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DOCTORAL THESIS ABSTRACT

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STOYAN PANAYOTOV IVANOV
PhD student of Roman law
at Department of „Theory and History of State and Law“
Faculty of Law of Sofia University „St. Kliment Ohridski“

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I. General characteristics of the dissertation

1. Motivation for the choice of topic and relevance of the research

Today more than in the Antiquity the stronger intervention of the governments and the institutions in the private lives and businesses of private citizens is taken for granted. It is obvious that like in the past, in our times it is necessary to have a legal regulation which is harmonized and modernized continuously in the interest of society. We could firmly say that now we are as interested in drawing a clear-cut line between the function of the State in public finance management and the determination of the position and the role of the private companies exercising administrative rights with regard to public finances as any other state or society has ever been. The study of the cooperation between public authorities and private business from a legal comparative and legal historical point of view could have an important contribution on not only a scientific level but also key importance for proposals *de lege ferenda*. Regarding public funds administration the Roman legal system developed and applied the form of a *de iure* created organizations which were very similar to the functional equivalent of the modern companies – the companies of the Roman publicans (*societates publicanorum*).

This research aims to answer the following questions:

- Who were the Roman publicans? What were their activities and how did they develop in the Roman state?
- What was the form of the legal organization of the publicans?
- Was there a legal and a corporative personalization regarding the companies of the publicans?
- What was the legal regulation concerning the companies of the publicans?
- Were the companies of the publicans different by their organization, functions and legal regulation from the other forms of partnership in Ancient Rome?

The answers to all these questions could not be given without the translation into Bulgarian language and through the analysis of the relevant to the queries classical texts from the sources.

Every research aims to analyze a phenomenon in view of creating true knowledge about its essence and importance. In this respect legal research aims to establish and analyze legal institutes to gain as much detailed knowledge about them as possible. On the other hand, legal education is directed to the creation of legal thinking with the participation of the lawyer in law enforcement.

There has been no research dedicated to the topic of the publicans in the Bulgarian legal doctrine until now. The publican companies are briefly examined in the Bulgarian books on Roman law[1] and Legal theory[2] regarding the organizations with corporative structure. In modern times prof. Malina Novkirishka has published several papers[3] about the long-term leases in Roman law and the extraction of natural resources in Rome which form an important basis of this dissertation. **Due to the lack of sufficient literature in Bulgarian language, it is presumed that this research will acquaint the Bulgarian legal community with a largely unexamined romanistic topic of key importance for the history of law, the legal theory, civil and even commercial law.**

In European romanistics there is a tendency in the late decades for the examination of Roman law intstitutes regarding the creation of the legal bases of the economic, social and cultural community in Europe. In an attempt to establish a balance between the national identity and the common interest, scholars more often than before turn to the Antiquity and Ancient Rome – which gave the world the base of the modern law. In the Western European literature, there are monographies and research papers dedicated to the publican companies but they are more focused on specific topics and they do not examine entirely the legal problems and aspects in accordance with the aims and the tasks of this dissertation. Most of these works are quoted in the exposition of

[1] Базанов, Иван, Курс по римско право, том I, София, 1940, с. 111 и 116.

[2] Ганев, Венелин, Учебник по обща теория на правото, том II, София, 1990, с. 1990, с. 373.

[3] Новкиришка-Стоянова, Малина, Наемът на вектигален имот в римското право, в Юридически свят, 2/2000, София; Новкиришка-Стоянова, Малина, Поземлените концесии в античните правни системи, в Правна мисъл, 2/2000, София; Новкиришка-Стоянова, Малина, За някои аспекти на римскоправния режим на добива на природни богатства в Правна мисъл, 3/2008, София

this PhD thesis and can be easily found in the bibliography. There is, for example, a monography focused on the clarification[4] of some important terms referring to the publicans activity and more specifically to the *ultro tributa* assigned to them bythe Roman State as well as in connection with the contracts for *publica vectigalia* collection. Another monographical research[5] with a very concrete topic presents an attempt for a reconstruction with a scientific purpose of the Roman public contracts from the last two centuries of the Republic and from the Augustan era. The book does not endeavor to examine fully the procedure of public construction in that period, neither to examine in-depth the complicated topic of the public leases and concessions, but rather aims to clarify those relations of *locatio-conductio* where administration has entered into legal relations with private subjects for the security and the maintenance of public buildings and also for the design and creation of new ones without examining the legal nature, the organization and the internal structure of the private companies – parties to said public contracts. Outside the frame of this work remains also the legal regulation about the practice of the activity of the subjects performing the public contract. There is a monography dedicated to the Roman provincial government[6] whose main topic is the administration and the financial policy of the Roman state in the Eastern provinces in the first two centuries of the Principate. All those contributions serve as a starting point showing the necessity of a Roman law study about publican companies in Bulgarian language, of a complex character.

The arguments about a new study comprising the theoretical and the more pragmatic aspects of the phenomenon of *societates publicanorum* could be generalized in some directions. In the first place, it is necessary to set a legal bassis regarding the historical formulation of the concept for the corporative legal personalities, missing in the Bulgarian legal literature. In the second place, a

[4] Milazzo, Francesco, La realizzazione delle opera pubbliche in Roma Arcaica e Repubblicana munera e ultro tributa, Napoli, 1993

[5] Triscuoglio, Andrea, „Sarta tecta, ultrotributa, opus publicum faciendum locare. Sugli appalti relativi alle opere pubbliche nell'età repubblicana e augustea", Napoli, 1998.

[6] Merola, Giovanna, Autonomia locale governo imperiale, Fiscalità e amministrazione nelle province asiane, Bari, 2001.

clarification of the Roman legal regulation on the spending of public money is made. It can serve undoubtedly as a valuable basis for the development of the concept of public finances decentralization in modern Bulgaria – the institute of a public-private partnership, concession, procurements assignment – all of them stemming from the Roman legal experience. In the third place, a similar study creates a theoretical base together with a bibliographical database on the historical-comparative research of modern private legal institutes and also of the Roman law but in addition, it touches upon Civil law and Legal theory studies for which research like this could be a starting point. Furthermore, it continues the tendency for scholarly studies that started in the 1990s and got particular reenforcement after 2000, thus, gradually overcoming the lack of scientific works on Roman law and triggering special interest among the general legal public in Bulgaria. Finally, through research of this type accession takes place to one of the key trends in contemporary romanistics with the presentation and analysis of leading theories, literary review and interpretation of the views of Roman jurists made accessible to all interested in this subject matter. In this regard, the relevance of the study rests not only on the lack of such work in Bulgarian to date, but also on the need for it to precondition the implementation of the above arguments.

2. Subject and tasks of the study

The subject of the present study are the publican companies, which represented a phenomenon of exceptional importance in the financial apparatus of Ancient Rome from the last centuries of the Republic and from the first centuries of the Principate. In this respect, a specialised legal regulation was in place regarding the formation of the publican companies and their internal structure as well as the ways those companies interacted with the Roman State. Similarly to every other Roman-law study this thesis is characterized by its interdisciplinarity. As Roman law is not a functioning legal system, the Roman legal experience must be considered in the context of social,

religious, political and economic factors, not only in the field of legal regulations and the opinions of Roman jurists. From this point of view, as far as publican companies are concerned, the size of the capital they managed was particularly impressive, as well as the number of persons involved in their activities or organization. At the same time, the significance of the publicans from an economic point of view was very important and led to a strong influence in the political life. In addition, we must consider the fact that the sectors in which the publicans operated were extremely diverse - from the collection of taxes and public revenues to the performance of contracts for public constructions, the supply of goods for the army as well as the mines and salt pans exploitation.

Starting such a Roman law study, one must keep in mind the great temporal scope of the publicans' existence in the Roman State, namely from the period of the Early Republic (IV century BC) to the era of Late Antiquity and to the Justinian period (VI century AD). The phenomenon is traced in different periods of the development of the Roman State with the help of the analyzed material from the sources in view of the peculiarities characterizing legal regulation improvement in connection with *societates publicanorum* in the various forms of the Roman state system. During the Late Republic publican companies performed all of their activities in almost all of the Roman provinces. Due to the scarcity of information about the publican companies internal organization, as well as that about their relations with the State, when working with the material from the sources, an in-depth legal analysis of the information in the specific time context is necessary followed by a qualitative legal data interpretation, so that final conclusions can be drawn.

With the advent of the Principate in Rome, a gradual change began concerning the methods and ways of exploiting the population and the territory. In accordance with the maxim valid during the Republic as well that „a good shepherd should shear his sheep, but not skin them[7]", a big part of the public revenues introduced by emperor Augustus onwards were organized through direct collection by imperial agents with the publican companies being gradually but not fully exempt from that activity. On the other hand, the emperors intervened by introducing specific legislation aimed at limiting the

[7] Suet., Tiberius, 32.5.

possibility for *societates publicanorum* to abuse the provincial population in the collection of public revenues, providing taxpayers with adequate procedural remedies.

The subject of the study also predetermines the tasks that must be fulfilled such as:

- outlining the actual scope of the concept of „a company of publicans“, considering most types of activities of the publicans and translating and analyzing the relevant texts from the sources in this regard, so that conclusions can be drawn;
- clarification of the other meaning of the term „societas“ in Roman law, used specifically in legal and non-legal sources to denote a certain type of entity, namely in the semantics of the expression *societates publicanorum*;
- presentation of the organizational formation of publican companies as separate subjects of law, having in fact the status of legal entities, thus revealing the historical development of the concept of persons in Roman law being different from individuals as participants in legal life;
- clarification in a logical sequence of the arguments in favor of the statement that societates publicanorum can be perceived as a prototype of the modern commercial companies through the study of their internal structure;
- exegesis of the texts of the Digest of Justinian and of the Lex portus Asiae in connection with the Roman legal system regulating publican companies.

3. Research methodology

The scientific tasks set in the research are solved through the use of complex methodology, common for Roman law dissertations, which are normally of a complex character. It requires the combination of a wide range of general scientific and special methods applied in theoretical and legal-historical research, but also methods specific to Roman law. According to the Bulgarian legal doctrine, the basis of research methodology of this type is rooted in the combination of general scientific and special

methods. Only through this approach the analysis of the specific institutes can be comprehensively accomplished.

The study uses the legal-dogmatic method which analyzes the Roman legal regulation related to the settlement of contractual relations between publicans and the Roman state - admission to the public auctions, public contract award and concession regime. In legal-dogmatic research modern legal notions are used very carefully because the scientific value of a modern study of Roman law does not involve only bringing Roman legal institutes into a modern dogmatic framework, but also seeking their authenticity in the environment in which they have arisen and have been applied. These are the guiding lines for the arrangement of the exposition in the thesis.

The historical method traces the origin and historical development of the term and concept of „publican" and „company of publicans". In this light the legal regulation of public relations is considered in view of the activities carried out by the publican companies as it is definitely not the same in the periods covered by the study.

Legal theory carries out an in-depth study of the basics of the Roman law concept of legal entities, respectively the terms „association" and „company" based on available Roman law sources.

The comparative law method is implemented on several levels - when comparing the particular institutes of Roman law (for example the specific personified organizations *societas, collegia, sodalicium, sodalitas, corpus*), as well as from a historical perspective - for example, the unequal regulation in the different Roman provinces in the different historical periods of the collection of public revenues in accordance with the specifics of the Roman provincial government and the goals of the local Roman provincial administration regarding state policy. In this direction, it is worth noting the generally accepted statement in Roman law that legal phenomena should be presented as cultural phenomena, and very careful comparisons should be made between the different legal systems of the Antiquity. The exegesis undertakes a critical philological analysis of a text fragment made with the ultimate goal of understanding its true meaning. This is a complex method of research characteristic of Roman law whose historical roots lie in the interpretation of the Scriptures in the Middle Ages. It is a combination of the translation and interpretation of texts at a linguistic level

with their placement in the respective historical reality in connection with their author and his or her social, political and conceptual position. There are also many etymological analyses in the exposition that clarify the actual meaning the Romans put into certain words and phrases. This is important for the correct perception of the concepts and terms they denote.

The study also adopts some political, sociological, economic and logical research methods.

4. Structure of the dissertation

For the pusposes of the scientific tasks the traditional dissertation structure of introduction is used. The main problems and approaches to the research are clarified as well as the subject, the tasks and the methodology, followed by three chapters and a conclusion with attached bibliography. The three chapters of the work are according to the logic of a monographic study on a specific subject, which requires a review of the positions and opinions of the Roman law doctrine scholars who wrote on the topic (*communis opinio*), clarification of the terminology used, the basic concepts, and then of the special problematics. The dissertation contains a total of 365 pages. There are a total of 1029 footnotes.

A number of Latin and Greek texts are used translated in parallel into Bulgarian. Each text is marked using the generally accepted system for classical texts.

The first chapter **„Concept and information about the activities of publicans“** comprises an overview of the socio-political situation in Rome at the end of the Republic and an analysis of the political, economic, financial and social preconditions that led to the need for the emergence of publican companies . The genesis and the meaning of the term and the notion „publican“ and „company of publicans“ are clarified in the context of the execution by the publicans of the rights of Roman administration regarding its finances and public property. The social stratum where the publicans actually came from is also presented - the equestrian class. The sources used are indicated and qualified as legal and non-legal. In the first chapter special attention is paid to the different types of

activities performed by the publicans considered according to their importance starting with the collection of public revenues from the publican companies, the supplies of the Roman army, and continuing with the role of publicans in important infrastructure projects as the main contractors of the public construction contracts, and ending with the exploitation of the mines and quarries by said companies.

The second chapter is dedicated to the nature and the structure of *societates publicanorum* and to the research of their organizational individualization. The exposition covers the clarification of the concept of partnership in Roman law and the study of different *corpora*. The section about the statute of *societates publicanorum* starts with the analysis of the fragment D. 3.4.1 by Gaius which is key for the clarification of the Roman law perception of the idea for subjects of law different from individuals, which is actually an illustration of the legal regulation *ad hoc* in this regard, preserved in the Digest of Justinian. A subsection which is extremely important in view of the tasks set is the one examining the other meaning of the term „*societas*" in Roman law as well as that which considers the special characteristics of publican companies, making them significantly different from other forms of association in Rome.

The third chapter of the PhD thesis **„Legal aspects of the publican activities"** starts with defining the notion of „*ultro tributa*". The dissertation explores the mechanism of conducting the Roman public auction and the award of public contracts for the collection of public revenues and for the performance of various types of public works by the publican companies. The concepts of „*lex locationis*" and „*lex censoria*" are defined. The regulation preserved in the Digest of Justinian has been studied in detail, in which the Roman authorities' attempt to limit (mostly by the well studied in the dissertation special edict „About tax farmers" part of which preserved in the title of „Tax farmers, vectigalia, and confiscations" from the Digest of Justinian (D.39.4)), the abuses and infringements of the tax farmers and their staff against the inhabitants of the Roman provinces obliged for public revenue. In this chapter, based on the information from the Digest and due to the study of the regulations contained in the Customs Law of the Roman Province of Asia, it is proposed that the processual aspects of the relationship tax farmer (publican) – tax payer should be clarified, as well as an analysis and interpretation should be made of processual remedies for protection provided by

Roman legislation for both the publicans and the taxable persons endebted to the publicans.

The choice to study these problems is dictated not only by the author's deep interest in Roman law, but also by his desire to present a topic not previously examined in the Bulgarian legal doctrine, which is extremely important in terms of tracing the historical continuity associated with the developing global economy, which requires public and private funding in view of economic and political goals.

5. Bibliography

The used literature consists of 217 titles, out of which 29 in Bulgarian and 188 in a foreign language. Foreign language literature is mainly in Italian, English, French and Spanish - 83 monographies, 44 articles, 27 textbooks, dictionaries and compendiums were used, as well as 3 Internet portals, where the texts from the original sources can be found.

II. Presentation of the main points in the dissertation

Chapter One „Concept and information about publican activities“

1. Prerequisites for the activity of publican companies

Section I from pp. 16 to 32 of the current thesis analyzes in detail the processes that took place in the Roman state during the end of the Republic and outlines several groups of prerequisites and reasons - political, economic and legal for the emergence of the need for the publican companies:

- of key importance was the incredibly large expansion of the Roman state territory and the resulting enormous dynamics of financial resources, as a result of the accession of the entire Apennine Peninsula and the creation of provinces around the Mediterranean. In addition, Rome acquired huge amounts of money and many valuable objects of gold and silver and in the same time became the owner of a large amount of arable land, as well as forests, mines, salt pans, and quarries;

- during this period there were significant difficulties for the Roman state related to the management of public finances and the provision of services of public interest;

- in a time of rapid and large-scale territorial expansion and economic prosperity, exceptional opportunities for profits and development were created for private business in the field of concluding contracts with the State.

In this social and economic context, the need for a change in the Roman administrative system based on political, social and military organization was obvious in order to avoid the deepening of the management crisis, due to the inability of the state to deal with certain problems such as public revenue collection, performance of various public works, supply of goods and services to the army, which in fact led to the need to create a legal regulation justifying the State`s intervention of private business, by assigning a certain category of private enterprise (companies of publicans) to special public functions. The dissertation confirms that this regulation is in fact a clear illustration of the Roman decision for the decentralization of public finances as all the necessary activities for the state were performed by the private business using public funds. It is concluded that this Roman choice was provoked by the constant desire of the

authorities not to create the need for expensive public administration for the state budget which to some extent would be ineffective in a country with an extremely large territory like the Roman empire. The study highlights the main idea that guided the Romans in their financial policy, namely that of efficiency perceived as the optimal realization by private persons and entities, of pre-established by the state important economic goals in a certain place and for a certain period of time. The optimization of public finances was also important thanks to the imposition of strict public revenue collection (taxes, fees, duties etc.), some of which were spent on the construction of new local infrastructure of a Roman model. These large-scale infrastructure projects could not be effected without the help of public works contracts concluded with the publican companies.

2. Term and concept of „publican“ and „company of publicans“

Section II is from pp. 32 to 72. In the romanistic literature available in Bulgarian, as well as in Italian, French and English, it is not possible to find a complete concept of „a publican“ and „a publican company“, which to serve as the basis for building the general characteristics of the publican company. Most authors proceed to explain the activities of the publicans without tracing the etymology of their name and linking it to the public functions assigned to them.

This approach may be acceptable insofar as Roman jurists themselves did not study law from a dogmatic point of view and did not seek theoretical generalizations, and respectively avoided definitions. In the dissertation, etymologically, the meaning of the term „*publicanus*“ is traced as deriving from „*poplicum*“ or „*publicum*“, and the terms „*populus Romanus*“ and „*publicum*“ are clarified. The Roman people (*populus Romanus*) was perceived as *res* in connection with the polyvalence of this concept in view of the meaning of *res* as a patrimony and, hence, as a community, a set of persons, a holder of public property - State. State property (*publicum*) in Rome consists of cash money (*pecunia publica*) issued by the State, *servi publici* - slaves of the state, movable property owned by the state, including military booty, mines, quarries, salt pans and by

ager publicus, that is, the territory understood as *res publica*, which was divided for public or private use.

In the light of the scientific task set at the beginning of the work, a full interpretation of the relevant texts is given which outlines the applicable meaning of the term „publican" or „companies of publicans", using terminology specific to Roman law and not subject to direct transposition into modern notions of public enterprises and commercial companies, it is concluded that undoubtedly the notions in question had a much broader perception and meaning in the republican period. Legal texts are not entirely sufficient to fully clarify the problems important for the study, so the complex Roman reality has been reconstructed through a comparative analysis of legal to historical and literary sources. Non-legal sources are important due to the fact that they relate mainly to the Late Republic period and thanks to them we can build our idea of the multifaceted concept behind the terms „publican" and „companies of publicans" in the period in which the activities of the publicans were extremely large-scale and therefore, legally regulated. In the dissertation texts by Plautus, Polybius, Cicero, Livy are translated and analyzed, the terms „*vectigal*" and „*vectigalia*" are interpreted in connection with the clarification of the term „publican".

The reviewed work disagrees with the opinion of the authors (Mateo, Antonio; Kniep, Ferdinand; Mommsen, Theodor) advocating the idea of the perception of the term „publicans" only in a narrow sense, i.e. only as public revenue collectors and not as public works contractors (*ultro tributa*). In the dissertation a conclusion is made, that using the term „publican" we should have in mind in the republican period a partner in a company which as an independent entity concludes contracts with the state, not only for the collection of public revenues and the exploitation of mines, but also for supplies to the army, construction and restoration of public buildings and facilities.

Thus, the concept is formed that publicans were all those persons engaged in commercial or entrepreneurial activity, who are parties to public contracts concluded by the state (*locationes*), and were in a situation similar to modern concessionaires or contractors of public works (according to type of contract). They are collectively referred to as „*conductores*", although the party to the lease was not a private person but the State.

Publicans were those *qui publico fruuntur* – who acquire goods for State benefit, i.e. exercise the rights of the administration with regard to public property and public finances (*publicum*). It is the Latin verb „*conduco*" which characterizes most precisely the plasticity with which Roman jurists used already established legal constructions for various purposes and finds its application in the relations between the publicans and the Roman state.The first meaning of the verb „*conduco*" in Latin is „to rent", but there is another special meaning that interests us in connection with the studied issues, namely: „to conclude a contract for the performance of something *(facere)*; to conclude a contract for the construction of buildings; to hire the collection of public revenues."

In the context of the rental terminology in the sources, the one who received the right to collect public revenues on behalf of the state and to perform certain public works is called „*conductor*", similar to the name of the tenant under the lease of property - *locatio-conductio rei*. It followed from the texts in the sources that *publicani* and their companies were *conductores* in their legal relationship with the *populus Romanus* regarding the exercise of administrative rights in relation to public property (*publicum*).

On the other hand, the legal relationship between the companies of publicans and the State was very similar to a public concession as regards the exploitation of mines, salt pans and state land mentioned in Gaius' text – D. 39.4.13.pr. from the point of view of the modern legal qualification of these relations. However, the modern model cannot be fully comparable to the Roman legal experience. In order to lease certain estates owned by the Roman state, a public auction was held with public bidding. The term of the public contract was relatively long - five years, and also required certain real and personal guarantees from the publican companies that the agreed amounts for the use of public property would be paid to the Roman state.

3. Sources about the companies of the publicans activity

In Section III, Chapter one, pp. 72-81, for the first time a summary of the existing source material on the publican companies was made, classifying the legal and non-legal sources. Special attention is paid to the epigraphic monuments. The source material is

systematized by centuries and the authors are traced chronologically, providing information about the publican companies, or the laws governing the matter. The editions and their authors comprising the original texts in Latin and Greek are quoted in detail as well as their translations into foreign languages or Bulgarian. Brief biographical notes are given about ancient authors such as Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Plautus, Cicero, etc. providing valuable information about the publicans and their companies. The modern collections and editions comprising the epigraphic inscriptions and the laws are also indicated. A list has been provided of the websites where texts in the classical languages or some of their translations can be found.

The oldest Roman law setting out the legal regulation about the activities of *societates publicanorum* was Lex Agraria from 111 BC. The full text in Latin and its English translation is found in Crawford, Michael, The Roman Republic, London, Vol. I, pp. 140-153. This was a detailed law regulating the status of agricultural land in Italy, Africa and Greece, respectively divided into three parts. The first part of the law concerned Italy, regulating the legal status of the lands and addressing the issue of public revenue collection by the publicans. Intepreting Lex Agraria, 2.26, we can assume that the mention of „publican" did not refer to a person who negotiates individually with the State, but a collaborator or a representative of the publicans company. From Lex Agraria, 2.46 we receive valuable information about the meaning of the notion „*manceps*", and about the functions and the role of the guarantees in public contracts concluded in Rome.

Cicero is the ancient author who undoubtedly provides us with the most information regarding *societates publicanorum*. Most of his letters „Letters to his brother Quintus", „Letters to Atticus", „Letters to Friends" and speeches like „On the Consular Provinces", „For Plancius", "On Pompey`s Command", his tractats „On the Republic", „On Duties", and mostly from his speech „Against Verres" we know that in the 1st century BC, the publicans organized in companies, were entrusted with the collection of public revenues in most Roman provinces. Cicero, in his speeches against the provincial governor Gaius Verres, is the ancient author who testified directly for the presence of a special internal organization of the companies of publicans, describing in

detail *magister*, *pro magistro* and *decumani*, and the functions they had in *societas publicanorum*.

4. The main activities of the publican companies

The main activities of the publicans are considered in section IV of Chapter I – from pp. 81 to 129 of the dissertation. Careful analysis of the activities of *societates publicanorum* allows us to draw a number of conclusions about their legal organization, largely influenced by the huge economic scale of their work. The publican companies were used by the Roman state to perform specific activities that it was unable to handle on its own. In this respect, the publicans are often mistakenly associated only with their most popular and important activity - the collection of taxes and public revenues in the Roman provinces, which was undoubtedly their most important public function. In English they are called **tax farmers**. This activity became a key one for *societates publicanorum* after II century BC, when the basic taxes and public revenues imposed by the Roman state were finally formed. The publicans collected firstly the customs duties (*portoria*), which were the most profitable for them and for the State, the tax for public pastures (*scriptura*), the tithes (*decuma*) – taxes paid by the users of public lands property owned by the State, collected in proportion to the harvest of agricultural products, taxes on the release or sale of slaves collected according to the value of the slaves. In the current dissertation special attention is paid to the system for collecting public revenues in the individual Roman provinces and to its specifics in the different places. One of the first activities of the publican companies was the supply of goods and provisions to the Roman army. The contracts for military supplies performed by the publicans were first mentioned by Livy during the Second Punic War, but in a way that shows that they were already a well-established practice at the time. In the war against Hannibal, all of Rome hoped to be saved by the timely intervention, rapid response, and financial support of the publican companies at a time when the country's survival was called into question by a very serious external threat. The payment could only be made when there was any money in the state treasury at all.

The partners in publican companies during the Second Punic War declared their full readiness to help save the homeland. The publicans agreed to commit their own resources so that the state could avoid the impending danger of an unclear outcome of the military conflict.

Construction work was an important activity carried out by the publican companies in Rome. The existence of public construction work performed in Rome is attested in the sources, and is confirmed by the many preserved ancient remains of entire cities, roads, individual buildings, aqueducts, bridges, temples, basilicas, theaters and more.

Due to the huge expansion of the Roman Republic's territory as a result of its military campaigns the mines in Spain, Macedonia, Cisalpine Gaul and Asia were in Roman hands. The State was unable to extract minerals by itself from the mines, some of which were located in remote provinces, and due to the lack of resources to deal with this task, procedures were initiated for assigning mining concessions to private enterprises. The contracts were concluded with the publican companies, which, at their own expense and risk, operated these mines, paying to the state an amount previously established in the contract.

Special attention in the current work is paid to the mines in Spain, which had a key impact on the economy in Rome. In fact, the silver deposits on the Iberian Peninsula were the first large and earliest objects acquired by the Roman state with a significant concentration of precious metals, as a result of the campaign led by Scipio in 209 BC during the wars against Carthage. They are also known as the mines of New Carthage.

Before the second half of the 2nd century BC - the establishment period of the system for public revenue collection by contract assignation to publican companies in the province of Asia - these mines represented one of the most profitable activities for *societates publicanorum*. An argument in support of the need for the exploitation of mines by organizations with special legal characteristics was precisely the scale of mining and the large capital needed for this activity.

The dissertation disagrees with the position of Antonio Mateo, who erroneously concluded that if Strabo claimed that the Spanish silver mines were in the hands of individuals and not companies, it necessarily meant that the state had sold these mines

to physical persons who had ceased to pay taxes for their exploitation. The sources do not provide such information and the quoted interpretation of the available information seems to be incorrect. This position of Antonio Mateo is subject to serious criticism precisely because of the lack of specification of how, without assigning the concession of the Spanish mines to the *societas publicanorum,* these self-employed entrepreneurs managed to finance the costly activity of organizing the extraction of underground minerals.

The author of the PhD thesis concludes that the companies of publicans, due to their capital and organization, exploited the mines, thus, guaranteeing the revenues of the Roman state through the system of public concessions.

Chapter Two „Nature and structure of societates publicanorum“

1. Societas in Roman law

The second chapter analyzes the nature and the structure of *societates publicanorum.* Section I of the chapter, pp. 130 to 145, outlines the profile of the partnership contract in Roman law, which created relations of legal relevance only between the partners, but without any external significance, without the creation of a legal entity as a result of the partnership. From the Roman partnership, no special powers arise in favor of all or some of the partners in connection with the joint venture, which have a certain effect on the partnership's property or on that of the other partners. Any transaction made by *socius*, even if it can be functionally recognized as a partnership transaction, insofar as the partnership's objectives are pursued, from the point of view of its position against third parties, remains a transaction relating only to the partner who has expressed a legally valid will to generate it.

In the current work it is concluded that the validity of the contract for a partnership in Roman law is relatively short-lived and may end for various reasons. According to the opinions of the jurisprudence, the grounds for termination of the partnership was the death of a partner in the contract. Therefore, based on the conclusions reached and the analysis of the Roman concept of the consensual partnership contract, the possibility that the organization of the publican companies - in view of their specifics and peculiarities, relations with the State and responsibility towards it, scale of activities and necessity - could be entirely identical to the form of the partnership contract in Roman law, as a form of association regarding the relationship between *societas publicanorum* and third parties, should be unconditionally rejected.

2. Corpora in Roman law

Section II (from pp. 145 to 172) sets out to make a comparison and differentiation between the association (*associatio, collegium, sodalicium*) in general and (*societas*) in its both dimensions – contract of partnership in Roman law and the company of publicans (*societas publicanorum*). A noteworthy difference between the companies and the associations in Rome is that the first ones are generally for commercial purposes and pursue a certain profit, while the latter are special non-profit organizations for public benefit and such with non-profit activities in private interest.

The conclusion reached after the study of *corpora* in Rome is that all these associations of individuals differ in their purpose, composition, etc., but they were a goodexample of combining the general public interest with the interests of individuals. *Lex Iulia de collegiis* was a typical example of the foresight of Roman political and legislative thought. This law restricted the freedom of association in Rome, and the restrictions were set in view of the new social needs and the new concepts of the organization of the state. On the other hand, this legislative measure definitely contained a corrective - the assessment discretion of the Senate in each case whether the criterion of public interest was met to the maximum extent in the planned activities of the future association. Roman jurists showed practically the way in which legal personality can be reached and, in the end, everything to be reduced to the utility (*utilitas*) by combining *publica* and *privata*.

The dissertation emphasizes that in the Roman legal experience of each era there were phenomena preconditioning the further development of the same legal relations that modern scholars have conceptualized. This also applies to the theory of legal personalities. The modern legal theorists following a view that emerged in the Middle Ages managed to formulate the essence of the legal personality as an abstract category - a social entity legally personified by the legal order based on its property similar to a person qualified as an individual.

In the current work it is concluded that despite the lack of a single term, communities of people or collective property, for which a certain legal order legitimizes the acquisition of rights or assumption of obligations, respectively the provision of functions of power or managerial functions, existed in the Roman world. Without being the subject of special theoretical clarification, they had been used for the practical

purposes of social relations regulation in Roman law. In this sense, we cannot claim that there was a general term „legal personality“ or „legal entity“ in Roman law, but it is constructed, although not uniform and abstract, but analogous to the modern concept of „legal personality“.

The Roman legal experience did not lack specific cases of community differentiation as legal entities, which were in fact an illustration of the degree of abstraction reached by Roman lawyers in connection with the various situations in which the rights of entities other than individuals were granted. In general, it should be borne in mind that Roman legal thought never came to a profound theory of persons (*personae*), subjects of the law including those different from the individuals. On the other hand, there was no lack of use, albeit sporadic and even accidental, of the term „*persona*“ denoting entities other than natural persons. There were many attempts at a later stage, when the law was more developed, to introduce uniform terminology (*corpus* and especially *universitas*) for entities constituting an organized community of people considered separate and independent from the individuals who comprise them.

The present work also defines „*universitas*“ which is no longer identified with its constitutent elements Instead, it had an independent existence in the legal world and it was in this independent legal existence that it can be opposed as an abstract legal category to its constituent elements or other subjects. The concept of „universitas“ which in fact represents the unification of all the various organizations of individuals, under the common denominator, of an abstract concept specially created by Roman legal thought, was the great achievement of Justinian's compilers. Post-classical law led to the creation of a special conceptual category “*universitas*“ which united all examples of corporate organizations and at the same time created common principles together with a legal regulation extremely close to the position of legal entities in modern legal systems.

3. Statute of societates publicanorum

Section III of Chapter Two (pp. 172-216) in the dissertation offers a legal, dogmatic and linguistic analysis of the famous fragment by Gaius from the Digest of Justinian – D. 3.4.1, which is considered key to understanding the Roman concept of legal entities. It is assumed that the expression *corpus habere conceditur*, used by Gaius, refered to the granting of an independent right, i.e. its concession by the state, in contrast to the permit regime, which is usually denoted by the verb „*permittere*“, i.e. granting permission to carry out any activity under generally defined conditions. According to D. 3.4.1.1, the companies of publicans and colleges were granted full legal capacity (*habere res communes, arcam communem*) and full legal capacity through representation (*habere actorem sive syndicum*) as a natural consequence of the permission for their legal establishment. In view of the interpretation of the expression „*permissum est*“ in the general sense of „*permitted*“, it can be concluded that these companies and associations were established in the manner characteristic of the Gaius period. The dissertation supports the opinion that according to Gaius, *corpus* had a limited category of self-contained corporate organizations which, however, are most often entrusted with the performance of public functions in such a way that their existence and activities were directly linked to the organization of public management, public property and the performance of various activities of public law, and it is no coincidence that they were organized precisely on the model of the State - *ad exemplum rei publicae*. In this context, the dissertation confirms that for Gaius a *corpus* was provided to a small number of large and key organizations for Roman fiscal policy with a personal substrate consisting of individuals, such as the publican companies, rather than a recognized and established practice of thousands of minor private non-profit associations.

In the PhD thesis the author concludes that the *corpus* in Gaius` text means, in the first place, a personified organization, analogous to *societas* and *collegium*, and at the same time it is a generic term denoting all forms of association in general. Another conclusion is that the term *corpus* expresses precisely the unity and distinctiveness typical of publican companies, colleges and other associations listed by Gaius, and in addition, it represents their specific characteristic as it is provided with the express permission of the state to a small part of them i.e. on which *permissum est corpus habere*. The position of some authors (Duff, Patrick William; Dufour, Geneviève),

analyzing the Roman legal institutes only from a contemporary point of view, in the present case, in favour of a complete identity between *corpus* and legal personality with the modern meaning of this concept, cannot be unconditionally supported, but we can claim that it was through the *corpus habere*, not only in Roman legal thought, but especially in the Roman law of the classical period, that the beginnings were laid, opening the way for the true theoretical formulation of the concept of legal personality and the concept of legal capacity in modern times.

Another contribution in the dissertation is that Roman legal thought had reached the conclusion that the technique of engaging individuals in public property management can overcome the natural inability of public companies to form an independent legally valid will, as Gaius summarizes succinctly: "and an attorney or syndic to be appointed through whom, as in a state, what should be transacted and done for the common good is transacted and done". In this way, the publican companies had the opportunity to participate in the civil turnover, entering into relations with third parties and having a legal capacity, very similar to this of the individuals. Although the classical Roman jurists did not reach the final form of the idea of agency representation as we know it today, although the publican companies have been a good example of its practical application since the end of the Republic, they certainly laid the foundations for its further development in Justinian's law.

In connection with the use of the term „*societas*" in D. 3.4.1 by Gaius, in the dissertation it is assumed that with this term the lawyer refers to the publican companies which in Rome during the classical period fell under a special legal regulation treating them as specific corporate entities, very similar to modern legal entities, independently participating in legal life as empirical entities with a purely economic purpose and important functions for the Roman state.

Based on the analysis of the texts, the dissertation concludes that in Roman law the term „*societas*" referred to a certain type of entity whose characteristics were close to corporate organizations of the company type, permanently existing in the absence of a dependence on the change in the number of members, and not only to the partnership contract terminated with the withdrawal or death of the partners. Evidently, Roman jurists considered it to be a specific type of company which, in order to distinguish itself

from the generic notion of „*societas*“, always had a determinant which related it to the activity of the publicans, and so Roman jurisprudence made an essential difference in giving organizational integrity to this type of companies, unknown to the general hypothesis of association with a specific purpose. Gaius actually presented the publican companies as one of the few exceptions to the restrictive regime introduced by the special regulation at the end of the Republic, as the publican companies belonged to those organizations that were of a public benefit due to the great public interest in them, their effective organization and their numerous activities.

In view of the scientific task set in the introduction to clarify the use of the term „*societas*“ in the phrase „*societas publicanorum*“, the dissertation confirms that this is an organization characterized by the creation of a sustainable and specific internal structure allowing the exercise of one or more of the assigned public activities. This stability was also ensured through maintaining the circle of company members by allowing the entry of the inheritor of a deceased partner (*socius*) completely unacceptable according to the general hypothesis for partnerships in Roman civil law. In this case, the use of the same term in specifically different situationsmeans a separate participant in legal life, a company-corporation, with a purely economic purpose, carrying out activities similar to modern commercial companies. Its nature, structure and characteristics represented a legal unity closer to the specific Roman colleges, which were real legal entities, if we analyze them from a modern point of view, and which were also considered separate structures according to Roman jurisprudence, unlike the consensual partnership contract.

4. Internal organization of the publican companies

The PhD thesis presents the internal organization of the publican companies. As a result of the studied source material, it is concluded that there were relations of representation between the persons performing the functions of magister and pro magistro and the company of the pubicans, similar to the modern commercial companies. It can be assumed that in the activity of societates publicanorum direct

representation (contractual and procedural) was widely used, although it was not called so by the Roman jurists. In addition, the analysis of the sources reveals the unity of the internal structure of the publican company, which included a general meeting of partners (socii), whose majority elected magister and pro magistro, and a meeting of decumani, which can be convened only by magister and is similar to the management board of the company. Based on the information about the representation and the specific position, role and distribution of functions between *magister* and *pro magistro* in the internal organization of *societas publicanorum*, we could make an analogy between them and the manager and deputy manager of modern commercial companies.

The very complexity of the internal organization of *societates publicanorum*, which was extremely important for the Roman state due to the functions assigned to these companies, allowed them to gradually become holders of certain rights (ownership rights, the right to sue on behalf of the company) as if ceded to them by the public authority.

The study of the internal organization of *societates publicanorum*, led to the conclusion, albeit with some reservations, about the specifics, in the historical plan, of the emergence and development of publican companies, that with the legal regulation of their status and activities, these companies can be considered the prototype of modern commercial companies. The arguments are as follows:

- the partners of *societates publicanorum* formed a meeting equivalent to the general meeting of today`s companies;
- *socii* of the publican companies had rights similar to those of modern shareholders, but in a very different economic, social, legal and historical context;
- the publican companies were corporatively separate and independent participants in the legal world;
- *magistri* and *pro magistri* of the publican companies had the functions of managers and deputy managers, and decumani were very similar to the board of directors of modern companies.

1. Legal nature of the public contracts – definition of ultro tributa

The third chapter aims to present the legal aspects of the pulican activities. Section I – pp. 261-278 clarifies the notion of „*ultro tributa*“. Following the exegesis and the interpretation of the relevant texts from the sources a conclusion is drawn that in the public contract (*ultro tributa*), where lease terminology is typically used, it is the contracting authority, i.e. the Roman State that must pay the publicans the lowest possible price. This aspiration of the censors during the Republic became their main goal and practice, which was in correspondence with the economic rationale accepted by the Romans, that the costs of the Roman treasury should be reduced as much as possible in the performance of *ultro tributa*, but still there must be a real ratio between price and quality in terms of scale and importance of the work performed.

Therefore, *ultro tributa* were not just what Varon described as income for the Roman state in De lingua Latina, 6.11. It is clear from Lex Irnitana and Malacitana that *ultro tributa* were no longer the payment that the Roman state received during Varon's time, but rather an instrument aimed at carrying out public works related to the maintenance of public buildings, facilities and contracts concluded by the Roman state with the publican companies for this purpose. Based on Livy’s testimonies and the information we have from the epigraphic inscriptions, the thesis concludes that in a narrow sense the term *ultro tributa* referred to the very public works that the Roman state assigned by public auction to the *societates publicanorum*.

2. Essence and characteristics of the Roman public auction

Section II pp. 278 - 305 of the dissertation focuses on the procedure of the public auction (*auctio*) practiced in Ancient Rome. The Roman public auction was a convenient tool for overcoming all the imperfections in the system of concluding public contracts in Rome. In a public auction, the winner was usually the highest bidder, who offered the

highest evaluation for the subject of the auction, respectively, the public contract. In addition, through the public auction, the State managed to achieve its predetermined goal of maximizing its revenues. The Roman choice of assigning public functions to the private enterprise (*societates publicanorum*) and engaging the private capital in the implementation of important tasks for the State, through the mechanism of the public auction, proved to be extremely effective for the successful Roman financial policy.

After analyzing and interpreting the information from the sources in connection with the procedure for awarding public contracts in the current work, it was concluded that the term „*lex locationis*" before the public auction and the conclusion of the contract actually meant the project, proposed for each specific public work (construction, repair of a building or facility) and its realization for the Roman state. *Lex locationis* contained in details the conditions and the parameters of the contract, which must be concluded with the publicans for the performance of the work - rights and obligations of the parties, contract price, term for completion of the work, regulation of the right to exercise control and supervision over all activities, warranty or liability of the publican company performing the work. In its pre-tender version for publication, the *lex locationis* served as an appendix to the auction notice, and its text might not be as comprehensive as the final text, around which the parties' wills were united in reaching a consensus, after which moment *lex locationis* was synonymous to a contract. It should be emphasized that once the contract has been concluded, the *lex locationis* referred to the very detailed contract content, binding for the parties to the contract. The publicans must comply with its clauses and fulfill in full compliance the obligations assumed to the Roman state or the specific municipality or colony-assignor.

In the dissertation the notion of „*lex censoria*", is also analyzed which had a specific legal and technical meaning and has not always been related with the activities of the publican companies. *Lex censoria* was the model, the matrix - in a general sense, related to the public auction procedure and then the contract with the publican companies. The existence of such a framework law in no way replaces the issuance, by the contracting magistrate, of a specific *lex locationis* for the purposes of the current auction for the award of the specific public work, although the only changes were often just the deadline, the contract price and the names of the guarantors. It is important to

notice that *lex locationis*, i.e. the specific contract with a particular publican company for public work to be performed for the Roman state must not be confused and overlap with the *lex censoria* (general rules for all *leges locationum* for a given type of contract with the publicans).

In the current PhD thesis a complete classification and systematization of all documents used by the publican companies was made, giving specific examples of both private and official documents. Thanks to the large number of documents of various content that have reached us (public tender announcements, reports, performance projects, already archived copies of the content of concluded contracts, registers, receipts, correspondence, etc.), including accounting and financial documents created by the *societates publicanorum* themselves, the administrative procedure involving the Roman magistrates for conducting the public auctions and the conclusion of the contract, as well as the negotiation process and the specific moment of reaching an agreement between the publicans and the Roman magistrates as representatives of public authorities can be reconstructed in full. The dissertation reaches the reasonable conclusion that the overall activity and existence of the publican companies, like modern commercial corporations, was accompanied by the creation and use of numerous written documents. The publicity, proper archiving and storage of all these documents proved firstly the special internal organization of the publican companies and presented a solid confirmation of their specific activities, and secondly, they were extremely important for the exercise of State control over the contractors for strict accountability in the spending of public funds and for the possibility of proving payments or revenues received in the management of State or local budgets in Rome.

3. Legal regulation regarding the activity of the publicans

Section III of Chapter III pp. 305 to 325 of the dissertation examines the publican companies` legal regulation, preserved in the Digest of Justinian. It is concluded that we do not have legal sources from the period of the Republic, as the praetorian edict was a product of the praetor's operational independence of and had not yet been codified in the period before the Principate. Instead, the information from non-legal sources from

the Republic was particularly valuable because it presented the practice in relation to which it probably existed, but had not been preserved. The specific legal framework was created perhaps *ad hoc* for certain activities and territories when it was necessary and useful for outsourcing the public activities to private enterprise. Classical Roman jurists, most notably Ulpian and Gaius, presented in their writings an interpretation of the republican legal system of publican companies, commenting on the praetorian edict. Their interpretation was accompanied by extended and expanded practice, and precisely these fragments of their texts are preserved in Justinian's compilation and especially in the title 39.4 from the Digest „De publicanis et vectigalibus et commissis“ („Tax farmers, vectigalia, and confiscations“).

The regulation in question concerning items confiscated by force from the publicans was set up by the praetor in order to limit the extraordinary power the publicans had by virtue of the *leges censoriae* and was intended to put an end to the arbitrariness of *societates publicanorum* in the Roman provinces. Through the special edict „For forcibly seized items from the publicans“ the victims were provided with adequate remedies of protection, which, in accordance with the damage caused to them, could remedy their material injury.

4. Right to the publicans to confiscate or to take items into pledge according to Lex portus Asiae

Section IV pp. 325 - 345 focuses on the analysis of a specific source of information about the activity of the publicans from the 1st century AD, called the Customs Law for the Province of Asia (Lex Portus Asiae) little known to the general legal community. It was actually a specific type of *lex censoria* regulating the collection of customs duties in the richest Roman province. What is referred here is an authentic source with a key role in understanding the overall activity of the publican companies as well as regulating the granting of special powers allowing them to take items in pledge (*pignoris capio*) and to seize items (*commissum*) as processual remedies of protection of the company`s property and the activity carried out by the tax farmers against the persons violating the customs norms. This regulation is interpreted in the context of

procedural economy in the era of the Principate, but also with a view to granting a significant autonomy to the publican companies in connection with their assigned public activities, including for the sanctioning of violations of established regimes in which they carry out these activities.

III. Report on the contributions of the dissertation

The following contributions of the current PhD thesis can be acknowledged:

1. The topic of the publican companies in its legal aspects has not been fully examined until now in Bulgarian language. The dissertation presentsan analysis of the appearance, development and main activities of *societates publicanorum*. The reasons and preconditions for the emergence of the publican companies and the time limits of their existence are presented, as well as arguments about their importance for the Roman state and for the management of its public finances;

2. A systematized Roman law research is conducted with analysis of some essential questions and conclusions regarding the Roman tax and fiscal policy as well as the provincial government;

3. Some basic legal concepts are considered through the prism of the Roman legal tradition and their modern meaning: legal entity, company, corporation, association, etc. A conceptual distinction is made between the notion of „*societas*“ in Roman law, which traditionally referred to the consensual contract for partnership in Roman law, and the use of the same term for companies of publicans, which are a specific form of association closer to personalized organizations of individuals in Roman law (*corpora*). In the PhD thesis there are arguments presented considering the publican companies as a specific form of association in Rome and an example of the special use of the Latin legal term „*societas*“ with the meaning of a „company“ with particular characteristics and an activity very similar to the modern commercial companies. Arguments are presented in favor of the thesis that the publican companies were organizations characterized by the creation of a sustainable and specific internal structure, allowing the exercise of one or more of the assigned public activities. This thesis is further developed with examples justifying the independent participation of publican companies in the Roman legal world through their representatives;

4. The etymology, the meaning and the use of the terms and concepts for publican (*publicanus*) and company of publicans (*societas publicanorum*) are traced and definitions for them are offered. The Roman law concept, the scope and the meaning of the notions for *vectigal*, *publica vectigalia*, *ultro tributa*, *lex censoria*, *lex locationis* etc. are also presented;

5. The dissertation includes the legal and non-legal texts in Latin in support of the main research contributions, as well as some in Ancient Greek with the corresponding Bulgarian translation and interpretation;

6. Some comparisons and critiques have been made of the efforts in Romanistics for direct transposition of the Roman legal concepts to the modern concepts for public enterprises, commercial companies, concessions, public procurements, public contracts, etc.;

7. Based on an analysis of the main structural units in the organization of the publican companies, through the functions of *magister* and *pro magistro*, as well as *decumani*, the conclusion is made, albeit with some reservations about the specifics in historical terms of these organizations' appearance and development that with the legal regulation of their status and activity the publican companies can be considered a prototype of modern commercial companies;

8. The overall characteristics of the activity of the publican companies present the connection between their public law functions and the building of a specific private legal status *de iure* as separate personified organizations for business purposes. Special attention is also paid to the public auction procedure in Rome and the key role of *societates publicanorum* as contractors. The documentation and accounting reports of the publican companies in connection with their public funds operations are summarized and classified;

9. The main thesis of the study aims to present the genesis of the relevant ideas and concepts in modern law through the legal analysis of the statute and activities of the publican companies, through interpretation of Latin texts, terminology and concepts, without looking for full identity or connection with modern law or modern systematics and distinctions within public and private law. The overall study is in the spirit of maintaining the balance between Roman and modern law in an attempt to avoid unsubstantiated and unconfirmed in the sources conclusions alien to the authentic Roman law tradition.

IV. List of publications related to the dissertation

DE PUBLICANIS – article in number I/2016 of the online journal IUS ROMANUM, pp. 452-463;

ПРАВОТО НА СДРУЖАВАНЕ И НЕГОВОТО ОГРАНИЧАВАНЕ СПОРЕД LEX IULIA DE COLLEGIIS – article in „Право и права“ Сборник в памет на професор доктор Росен Ташев, София, 2016, pp. 241-270;

ИЗУЧАВАНЕТО НА ИНСТИТУТА НА ПУБЛИКАНИТЕ – ПРИМЕР ЗА ОБВЪРЗВАНЕ НА ОБЩЕСТВЕНО-ИКОНОМИЧЕСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ С ПРАВНОТО РЕГУЛИРАНЕ – article in number II/2016 of the online journal IUS ROMANUM, pp. 537-558;

РИМСКОПРАВНИ ОСНОВИ НА ТЕОРИЯТА ЗА ЮРИДИЧЕСКИТЕ ЛИЦА – article in „Научни четения в памет на Венелин Ганев и Никола Долапчиев“, Сборник доклади, София, 2017, pp. 462-487;

РИМСКАТА ФИСКАЛНА ПОЛИТИКА В КРАЯ НА РЕПУБЛИКАТА – article in Сборник с доклади от VII национална конференция на докторантите в областта на правните науки, ИДП-БАН, София, 2017, pp. 88-96;

ULTRO TRIBUTA LOCARE – CENSORS`CONTRACTS WITH SOCIETATES PUBLICANORUM DURING ROMAN REPUBLIC – article in II/2017 of the online journal IUS ROMANUM, pp. 366-376.

ВЪТРЕШНАТА ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ НА ДРУЖЕСТВАТА НА ПУБЛИКАНИТЕ СПОРЕД РЕЧИТЕ НА ЦИЦЕРОН СРЕЩУ ГАЙ ВЕРЕС – article in number III/2018 г. of the online journal IUS ROMANUM - STUDIA IN MEMORIAM THEODORI PIPERKOVI, pp. 11-28;

COLLECTION OF TAXES AND PUBLIC REVENUES PERFORMED BY PUBLICANI IN ROMAN REPUBLIC – article in number II/2019 of the online journal IUS ROMANUM, pp. 411-422;

САНКЦИИ ЗА АДМИНИСТРАТИВНИ НАРУШЕНИЯ СПОРЕД МИТНИЧЕСКИЯ ЗАКОН ЗА РИМСКАТА ПРОВИНЦИЯ АЗИЯ – article in Научни четения на тема „Санкциите в правото“ Сборник доклади, София 2019, pp. 304-319;

РИМСКОПРАВНИ АСПЕКТИ НА СЪВРЕМЕННАТА ПРАКТИКА ЗА ДЕЦЕНТРАЛИЗАЦИЯТА НА ПУБЛИЧНИТЕ ФИНАНСИ – article in Сборник с доклади от докторантска конференция в памет на доц. д-р Кръстю Цончев, София, 2019, pp. 221-228;

ЧАСТНОПРАВНИТЕ СУБЕКТИ КАТО ОСНОВЕН ИНСТРУМЕНТ НА ДЪРЖАВАТА В РИМСКОТО ПРОВИНЦИАЛНО УПРАВЛЕНИЕ – article in Сборник с доклади от X национална конференция на докторантите в областта на правните науки, ИДП-БАН, София, (под печат).