

The important 1700th anniversary of the accession of Constantine the Great was marked with some big exhibitions; in Rimini, Italy (2005) and York, Great Britain (2006), followed by a third one in Trier (2007). Although at the exhibition in Rimini the material from the Balkan provinces of the Empire was well represented, especially that from present-day Serbia, we think that in the accompanying publications the significance which Constantine gave to ruling the Balkans was not stressed enough. This can be well documented through the local production of objects whose purpose was to be used as means of imperial propaganda.

The famous Licinius plates are still the best known examples of the activity of the workshop for precious-metal objects at *Naissus*, although during the last decades there have been a few attempts to present the whole range of the production of official and private silver objects manufactured there¹. The famous plate of Euty chius from Kaiseraugst is the best possible example of the presence of the workshop's products among finds from the western provinces of the Empire². But new discoveries, as well as the detailed publication and interpretation of existing finds, enable us to observe the activity of this important tereutic centre in new light, above all its complex and long-lasting connections with similar workshops, especially that from Trier.

In particular the excavations of the imperial complex at Šarkamen, in present-day Serbia [Fig. 1], have shed important light on this problem. The gold jewellery found in the crypt of the mausoleum [Fig. 2] in 1996 provided indirect proof of the first contacts between the workshops in *Naissus*

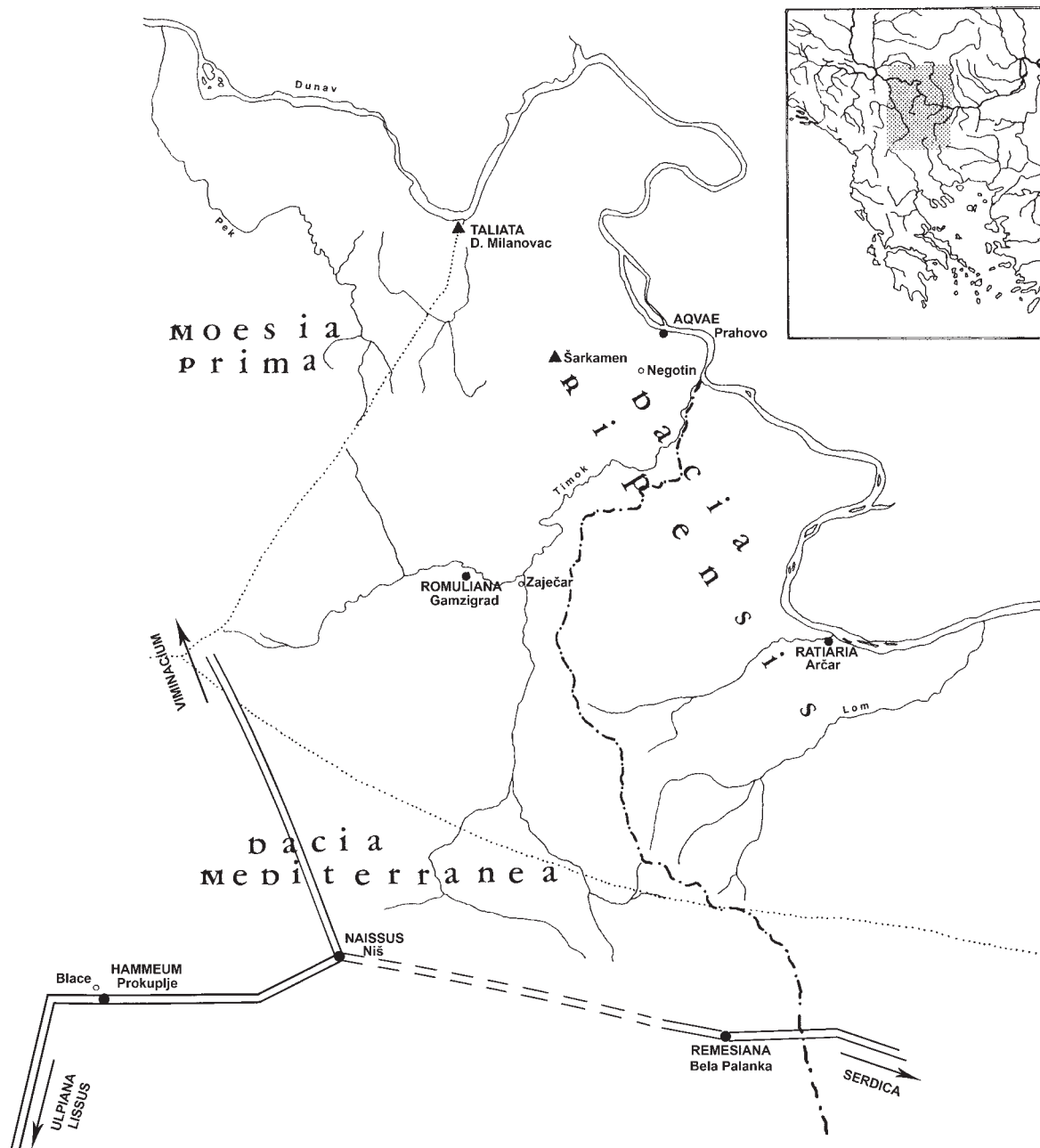
and Trier. The analysis of the eleven pieces has shown that in their typological characteristics, as well as in the manner of their execution and decoration, they strongly follow local traditions which are well manifested in the use of similar decoration and methods during the second half of the 3rd century, and it was supposed that they were produced in a nearby goldsmith's workshop³. Only the most luxurious piece in the ensemble, the composite necklace [Fig. 3], does not have direct parallels in earlier jewellery from the region, although its individual elements, medallions of blue paste in incised gold frames and oval plaques

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¹ F. Baratte, À propos de l'argenterie romaine des provinces danubiennes. *Starinar* 26, 1976, 33-41. – F. Baratte, Lingots d'or et d'argent en rapport avec l'atelier de Sirmium. *Sirmium VIII* (Rome 1978) 102-107. – Antičko srebro. *Antique silver*. Ed. I. Popović (Belgrade 1994) cat. 265-274; 342-349. – I. Popović, Les productions officielles et privées des ateliers d'orfèvrerie de Naissus et de Sirmium. *Antiquité tardive* 5, 1997, 134-138.

² H. Cahn/A. Kaufmann-Heinimann (Hrsg.), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*. *Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 9 (Derendingen 1984) no. 60.

³ I. Popović/M. Tomović, Golden jewellery from the imperial mausoleum at Šarkamen (Eastern Serbia). *Antiquité tardive* 6, 1998, 293-312. – I. Popović, The find of the crypt of the Mausoleum: Golden jewellery and votive plaques. In: I. Popović (Ed.), *Šarkamen (Eastern Serbia): A Tetrarchic imperial palace. The memorial complex* (Belgrade 2005) 71-75. – Some objects from this find are represented in the catalogue of the exhibition about Constantine held in Rimini in 2005: *Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra occidente e oriente*. Ed. A. Donati/G. Gentili (Milan 2005) cat. 162-165.



decorated with hammered running spirals, are to be found on various pieces of jewellery from the Balkan region⁴. A prominent example are the oval plaques, similar to those from Šarkamen, which are an integral part of the luxurious necklace from an unidentified site in Serbia, today in the National Museum in Belgrade⁵. The best parallel for the composite necklace from Šarkamen is that worn by the young woman represented in

1 The late Roman provinces in the North-East Balkans and the main Roman roads.

⁴ Popović/Tomović (note 3) 298-305 fig. 15-22.

⁵ I. Popović, Zlatna člankovita ogrlica iz Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu (Summary: Golden composite necklace from the National Museum in Belgrade). *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 17, 2001, 135-146.



2 Šarkamen, mausoleum. Gold jewellery (Museum of Krajina, Negotin, Serbia, Inv. 1030).



3 Šarkamen, mausoleum. Necklace, reconstruction (Museum of Krajina, Negotin, Serbia, Inv. 1030/9.1-9).



4 Trier, Cathedral. Fresco (Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Trier).

the ceiling frescoes from the palace in Trier [Fig. 4]. The person portrayed is surely a member of Constantine's immediate family, whether it is his wife Fausta or his sister Constantia. The ceiling was painted before around 330, when the room was demolished⁶. If we assume that the builder of the Šarkamen complex was the emperor Maximinus Daia (Caesar from 305, Augustus 309-313), and that his mother was buried in the mausoleum

⁶ I. Lavin, The ceiling frescoes in Trier and illusionism in Constantinian painting, *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 21, 1967, 99-100 fig. 4-6. – A. Böhme, *Schmuck der römischen Frau* (Stuttgart 1974) 31 Abb. 6. – À l'aube de la France. *La Gaule de Constantin à Childéric* (Paris 1981) 33-36 no. 14. – W. Weber, *Constantinische Deckengemälde aus dem römischen Palast unter dem Trierer Dom*. *Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Trier, Museumsführer 1* (Trier 2000). – F. Bisconti, *Monumenta picta. L'arte dei Costantinidi tra pittura e mosaico*. In: *Costantino il Grande* (note 3) 184.

together with her jewellery⁷, it would mean that the decoration on the jewellery from Šarkamen is somewhat earlier than the fresco from Trier. Of course, the fresco could have been based on an older, existant portrait of the person represented. That would, in turn, show that women from the imperial family owned jewellery of this kind, which was produced in one or more goldsmiths' centres by artisans who employed set models. The distribution of finds indicates that the prototype for the luxurious composite necklace could have been made in a centre in the Balkans. As we will show that connections already existed between the workshops at Trier and *Naissus* as early as 316, it is logical to assume that these contact began slightly earlier. This would mean that jewellery from Šarkamen was made in the nearby workshop at *Naissus*, whose artisans were in contact with the imperial workshop in Trier. When required they produced valuable objects for members of the emperor's entourage. Although there is no other evidence for the workshop in *Naissus* working for Maximinus Daia's court, its official production was to be very significant only a few years later, during the preparations for Licinius' anniversary celebrations.

The silver plates made in the *Naissus* workshop for Licinius' *decennalia* in 316/17⁸ are actually calotte-shaped bowls with the inscription LICINI AVGVSTE SEMPER VINCAS, a circular stamp NA/ISS(us), and a laurel wreath with the acclamation SIC X/SIC XX in the centre⁹. Finds of the silver vessels produced for the celebration of the *decennalia* of Constantine II and Crispus in 321/22, especially a specimen from a hoard, possibly found on the Black Sea coast and today in the Bayerische Hypothekenbank in Munich, are stamped NAIS¹⁰, showing that the workshop in *Naissus*, which had produced objects for Licinius' court, continued to work for Constantine's needs also. Two band-like gold rings found in Bela Palanka (*Remesiana*), about 35 km east of Niš on the road to Serdica, suggest that this happened immediately after Constantine captured the city. On the rectangular heads of the rings is the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO. One example, which was in a private collection¹¹, is today lost and the other is in the British Museum in London¹² [Fig. 5]. They belong to a small group of related official decorations with



5 Bela Palanka (*Remesiana*). Gold „fidelity ring“ of Constantine (British Museum London).

which Constantine started to reward prominent persons in 315, on the occasion of the celebration of his *decennalia* and during the preparations for the final battle with Licinius. Finds of such rings are concentrated in East Gaul, the Rhine valley and on the Upper Danube, from where ten gold¹³

⁷ M. Tomović, Conclusion. In: Popović (note 3) 107-109. The hypothesis that the jewelry belonged to Constantia, who was Licinius' wife and Constantine's sister (R. Petrović, *Apoteoza. Istorija oboženja*, Belgrade 2000, 414-415), does not seem plausible. This runs against the historical circumstances, i.e. the defeat of Licinius at the hands of Constantine and the final loss of the Balkan provinces in 324, when his wife begged her brother to spare his life (Zosimos, *Historia néa* II 28,2; Anonymus Valesianus 5,28; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41,7). The suggestion that he was subsequently buried at Šarkamen does not fit the historical situation.

⁸ The chronology of Licinius' *decennalia* is a problem that has not yet been solved. For the extensive bibliography on this cf. Popović (note 1) 134 note 3.

⁹ Costantino il Grande (note 3) cat. 41 (with further literature).

¹⁰ B. Overbeck, *Argentum Romanum. Ein Schatzfund von spät-römischen Prunkgeschirr* (Munich 1973) 29 no. 4.

¹¹ I. Popović, „Fidelity Rings“ to the Emperors of the Constantinian house. *Starinar* 50, 2000, 198 no. 15 (with further literature).

¹² F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the finger rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Departement of Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1907) no. 650.

¹³ R. Noll, *Eine goldene Kaiserfibel aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316*, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174, 1974, 221-224. – R. Noll, *Fidem Constantino - Treue dem Konstantin! Zu einem goldenen Fingerring aus Oberwinterthur*. *Helvetica archaeologica* 67, 1986, 102-108. – Popović (note 11) 187-198. – M. Martin, *CONSTANTINO FIDEM und CONSTANT(I) FIDES. Goldene Treueringe für Constantinus I und seinen Vater Constantius Chlorus*. In: *Neue Forschungen zur römischen Besiedlung zwischen Oberrhein und Enns. Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung München* 3 (Remshalden-Grumbach 2002) 253-265.



6 Zerf. Gold „fidelity ring“ of Constantine (RLM Trier, Inv. 6475). Foto M. 2:1, Zeichnung M. 1:1.

and two bronze pieces originate¹⁴. In Trier itself one gold [Fig. 6] and two bronze finger rings of this type have been discovered. The recent discovery of bronze specimens opens up new possibilities in explaining their role¹⁵. The other group of such decorations consists of the gold rings from Pannonia, produced after Constantine's victory over Licinius at the battle of *Cibalae* in 316. Two specimens from *Remesiana* belong to a third group, distributed after Constantine's capture of *Naissus* and *Serdica*¹⁶. Since Constantine's presence in *Serdica* is recorded for 3/4 December 316 (Codex Theodosianus I 1), he was in the neighbourhood of *Remesiana* at the end of November of that year. While the specimens of such jewellery from Gaul, the German provinces and Pannonia are almost identical in shape, weight and inscription, the rings from *Remesiana* are of poor quality and the letter O in the inscription is smaller. The jewellery was certainly modeled on the products of the Trier workshop, which Constantine distributed among commanders in Gaul and Pannonia. However, the specimens from *Remesiana* are probably local products from *Naissus*,

which Constantine already visited in 319 (Codex Theodosianus II 15,1; 16,2), when he could have given them as donations to prominent persons¹⁷. It is an open question whether court artisans accompanied the emperor during the campaign or, more probably, the fidelity rings were made by local craftsmen acting on commission and copying a model from Trier. In any case, this jewellery shows that connections, direct or indirect, between the workshops in Trier and *Naissus* already existed at the beginning of the Constantine's rule over the Balkan provinces.

The contacts between the workshops at *Naissus* and Trier which are indicated by finds of Constantine's fidelity rings, are confirmed by the discovery of a remarkable gold fibula at Blace [Fig. 7] near Prokuplje (*Hammum*)¹⁸, an important station about 30 km west from Niš, on the road to the centres *Ulpiana* and *Lissus* [Fig. 1]. It is an early



7 Blace. Gold fibula (National Museum Belgrade, Inv. 1030/IV).

¹⁴ L. Schwinden, *Kaisertreue. Ein weiterer Fingerring mit Inschrift fidem Constantino. Funde und Ausgrabungen im Bezirk Trier 27, 1995, 39-45 Abb. 1.* – L. Schwinden, *Kaisertreue II. Ein dritter Fingerring aus Trier mit Inschrift fidem Constantino. Funde und Ausgrabungen im Bezirk Trier 37, 2005, 50-57 Abb. 1-3.*

¹⁵ Schwinden, *Kaisertreue II* (note 14) 55-57.

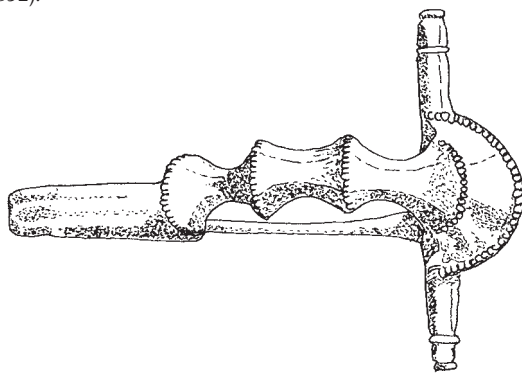
¹⁶ Popović (note 11) 187-199.

¹⁷ Popović (note 11) 192-193.

¹⁸ I. Popović, *Late Roman and early Byzantine gold jewelry in National Museum in Belgrade* (Belgrade 2001) cat. 83. – I. Popović, *Specific variants of gold and silver early Zwiebelknopf fibulae from eastern Serbia. Starinar 53/54, 2004, 232 fig.10.*



8 Trier, St. Paulin. Gold-plated bronze fibula (RLM Trier, Inv. 6392).



9 Cologne. Silver fibula (former collection of Heinrich Joseph Aldenkirchen, Cologne).

variant of the „onion bulb“ fibula, with a round plaque on the head, a bow consisting of ridges, and decorations of the row of large granules. Its closest parallels are the gold-plated fibula from the necropolis of St. Paulin in Trier¹⁹ [Fig. 8] and the silver specimen from a grave in Cologne²⁰ [Fig. 9]. Certain elements of these fibulae of composite shape, for example the moulded bow, are characteristic of bronze examples from Britannia and Germania²¹. The fibula from Trier is of the distinct variant of type I of „onion fibulae“, generally dated between AD 280 and 320²². The fibulae from Trier, Cologne and Blace are made of bronze, thickly plated with silver and gold, and richly decorated with beaded wire or rows of relatively large granules. They were clearly intended as imperial *donativa* for high-ranking soldiers or officials. Their distinctive shape, as well as the exceptional similarity of their structural and ornamental characteristics, suggest that although they were found in Gaul, Germania and Dardania

respectively, the reason for their donation and hence their production should be sought in one and the same historical context. While it could be assumed that the fibula from Blace, as well as the silver plates for Licinius, were produced in *Naissus* on the occasion of the celebration of emperor's decennalia, we think it more probable that the fibula was in fact produced as part of Constantine's donations after his victory over Licinius at *Campus Ardiensis* in Thrace in December 316²³. Since there are very close parallels with the fibulae from Cologne and Trier, which were probably donated on the occasion of Constantine's decennalia on 25 July 315 as a reward for loyalty in the battles against the Germans on the Rhine limes in the spring of 313²⁴, it could be assumed that some of the masters from the Trier workshop that produced objects for this occasion had been transferred to *Naissus* after Constantine's triumph over Licinius. There, together with local craftsmen, they produced objects intended for persons who had distinguished themselves during Constantine's advance to *Serdica*, which had paved the way for victory over his opponent at *Campus Ardiensis*. Although the written sources do not mention any battles involving Constantine's troops during this advance, it does not mean that there were no clashes. Taking *Naissus*, his home town, was certainly of utmost importance for Constantine, especially as the workshops for the production of objects of official character were

¹⁹ F. Hettner, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 2, 1883, 222 Taf. 11,2. – Trier - Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz (Mainz 1984) 111-112 no. 31b (K.-J. Gilles).

²⁰ N. Franken, *Zur Antikensammlung des Kölner Goldschmieds Heinrich Joseph Aldenkirchen (1798-1882)*. *Kölner Jahrbuch* 31, 1998, 279 Abb. 4.

²¹ A. Böhme, *Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel*. *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* 29, 1972, Abb. 1,2,3. – P. M. Pröttel, *Zur Chronologie der Zwiebelknopffibeln*. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 35, 1988, 350 Abb. 1,9.

²² Pröttel (note 21) 349-350 note 29; 32 Abb. 1.10.

²³ For the chronology of Constantine's conflict with Licinius and different opinions on this problem; cf. P. Bruun, *Studies in Constantinian chronology*. *Numismatic notes and monographs* 146 (New York 1961).

²⁴ Immediately after agreement with Licinius in Milan at the beginning of 313, Constantine campaigned successfully against German tribes on the Rhine limes; cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire I* (Amsterdam 1968) 92.

located there, and had produced the silver plates intended for Licinius' *decennalia* and which he probably awarded to important military commanders before abandoning the town²⁵. It is possible that in the battle for *Naissus* some army units went over to Constantine, thus facilitating his entry into the town and further advance to the east, and that the emperor rewarded officers of such units for special services, or representatives of the town administration who had influenced the attitude of the army, with luxurious gold fibulae. The find of two gold finger rings with the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO in nearby *Remesiana* could be explained as a result of the same circumstances. The rings were most probably produced in the *Naissus* workshop, where the same masters had also produced the plates for Licinius' *decennalia*. They then continued their activity under Constantine and his successors, making objects of official character as they were required. However, the stylistic unity of the fibula from Blace and those from Cologne and Trier indicates that, besides local masters, craftsmen from the imperial workshop in Trier who had produced objects of official character before Constantine's campaign and battle with Licinius in the autumn-winter of 316, also now worked in *Naissus*. Constantine could already have awarded the fibulae and 'fidelity rings' on his return from Thrace, when he passed through *Naissus* on the way to *Siscia*, where he stayed with his court in the beginning of 317²⁶. The other possibility is that Constantine donated these gold objects during some later visit, and that he was not in *Naissus* before 25 July 319 (Codex Theodosianus II 15,1; 16,2). Thus, the fibulae of this distinctive group were produced first in the imperial workshop in Trier for Constantine's *decennalia* on 25 July 315 as a reward for loyalty in the battles with Germans on the Rhine Limes in the spring of 313²⁷, and subsequently the next year in *Naissus* as *donativa* after his victory over Licinius. For this reason we assume that some of the artisans from the Trier workshop who produced objects for Constantine's *decennalia* were transferred to *Naissus* after his triumph over Licinius. Here, together with local craftsmen, they manufactured objects designed for persons who had been of service in Constantine's breakthrough towards *Serdica*. In other words, the luxurious fibula from Blace, as

well as the fidelity rings from *Remesiana*, form a group of valuable objects which Constantine presented to loyal commanders during the decisive battles for domination over the Balkan provinces. These were imperial *donativa*, most probably produced in the workshop at *Naissus*, the artisans of which already worked for the imperial court, and who were perhaps now joined by goldsmiths from Trier. Besides the historical circumstances, this hypothesis is confirmed by the distribution of this typologically related group of objects, which were designed to propagate imperial propaganda and finds of which are concentrated around the production centres in Trier and *Naissus* [Fig. 10].

The *officina Naissus* continued its activity during the reigns of Constantine's heirs. Apart from the bowl made for the *decennalia* of Constantine II and Crispus²⁸, the large shallow plate from the great hoard of silver vessels discovered at Kaiser-augst (*Castra Raurica*) in Switzerland was also produced here. This plate, with its central medallion decorated with crossed squares and floral motifs, carries the punch marks of the artisan, of the workshop and of its weight: EVTICIVS NAISI PV²⁹. A second complex of silver vessels from the same hoards also includes the plate made on the occasion of Constans' *decennalia* in 342/43, confirming that the structure of the hoard is heterogeneous and that the vessels were collected over a lengthy period, from 337 to 350. Probably they belonged to one, or a group of prominent individuals from the entourage of Constans who hid them at a threatening moment during the struggle with the usurper Magnentius, probably around 351/52. Some of the silver vessels are imperial donations, while others are private property, obtained through purchase, inheritance, robbery or exchange. The coins in the hoard show a dominance of Balkan mints in the period 337-340, while af-

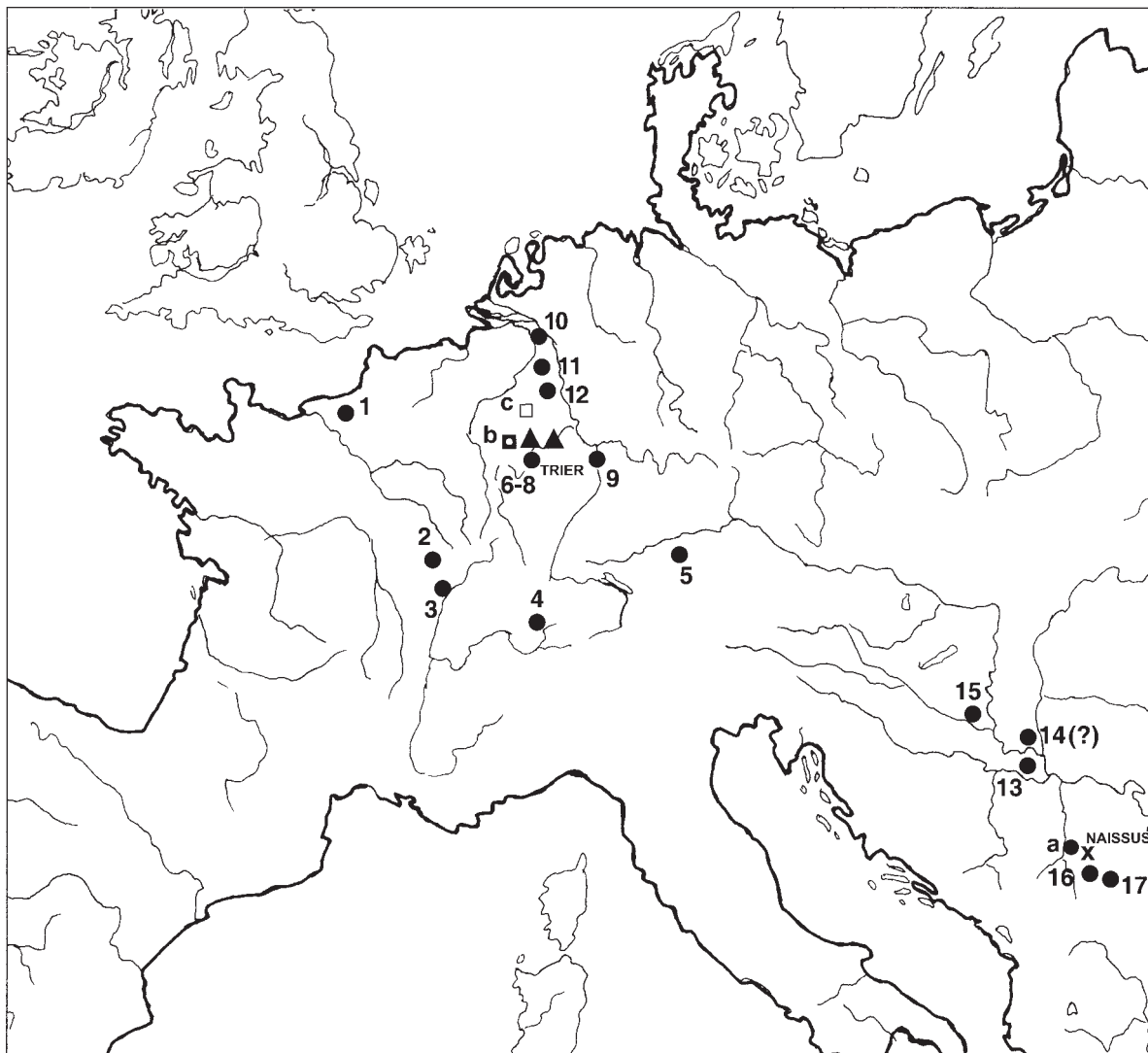
²⁵ This is also the opinion of M. Mirković, *Decennalia des Licinius und die Schlacht bei Cibalae*. *Živa antika* 47, 1997, 145-158 (with a bibliography on problems concerning the dating of Licinius' *decennalia* and the production of imperial *donativa* for this occasion).

²⁶ Bruun (note 23) 54; 102.

²⁷ Popović 2004 (note 18) 225-239.

²⁸ Overbeck (note 10).

²⁹ Cahn/Kaufmann-Heinimann (note 2).



ter 340 coins from Gaul predominate. The origin of nine of the vessels could be established: one each originates from *Nicomedia*, *Serdica* and *Naissus*, five from *Thessalonica*, while one was made in western workshop, in Trier. The origin of the others could not be established. On the other hand, three ingots were made in Trier and one piece of silver in *Mogontiacum*³⁰. However, the plate of *Eutychius*, the inscription on which confirms that it was made in *Naissus*, has in the central medallion the characteristic motif of crossed geometric figures and floral elements. Two deep bowls and one plate from the find have similar decoration³¹, as does a plate from the south tower of the fortress at Kaiseraugst³², while the motif of the bulb

10 Distribution of Constantine's „fidelity rings“ (1-17) and of fibulae with a round plaque on the head and ridges on the bow (a-c)

● Gold ▲ Bronze ■ Gold-plated bronze □ Silver.

1 Amiens **2** Toul **3** Soulosse **4** Oberwinterthur **5** Augsburg **6-8** Trier **9** Stromberg **10** Nijmegen **11** Qualburg **12** Luisendorf **13** *Sirmium* **14** 'Hungary' **15** Lug **16-17** Bela Palanka.

a Blace **b** Trier **c** Cologne.

³⁰ M. Guggisberg (Ed.), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst. Die neuen Funde. Silber im Spannungsfeld von Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft der Spätantike. Forschungen in Augst 34 (Augst 2003) 285-291.*

³¹ Cahn/Kaufmann-Heinimann (note 2) no. 41; 52; 60.

³² M. Martin, *Römermuseum und Römerhaus Augst (Augst 1981) 54 fig. 42.*

from the brim of the *Naissus* plate is paralleled only on *Ariadne's* plate from Kaiseraugst³³ and a plate from the Traprain Law treasure in Scotland³⁴. These decorative elements indicate that the artisan from *Naissus*, *Euty chius*, made use of a model, maybe from Gallic workshops. The plate could have been a part of an imperial donation, but also a private commission, and the model on which it was based could have reached the *Naissus* workshop when Constans and his court passed through the region. In the late summer of 343 Constans and Constantine II attended the council of *Serdica*³⁵, and it is quite likely that they passed through *Naissus*. At the very least, the decorative scheme of the *Euty chius* plate, as well as the silver plate with a hexagram in the central medallion which was discovered in Niš itself³⁶, indicate the existence of influence or direct contacts between the toreutic workshops in Gaul and the studios in *Naissus* during the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century. But, although these decorative elements on the silver vessels indicate connections between the workshop in *Naissus* with western studios, the Kaiseraugst treasure does not confirm the existence of direct contacts between the workshops in Trier and *Naissus* around the middle of the fourth century. The bowl from the hoard with the double corrugated rim which was produced in Trier is related typologically to vessels from Gallic hoards and from *Carnuntum* from the second half of the third century. It is also related to the plate from *Siscia* which can be dated to the First Tetrarchy and, above all, to the late Roman bowl from Cologne. The rim of the corrugated bowl with the stamp of the Trier workshop connects this vessel from Kaiseraugst with Licinius' plates found in Čarvenbrjag in Bulgaria, and also with the plate from the find now in the Bayerische Hypothekenbank in Munich³⁷. But similar vessels are not as yet known from the workshop at *Naissus*.

The repertoire of the toreutic workshop from *Naissus*, which on occasions carried out official commissions so satisfying the needs of the imperial court, clearly shows that its connections with related western centres were long-lasting and complex, developing in both directions during almost the entire first half of the fourth century. They probably began as early as the second

decade of the fourth century, when the jewellery from the mausoleum at Šarkamen was made, in all probability in the *Naissus* workshop. The composite necklace from this set of jewellery served as a model for the decoration to be seen worn around the neck of a woman from Constantine's family in the fresco from the palace in Trier. That jewellery could also have been made in *Naissus* when the emperor and his court stayed there in 319. Or else a model was taken from there to Trier at this time, if not a few years earlier just after the Constantine's capture of the city in 316. Contacts between the two studios had already become intensive by then, as is proved by the finds of „fidelity rings“ for Constantine, and the gold fibulae with ridges on the bow. While the jewellery from Šarkamen indicates influences originating in the Balkans, these objects in turn bear witness to the influx of ideas, models, and maybe personnel from Trier to *Naissus*. The tumultuous historical events during the reigns of Constantine's sons resulted in great mobility on the part of the emperors and their entourages, and through this the swift transmission of cultural influences, as well as of goods themselves, from one end of the Empire to the other. The products of the workshop at *Naissus* then reach the western provinces, but, at the same time, draw inspiration that enriches their decorative repertoire.

Zusammenfassung

Konstantins Machterweiterung auf dem Balkan gegen Licinius wird archäologisch in besonderer Weise dokumentiert durch Edelmetallobjekte der kaiserlichen Propaganda, hergestellt in kaiserlichen Werkstätten. Deren Produktion verdient stärkere Beachtung.

Die bekannten Werkstätten von *Naissus* (Niš) mit ihren herausragenden Erzeugnissen werden in ein neues Licht gerückt durch jüngere Funde

³³ Cahn/ Kaufmann-Heinimann (note 2) no. 61.

³⁴ A. O. Curle, The treasure of Traprain. A Scottish hoard of Roman silver plate (Glasgow 1923) no. 19 pl. XV.

³⁵ Stein (note 24) 135.

³⁶ Antičko srebro (note 1) cat. 270. – Costantino il Grande (note 3) cat. 175.

³⁷ Guggisberg (note 30) 87-93 no. 82.

und die Herleitung von Beziehungen zu anderen Werkstätten, insbesondere zur Kaiserresidenz in Trier. So findet der in der Deckenmalerei unter dem Trierer Dom dargestellte Schmuck Parallelen in dem aufsehenerregenden Neufund des Goldschmuckes aus Šarkamen (Serbien).

Die Beziehungen zwischen den Edelmetallwerkstätten des Balkans und Trier begannen kurz vor 316; sie arbeiteten auch noch Jahre später für Konstantin und den Hof. Treueringe mit Aufschrift *fidem Constantino* unterstreichen in besonderem Maße die politischen wie kunsthandwerklichen Beziehungen zwischen Trier und *Naissus*. Eine aufwendige Goldfibeln aus Blace (Serbien) bestärkt in ihrer Verwandtschaft mit entsprechenden Zwiebelknopffibeln aus Trier und Köln die Vermutung, daß Handwerker der Trierer Werkstätten nach Konstantins ersten Siegen über seinen Mitkaiser Licinius seit 317 in den alten Werkstätten von *Naissus* arbeiteten und imperiale Donativa hier herstellten.

Unter den Söhnen Constans und Konstantin II. sind noch in den 40er Jahren des 4. Jahrhunderts Einflüsse oder direkte Verbindungen zwischen den toretischen Werkstätten Galliens und denen in *Naissus* festzustellen. Der direkte Nachweis nach Trier ist schwieriger zu erbringen.

Notes on photographs

Fig. 1 Author.

Fig. 2, 3, 7 N. Borić, Archaeological Institute Belgrade.

Fig. 4 Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Trier.

Fig. 5 after: Marshall (note 12) no. 650.

Fig. 6 Th. Zühmer, RLM Trier, Dia.

Fig. 8 Th. Zühmer, RLM Trier, Dia.

Fig. 9 after: Franken 279 (note 20) fig. 4.

Fig. 10 Author.

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