															3	23	12	6	5	
Gordianus III	20	1					4	80	3	3	2			7	18	37	5	5	4	

Fig. 6: The south-western Pontic coins – denominations.

Next to the needs of the regional market,⁸⁸ these emissions supplemented, first of all, the amount of coin in circulation in the border province of Moesia Inferior. The participation of these and other provincial urban emissions in the payments for the Lower Danube limes is registered in the coin hoards hidden in the forties of the 3rd century AD in the territories around the strategic road connecting Odessus-Marcianopolis-Nicopolis ad Istrum-Melta (fig. 8).⁸⁹ The coins of coastal cities (Anchialus, Odessus, and of Mesambria in the forties of the 3rd century AD) have a relatively high concentration in the urban territories of Odessus and Marcianopolis. With the increasing distance from

City/Period	Coin types - total and average annual number																	
	till 192 AD		193-217 AD		217 AD		218-222 AD		222-235 AD		235-238 AD		238-244 AD		244-249 AD			
Dionysopolis	3	0,06	4	0,17					5	0,38			21	3,50				
Odessus	34	0,30	32	1,33			23	5,75					92	15,33				
Anchialus	44	0,82	115	6,39							49	16,33	76	12,66				
Mesambria	1	0,01	5	0,21									17	2,83	34	6,80		
Apollonia	8	0,07	10	0,42	1	1							1	0,17				

Fig. 7: The south-western Pontic coinage – intensity.

City Location	Dionysopolis		Odessus		Mesambria		Anchialus		Apollonia		Totality		
	Finds	Coins	Finds	Coins	Finds	Coins	Finds	Coins	Finds	Coins	Finds	Coins	SW Pontic coins
reg. Lovech (Melta)	1	+	1	2	1	1	4	31	1	1	4	614+	35+
reg. Tarnovo (Nic. ad Istrum)	3	4	3	5	1	1	6	13	-	-	6	379+	23
reg. Razgrad (Abritus)	-	-	2	9	2	3	1	4	-	-	2	94+	16
reg. Targovishte (Marcianopolis)	2	7	3	19	1	6	4	59	-	-	5	888+	91
reg. Shumen (Marcianopolis)	6	23+	6	62+	5	67	6	74	-	-	7	1969+	226+
reg. Varna (Odessus)	5	17	5	63	7	42	7	34	-	-	7	512+	156
Totality	17	51	20	160	17	120	28	215	1	1	31	4456+	547+

Fig. 8: The south-western Pontic coins in Moesia Inferior – concentration.

the minting centre, within the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum to civitas Usdicensis and Melta, the number of the hoards and of the coins within them gradually decreases.

Conclusion

The Greek poleis of the coastal south-western Pontic area emerged as a result of the exogenous urbanization made by Greek colonization. They also developed from the internal strengthening of the urban municipalities in the territory of ethnically organized Thracian tribes. The urbanization of the region, its administrative, juridical, functional, and architectural “construction”, as well as the development of cities that dominated their own hinterland was a process that lasted till the end of the Principate. In the early Roman imperial period, they joined in the *Pax Augusta* at the external border between the *Imperium Romanum* and *Pax Nomadica*. In its genesis, the Black Sea coastal line acted as an existing “natural” border. The traditionally well-functioning harbour systems allowed for a high degree of traffic within the trans-border stream of goods and people to the west-Pontic border zone. This was linked geographically and climatically with the sea. Together with the southern and parallel land routes, the sea routes formed dynamic transport corridors. They built the infrastructure and at the same time, predetermined the economic specialization of the region. Its multi-ethnic social and cultural entity was concentrated predominantly in the settlements situated at the crossroads and in the surrounding territories. In this crossroad zone, the integral processes continued up to the end of the Principate.

Notes

- ¹ Earlier versions in Прешленов 1990; Preshlenov 2008.
- ² Preshlenov 2009, 125–129.
- ³ Preshlenov 2018, 526–534.
- ⁴ Preshlenov 2012, 48–50.
- ⁵ Прешленов 2007, 39; Порожанов 2000, 95. 97; Bounegru 2008, 277–282.
- ⁶ Strack 1912, Nr. 429, 490, 540, 593, 682, 682a.
- ⁷ Preshlenov 2012a, 157; 170 fig. 9.
- ⁸ Прешленов 2007, 36 f.
- ⁹ Dobрева 2017, 105. 247 f. 249–255; 250 fig. 164, 2; 251 figs. 166, 2. 5; 255 fig. 168.
- ¹⁰ Кузманов – Салкин 1992, 35 f. Кат. 27–36; Dyczek 2001, 202 f. 214 f. 219 f. fig. 118.
- ¹¹ Минчев 1985, 12; Табл. III, 3; Varna-Museum, Nr. II 5981. II 5827.
- ¹² Тончева 1961, 33; 45 Табл. IV, 21. 22; Dyczek 2001, 215; Varna-Museum, no. II 62. II 3881. IV 1459.
- ¹³ Varna-Museum, no. II 1413.
- ¹⁴ Nesebar-Museum, no. 2111. 1505. 1680. 1724.
- ¹⁵ Sozopol-Museum, no. 206. 242. 413. 449.
- ¹⁶ Велков, Димитров, Найденова 1987, 287 f.; field no. 86/7.
- ¹⁷ Varna-Museum; Dyczek 2001, 221–223; fig. 142, a; Dobрева, 2017, 257.
- ¹⁸ Nesebar-Museum, no. 1713.
- ¹⁹ Лазаров 1987, 283 f.
- ²⁰ Dobрева 2017, 241–244; Dobрева 2018, 310. 313; Dyczek 2001, 52–54. 58 f. 61. 63; fig. 14.
- ²¹ Dyczek 2001, 138. 141. 143 f.; fig. 70; Dobрева 2017, 237–240.
- ²² Кузманов – Салкин 1992, 39; Кат. 47. 48.
- ²³ Кузманов 1985, 17; Кат. 76a; Varna-Museum, no. II 4507.
- ²⁴ Nesebar-Museum, no. 1677.
- ²⁵ Bourgas-Museum, no. 2427.
- ²⁶ Dyczek 2001, 141.
- ²⁷ Велков et al. 1987, 287 f.; field no. 86/5.
- ²⁸ Dobрева 2017, 281–283; figs. 204, 1–3.
- ²⁹ Кузманов – Салкин 1992, 37 f. Кат. 41–43; Dyczek 2001, 153 f. 157. 159; figs. 80. 85. 86.
- ³⁰ Varna-Museum, no. II 5991; on the cemetery, see Минчев 1985, 12 f.
- ³¹ Bourgas-Museum; for the archaeological context, see Стоянов 1980, 106; Стоянов 1984, 68.
- ³² Dyczek 2001, 174. 182 f. 192; fig. 97, a.
- ³³ Dobрева 2017, 154. 224. 230. 235; fig. 146, 5.
- ³⁴ Dobрева 2018, 310 f.
- ³⁵ Кузманов, Салкин 1992, 38. 53; Кат. 44. 45; Dyczek 2001, 250–252 fig. 168; Dobрева 2017, 154. 261–265; 265 Fig. 180. 4. 5; 181. 4. 5; Dobрева 2018, 312 figs. 2. 314.
- ³⁶ Кузманов – Салкин 1992, 36 f. 53; Кат. 38; Dyczek 2001, 228 f. 231. 233. 239 f. 242 figs. 148. 159; Dobрева 2017, 275–277 fig. 194.
- ³⁷ Кузманов – Салкин 1992, 37. 53 Кат. 39; Dyczek 2001, 233 f. 236; fig. 153.

- ³⁸ Varna-Museum, Nr. II 5127.
- ³⁹ Dobрева 2017, 278–281 figs. 200. 201, 3.
- ⁴⁰ Gysel 1977, 108. 122f. figs. 32. 33; Kabakchieva 2018, 582.
- ⁴¹ Тончева 1961, 33f.; Обр. 24. 25; Kabakchieva 2018, 582. 582 figs. 2. 3; 583 figs. 4. 5; Varna-Museum, no. II 4760. II 3232.
- ⁴² Varna-Museum, no. II 5949.
- ⁴³ Минчев 1982, 18 no. 1 Табл. I, 1.
- ⁴⁴ Кабакчиева 1987, 487. 489f. fig. 7.
- ⁴⁵ Иванов 1963, 268; Кат. 796. 797; Табл. 136.
- ⁴⁶ Балабанов 1979, 27; Обр. 5 в.
- ⁴⁷ Varna-Museum, no. II 3909.
- ⁴⁸ Минчев 1983, 7; Табл. I, 2.
- ⁴⁹ Минчев 1979, 44f.; Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 491; Табл. 34, 491, а. в.
- ⁵⁰ Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 485–487; Табл. 34, 485–487.
- ⁵¹ Минчев 1993, 37–39. 41. 43 Табл. I, 1. 2.
- ⁵² Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 341; Табл. 24, 341.
- ⁵³ Кузманов 1992, 30 no. 184; Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 333; Табл. 24, 333.
- ⁵⁴ Кузманов 1992, 29 no. 174; Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 327. 328 Табл. 23, 327. 328; no. 335 Табл. 24. 335, а. б.
- ⁵⁵ Кузманов 1992, 30 no. 186; Џиќикова 1979, 436; Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 332 Табл. 24, 332; Nr. 345. 346 Табл. 25, 345. 346.
- ⁵⁶ Џиќикова 1979, 437; Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 325 Табл. 23, 325.
- ⁵⁷ Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 338 Табл. 92, 338.
- ⁵⁸ Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 359; Табл. 26, 359.
- ⁵⁹ Кузманов – Минчев 2018, no. 360. 362; Табл. XXVI, 360. 362.
- ⁶⁰ Кузманов – Салкин 1981, 57f. Кат. 59. 62. 63 Табл. 5, 59.
- ⁶¹ Минчев 1984, no. 10 Табл. 2, 10; no. 12 Табл. 4, 12; no. 13 Табл. 4, 13; no. 14 Табл. 4, 14; no. 18 Табл. 5, 18; no. 19 Табл. 5, 19.
- ⁶² Минчев 1988, no. 12 Табл. 3, 12; no. 28 Табл. 5, 28.
- ⁶³ Минчев 1990, no. 7; Табл. 1, 7; no. 12 Табл. 4, 12; no. 13 Табл. 2, 13; no. 21 Табл. 3, 21; no. 22.
- ⁶⁴ Минчев 1989, no. 5 Обр. 1, 5; no. 13 Обр. 4, 13; no. 14; Minchev 2007, 338.
- ⁶⁵ Minchev 2007, 338 fig. 10.
- ⁶⁶ Балабанов 1979, 30 Обр. 13.
- ⁶⁷ Минчев 1981, 66; nos. 19. 22. 71. 72.
- ⁶⁸ Minchev 2007, 338 fig. 9.
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⁷⁹ Preshlenov 2012 b, 497 f.
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⁸¹ Прешленов 2009, 276–281.
⁸² Duncan-Jones 1982, 84.
⁸³ Прешленов 2003, 206–208 Табл. 1.
⁸⁴ Preshlenov 2007, 113. 116 fig. 3.
⁸⁵ Прешленов 2003 а, 118.
⁸⁶ Preshlenov 2004, 158 Tab. 1; 159 Tab. 2; Preshlenov 2007, 113 f. 115 fig. 2.
⁸⁷ Preshlenov 2010, 322 f.
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