

NALAZI RIMSKE VOJNE OPREME U HRVATSKOJ

FINDS OF THE ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN CROATIA



NALAZI
RIMSKE
VOJNE
OPREME U
HRVATSKOJ
FINDS OF THE
ROMAN
MILITARY
EQUIPMENT
IN
CROATIA

IMPRESUM
KATALOG / CATALOGUE

NAKLADNIK / PUBLISHER

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

ZA NAKLADNIKA / FOR THE PUBLISHER

Ante Rendić-Miočević

UREDNIK / EDITOR

Ivan Radman-Livaja

POMOĆNICI UREDNIKA / EDITOR'S DEPUTIES

Maja Bunčić, Ivan Drnić

LEKTURA / LANGUAGE ADVISING

Božena Bunčić

PRIJEVOD / TRANSLATION

Tomislav Bilić, Sanjin Mihelić

FOTOGRAFIJE / PHOTOGRAPHS

Igor Krajcar, Zoran Alajbeg, Filip Beusan, Tonči Seser,
Sabine Steidl, René Müller, Volker Iserhardt,
Ivana Ožanić, Robert Leš

AUTORI TEKSTOVA U KATALOGU

/ AUTHORS OF THE TEXTS IN THE CATALOGUE

Mato Ilkić, Željko Miletić, Zsolt Mráv, Ivan Radman-
Livaja, Mirjana Sanader, Domagoj Tončinić,
Marin Zaninović

POPIS AUTORA KATALOŠKIH JEDINICA

/ AUTHORS OF CATALOGUE ENTRIES

A.L. Anita Librenjak; A.S. Alka Starac;
D.M. Dražen Maršić; E.V.-Lj. Ema Višić-Ljubić;
I.B. Iskra Bačani; I.R.-L. Ivan Radman-Livaja;
L.M.-L. Lidija Miklik-Lozuk; M.D. Marko Dizdar;
M.G. Ž.M. J.Z. Miroslav Glavičić, Željko Miletić;
Joško Zaninović;
S.F. Slavica Filipović; M.H. Mirela Hutinec;
H.V. Hrvoje Vulić; N.U. Nikolina Uroda;
S.I. Sanja Ivčević; T.K. Tanja Kolak;
Z.M. Zsolt Mráv

OBLIKOVANJE KATALOGA I PRIPREMA ZA TISAK

/ CATALOGUE DESIGN & DTP

Srećko Škrinjarić

TISAK / PRINTED BY

Stega tisak, Zagreb

NAKLADA / PRINT RUN

600 primjeraka / copies

IMPRESUM
IZLOŽBA / EXHIBITION

VODITELJ REALIZACIJE IZLOŽBE

/ EXHIBITION REALISATION MANAGER

Ivan Radman-Livaja

RESTAURACIJA IZLOŽAKA

/ RESTORATION OF THE EXHIBITS

Damir Doračić, Ivan Gagro, Slađana Latinović,

Zrinka Znidarčić, Frederik Levarda

PROSTORNA KONCEPCIJA I LIKOVNI POSTAV IZLOŽBE

/ EXHIBITION SPATIAL CONCEPTION AND DESIGN

Roman Šilje

OBLIKOVANJE PANOJA I PRIPREMA ZA TISAK

/ PANEL DESIGN & DTP

Tomislav Stepić, Iskra Kirin

TEHNIČKA POMOĆ / TECHNICAL SUPPORT

Ivan Gagro, Igor Krajcar, Slađana Latinović, Ivan Troha,

Zrinka Znidarčić, Robert Vazdar, Asja Tonc, Kristina Turkalj

IZLOŠKE SU USTUPILI / EXHIBITS LOANED FROM:

Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Arheološki muzej Istre,
Pula, Arheološki muzej Split, Arheološki muzej Zadar, Gradski muzej Drniš,
Gradski muzej Sisak, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Gradski muzej Vukovar,
Muzej Brodskog Posavlja, Slavonski Brod, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Sinj,
Muzej grada Šibenika, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, Muzej
Like, Gospić, Muzej Međimurja, Čakovec, Muzej Slavonije, Osijek, Muzej
triljskog kraja

IZLOŽBA JE OSTVARENA ZAHVALJUJUĆI

/ THE EXHIBITION WAS REALISED THANKS TO THE

Novčanoj pomoći Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske,
Gradskog ureda za kulturu i sport Grada Zagreba i sredstvima
Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

Financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of
Croatia, the City of Zagreb Office for Culture, Education and Sport
and the funds of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

ISBN: 978-953-6789-51-1

CIP ZAPIS DOSTUPAN U RAČUNALNOM KATALOGU
NACIONALNE I SVEUČILIŠNE KNJIŽNICE U ZAGREBU POD BROJEM: 73939



NALAZI
RIMSKE
VOJNE
OPREME U
HRVATSKOJ
FINDS OF THE
ROMAN
MILITARY
EQUIPMENT
IN
CROATIA

ZAGREB · MMX.

ANTE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ	
• PREDGOVOR FOREWORD	6
MARIN ZANINOVIĆ	
• RIMSKA VOJSKA U ILIRIKU THE ROMAN ARMY IN ILLYRICUM	13
MIRJANA SANADER · DOMAGOJ TONČINIĆ	
• GARDUN – ANTIČKI <i>TILURIUM</i> GARDUN – THE ANCIENT <i>TILURIUM</i>	33
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	55
ŽELJKO MILETIĆ	
• BURNUM - VOJNIČKO SREDIŠTE PROVINCIJE DALMACIJE BURNUM - A MILITARY CENTRE IN THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA	113
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	143
IVAN RADMAN-LIVAJA	
• <i>SISCIA</i> KAO RIMSKO VOJNO UPORIŠTE <i>SISCIA</i> AS A ROMAN MILITARY STAY RONGHOLD	179
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	203
ZSOLT MRÁV	
• RIMSKA VOJNA OPREMA IZ HRVATSKE U MAĐARSKOM NARODNOM MUZEJU U BUDIMPEŠTI ROMAN MILITARIA FROM CROATIA IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM, BUDAPEST	213
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	215
MIRJANA SANADER	
• O PROBLEMIMA TOPOGRAFIJE HRVATSKOG DIJELA DUNAVSKOG LIMESA NA TEMELJU NOVIJIH ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA ON THE PROBLEM OF TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CROATIAN PART OF THE DANUBE LIMES BASED ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS	221
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	233
IVAN RADMAN-LIVAJA	
• LOKALITETI CIVILNOG KARAKTERA I SLUČAJNI NALAZI NON-MILITARY SITES AND STRAY FINDS	247
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	251
MATO ILKIĆ	
• RIMSKE VOJNIČKE DIPLOME PRONAĐENE U HRVATSKOJ ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA	263
• KATALOG NALAZA THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS	275
• LITERATURA BIBLIOGRAPHY	281

ANTE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ

PREDGOVOR

FOREWORD

Osim redovitih godišnjih studijskih izložaba, većinom manjeg opsega i pretežito baziranih na spomeničkoj građi iz muzejskoga fundusa, zagrebački Arheološki muzej povremeno pokreće i organiziranje većih, zahtjevnijih izložbenih projekata, za koje je potreban studiozan pristup i znatno duže pripremno razdoblje. U takvim projektima s Muzejom najčešće surađuju i druge srodne ustanove, kao i brojni stručnjaci, specijalisti za odgovarajuća područja. Izložba s naslovom „Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj“ takvog je karaktera i u njoj sudjeluju ustanove i stručnjaci iz različitih dijelova Hrvatske. Ideja o njezinoj realizaciji potekla je nakon što je bila prihvaćena kandidatura Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i zagrebačkog Arheološkog muzeja za organiziranje XVII. konferencije o rimskoj vojnoj opremi (ROMECC, Roman Military Equipment Conference). Odluka o tomu bila je donesena na skupu održanom 2005. god u Budimpešti, a potvrđena je prigodom održavanja prethodnog, XVI. skupa u Xantenu 2007. god., što je istaknuto u uvodnom tekstu zbornika radova navedenog skupa (Xantener Berichte, Band 16). Tek su tada započeli pripremni radovi na realizaciji izložbe, a ujedno je determinirano i vrijeme održavanja zagrebačkog skupa. U skladu s time odabran je i dan otvorenja izložbe, prvi radni dan skupa, 24. svibnja 2010. god.

Ubrzo nakon donošenja odluke o mjestu i vremenu održavanja skupa bile su pokrenute aktivnosti koje su uobičajene u sličnim prigodama, a nužne su za uspješnu realizaciju takvih projekata. Tijekom pret-

Beside regular annual study exhibitions, mostly of a smaller scale and generally based on material from the Museum holdings, the Archaeological museum in Zagreb occasionally organizes larger, more demanding exhibition projects, requiring a studious approach and significantly longer preparatory period. Most often certain kindred institutions, as well as numerous experts, specialists in their respective fields, cooperate in their implementation with the Museum. The exhibition “Finds of Roman military equipment in Croatia” belongs to such a category, and its preparation involved the cooperation of institutions and experts from different parts of Croatia. The idea for this project was born after the acceptance of the candidacy of the Department of archaeology at the Faculty of philosophy of the Zagreb University and the Archaeological museum in Zagreb for the organization of the 17th Roman military equipment conference (ROMECC). The decision was made on the 2005 Budapest conference, and it was confirmed on the 16th conference, held in Xanten in 2007, as documented in the foreword of the conference proceedings (Xantener Berichte, Band 16). The preparations for the exhibition could now begin, and the date of the Zagreb conference was now determined. The opening day of the exhibition was accordingly scheduled on the first day of the conference, May 24th, 2010.

Soon after the decision on the place and date of the conference, activities normal for this kind of occasion, necessary for a successful realization of such projects, were initiated. During the preceding years, 2008 and 2009, various preparations were conducted. First it was necessary to review and select the material kept in different

hodnih godina, u 2008. i 2009. god., bile su stoga obavljene različite pripremne radnje. Trebalo je najprije pregledati, a zatim i selekcionirati građu pohranjenu u različitim ustanovama u gotovo svim krajevima Hrvatske. Velikim dijelom je riječ o neobjavljenoj građi pa je ona znatnim dijelom i nepoznata stručnoj javnosti. Trebalo je, također, ishoditi suglasnost vlasnika za posudbu izložaka za potrebe izložbe te dogovoriti i sve druge relevantne detalje, uključujući i razgovore s autorima planiranih tematskih jedinica, odnosno piscima uvodnih tekstova i kataloških jedinica namijenjenih izložbenom katalogu. Poteškoća različite naravi nije uzmanjkalo, ali je najvažnije što su one u većini slučajeva, premda ne i u cijelosti, ipak uspješno prebrođene. Među koracima što ih je bilo potrebno odmah poduzeti bila je priprema materijala za potrebe izlaganja. To se poglavito odnosilo na pravovremeno poduzimanje odgovarajućih zaštitnih zahvata na odabranim izlošcima. Potrebno je, međutim, istaknuti da su brojni izlošci bili otkriveni u najnovije vrijeme pa su pojedini nalazi gotovo u posljednjem trenutku priključeni planiranom popisu izložaka. Ta je činjenica, čini mi se, osobita vrijednost ove izložbe, osvježenje koje je izložbu obogatilo i učinilo ju atraktivnijom i aktualnijom.

Budući da je riječ o oružju, odnosno vojničkoj opremi, razumljivo je što su to najvećim dijelom predmeti načinjeni od metala. Posve je, stoga, logično što su neki primjerci oružja i druge vojne opreme morali biti podvrgnuti dugotrajnom procesu konzervatorske obrade. Bilo je, naime, iznimno važno na vrijeme započeti s postupkom konzervacije. Osim u preparatorskoj radionici zagrebačkog Arheološkog muzeja, u kojoj je obavljen najveći dio tih zahtjevnih poslova, brojni su nalazi za potrebe izložbe, ali i za kasnije izlaganje u matičnim ustanovama, bili restaurirani u drugim radionicama, tamo gdje su postojale takve mogućnosti. Među njima bih osobito izdvojio nalaze koji su proizašli iz recentnih istraživanja. Neki od takvih nalaza gotovo do samog otvorenja izložbe bili su, primjerice, na restauratorskoj obradi u Mainz. Za primjerno obavljene posao na konzervaciji i restauraciji dijelova vojničke opreme koja potječe iz groba istraženog u dvorišnom prostoru nekadašnjeg Odeschalchijeva dvorca, aktualne zgrade Muzeja grada Iloka, zaslužan je upravo Römisch Germanisches

institutions from almost every part of Croatia. The material was mostly unpublished, thus generally unknown to experts. It was also necessary to obtain permissions from the owners for the loaning of the material for the needs of the exhibition and arrange a number of relevant details, including consultations with authors of planned thematic units, the authors of introductory texts and catalogue entries for the exhibition catalogue. Various obstacles presented themselves but it is important they were generally, although not always, successfully overcome. Among the immediate steps that had to be taken was also the preparation of the material for the presentation. This was especially significant in timely accomplishment of adequate protective measures on selected exhibits. It is necessary to emphasize that numerous exhibits were only recently discovered so that certain finds were only attached to the planned list of exhibits in the last moment. These facts, it would seem, are a special value of this exhibition, a refreshment that made it all the more attractive and up-to-date.

Since we are dealing with weaponry, that is, military equipment, it is understandable that these objects were mostly made of metal. It is thus logical that certain specimens of weapons and other equipment had to pass through a long process of conservation. It was extremely important to immediately start with the conservation. Along with the conservatory unit of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb, where a major part of these demanding tasks was carried out, numerous finds were, both for the needs of the exhibition and for a later presentation in their respective institutions, conserved at other establishments, where a possibility existed. I would like to emphasize the finds recovered through recent excavations. Some of those were, for example, almost to the opening day, on the conservation in Mainz. Precisely Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (RGZM), that is, the celebrated department for conserving archaeological material at the institution, is to be commended for a praiseworthy conservation of military equipment from a grave excavated from the onetime Odeschalci castle, now the building of the City museum of Ilok. I would also like to offer my gratitude on this occasion, in the name of the organizer of the exhibition, for allowing us to use the photographs documenting the process of conservation on this exhibition, which we have also used in the exhibition catalogue. I believe that the fact that numerous recent findings, among the total of nearly 300 objects, but also certain elements of military equipment, until recently laying almost unnoticed among

Zentralmuseum Mainz (RGZM), odnosno poznati odjel za konzerviranje i restauriranje arheološkog materijala koji djeluje u toj uglednoj muzejskoj ustanovi. U ime organizatora izložbe u ovoj im prigodi želim iskreno zahvaliti i na ustupanju fotografija restauriranih nalaza prikazanih na ovoj izložbi, koje smo koristili u izložbenom katalogu. Osobito važnom smatram, također, i činjenicu što su stručnoj, ali i široj javnosti, u ovoj prigodi, između gotovo 300 odabranih izložaka, prvi put prezentirani i brojni nalazi otkriveni u najnovije vrijeme, a isto vrijedi i za elemente vojničke opreme, koji su sve do nedavno bili gotovo nezamijećeni među raznolikom arheološkom građom pohranjenom u prenatrpanim čuvaonicama pojedinih muzejskih zbirki. Osobito pozornost zaslužuje, također, veliki broj relevantnih nalaza otkrivenih u istraživanjima obavljenim tijekom nekoliko posljednjih godina, a koji su nedugo zatim i konzervatorski obrađeni. To se poglavito odnosi na materijal koji potječe iz sjedišta rimskih legija lociranih u južnim dijelovima Hrvatske. Riječ je o vojnim logorima *Burnum* i *Tilurium*, iz kojih potječe i najveći dio izložaka pa je opravdano što oni na izložbi čine zasebne cjeline, a tako su tretirani i u izložbenom katalogu.

U odluci o realizaciji izložbe o nalazima rimske vojne opreme vodilo se računa i o tomu da su rimska vojska i njezina osvajanja bili važnim, ako ne i najznačajnijim faktorom sveukupnih romanizacijskih procesa. Imajući u vidu upravo tu činjenicu prigodom gotovo istodobnog koncipiranja dijela novog muzejskog izložbenog postava Antičke, odnosno Rimske zbirke, dionica posvećena vojsci iz navedenih je razloga prva u nizu tematskih cjelina. Njome, ne bez razloga, započinje postav zbirke s izlošcima iz rimskog razdoblja. Potrebno je u ovoj prigodi naglasiti da navedena dionica stalnog izložbenog postava, koji je još uvijek *in statu nascendi*, ujedno predstavlja integralni dio aktualne izložbe. Smatrali smo, naime, nepotrebnim premještanje tog dijela izložbenog postava u prostor namijenjen prigodnoj izložbi, jer vjerujemo da je u sadašnjem obliku, u novoj izložbenoj postavi, on dovoljno zanimljiv i pregledan. Istaknuo bih još jedan podatak koji mi se u ovoj prigodi čini važnim i, na neki način, znakovitim. Muzej je, naime, 2004. god. inaugurirao novu seriju muzejskih izdanja naslovljenu Katalozi

diverse archaeological material kept in overcrowded depots of certain museum collections, will be presented to both the experts and wider public is also of special importance. A special attention is due to a number of relevant finds recovered through excavations during recent years, which passed through the conservation process immediately after they were found. This especially relates to the material coming from legionary camps in the southern part of Croatia, *Burnum* and *Tilurium*, providing the major part of exhibits, thus warranting the fact that they form individual sections within the exhibition, as well as in the catalogue.

The decision on the realization of exhibition of military equipment was also influenced by the fact that the Roman army and its conquests were an important – if not the decisive – factor in the complex processes of Romanization. Taking into account precisely this fact when simultaneously preparing the concept of a part of the new permanent exhibition of the Classical Antiquity, that is Roman, material, the section representing the Roman army was the first – due to the above reasons – one to be presented. It is not an accident that the Roman section of the exhibition commences precisely with this subject. It is necessary to emphasize that the said section of the permanent exhibition, the latter still *in statu nascendi*, forms an integral part of the exhibition. We have considered unnecessary to transfer this part of the permanent exhibition to the area planned for the temporary exhibition, because we believe that its present form, within the new permanent exhibition, is both interesting and articulate. I would also like to emphasize another information that seems to me to be of some interest on this occasion, perhaps in a way indicative. The Museum has inaugurated in 2004 a new series of museum publications titled *Catalogues and monographs of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (Musei Archaeologici Zagrabensis Catalogi et Monographiae)*. The first volume of the series, authored by Ivan Radman-Livaja, also the author of the exhibition, has a title *Militaria Sisciensia* – Roman military equipment from Sisak kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. It is a volume discussing precisely Roman military equipment, which also shows how important this segment of archaeological heritage is for us.

In the end, I would like to offer my gratitude to all that have enabled the exhibition and the publishing of the catalogue. Among the institutions, that is, museum administrations, to whom we are especially indebted, not

i monografije Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (*Musei Archaeologici Zagrabensis Catalogi et Monographiae*). Prvi svezak u toj seriji, kojemu je autor Ivan Radman-Livaja, koji je ujedno autor i ove izložbe, nosi naslov *Militaria Sisciensia* – Nalazi rimske vojne opreme iz Siska u fundusu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Riječ je, dakle, o svesku posvećenom upravo rimskoj vojnoj opremi, što također pokazuje značenje koje pridajemo tom segmentu arheološkog spomeničkog nasljeđa.

Naposlijetku bih želio zahvaliti svima koji su omogućili postavljanje izložbe i objavljivanje njezinog kataloga. Među ustanovama, odnosno upravama muzeja, kojima dugujemo osobitu zahvalnost, ne samo zbog njihove spremnosti na ustupanje odabrane građe, nego i zbog iskazanog razumijevanja i susretljivosti, su Gradski muzej Sisak, Arheološki muzej Zadar, Gradski muzej Drniš, Gradski muzej Šibenik, Arheološki muzej Split, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, Muzej Cetinske krajine u Sinju, Muzej Trilj, Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Muzej Brodskog Posavlja u Slavanskom Brodu, Gradski muzej Vukovar, Muzej Like u Gospiću, Gradski muzej Čakovec, Arheološki muzej Istre u Puli, kao i Muzej grada Iloka, odnosno Institut za arheologiju u Zagrebu. Dodao bih, također, da je osim prethodno navedenih ustanova vlasnik znatne količine izložene građe domaćin izložbe, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu.

Među pojedincima svakako najveće zasluge za realizaciju izložbe pripadaju njezinom autoru Ivanu Radmanu-Livaji, kustosu u Antičkoj zbirci Muzeja, kao i najbližim suradnicima koji su mu u tom poslu pomagali, poglavito Maji Bunčić i Ivanu Drniću, također kustosima u zagrebačkom Muzeju. Osim njih značajan doprinos ostvarivanju ovog izložbenog projekta s tekstovima namijenjenim izložbenom katalogu ostvarili su Marin Zaninović, Mirjana Sanader, Domagoj Tončinić, Marko Dizdar, Zsolt Mráv, Sanja Ivčević, Nikolina Uroda, Željko Miletić, Dražen Maršić, Joško Zaninović, Iskra Baćani, Anita Librenjak, Angela Tabak, Slavica Filipović, Hrvoje Vulić, Lidija Miklik-Lozok, Mirela Hutinec, Branka Marciuš, Tanja Kolak, Alka Starac i Toni Brajković. Svima njima, kao i fotografima koji su snimili

only because of their preparedness to acquiesce in loaning the selected material, but also for their understanding and consideration, are the City museum of Sisak, Archaeological museum in Zadar, City museum of Drniš, City museum of Šibenik, Archaeological museum in Split, Museum of Croatian archaeological monuments in Split, Museum of Cetina region in Sinj, Museum of Trilj, Museum of Slavonija in Osijek, City museum Vinkovci, The Brodsko Posavlje museum in Slavonski Brod, City museum Vukovar, Museum of Lika in Gospić, City museum Čakovec, Archaeological museum of Istria in Pula, as well as the City museum Ilok, that is, the Institute of archaeology in Zagreb. I would also like to add that the owner of a large quantity of the presented material is – together with the enumerated institutions – the host of the exhibition, the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

Among the individuals, the first place must certainly be reserved for the exhibition author, Ivan Radman-Livaja, the curator of the Classical Antiquity collection at the Museum, as well as his closest assistants, especially Maja Bunčić and Ivan Drnić, also curators at the Museum. Besides them, Marin Zaninović, Mirjana Sanader, Domagoj Tončinić, Marko Dizdar, Zsolt Mráv, Sanja Ivčević, Nikolina Uroda, Željko Miletić, Dražen Maršić, Joško Zaninović, Iskra Baćani, Anita Librenjak, Angela Tabak, Slavica Filipović, Hrvoje Vulić, Lidija Miklik-Lozok, Mirela Hutinec, Branka Marciuš, Tanja Kolak, Alka Starac, and Toni Brajković have considerably helped the implementation of this exhibition with their papers for the catalogue. To all of them, together with the photographs Igor Krajcar, and also Filip Beusan, Sabine Steidl, René Müller, as well as Volker Iserhardt, the master of photography at the Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, I would also like to offer my sincere gratitude. The same goes for numerous conservators, both those from the Zagreb Museum and the already mentioned Mainz Museum, and those at other Croatian museums: they have all accomplished a significant part of the project by preparing the selected material for the exhibition. I would also like to thank the Museum technicians, who have used their abilities to help to set up the exhibition. In the end, but certainly not the least important, I would like to emphasize that the author of the design of the exhibition, the architect Roman Šilje, had tried to find the best possible solutions within the rather severe budget constrictions.

odabrane izložke, poglavito Igoru Krajcaru, a zatim i Filipu Beusanu te Sabini Steidl i Renéu Mülleru, odnosno Volkeru Iserhardt, majstoru fotografije iz Rimsko-germanskog muzeja u Mainzu, također izražavam iskrenu zahvalnost. Isto vrijedi i za brojne restauratore, kako one iz zagrebačkog Muzeja, kao i već spominjanog Muzeja u Mainzu, tako i one iz drugih hrvatskih muzeja: svi su oni obavili velik dio posla pripremajući odabrani materijal za potrebe izlaganja. Zahvaljujem i u ovoj prigodi pojedincima iz tehničke službe Muzeja, koji su, u okviru svojih kompetencija, surađivali u postavljanju izložbe. Na kraju, premda ne i najmanje važno, istaknuo bih da je autor likovnog postava izložbe arhitekt Roman Šilje, koji se u okvirima ograničenih financijskih mogućnost trudio iznaći najbolja moguća rješenja.

Osjećam, također, potrebnim zahvaliti i onima bez kojih, dakako, izložbe ne bi niti bilo, ili barem ona ne bi bila moguća u obliku u kakvom su je zamislili i ostvarili njezini autori. Riječ je o Gradskom uredu za obrazovanje, kulturu i šport Grada Zagreba, koji je podupirao prethodne dvogodišnje pripremne radove. Zaključio bih da su konačnu realizaciju izložbe omogućili Ministarstvo kulture RH i Gradski ured za obrazovanje, kulturu i šport Grada Zagreba.

I also feel the obligation to thank those without whom there would be no exhibition at all, or at least not in the form we see it today as imagined and implemented by its authors. These are the Bureau for education, culture and sport of the City of Zagreb, supporting the preliminary two-year preparation. Finally, the final realization of the exhibition was supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia and the Bureau for education, culture and sport of the City of Zagreb.

STELA IZ ODRE / STELA FROM ODRA (RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2010)



MARIN ZANINOVIĆ

RIMSKA VOJSKA U ILIRIKU

THE ROMAN ARMY IN ILLYRICUM



Rimljani su već u ranoj fazi svoje povijesti stvorili dobro organiziranu narodnu obranu, koju su tvorili slobodni ljudi, građani i seljaci. Ako je bilo sukoba bili su to sezonski ratovi rane Republike. Ratovalo se kada je to dozvoljavao poljski posao. Borci su bili izabrani posebnim postupkom - *viros ad bella legere* (*lego, legere, legi, lectum*, 3, birati izabrati), odatle naziv *legio*, znači vojnička jedinica izabranih. Tri tribusa davala su po 1000 vojnika i 300 konjanika, oni bogatiji. To je bilo 3.900 vojnika, što je znalo narasti do 4.200-6.000 boraca u kriznim situacijama. U ovoj je organizaciji kao i vrsti naoružanja bilo dosta etruščanskog utjecaja, kao uostalom i u svemu drugome kod ranih Rimljana i Latina. Na tisuće knjiga i rasprava napisano je o rimskoj vojsci od antike do danas, a tema i danas privlači uvijek nove istraživače. To je razumljivo, jer su još uvijek toliki spomenici ove vojske koje treba istražiti i objaviti. To su natpisi, logori, diplome, oružje, oprema i brojni povijesni problemi vezani uz ovu jedinstvenu organizaciju.

Važnost vojske u rimskoj povijesti slikovito je izrazio Theodor Mommsen, jedan od najvećih istraživača i poznavatelja rimske uljudbe u svim njenim vidovima. U svojoj «Rimskoj povijesti» ustvrdio je da je njihova vojska nešto najsavršenije, što je Rim u svojoj tisućljetnoj povijesti stvorio. Njezin je ustroj nešto, što je najbliže našem današnjem shvaćanju, kada se susrećemo s tim jedinstvenim naslijeđem antike. Vojna je organizacija u pravilu imala ključni udio u stvaranju neke civilizacije, a rimske posebno, jer je imperij u čijem se sklopu ta civilizacija razvijala bio i u stvarnosti djelo njegovih legija.

Already in the early phase of its history Rome created a well-organized system of popular defence, consisting of freemen, citizens and peasants. Conflicts during the early Republic, if there had been any, were mostly wars of a seasonal character, i.e. war was waged when farming work permitted. Soldiers were chosen by a special procedure - *viros ad bella legere* (*lego, legere, legi, lectum*, 3, to choose, select), hence the term *legio* - a military unit of the chosen ones. Three tribes gave 1000 infantry each, as well as 300 cavalry, the latter being the burden of the richer classes. This amounted to 3900 soldiers, which could swell to 4200-6000 during a crisis. The Etruscan influence was strongly felt in this organization and in the type of weaponry, just in fact as in everything else in early Rome and Latium. Thousands of books and discussions have been written on the Roman military from antiquity to this day and still the subject continues to attract ever new scholars. This makes sense, as there still remain infinite monuments of this military that require investigation and publication, such as inscriptions, camps, diplomas, weapons, equipment as well as numerous historical problems pertaining to this unique organization.

The importance of the military in Roman history was vividly expressed by Theodor Mommsen, one of the greatest scholars and authorities on the Roman civilization in all its aspects. In his "Roman History" he claimed that their military was the most perfect attainment of Rome throughout its millennium-long history. Its structure is something that we today can readily understand when we face this unique legacy of antiquity. The military organization as a rule played a key part in the creation of a

Rimsko vojničko djelovanje na našoj obali bilo je stoljetni proces, koji je s prekidima trajao od druge polovine 3. st. pr. Kr. do početka 1. st. Nakon konačnog pokoravanja u teškim i krvavim borbama legije su ostale u pokrajini Dalmaciji da bi osigurale mir. Krajem 1. st. legije su napustile pokrajinu, koja je time postala *provincia intermis* tj. područje bez aktivnih legionara. Tijekom toga razdoblja događale su se velike povijesne promjene, koje i danas vidimo. Kada gazimo pločnicima naših antičkih gradova, hodamo putovima kroz polja koja su premjerali rimski mjernici i cestama, čije su pravce utvrdili rimski vojnici, onda smo i danas u toj antici, kojoj su temelje položile legije, kohorte i centurije¹.

Prva je faza različitih rimskih djelovanja na našoj obali i u njezinu zaleđu u razdoblju od 229. do 167. g. pr. Kr., odnosno u vremenu uspona i pada ilirske države. U drugoj fazi Rimljani napadaju i pokoravaju plemena u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije. To su pohodi protiv Delmata, Japoda, Desitijata, Mezeja i drugih plemena u vremenu od 158. do 33. pr. Kr. U trećoj fazi buknuo je veliki ilirsko-panonski ustanak od 6. do 9. g. U Dalmaciju i Panoniju upućene su legije i druge vojničke jedinice, koje su u krvavim trogodišnjim bitkama ugušile ovu pobunu.² Smatra se da je nakon ovoga bila osnovana rimska *provincia Dalmatia*. Osiguravali su je posade dviju legija, koje su sagradile svoje logore, s nekoliko pomoćnih kohorti (*auxilia*). Zadnja legija napustila je pokrajinu 86. g., pa je Dalmacija postala *provincia intermis*, tj. područje bez legija. U posljednjoj, četvrtoj fazi, nakon odlaska legija, vojničku posadu u provinciji čine pojedine pomoćne kohorte, koje su bile stacionirane pretežno u području južno od planine Dinare³.

Prva je faza u znaku sukoba kraljice Teute s Rimljanima, o čemu nas pouzdano izvještava povjesničar Polibije⁴. Na istočnu obalu Rim je po prvi put poslao 229. g. pr. Kr. konzulsku vojsku s brodovljem pod vodstvom G. Fulvija Centumala i L. Postumija Albina, koji osvajaju i razaraju. Ilirska je država zauzeta u svom usponu, Teuta je poražena, a njen

civilization, which is particularly true of Rome, because the empire within which this civilization was developing was truly the work of its legions.

The Roman military activities on our coast unfolded, with interruptions, over several centuries, spanning the time from the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C. until the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D. In the wake of the final conquest, accomplished in tough and bloody battles, the legions remained in the province of Dalmatia in order to secure peace. Towards the end of the 1st cent. A.D. the legions left the province, which by this act became a *provincia intermis*, i.e. a territory without active legionaries. During this period great historical changes still visible today were taking place. When we walk on the pavements of our ancient towns, tread the field paths measured by Roman surveyors and the roads whose routes were established by Roman soldiers, we are in fact still today in this antiquity, whose foundations were laid by legions, cohorts and centuries¹.

The first phase of various Roman actions on our coast and its hinterland spans the time from 229 to 167 B.C., i.e. the time of the rise and fall of the Illyrian state. In the second phase, the Romans attacked and subdued the tribes in the interior of Dalmatia, in the campaigns against the Dalmatae, Japodes, Daesitiates, Maezaei and other tribes between 158-33 B.C. In the third phase, the great Illyrian-Pannonian insurrection of 6-9 A.D. exploded, prompting Rome to send out legions and other military units to Dalmatia and Pannonia, who quelled the rebellion after three years of gory fighting². The general opinion is that the Roman *provincia Dalmatia* was established after this. Its security relied on the crews of two legions, who built their camps, with several auxiliary units (*auxilia*). The last legion left the province in 86 A.D., rendering Dalmatia a *provincia intermis*, i.e. a legion-free territory. In the last, fourth phase, after the departure of the legions, the military crew in the province consisted of auxiliary units, stationed mostly in the area south of the Dinara Mountain³.

The first phase was marked by the conflict of queen Teuta with the Romans, of which a veritable account exists by the historian Polybius⁴. Rome first sent a consular army with the navy to the eastern coast in 229 B.C. under the

zapovjednik i savjetnik – *filos*, Demetrije Faranin postao je rimski klijent, kojemu su oni povjerali na upravu „*veliku oblast– megale dynasteia*“⁵. Nekoliko godina kasnije Demetrije je uz podršku Makedonije i Kartage prekršio ugovor s Rimljanima. Došlo je do nove intervencije, kada su konzuli L. Emilije Paulo i M. Livije Salinator 219. g. pr. Kr. varkom zauzeli Pharos, razorivši mu zidove. Demetrije je izbjegao mladome makedonskome kralju Filipu V, kojem je postao savjetnikom. Sudjeluje u velikim onovremenim diplomatskim i strateškim igrama između Makedonije, Kartage i Rima, zagovarajući svoju zemlju i svoj Pharos. Poginuo je u Filipovoj službi u opsadi Messene na Peloponezu 213. g. pr. Kr.

Korist iz ovoga sukoba dobila je Issa, koja je proširila svoje posjede na obali Manijskog zaljeva. Vladari Pleurat i sin mu Gentije (197.-181.) nisu mogli spriječiti rimski prodor u svoje područje. Pobjeda nad Hanibalom kod Zame 202. g. pr. Kr. oslobodila je Rim za obračun s Makedonijom. U bitci kod Pidne u proljeće 168. g. pr. Kr. rimski su lako pokretni manipuli razbili dotad nepobjedivu makedonsku falangu, što je bio i kraj makedonske države. Istovremeno je i Gentije izgubio svoje kraljevstvo. On se bio povukao iz Lisa, najprije u Skodru, pa u Meteon (Medun pokraj Podgorice), koji su Rimljani razorili. Gentija sa ženom i djecom su zarobili i odveli u Rim, a ilirska je država dospjela pod vlast rimskoga naroda – *sub dictione populi Romani*⁶. Rimska pobjeda je osim Isejaca donijela neke povlastice i nekim ilirskim plemenima, koja su bila prešla na stranu pobjednika i dobila imunitet – oprost od poreza i drugo, kao Daorsi, Desareti, Taulanti i dr. Međutim, stvarna rimska vlast nije sezala mnogo dalje od obale, a ono što su na obali nadzirali bilo je neka vrsta mostobrana za kasnija nastupanja.

U sjeverozapadnom dijelu naše obale, Histri su već ranije bili došli pod rimsku vlast. Osnivanje snažne kolonije u Akvileji 181. g. pr. Kr. ubrzalo je pohod protiv Histra, koji su ranije gusarili protiv Rimljana u savezu s Demetrijem Faraninom. Konzuli Aulo Manlije Vulson, Marko Junije Brut i Marko Kaludije Pulher 178/77. g. pr. Kr., nakon početnih neuspje-

leadership of C. Fulvius Centumalus and L. Postumius Albinus, who conquered and wreaked havoc. The rise of the Illyrian state was checked, Teuta suffered defeat, and her commanding officer and aide – *filos*, Demetrius of Pharos, became a Roman client, whom they appointed manager of “*a large region – megale dynasteia*”⁵. Several years later, Demetrius, aided by Macedon and Carthage, breached the contract with the Romans. A new intervention took place in 219 B.C., in which consuls L. Emilijus Paulus and M. Livius Salinator took Pharos by deceit, tearing down its walls. Demetrius fled to the young Macedonian king Philip V, becoming his advisor. He took part in the diplomatic and strategic games of the time, waged between Macedon, Carthage and Rome, advocating the cause of his country and his Pharos. He died in Philip's service in the siege of Messene on the Peloponnese in 213 B.C.

Issa took advantage of this conflict and broadened her estates on the coast of the Manio Bay (*Manios Kolpos*). The rulers Pleuratus and Gentius (197-181) were unable to stop the Roman incursion into their territory. The victory over Hannibal at Zama in 202 allowed Rome to concentrate on the showdown with Macedon. In the battle of Pidna in 168 the great maneuverability of the Roman maniples shattered the previously invincible Macedonian phalanx, putting an end to the Macedonian state. Simultaneously with this, Gentius too lost his kingdom. He had withdrawn from Lissos, first to Scodra and then to Meteon (Medun near Podgorica), which the Romans destroyed. Gentius, together with his wife and children, was captured and taken to Rome, and the Illyrian state fell under the authority of the Roman people – *sub dictione populi Romani*⁶. In addition to the people of Issa, the Roman victory brought certain privileges also to some Illyrian tribes that had changed sides and joined the victor, thereby acquiring immunity – exemption from tax and other benefits, such as the Daorsi, Dassareti, Taulantii etc. However, the actual Roman authority did not reach much further than the coast, and the territory under control on the coast was in fact a bulwark of sorts for future actions.

In the northwestern part of our coast, the Histri had been brought under Roman authority at an even earlier date. The foundation of a strong colony in Aquileia in 181 sped

1 Zaninović 1978, 169; Suić 2003, 95; Bojanovski 1974, 30

2 Bojanovski 1988, 48; Wilkes 1969: 69

3 Alföldy 1962, 259

4 Polyb., II, 9-10

1 Zaninović 1978, 169; Suić 2003, 95; Bojanovski 1974, 30

2 Bojanovski 1988, 48; Wilkes 1969, 69

3 Alföldy 1962, 259

4 Polyb., II, 9-10

5 Polyb., II 11, 15-17; Zaninović 1998a, 90

6 Liv., XLIV, 23; Polyb., XXX, 2; App., Mac. 16; Domić Kunić 1993, 205

5 Polyb., II 11, 15-17; Zaninović 1998a, 90

6 Liv., XLIV, 23; Polyb., XXX, 2; App., Mac. 16; Domić Kunić 1993, 205

ha velikim su snagama porobili poluotok i slomili posljednji junački otpor Histra s njihovim vladarom Epulonom kod Nezakcija (Vizače pokraj Pule).

U drugoj će fazi rimski mostobrani na obali poslužiti kao polazište za dugotrajne i krvave borbe u unutrašnjosti Ilirika. Sada su glavni nositelji otpora Delmati, uglavnom na području između rijeka Krke i Cetine do Duvna i Glamoča. Oni su se već za Pleuratova vladanja izmakli njegovoj vlasti i napadali svoje susjede. Na obali isejske naseobine u Traguriju (Trogiru) i Epetiju (Stobreču), a na istoku susjede Daorse, rimske saveznike, kako je to zabilježio Polibije⁷. Pod rimskom zaštitom Isejci su se učvrstili u Manijskom zaljevu i tu razvili, svoju, makar i rubnu, helenističku uljudbu. Nju svjedoče natpisi, arhitektura, skulpture, keramika, novci i drugi ostaci na kojima kasniji rimski i italjski došljaci nastavljaju taj razvitak⁸. Delmatska opasnost primorala je Isejce i Daorse zatražiti rimsku pomoć te su 158. g. pr. Kr. uputili poslanstvo senatu s tom molbom. Senat je odobrio pomoć i uputio poslanstvo Delmatima pod vodstvom Gaja Fanija, ali su Delmati sve to odbili, tvrdeći da nemaju ništa s Rimljanima. Senat je odlučio napasti Delmate, a jedan od motiva im je bio da su im legije mirovale više od desetljeća. Prvi pohod protiv Delmata poveo je 156. g. pr. Kr. Gaj Marcije Figul, krenuvši iz Narone, ali je bio poražen i vratio se natrag. Opet je napao početkom zime, ali bez uspjeha. Rat je dovršio 155. g. pr. Kr. Publije Kornelije Scipion Nazika, koji im je spalio središte u Delminiju i odveo veliki broj pučanstva u ropstvo i te iste godine proslavio trijumf *«de Dalmateis»*.

Nakon par desetljeća mira počeli su novi sukobi, jer su se Ardijejci oporavili i opet gusarili. Konzul Servije Fulvije Flak poveo je 135. g. pr. Kr. ekspediciju protiv Ardijejeaca i Plereja s 10000 pješaka i 600 konjanika. Pobijedio je i, prema Strabonu, preselio Ardijejce u unutrašnjost, gdje su s vremenom gotovo nestali, neprilagođeni novoj sredini. Nešto poslije 119. g. pr. Kr. ratuje protiv Japoda L. Cecilije Metel, koji je osvojio Segestiku u Panoniji i zatim sišao na jug u Salonu i kod Delmata, gdje je i prezimio. To je prvi spomen Salone u povijesti. Metel je, iako dobro primljen, ipak napao i opljačkao Delmate i 117. g. pr. Kr. proslavio trijumf nad njima.

up the campaign against the Histri, who had pirated against the Romans in alliance with Demetrius of Pharos. In 178/77, consuls Aulus Manlius Vulso, Marcus Iunius Brutus and Marcus Claudius Pulcher, following the initial lack of success, conquered the peninsula with huge forces and crushed the last heroic stand of the Histri with their leader Epulo at Nesactium (Vizače near Pula). In the second phase the Roman coastal bulwarks were to be used as a point of departure for protracted and bloody battles in the interior of Illyricum. The pivotal role in the resistance was now played by the Dalmatae, mostly in the area between the Krka and Cetina rivers to Duvno and Glamoč. Already during the reign of Pleurates they slipped away from his authority and started attacking their neighbours, i.e. the coastal settlements founded by Issa at Tragurion (Trogir) and Epetion (Stobreč), and in the east their neighbours the Daorsi, who were Roman allies, as reported by Polybius⁷. Under the protection of Rome the Issaeans took foothold in the Manioi Bay and developed their civilization there, albeit a marginal one. The evidence of this civilization are inscriptions, architecture, sculptures, ceramics, coins and other vestiges that served as the base for subsequent development by Roman and Italian immigrants⁸. The Dalmatian threat forced the Issaeans and the Daorsi to seek help from Rome, and in 158 B.C. they sent a delegation to the Senate with such a plea. The Senate approved the support and sent a delegation to the Dalmatae, led by Caius Fanius. The Dalmatae, however, refused everything, claiming that they had nothing to do with the Romans. The Senate decided to attack the Dalmatae, motivated among other things also by the fact that the legions were inactive for more than a decade. The first campaign against the Dalmatae was led in 156 B.C. by Caius Marcius Figulus, who set out from Narona but was defeated and forced to return to his base. He renewed the attack at the onset of the winter, but without success. The war was ended in 155 B.C. by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who burned their seat in Delminion, enslaved a large part of the population and subsequently celebrated a triumph *“de Dalmateis”*.

Confrontations were resumed after a respite of several decades, when the reinvigorated Ardiaei took up pirating again. In 135 B.C. consul Servius Fulvius Flaccus led an expedition against the Ardiaei and Pleraei with 10000 infantry and 600 cavalry. He won and, according to Strabo, resettled the Ardiaei into the interior, where in

Nakon tri desetljeća mira Delmati su ponovno zauzeli Salonu. U Ilirik je upućen Gaj Koskonije, koji ratuje od 78. do 76. g. pr. Kr. To ukazuje koliko je rimska vlast još uvijek bila nestabilna u ovome razdoblju na našoj obali. Koskonije je ponovno zauzeo Salonu, koja je otada trajno u rimskome posjedu. To je vjerojatno značilo i veći priliv italjskih i drugih doseljenika, trgovaca, publikana, pomoraca. Oni će imati važnu ulogu u kasnijim sukobima između Cezarovih i Pompejevih legata, naročito u poznatoj obrani Salone od opsade Pompejevaca 48. g. pr. Kr. Cezar je namjeravao posjetiti Ilirik, što nije ostvario, kao što nije uspjela ni njegova intervencija u prilog Liburna, a protiv Delmata koji su im bili oduzeli Promonu 51. g. pr. Kr.

U ljeto 48. g. pr. Kr. u Ilirik je došao konzular Aulo Gabinije s 15 kohorti pješaka i 3000 konjanika. Delmati su ih dočekali u uskom klancu kod Sinodija (Balina Glavica pokraj Drniša) i uništili pet kohorti oduzevši im vojničke znakove (*signa*), što je bila najveća sramota. Poginulo je oko 2000 pješaka, 4 tribuna i 38 centuriona. Ostatak se povukao u Salonu, gdje je Gabinije i umro u zimi 47. g. pr. Kr. U pomoć poraženim cezarijancima došao je hitno iz Brundizija 46. g. pr. Kr. P. Vatinije, koji je porazio M. Oktavija kod Taurisa (Šćedra) te iste godine. Sljedeće godine Vatinije ratuje protiv Delmata iz Narone, ali bez nekoga uspjeha. Svejedno je 42. g. pr. Kr. proslavio trijumf *„de Illurico“*⁹.

U drugom trijumviratu 42. pr. Kr. Oktavijan je dobio na upravu Ilirik. Svojim pohodima protiv Delmata i Japoda 35. do 33. g. pr. Kr., te protiv Panonaca od 12. do 11. g. pr. Kr. i gušenjem Batonova ustanka 6. do 9. g., on je prebacio rimsku granicu na Dunav i osigurao mir na ovim prostorima. Ovi su dugotrajni i krvavi sukobi bili genocidne operacije u kojima su vojnici uništavali sve pred sobom, naročito sve ono što se nalazilo odmah iza obale. Na toj istoj obali, međutim, stvaraju se enklave nadošlih rimskih građana koji se organiziraju u *conventus* (rimski građani koji stanuju u provinciji). Cezar im je, zbog jačanja romanizacije, dodijelio status rimskih kolonija kao vjernim pristašama, u Saloni, Jaderu, Naroni i Epidauru. Rimska vlast vrši premjer plodnih površina oko ovih naseobina, koje su oduzete pokorenim stanovništvu i pravno postale *ager publicus populi Ro-*

time they all but disappeared, unaccustomed to the new environment. A little after 119 B.C. L. Caecilius Metellus waged war on the Japodes. He conquered Segestica in Pannonia, whereupon he descended south to Salona and among the Dalmatae, where he spent the winter. This is the first mention of Salona in history. In spite of their hospitality, Metellus attacked and plundered the Dalmatae, and in 117 B.C. celebrated his triumph over them.

After three decades of peace the Dalmatae reconquered Salona. Caius Cosconius was sent to Illyricum, where he waged war between 78 and 76 B.C., which goes to show that during that time the Roman authority on our coast was still unstable. Cosconius reoccupied Salona, which then remained in Roman possession for good. This probably meant that the influx of immigrants, merchants, publicans and seamen from Italy and elsewhere was considerable. They will play an important role in subsequent conflicts between Caesar's and Pompey's legates, particularly in the renowned defence of Salona against the siege by Pompey's troops in 48 B.C. Caesar intended but failed to visit Illyricum, just as he failed to intervene in favour of the Liburnians against the Dalmatae, who dispossessed the former of Promona in 51 B.C.

In the summer of 48 B.C. the former consul Aulus Gabinius arrived in Illyricum with 15 infantry cohorts and 3000 horsemen. The Dalmatae ambushed them in a narrow canyon near Sinodium (Balina Glavica near Drniš) and annihilated five cohorts, capturing their military insignia (*signa*), which was the greatest humiliation. Around 2000 infantry, 4 tribunes and 38 centurions were killed. The remainder withdrew to Salona, where Gabinius himself died in the winter of 47 B.C. P. Vatinius, having defeated M. Octavius off Tauris (Šćedro) in 46 B.C. rushed from Brundisium to help Caesar's defeated troops. The following year Vatinius undertook a campaign against the Dalmatae from Narona, but without any tangible success. This, however, did not prevent him from celebrating a triumph *“de Illurico”* in 42 B.C.⁹

In the second triumvirate of 42 B.C. Octavian was awarded the management of Illyricum in 40 B.C. His campaigns against the Dalmatae and Japodes in 35-33 B.C., against the Pannonians in 12-11 B.C., as well as his quelling of Baton's insurrection of 6-9 A.D. placed the Roman frontier on the Danube and secured peace in these lands.

7 Polyb., XXXII, 9; Zaninović 1966, 27

8 Novak 1952, 5; Kirigin 1996, 73

7 Polyb., XXXII, 9; Zaninović 1966, 27

8 Novak 1952, 5; Kirigin 1996, 73

9 Zaninović 1966, 31

9 Zaninović 1966, 31

mani. Naravno, da je uloga vojske u ovim procesima bila odlučujuća, jer se nitko nije mogao buniti. Ono što je Cezar započeo Oktavijan August je uspješno dovršio i Dalmacija je sada njegova imperatorska provincija, kojom upravlja njegov *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Dalmatiae*. Naša se pokrajina sada službeno tako naziva tj. Delmatia ili Dalmatia¹⁰. Taj se naziv za pokrajinu prvi put spominje u jednom natpisu iz Tiberijeva vremena: *Ti. Iulius Iulianus praef. fabrum, trib. coh. VIII voluntariorum qua est in Dalmatia*¹¹. Stoljetni sukobi s Delmatima, poistovjetili su ovo pleme s čitavim prekojadranskim prostorom naročito kod vojskovođa i vojnika, pa su mu dali i njihovo ime. Dugotrajni sukobi utjecali su na pojedince, koji su vodili ove operacije ili sudjelovali u njima poput povjesničara Veleja Paterkula u stožeru Oktavijana i Tiberija, da opišu ova zbivanja i krajeve. Drugi su pak koristili konzulske izvještaje senatu i spise drugih auktora, kao Apijan Oktavijanove i druge. Zahvaljujući tome po prvi put saznajemo za imena pojedinih zajednica i naselja unutrašnjosti Ilirika, a i na obali. Ti su podaci često pomiješani i nejasni, ali zato ništa manje dragocjeni.

Zadnji ilirsko-panonski ustanak od 6. do 9. g. poznat i kao «*bellum Batonianum*», snažno je potresao rimsku državu. Naizgled pokorena plemena Breuka, Desitijata, Delmata, Mezeja i dr., prisilila su Rim na rat, koji je prema poznatim Svetonijevima riječima bio „*gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica* – najteži od svih vanjskih ratova poslije onih kartažanskih“¹². Tiberije, koji je prema Svetoniju, na čelu 15 legija sa svojim tribunima s mukom gušio ovaj ustanak, proslavio je 23. listopada 12. g. trijumf nad Panoncima i Delmatima¹³. Tako je, tek sada, s konačnim pokoravanjem svih Ilira nastupila Augustova *pax Romana* i mogla je započeti stvarna romanizacija, naročito u unutrašnjosti pokrajine. U tim procesima vojska će odigrati najvažniju ulogu.

Slom ustanka zatekao je u Iliriku vojsku od pet legija, od kojih tri u Panoniji: VIII Augusta, IX Hispana, XV Appolinaris, a dvije u Dalmaciji: VII i XI.

10 Dio. Cass., LIII, 12, 8

11 Rim, Via Nomentana, Not. d. Scavi 1912, 372 – Rav. Arch. /Ann. epigr./, 22 /1913./, 450, n. 3

12 Suet. *Tib.* 16

13 Inscr. It., XIII, 2, p. 134 – Fasto Praenestini

These long-lasting and bloody confrontations were genocidal operations in which soldiers destroyed everything they encountered, especially all that lay in the immediate hinterland of the coast. On that same coast, however, enclaves were formed of immigrant Roman citizens, who organized themselves into a *conventus* (Roman citizens inhabiting a province). In order to boost the process of Romanization and to reward their loyalty, Caesar granted the status of a Roman colony to Salona, Jader, Narona and Epidaurum. Roman authorities had the fertile land around these settlements surveyed and, taking them from the conquered population, converted them officially into *ager publicus populi Romani*. It is only natural that the army played the decisive role in these processes, preventing anyone from raising a complaint. The process started by Caesar was successfully completed by Augustus and Dalmatia became his imperial province, governed by his *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Dalmatiae*. This is what our province is now officially called, i.e. Delmatia or Dalmatia¹⁰. The first documented use of this term for the province is found in an inscription from the time of Tiberius: *Ti. Iulius Iulianus praef. fabrum, trib. coh. VIII voluntariorum qua est in Dalmatia*¹¹. Centennial clashes with the Dalmatae rendered them synonymous with the entire transadriatic area, particularly in the minds of army commanders and soldiers, so they named it after this tribe. Long confrontations prompted several persons among those who managed these operations or took part in them, such as the historian Velleius Paterculus in the headquarters of Octavian and Tiberius, to describe these events and lands. Others made use of consular reports to the Senate and accounts by other authors, as Appian did with those of Octavian and others. Because of this we now learn for the first time of the names of certain communities and settlements in the hinterland of Illyricum, as well as on the coast. These data are often mixed and unclear, but nevertheless extremely valuable.

The last Illyrian-Pannonian revolt of 6-9 A.D., also known as the “*Bellum Batonianum*”, shook the foundations of the Roman state. Seemingly pacified tribes of the Breuci, Daesitantes, Dalmatae, Maezaei and others imposed war on Rome, described by Suetonius with the famous words „*gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica* –

10 Dio. Cass., LIII, 12, 8

11 Rim, Via Nomentana, Not. d. Scavi 1912, 372 – Rav. Arch. /Ann. epigr. / 22 /1913./, 450, n. 3



KACIGA IZ RUGVICE / HELMET FROM RUGVICA (HOFFILLER 1911; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2001B)

U Tiluriju (Gardun iznad Trilja na Cetini) svoj je logor podigla VII legija¹⁴. U Burnumu (Ivoševci pokraj Kistanja) nad Krkom logor je podigla XI legija¹⁵. Logori su bili pažljivo odabrani strateški i prometno, jer su presjekli upravo područje vječno buntovnih Delmata. Ujedno su nadzirali lakše prijelaze preko spomenutih rijeka, koji su se nalazili ispod logora. Oba su mjesta imala svoju povijesnu ulogu u stoljetnim sukobima, kako ih spominje i Plinije: „*In hoc tractu sunt Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium novilitata proeliis castella* – U ovom su kraju Burnum, Andetrium i Tribulium utvrde /gradine slavne po bojevima“¹⁶. A od Gaja Marcija Figula do Oktavijana i Tiberija bojeva je bilo napretek. Ovim su logorima na istim mjestima prethodile čvrste domaće gradine. Na Krki gradina kod Puljana, koja se nalazi na lijevoj strani rijeke, točno nasuprot logora. Logor na Gardunu je praktički sagrađen na širem položaju delmatske gradine, na čijem se vrhu danas nalazi crkva Sv. Petra s uzidanim vojničkim natpisom,¹⁷ a zaravan oko nje i danas podupiru ostaci gradinskih zidova. I gradine su nadzirale od pamtivijeka promet ljudi i roba ispod gdje se rijeka sužavala, prije ulaska u uski klanac do mora kod Omiša. Na suprotnoj strani Garduna nalazi se gradina pokraj sela Čaporice. Na mjestu današnjeg Trilja, ispod gradine nalazio se antički most *pons Tiluri*. Prema tome, logori su samo preuzeli i naslijedili raniju funkciju delmatskih *castella* – gradina¹⁸. Nešto kasnije logori su postali raskrižja rimske cestovne mreže. Od Burnuma su se račvali putovi za Jader i prema sjeveru, a od Tilurija za Duvno i dalje prema Savi i Drini te prema Neretvi i jugu. Tilurij se nalazio na južnom kraju Sinjskoga polja, a Burnum je bio u ravnici, zapadno od Promone. Očekivali bismo, s obzirom na tolike sukobe da će Rimljani svoje logore sagraditi sjeverno od planine Dinare¹⁹. Vjerojatno je čitavo područje i ovako bilo pod nadzorom, a ceste su to omogućile i za čitavu provinciju. S druge strane, velika količina opreme, što su je trebale tisuće vojnika, lakše se mogla dopremiti iz

of all the wars waged abroad, second only to the Punic wars in gravity¹². Tiberius, who in the words of Suetonius had had a hard time suppressing this rebellion at the head of 15 legions, celebrated on 23rd October 12 A.D. a triumph over the Pannonians and the Dalmatae¹³. Thus only now, with the final subjugation of all the Illyrians, did Augustus' *pax Romana* begin and true Romanization could start, especially in the interior of the province. In these processes the army will play a crucial role.

At the time of the collapse of the insurrection five legions were present in Illyricum, three in Pannonia: VIII Augusta, IX Hispana, XV Appolinaris, and two in Dalmatia: VII and XI. In Tilurium (Gardun above Trilj on the Cetina river) the VII legion erected its camp¹⁴, while the XI legion established its camp in Burnum (Ivoševci near Kistanje) on the Krka river¹⁵. The camp sites were carefully selected, strategically and communication-wise, as they cut precisely the territory of the ever rebellious Dalmatae. At the same time they controlled the easier crossings over the mentioned rivers, which lay beneath the camps. Both sites had a historical role in the centennial fights, as mentioned by Pliny: „*In hoc tractu sunt Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium novilitata proeliis castella* – In this land are Burnum, Andetrium and Tribulium, forts/hillforts famous for battles“¹⁶. There were indeed many battles from Caius Martius Figulus to Octavian and Tiberius. The sites of these camps were previously occupied by strong local hillforts. On the Krka there was a hillfort near Puljane, occupying the opposite left river bank and facing the camp. The camp in Gardun was practically erected on a wider surface occupied by a Delmatian hillfort, presently topped by a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. There is a military inscription built into the wall of the chapel¹⁷, and the plateau surrounding it is still supported by the remains of the hillfort walls. The hillforts also controlled, from times immemorial, the flow of people and goods at the place where the river narrowed, before it entered a narrow canyon leading to the sea near Omiš. There is a hillfort near the village of Čaporice opposite Gardun.

ovako bližih luka Salone, Narone i Jadera. U 1. st. u području Desitijata i Mezeja, u unutrašnjosti provincije primjetna je odsutnost natpisnih spomenika, što govori za rjeđu naseljenost, kao posljedicu nemilosrdnog uništavanja ljudi i naselja tijekom posljednje bune, pa je i to moglo utjecati na odabir logora na ovim mjestima. Između logora na Krki i Cetini, Rimljani su podigli i manje logore za pomoćne čete (*auxilia*) u municipiju Magnumu (Balina Glavica), u Andetriju (Gornji Muć)²⁰, te u Bigeste (Humac pokraj Ljubuškoga). Na potezu, dakle, od oko osamdesetak kilometara ovaj sustav logora osiguravao je mir u jednom području tolikih sukoba, gdje su se nalazile tolike utvrde Delmata i drugih Ilira.

Ovdje su boravile sljedeće legije: u Burnumu do 9. g. legija XX *Valeria Victrix*, koju je naslijedila XI legija, koja od 42. g. nosi počasno ime *Claudia pia fidelis*, jer je skupa sa VII odbila ustati protiv cara Klaudija. Napustila je Burnum 68. g. i prešla u Italiju, gdje je sudjelovala u ratu između Otona i Vitelija te je 70. g. prešla u Germaniju. U Burnum je došla leg. IV *Flavia felix*, koja je tu boravila do 86. g., kada je prešla u Singidunum. Nešto ranije, oko 60. g., napustila je Tilurij leg. VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, koja je prešla u Viminacij (Kostolac) na Dunavu²¹.

U pokoravanju Ilirika sudjelovale su osim legija i pomoćne čete. Prema Veleju Paterkulu bilo je 70 kohorta pješaka i 14 konjičkih ala²². Poznato nam je 5 ala: 1. *Ala Claudia nova*, 2. *Ala I Pannoniorum*, 3. *Ala Parthorum*, 4. *Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, 5. *Ala I Hispanorum*. Sve su ove jedinice napustile Dalmaciju odmah nakon sloma Batonova ustanka ili tijekom 1. st. do 69. godine.

Poznata su nam imena 18 kohorata: 1. *Cohors I Alpinorum equitata*, 2. *Coh. III Alpinorum equitata*, 3. *Coh. Aquitanorum*, 4. *Coh. Asturum*, 5. *Coh. I Flavia Brittonum*, 8. *Coh. I Campana (Campanorum) voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, 9. *Coh. II Cyrrhestarum*, 10. *Coh. I miliaria Delmatarum*, 11. *Coh. II miliaria Delmatarum*, 12. *Coh. XI Galorum*, 13. *Coh.*

At the location of present-day Trilj, below the hillfort, *pons Tiluri* stood in antiquity. It is therefore clear that the camps merely took over and inherited the previous function of the Delmatian *castella* – hillforts¹⁸. Somewhat later, the camps became the crossroads of the Roman road network. From Burnum the roads forked towards Jader and to the north, and from Tilurium they led to Duvno and further to the Sava and Drina rivers, and toward the Neretva river and the south. Tilurium was situated at the southern end of the Sinj Plain, while Burnum lay in the lowlands west of Promona. In the light of so many battles one would expect that the Romans would have established their camps north of the Dinara Mountain¹⁹. In all probability the entire territory was successfully controlled as it was, and the roads made such control possible for the entire province. On the other hand, the great quantity of equipment required by thousands of soldiers could thus be shipped more easily from nearby harbours in Salona, Narona and Jader. There is a marked lack of inscribed monuments of the 1st cent. A.D. in the territory of the Daesitiae and Maezaei, in the interior of the province, which speaks of a lower population density, as a consequence of the merciless annihilation of people and settlements during the last insurrection, which may have also influenced the choice of the camps on these spots. Between the camps on the Krka and Cetina the Romans founded also minor camps for auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) in municipium Magnum (Balina Glavica), in Andetrium (Gornji Muć)²⁰ and in Bigeste (Humac near Ljubuški). This system of camps stretching across some eighty kilometres thus secured peace in a territory beset by innumerable conflicts, where there were also countless forts of the Dalmatae and other Illyrians.

The following legions were stationed there: until 9 A.D. Burnum was the seat of legion XX *Valeria Victrix*, in turn superseded by the XI legion, which in 42 A.D., together with the VII legion, received the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis* for refusing to rebel against emperor Claudius. In 68 A.D. it left Burnum for Italy, where it took part in the war between Otho and Vitellius, and in 70 A.D. it arrived in Germania. Burnum became the seat of the legion IV *Flavia felix*, which remained there until 86 A.D.,

14 Zaninović 1966, 280; Sanader *et alii* 2003; Tončinić 2005

15 Zaninović 1968, 119; Cambi *et alii* 2006

16 N. h., III 142

17 CIL III 2710 = 9726

18 Zaninović 1968, 119

19 Strab., VII 5, 5

12 Suet. *Tib.* 16

13 Inscr. It., XIII, 2, p. 134 – Fasto Praenestini

14 Zaninović 1966, 280; Sanader *et alii* 2003; Tončinić 2005

15 Zaninović 1968, 119; Cambi *et alii* 2006

16 N. h., III 142

17 CIL III 2710 = 9726

20 Bekić 2002

21 Betz 1939, 37

22 Veleius Paterculus, II 13

18 Zaninović 1968, 119

19 Strab. VII 5, 5

20 Bekić 2002

I Flavia Hispanorum, 14. *Coh. I Liburnorum*, 15. *Coh. I Lucensium equitata*, 16. *Coh. I Montanorum*, 17. *Coh. VI voluntariorum civium Romanorum*²³.

Neke od ovih kohorta napustile su pokrajinu odmah nakon kraja ustanka 9. g. kao *ala I Parthorum* i *coh. XI Gallorum*. Ostale su napuštale Dalmaciju sa VII i XI legijom te IV Flavijom felix. Inače veći dio natpisa, što spominju ove jedinice, potječe upravo iz užega delmatskoga područja tj. s crte: *Burnum – Mun. Magnum – Andetrium – Tilurium – Bigeste* te kolonijskih područja na obali: Salone, Narone, Epidaura i Jadera. Srazmjerno najveći broj natpisa ostavile su kohorte *III Alpinorum*, *I Belgarum* i *VII vol. c. Romanorum*. One su bile stalna posada nakon odlaska legija iz Dalmacije i to do sredine 3. st., a ostale su, kako smo rekli, napustile Dalmaciju tijekom 1. st.

To je bilo vrijeme najveće koncentracije vojske u našem području. Uzevši brojčani prosjek ljudstva legija i pomoćnih četa možemo računati s brojem od 20 do 30000 vojnika. Ti su ljudi svojom brojčanom prisutnošću i raznovrsnim djelatnostima ostavili brojne tragove u našoj antici, što ih na terenima i istraživanjima stalno susrećemo i otkrivamo. Možemo samo najsazetije spomenuti, što je sve ta vojska načinila ili pomogla učiniti. Jedan od najvažnijih poduhvata bila je izgradnja cestovne mreže poznatom rimskom tehnologijom. Te su prometnice povezale provinciju Dalmaciju od obale do sjevernih rijeka i dalje i osigurale su rimski mir i zakonitost na čitavom području. Ceste su započinjale u glavnom gradu provincije Saloni, a gradnju je započeo već August, da bi je pod carem Tiberijem završio njegov namjesnik Publije Kornelije Dolabela (14.–20. g.). Gradili su ih vojnici VII i XI legije, koji su lomili otpor Ilira i Delmata. Bilo je pet cesta, koje su zabilježene na poznatim natpisima iz Salone, a koji su ostali sačuvani, jer su ih u srednjem vijeku uzidali u zvoniku splitske stolnice Sv. Duje. Bili su pronađeni nakon sedam stoljeća, prilikom obnove zvonika krajem 19. stoljeća²⁴. Godine 16. do 17. bile su dovršene ceste: 1. *a colonia Salonitana ad fines provinciae Illyrici*. 2. *via Gabiniana ab Salonis Andetrium*. Godine 18-20. dovršene su dvije duže i jedna kraća: prva duža je: *a Salonis ad He[dum] castel[lum] Daesitiatum*. Druga: *ad*

23 Alföldy 1962, 260

24 CIL III 3198-3201 = 10156-59

when it went to Singidunum. Somewhat earlier, around 60 A.D., the legion VII *Claudia pia fidelis* left Tilurium and went to Viminacium (Kostolac) on the Danube²¹.

In addition to the legions, auxiliary units also participated in the conquest of Illyricum. Velleius Paterculus speaks of 70 cohorts of infantry and 14 equestrian *alae*²². We know of 5 *alae*: 1. *Ala Claudia nova*, 2. *Ala I Pannoniorum*, 3. *Ala Parthorum*, 4. *Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, 5. *Ala I Hispanorum*. All these units left Dalmatia in the wake of the collapse of Baton's insurrection, either immediately or during the 1st cent. until 69 A.D. at the latest.

The names of 18 cohorts are known to us: 1. *Cohors I Alpinorum equitata*, 2. *Coh. III Alpinorum equitata*, 3. *Coh. Aquitanorum*, 4. *Coh. Asturum*, 5. *Coh. I Flavia Brittonum*, 8. *Coh. I Campana (Campanorum) voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, 9. *Coh. II Cyrrhestarum*, 10. *Coh. I miliaria Delmatarum*, 11. *Coh. II miliaria Delmatarum*, 12. *Coh. XI Galorum*, 13. *Coh. I Flavia Hispanorum*, 14. *Coh. I Liburnorum*, 15. *Coh. I Lucensium equitata*, 16. *Coh. I Montanorum*, 17. *Coh. VI voluntariorum civium Romanorum*²³.

Some of these cohorts left the province immediately upon the end of the rebellion in 9 A.D., such as *ala I Parthorum* and *coh. XI Gallorum*. The others left Dalmatia together with the VII and XI legions, as well as with IV Flavia felix. Incidentally, most of the inscriptions mentioning these units were found precisely in the narrower Delmatian territory, i.e. from the line *Burnum – Mun. Magnum – Andetrium – Tilurium – Bigeste*. The same holds true for the colonial areas on the coast – Salone, Narona, Epidaurus and Jader. The cohorts *III Alpinorum*, *I Belgarum* i *VII vol. c. Romanorum* left the relatively highest number of inscriptions. These units formed the permanent crew after the legions had left Dalmatia, until the mid-3rd cent., while the other, as we have seen, left Dalmatia during the 1st century.

This was the period of the greatest concentration of military forces in our territory. If we calculate the average strength of the legions and auxiliary units we can reckon with a number of 20-30000 soldiers. These people by virtue of their number and various activities left numerous

21 Betz 1939, 37

22 Velleius Paterculus, II 13

23 Alföldy 1962, 260

Bat[binum? flu]men quod dividit B[r]e[ucos Oseriat?]ibus a Salonis munit. Treća, kraća cesta je: *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*, tj. do Strmice, sjeverno od Knina. Tri su, dakle, išle u unutrašnjost Ilirika, tj. cesta *ad fines provinciae Illyrici*, koja se poistovjećuje s cestom *Salona – Servitium* (Gradiška na Savi), koju donosi *Tabula Peutingeriana* i *Itinerarium Antonini*. Druga velika cesta išla je u područje Desitijata, u Sarajevsko polje i dalje prema sjeveroistoku i Drini u Meziju. Treća je išla u dolinu Bosne, gdje se vjerojatno nastavljala do Save. Ove glavne prometne pravce dopunjavala je mreža lokalnih putova po nasljenim dijelovima kraških polja i širih riječnih dolina.

Drugi važni oblik Dolabelinih intervencija bio je rješavanje teritorijalnih sporova i razgraničenja među pojedinim plemenima i mjesnim zajednicama. Toga je prirodno bilo nakon pokoravanja, kada su bili narušeni mnogi raniji zemljišni odnosi, pa su ovi zahvati najizravnije zadirali u život preostalih domorodaca. Za potrebe ovih procjena i presuda bila je izrađena posebna katastarska i teritorijalna mapa tzv. *forma Dolabeliana*, koja je bila pohranjena u središtu namjesnika u Saloni te korištena i po kopijama, koje su se čuvala kod zainteresiranih u sporu. Najveći dio tih rasprava vodili su uglavnom vojni zapovjednici, uglavnom centurioni, koje je namjesnik odredio da budu *iudices* – suci u ovim sporovima. Nakon izrečenih presuda, one bi se uklesale u kamen i postavile na terenu i tako je do nas danas stiglo oko tridesetak ovih zanimljivih i za našu antiku dragocjenih natpisa²⁵.

Neposredno nakon pokoravanja vojni zapovjednici izravno upravljaju pojedinim plemenskim zajednicama. Tako je izvjesni: ... *Marcellinus centurion XI legije* bio *praefectus Maezeiorum item Daesitiatum*²⁶. U prvoj polovini 1. stoljeća u Traguriju upravlja: *P. Celaelius miles coh. Campanae custos Traguri*²⁷. Vojska dakle upravlja gradom, koji je možda morao primiti na opskrbu čitavu jedinicu ili iz nekog drugog, zasigurno neželjenog razloga. Brojni veterani VII i XI legije naseljavaju se u obalskim gradovima, što je i logično, jer su im bili najbliži, iako ovi gradovi nisu

25 Betz 1939, 34; Wilkes 1974: 258

26 CIL IX 2564, Bovianum (Samnija u Italiji)

27 CIL III 8693, Salona

traces in the antiquity of our land, which we continue to encounter and discover in the field and through research. We can give only the briefest of accounts as to the accomplishments carried out or assisted by that army. One of the most important feats was the building of the road network using the famous Roman technology. These communications connected the province of Dalmatia from the coast to the rivers of the north and beyond, thereby strengthening the Roman peace and legality in the entire territory. The roads branched out from the provincial capital in Salona, and their construction was started already by Augustus, even though it was Publius Cornelius Dolabella (14-20), emperor Tiberius' governor, who completed it. The roads were built by the soldiers of the VII and XI legions, the same ones that were breaking the resistance of the Illyrians and the Dalmatae. There were altogether five roads, recorded on the famous inscriptions from Salona, which remained preserved because in the Middle Ages they were used as spolia in the construction of the bell-tower of the Split cathedral church of St. Domnius. It took seven centuries for their rediscovery, which happened during the reconstruction of the bell-tower toward the end of the 19th century²⁴. The years 16-17 A.D. saw the completion of the roads: 1. *a colonia Salonitana ad fines provinciae Illyrici*. 2. *via Gabiniana ab Salonis Andetrium*. Two longer roads and one shorter road were completed in 18-20: the first longer road is: *a Salonis ad He[dum] castel[lum] Daesitiatum*. The second: *ad Bat[binum? flu]men quod dividit B[r]e[ucos Oseriat?]ibus a Salonis munit*. The third road, the shorter one, is: *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum* i.e. to Strmica, north of Knin. There were thus three roads leading into the interior of Illyricum, i.e. the road *ad fines provinciae Illyrici*, equated with the road *Salona – Servitium* (Gradiška na Savi) from *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. The second big road entered the territory of the Daesitians, the Sarajevo Plain and further toward northeast and the Drina river in Moesia. The third road led to the valley of the Bosna river and probably further to the Sava river. These main communication routes were complemented by a network of local roads connecting the inhabited parts of karst fields and broader river valleys.

The second important form of Dolabella's interventions was related to solving territorial disputes and demarcations between tribes and local communities. These were

24 CIL III 3198-3201 = 10156-59



KAT. / CAT. 8 - SISCIJA...

nastali kao kolonije veterana, već zajednice rimskih građana koji su pristigli u ranijim desetljećima, posebno od Cezara pa dalje. Naseobina veterana bila je *colonia Claudia Aequum* (Čitluk pokraj Sinja), koju je osnovao car Klaudije nakon 42. g. Veteranima istih legija on je dodijelio zemljište u Sikulima (Kaštel Štafilić), zapadno od Salone. Ovim naseljavanjima i osnivanjem kolonije želio je nagraditi vojnike, koji se nisu odazvali pobuni na koju ih je protiv Klaudija pozvao L. Aruntije Skribonijan, namjesnik Dalmacije 40-42. g.²⁸

Veterani su podrijetlom bili većinom Italici te dijelom iz Galije, Makedonije i Male Azije²⁹. U našu pokrajinu, izmučenu ratovima i razaranjima, rimski mir što su ga ovi vojnici uspostavili, donio je i njihovom zaslugom velike društvene i gospodarske promjene. U zatvorene plemenske zajednice, koje su preživjele ratove, i živjele po svojim tradicijama, sve su promjene višestruko utjecale na njihov život. To posebno vrijedi za one, koji su bili naseljeni duž prometnih pravaca ili su sišli sa svojih razorenih gradina i naselja. U svojim prostranim logorima, kao što je bilo uobičajeno, vojnici prave raznovrsne radionice za svoje potrebe, ali ti se proizvodi i tehnologija šire i izvan logorskih bedema među domorocima. Natpisi nam svjedoče o građevinskim djelatnostima vojnika koji učvršćuju kule i zidove u Saloni, Jaderu, Aequumu i drugdje gdje je trebalo. Grade vodovode i mostove, proizvode crijep i opeke sa svojim žigovima. Takve peći su otkrivene u Smrdeljima pokraj Knina, gdje su nađeni keramički proizvodi s pečatima VII i XI legije, kao i oni legija *IV Flavia Felix* i *VIII Augusta*. Veterani, pa i vojnici sudjeluju u upravljanju kolonijama i municipijima, kao članovi njihovih vijeća, dekurioni i drugo. Tako je čitavi život provincije u ovoj ranoj fazi njezina razvitka bio snažno prožet vojničko - veteranskim elementima³⁰.

Vrijeme nakon odlaska legija iz provincije, pa do 3. st. bilo je vrijeme javne sigurnosti i određenog blagostanja. Pučanstvo je milom ili silom prihvatilo

a natural aftermath of the conquest, which considerably disturbed previous land-property relationships, so these interventions most directly impinged upon the lives of the remaining natives. A special cadastre and territorial map – the so-called *forma Dolabelliana* – was crafted for the requirements of these assessments and verdicts. The map was stored in the governor's seat in Salona, and copies of it were issued to the parties in a dispute. The major part of these discussions were led by military commanders, primarily centurions, *iudices* – referees in these disputes appointed by the governor. After the sentences were passed, they would be carved into stone and placed in the field, which is how around thirty or so of these interesting and for our antiquity valuable inscriptions have come down to us²⁵.

In the period immediately after the conquest the military commanders exerted direct control over individual tribal communities. Thus one ... *Marcellinus centurion of the XI legion* was the *praefectus Maezeiorum item Daesitiatum*²⁶. In the first half of the 1st cent. Tragurium was managed by *P. Celolius miles coh. Campanae custos Traguri*²⁷. It was thus the military that managed the town, which might have been coerced into accommodating the entire unit, or perhaps there was another equally undesired reason. Many veterans of the VII and XI legions settled in coastal towns, a logical choice given their proximity, even though these towns were not founded as veteran colonies but as communities of Roman citizens that had arrived in previous decades, particularly from Caesar's time onwards. There was a settlement of veterans, *colonia Claudia Aequum* (Čitluk kraj Sinja), which was founded by emperor Claudius after 42 A.D. He gave the veterans of those same legions the land in Siculi (Kaštel Štafilić), west of Salona. He used these acts of settlement and the foundation of the colony as a means to reward the soldiers who refused to join the rebellion against him led by L. Arruntius Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia in 40-42 A.D.²⁸.

Most of the veterans were from Italy, and partly from Gaul, Macedonia and Asia Minor²⁹. It was the merit also of these soldiers that the Roman peace they themselves

28 Tac. *Hist.* I 89, II 75; Betz 1939, 36

29 Tončinić 2005

30 Zaninović 1967, 63; Wilkes 1969, 107

25 Betz 1939, 34; Wilkes 1974, 258

26 CIL IX 2564, Bovianum (Samnium in Italy)

27 CIL III 8693, Salona

28 Tac. *Hist.* I 89, II 75; Betz 1939, 36

29 Tončinić 2005

spoznaju o snazi i konačnoj stvarnosti rimske vlasti. Sigurnost su jamčile auxilijarne jedinice u jakosti triju kohorta, što je u to doba iznosilo oko 1800 vojnika. To su bile *cohors III Alpinorum*, koja se nalazila u logoru Bigeste (Humac kod Ljubuškoga) za vrijeme Flavijevaca, da bi u 2. st. prešla u Andetriju, a oko 200. g. prebačena u Panoniju. *Cohors I Belgarum* došla je u Dalmaciju iz Germanije početkom 2. st. Njezin je logor također bio u Bigeste, a manji su odjeli bili stacionirani u Tiluriju i Andetriju. U 3. st. više nema njenih natpisa. *Cohors VIII volunt. c. Romanorum* nalazila se u Dalmaciji već za Batonova ustanka te je tu i ostala kao jedina takva jedinica za vrijeme čitavoga principata. Njezin je logor u 1. st. bio u Andetriju, a poslije u Tiluriju, odakle potječe i njen posljenji poznati nam natpis datiran u 245. g.³¹ U 4. st. ova se kohorta nalazi u Arabiji³².

Osim ovih jedinica brigu o sigurnosti su vodili i *beneficarii*, danas bi ih nazvali oružnicima ili policajcima. Uglavnom su služili u pojedinim *stationes*, svojim postajama duž važnijih prometnih pravaca. Iako su bili izuzeti iz svojih vojničkih jedinica i redovite službe u njima (*immunes*), tehnički su uvijek ostajali pripadnicima jedinica iz kojih su bili detaširani. Ovi su beneficijari često bili jedini vidljivi predstavnici rimske vlasti u krajevima u kojima su služili.

Dugotrajni boravak ovih vojničkih jedinica, koje su vodile brigu o javnoj sigurnosti i obrani, prometu i drugom, osjećao se i u drugim raznolikim vidovima antičkog života, o čemu nam se sačuvao poneki zanimljivi natpis. Tako npr. vojnici *coh. VIII vol. c. Romanorum* podižu u svome logoru u Gardunu oko 150. g. vodotoranj – *turrem ad aquam tollendam*, jer je stari vjerojatno bio dotrajao³³. Kvint Silvije Sperat centurion *coh. I Belgarum*, na ari koju je za svoga boravka na otoku Bratiji (Braču) posvetio nimfama sebe određuje da je *«curagens theatri»*³⁴, vjerojatno neke poslove oko teatra u Saloni. Vojnici iste kohorte obnavljaju u Bigeste hram Libera i Libere i dodaju mu novi portik³⁵. Zasižno je ovakvih intervencija i gradnja bilo mnogo više, ali natpisi nisu sačuvani.

31 CIL III 9274, Gardun

32 Alföldy 1962, 271

33 Abramić 1930-34, 225

34 CIL III 3096, Škrip

35 CIL III 8484

had established brought to our province, battered by wars and destruction, great social and economic changes. In reclusive tribal communities that survived through wars and lived by their traditions, every change had multiple effects on their lives. This is particularly applicable to those settled along traffic routes and those who descended from their destroyed hillforts and settlements. It was customary for the soldiers in their spacious camps to establish various manufactures to satisfy their own needs, but these products and technologies spread beyond the camp walls among the natives. The inscriptions bear testimony to the construction activities of the soldiers who reinforced the towers and walls in Salona, Jader, Aequum and elsewhere where the need arose. They built aqueducts and bridges, produced stamped tiles and bricks. Furnaces of this kind were discovered in Smrdelji near Knin, where ceramic objects bearing stamps of the VII and XI legions were found, as well as those of the legions *IV Flavia Felix* and *VIII Augusta*. The veterans but also soldiers participated in the management of the colonies and municipia, as members of their councils, decurions or on other duties. That way the entire life of the province in this early phase of development was imbued with elements pertaining to soldiers and veterans³⁰.

The period following the departure of the legions from the province until the 3rd century was a time of public safety and relative prosperity. By force or by choice, the population acknowledged that Roman authority and its power were a reality. Safety was guaranteed by auxiliary units three cohorts strong, which at that time amounted to 1800 soldiers. These were *cohors III Alpinorum*, stationed in the camp at Bigeste (Humac near Ljubuški) during the Flavians but moving to Andetrium in the 2nd cent., while around 200 A.D. it was transferred to Pannonia. *Cohors I Belgarum* arrived in Dalmatia from Germania at the beginning of the 2nd cent. It was also stationed in Bigeste, with minor detachments stationed in Tilurium and Andetrium. In the 3rd cent. there are no more inscriptions attributable to this unit. *Cohors VIII volunt. c. Romanorum* was present in Pannonia already during Baton's insurrection, and it remained the only unit of that kind present there during the entire Principate. In the 1st century it camped in Andetrium and later in Tilurium, the latter being the site that yielded its last inscription

30 Zaninović 1967, 63; Wilkes 1969, 107

Veoma je zanimljivo osmotriti odnose vojnika i domorodaca. Znamo da je u 1. st. još od Augusta, vojnicima u aktivnoj službi bilo zabranjeno vjenčati se. Njihovi divlji brakovi sa ženama oko logora zakonski nisu bili priznati. Rimska država naprosto nije htjela imati obveza prema djeci iz tih nezakonitih brakova, koji su inače bili redovita pojava uz svaki logor. To su bile kanabe, naselja koja su se razvijala na određenoj udaljenosti od logora. U 2. st. ova odredba se nije strogo poštovala, pa se postupno i ugasila. Sada se ovi vojnici iz različitih krajeva Carstva miješaju s domaćim stanovništvom, vjenčaju se s domaćim ženama, pa se time stvarao i širio povlašteni sloj romaniziranih stanovnika. Ti su utjecaji, naravno, bili dvosmjerni, pa su i vojnici prihvaćali domaće običaje i shvaćanja. Zanimljivo je npr. podvući, da vojnike pripadnike pomoćnih četa – *auxilia*, gotovo i ne nalazimo među veteranima, koji dobijaju zemljište pri otpustu iz službe (*missio agraria*). Prema tome možemo zaključiti da su radije uzimali novčani iznos (*missio nummaria*), čime su mogli kupiti obradivu zemlju ili otvoriti neki posao ili obrt. Isto tako zanimljivo je osmotriti prisutnost domaćih ljudi u tim jedinicama. U 1. st. to su, po svemu sudeći, bili *peregrini* slobodni ljudi bez rimskog građanskog prava, koje bi zavojačili i poslali na službu u udaljene predjele od rodnoga kraja. Tako su delmatski i drugi ilirski *incolae et peregrini* osigurali državi stalno pritjecanje vojnika za ovu službu. Poznato nam je 7 kohorta Delmata, koje su služile u raznim provincijama od Britanije, preko Germanije i Gornje Mezije do Afrike (*Mauretania Caesariensis*). Oktavijan je npr. 34. g. pr. Kr. odveo sa sobom u Italiju 700 mladih Delmata kao taoce. Sigurno ih se malo vratilo u rodni kraj. Novačenje domorodaca bilo je, uostalom, i uzrok velikoga ustanka 6. godine, kada je Valerije Mesalin silom novačio Desitijate za Tiberijevu vojsku u Germaniji. Nekoliko desetljeća kasnije odvedeno je iz Dalmacije 6000 ljudi. Puknuli su ih 69. g. vojnici XI legije *Cl. p. f.*, koji su te godine napustili Burnum i priključili se Vespazijanovoj vojsci u Italiji, a mnogi su uvršteni u službu u mornarici³⁶.

Od vremena cara Hadriana (117.-138. g.) započela je praksa novačenja vojnika za pomoćne čete iz mjesta, koja se nalaze na istom području, gdje su kohor-

36 Tac. Hist. III 50; Zaninović 1967, 69

known to us, dated to the year 245³¹. In the 4th century this cohort was in Arabia³².

In addition to these units, safety was also the care of *beneficarii*, whom we would today term militiamen or policemen. They mostly served in the *stationes*, their stations along major communication routes. Although they were exempt from service in the military units they came from (*immunes*), technically speaking they remained listed as members of the units from which they were detached. These *beneficarii* were often the only visible representatives of Roman authority in the lands where they served.

The long-term residence of these military units that were responsible for public safety and defence, traffic and other things, was felt also in many other aspects of life in antiquity, as revealed by occasional interesting inscriptions. Thus, for instance, the soldiers of *coh. VIII vol. c. Romanorum* erected a water tower – *turrem ad aquam tollendam*, in their camp at Gardun around 150 A.D., probably because the old tower fell out of use³³. On an ara that Quintus Silvius Speratus, a centurion of the *coh. I Belgarum*, dedicated to the nymphs during his stay on the island of Bratia (Brač), he appointed himself a *«curagens theatri»*³⁴, which probably has something to do with the works on the Salona theatre. The soldiers of the same cohort renovated the temple of Liber and Libera in Bigeste, furnishing it with a new portico³⁵. There must have been many more such interventions and constructions, but inscriptions have not been preserved.

It is highly interesting to look at the relationship between the soldiers and the indigenous population. We know that in the 1st century and as early as the rule of Augustus, soldiers in active service were forbidden to marry. Their cohabitation with women around the camp was not legally recognized. The Roman state simply refused to take on any obligation toward the children from these unlawful marriages, which were a common occurrence around the camps. These were *canabae*, settlements that formed at a certain distance from the camp. This rule was not strictly obeyed in the 2nd century and it gradually withered away. These soldiers from all over the Empire now intermingle with the local residents and marry indigenous women, which led to the creation and broadening of the privile-

31 CIL III 9274, Gardun

32 Alföldy 1962, 271

33 Abramić 1930-34, 225

34 CIL III 3096, Škrip

35 CIL III 8484

te bile stacionirane. Od toga vremena nalazimo na delmatske i ilirske peregrine na službi u tim pomoćnim četama. Za nas su posebno zanimljive dvije kohorte, koje su za sada i posljednje takve jedinice zanačene u našem području. To su *cohors I miliaria Delmatarum* i *cohors II miliaria Delmatarum*. Dva natpisa, što su ih te jedinice postavile u Saloni 170. g., sačuvala su nam podatak o podizanju i učvršćivanju 800 stopa gradskoga zida i jedne kule³⁷. Bilo je to jedno od težih razdoblja po Rimsko Carstvo, kada su Parti na istoku opasno prijetili, a germanska plemena Kvada i Markomana probila obrambene sustave na sjevernim granicama, prodrli do Italije i zaprijetila i Dalmaciji. To je ujedno i vrijeme osnivanja spomenutih jedinica, kada je velika potreba za vojnicima prisilila cara Marka Aurelija da i razbojnice pretvori u vojnike – „*Latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit*“³⁸. Neke su od tih jedinica vjerojatno pošle na istok, a ove dvije kohorte su ostale u svome kraju, da bi poslije, sudeći po nekim natpisima, i one prešle u granična područja antičke provincije Dalmacije³⁹.

Sredinom 3. st., nakon odlaska *cohors VIII vol. c. Romanorum* u Arabiju, Dalmacija je ostala bez stalnih vojnih posada u logorima. Nove društvene okolnosti to više nisu trebale, jer je 3. st. u Dalmaciji i pored većih previranja i problema u državi, bilo vrijeme relativnoga cvata naše pokrajine. Drugi krajevi na sjeveru i sjeveroistoku bili su izloženi rastućim pritiscima s one strane limesa. Gotske provale u Meziju, u drugoj polovini istoga stoljeća, radikalno će narušiti ovo stanje.

Zbog zahtjeva za sažetim izlaganjem ovoga teksta, želio sam više-manje podvući neke glavnije činjenice o značenju vojničkog čimbenika u razvitku antičke provincije Dalmacije. Rimski je vojska od prve intervencije 229. g. pr. Kr. do gušenja Batonova ustanka 9. g. svojim osvajanjima uglavnom razarala. Pred naletom moćnih legija nestajala je izvorna ilirska civilizacija, koja se do tada više-manje neovisno razvijala. Nestala su i neka moćna ilirska plemena

37 CIL III 1979, 8655 Salona

38 SHA, *Vita Marci*, 21, 7

39 Alföldy 1962, 268

ged class of romanized population. These influences naturally worked both ways, meaning that the soldiers too accepted the local customs and beliefs. It deserves special mention, for instance, that soldiers from auxiliary units (*auxilia*) are all but lacking among the veterans rewarded with land at the end of their service (*missio agraria*), leading us to conclude that they preferred the reward in money (*missio nummaria*), which allowed them to buy an arable plot of land or to start a business or craft. It is equally interesting to look at the presence of local people in those units. In the 1st century those were in all probability *peregrini*, free men without Roman citizenship, who were recruited and dispatched to serve in lands far away from their homeland. That way the *incolae et peregrini* of the Dalmatae and other Illyrians provided the state with a steady supply of soldiers for that duty. We know of 7 cohorts of the Dalmatae, which served in various provinces from Britain through Germania and Upper Moesia to Africa (*Mauretania Caesariensis*). Octavian, for instance, in 34 B.C. took 700 young Dalmatae to Italy with him as hostages. There could not have been many of them who returned to their homeland. Recruitment of the natives was in fact what caused the great revolt in the year 6 A.D., when Valerius Mesallinus was enlisting the Daesitiates by force for Tiberius's army in Germania. Several decades later, in 69 A.D., 6000 men were taken from Dalmatia by the soldiers of the XI legion *Cl. p. f.*, who left Burnum that year to join Vespasian's army in Italy. Many of these men ended up serving in the navy³⁶.

From the time of emperor Hadrian (117-138) soldiers for auxiliary units started to be recruited in the places lying in the same territory where the cohorts were stationed. From that time on we find Delmatian and Illyrian peregrines in the service of those auxiliary units. Two cohorts are of special interest to us, which are presently considered the last such units recruited in our territory. These are *cohors I miliaria Delmatarum* and *cohors II miliaria Delmatarum*. Two inscriptions set up by these units in 170 in Salona, preserved for us the information about the erection and strengthening of 800 feet of a town wall and one tower³⁷. This was one of the gravest periods for the Roman Empire, when the severe Parthian menace loomed in the east and the Germanic tribes of the Quadi and Marcomanni burst through the defence systems on the northern bor-

36 Tac. Hist., III 50; Zaninović 1967, 69

37 CIL III 1979, 8655 Salona

poput Ardijejaca. Ne možemo tvrditi da je to bio rezultat neke planske rimske politike, već je to prije bio rezultat akcija, koje su bile izazvane određenim povijesnim okolnostima. Stvarale su se situacije iz kojih su izbijali sukobi, koji su zahtijevali vojničke intervencije od slučaja do slučaja. To je, kako je poznato, jedno od pitanja, oko kojega se i danas spore povjesničari antike. Bila su to vremena, kada su takvi postupci bili uobičajeni i nisu bili svojstveni samo Rimljanima. Oni su i u tome, kao i u mnogočemu drugome, bili samo metodičniji i temeljitiji. Nakon što bi vojska obavila svoj osvajački posao, prešla bi na stvaranje uvjeta za što bržu romanizaciju, gradnjom prometnica, naselja, logora i svega onoga što je oblikovalo ovu uniformnu civilizaciju i naše antike kao dijela mnogo veće cjeline. S druge strane, svojevrsna rimska pravna, ljudska i religijska tolerancija, omogućavala je da i u toj jednoobraznosti, negdje jače negdje slabije, žive i dalje elementi starijih tradicija, koje su bile svojstvene pojedinim plemenima i drugim ljudskim zajednicama. Naša arheologija već duže od stoljeća posvećuje dužnu pažnju upravo tim autohtonim strujanjima, s priznatim rezultatima.

ders, reaching Italy and threatening also Dalmatia. This was also the time when the mentioned units were formed, when a dire need for soldiers compelled emperor Marcus Aurelius to turn even brigands into soldiers – „*Latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit*“³⁸. Some of those units were probably sent to the east, while these two cohorts at first remained in their homeland, and later, judging by certain inscriptions, moved nearer the frontier of the ancient province of Dalmatia³⁹.

In the mid-3rd century, following the departure of the *cohors VIII vol. c. Romanorum* to Arabia, Dalmatia was left without permanent military garrisons in the camps. The new social circumstances rendered them unnecessary, because the 3rd century in Dalmatia, in spite of wider perturbations in the state, was a time of relative prosperity for our province. Other territories in the north and northeast were exposed to growing pressures from across the limes. Gothic incursions into Moesia in the latter half of the same century will radically disrupt this situation.

As there is only limited space for a summary of this topic, I wished only to highlight some major facts about the importance of the military factors in the development of the ancient province of Dalmatia. Starting with the first intervention in 229 B.C. until the suppression of Baton's rebellion in 9 A.D. the Roman military conquests were predominantly destructive campaigns. The assaults of the mighty legions gradually erased the original Illyrian civilization that had developed until that time more or less independently. Some powerful Illyrian tribes such as Ardiaei also disappeared. We cannot claim that this was a result of a preconceived Roman policy, but rather the result of the actions caused by specific historical circumstances. Situations were created from which arose conflicts that required military interventions from one case to another. This, as is known, is one of the topics that still remains a bone of contention among the historians of antiquity. These were times when such deeds were a customary practice that was not distinctly Roman, it is just that in this, as in many other things, they were more methodical and thorough. After the army had completed its conquest, it would focus on creating the conditions for romanization to proceed as swiftly as possible, by constructing roads, settlements, camps and everything else that gave shape to this uniform civilization also in the antiquity of our territory as part of a far larger whole. On the other hand,

38 SHA, *Vita Marci*, 21, 7

39 Alföldy 1962, 268

KAT. / CAT. 5 - SLUČAJNI NALAZI ... / STRAY FINDS...

FELIX
AVT
IT

Ovu našu temu ne bismo mogli prikazati bez dragocjene, sačuvane spomeničke ostavštine natpisa, što su nam je ostavili toliki vojnici i drugi pojedinci, naročito iz prvih dvaju stoljeća po Kristu. Iz njih se najbolje može ocijeniti uloga, što su je imale brojne različite vojničke jedinice od legija do pomoćnih četa i pojedinih vojnika, u razvitku naše antike. Vojska je stvarala temelje te antike na kojima su se dalje razvijali pravni, društveni i gospodarski okviri u kojima su provincija Dalmacija i širi Ilirik živjeli gotovo osam stoljeća svoje stare povijesti. Štoviše, mnogi elementi ove antičke civilizacije sastavni su dio i naše današnje civilizacije, čega često nismo ni svjesni u tehniziranoj svakodnevnici. Zato je ova dionica antičke prošlosti predmet trajnoga proučavanja tolikih vrijednih stručnjaka. Ta je prošlost privlačna i uvijek nova sa svakim novootkrivenim natpisom i drugim predmetima iza kojih stoje tolike ljudske sudbine. To je onaj fascinantni dio naše profesije, koji bez prestanka i uvijek iznova širi obzore naših spoznaja. Stoga, kao stariji kolega i učitelj tolikih generacija, očekujem od onih koji nas uspješno zamjenjuju, da nastave taj posao i vode ga na još bolje razine od onih, koje smo mi nastojali dosegnuti. U to od srca vjerujem!

the Roman tolerance in legal affairs, with regard to people and religion, created the foundations, even in this uniformity, somewhere more or less strongly than elsewhere, for the survival of the elements of older traditions that characterized specific tribes and other human communities. For more than a century Croatian archaeology has been dedicating due attention precisely to these autochthonous currents, with recognized results.

It would have been impossible to present this topic of ours without the invaluable preserved legacy of inscribed monuments, left to us by innumerable soldiers and other individuals, particularly from the first two centuries after Christ. They are the best gauge of the role played by the many distinct military units, from legions to auxiliary troops and individual soldiers, in the development of our antiquity. The army created the foundations of that antiquity, on which subsequently developed the legal, social and economic framework in which the province of Dalmatia and wider Illyricum lived through almost eight centuries of their ancient history. Moreover, many elements of this ancient civilization are incorporated in our contemporary civilization, a fact that we are often unaware of in the technicized character of our everyday life. This is why this segment of ancient history is the subject of permanent research by innumerable diligent scholars. That past is attractive and always fresh with each discovered inscription or other objects behind which lie so many human destinies. This is that fascinating part of our profession, which without interruption and always anew broadens the horizons of our knowledge. For that reason, as a senior colleague and mentor of many generations, I expect from those who successfully come in our stead, to continue that work and carry it to the levels even higher than those that we tried to reach. It is my heartfelt belief that this will indeed be so.

KAT. / CAT. 6-7 – SISCIA...



MIRJANA SANADER DOMAGOJ TONČINIĆ GARDUN – ANTIČKI TILURIUM* GARDUN – THE ANCIENT TILURIUM*

Selo Gardun nalazi se na uzvisini iznad desne obale rijeke Cetine, na dominantnom i strateškom položaju s kojeg se nadziru sva okolna polja i visoravni te prijelaz preko rijeke Cetine na području grada Trilja. Trilj se razvio na mjestu na kojem je bio moguć lakši prijelaz preko rijeke Cetine i na kojem ona napušta Cetinsko polje te počinje sjeći duboki klanac kroz Zamosorje. Za razliku od Trilja, koji se nalazi na nadmorskoj visini od 300 m, kod crkve Sv. Petra, u sjeveroistočnom dijelu sela Gardun, apsolutna nadmorska visina doseže 429 m, a prema sjeverozapadu sela, gdje se nalazi lokalitet Oglavak, teren se stepenasto penje do visine od gotovo 450 m, dok se prema jugu i lokalitetu Podvornice teren spušta na ispod 420 m. Prema jugozapadu područje današnjeg sela Gardun graniči s dolinom sela Vojnić.

Selo Gardun i njegova bliža okolica već više od 200 godina plijene pozornost arheološkim nalazima koji su dospijevali u Arheološki muzej – Split, Arheološku zbirku Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Muzej Cetinske krajine u Sinju, a odnedavno dospijevaju i u novoosnovani Muzej triljskog kraja u Trilju.²

The village of Gardun is perched on a plateau overlooking the right bank of the Cetina river, on a dominating and strategic position controlling the surrounding fields and plateaus, as well as the crossing over the Cetina in the area of the town of Trilj. Trilj has developed on the spot that offered an easy crossing over the Cetina, at the point where the river leaves the Cetina Plain and starts intersecting the deep canyon through the Zamosorje region. Unlike Trilj, which lies at 300 m above the sea level, at St. Peter's church in the northeastern part of the Gardun village the absolute height reaches 429 m. Towards the northwest of the village, at the site of Oglavak, the terrain rises over several terraces to almost 450 m, while to the south, towards the Podvorice site, the terrain descends to less than 420 m. To the southwest, the territory of the present-day village of Gardun borders with the valley of the Vojnić village.

Gardun and its immediate vicinity have been attracting attention for more than 200 years due to the archaeological finds that were coming to the Archaeological Museum in Split, the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, the Museum of Cetinska Krajina in Sinj and, from recently, also the newly-founded Trilj Regional Museum in Trilj.² The finds from Gardun reached

1 * Prikazani rezultati proizašli su iz znanstvenog projekta (Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj), provedenog uz potporu Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske.

2 Gotovo je nemoguće nabrojati sve radove u kojima se oni obrađuju ili usput spominju. Usporedi npr. Milošević 1981, kat. br. 7, 35, 51, 67, 68, 70, 71, 93, 101, 107, 108, 109; Milošević 1998, 243-248; Milošević 2003, slike na str. 3-5, 7-9, 11. Cambi 2008, kat. br. 5, 7, 27-28; Višić-Ljubić 2008, kat. br. 15; Fadić 2008, kat. br. 17-23; Babić 2008, kat. br. 28, 30, 44, 55-56; Župić 2008b, kat. br. 18, 24, 20.

1 * The results presented here were achieved within the framework of the scientific project (Roman military camps in Croatia) carried out with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

2 It is almost impossible to list all the works in which they are analyzed or at least mentioned in passing. Compare for instance Milošević 1981, cat. no. 7, 35, 51, 67, 68, 70, 71, 93, 101, 107, 108, 109; Milošević 1998, 243-248; Milošević 2003, figures on pages 3-5, 7-9, 11. Cambi 2008, cat. no. 5,

Nalazi s Garduna dospijevali su i u muzeje izvan Hrvatske,³ u različite privatne zbirke,⁴ a neki su dan danas uzidani u građevine na Gardunu. O velikoj pozornosti koju su izazvali nalazi s Garduna svjedoči i slučaj krivotvorenja nalaza od strane kovača Petra Pezelja s Vojnića.⁵ Kao najznamenitije nalaze kamenih spomenika valja spomenuti dva ulomka tropeja (vidi kat. br. 112.-113.) – spomenika pobjedi – za kojeg se pretpostavlja da je na Gardunu podignut kako bi obilježio pobjedu Rimljana nad delmatsko-panonskim ustankom 6. do 9. g.⁶ Nadalje se ističu nadgrobni spomenici i drugi natpisi kojima su na Gardunu potvrđene različite rimske vojne postrojbe – *legio VII*, odnosno *VII Claudia pia fidelis*⁷, *legio XI*, odnosno *XI Claudia pia fidelis*⁸, *legio IV Flavia felix*⁹, *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*¹⁰, *ala Claudia nova*¹¹,

also museums outside Croatia,³ as well as various private collections,⁴ while there are also those that have been built to this day into buildings at Gardun. That the finds from Gardun aroused great interest is made plain by the case of the smith Petar Pezelj from Vojnić, who forged some of the finds.⁵ Two fragments of a *tropaion* (see cat. no. 112-113) – a monument commemorating a victory – assumed to have been erected at Gardun to mark the Roman victory in the Dalmatian-Pannonian rebellion of A.D. 6-9, stand out as the most important preserved stone monuments.⁶ Other prominent monuments are tombstones and other inscriptions bearing testimony to the presence of various Roman military units at Gardun – *legio VII*, that is *VII Claudia pia fidelis*⁷, *legio XI*, odnosno *XI Claudia pia fidelis*⁸, *legio IV Flavia felix*⁹, *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*¹⁰, *ala*

3 Milošević 2003, 4.

4 Za nalaze u privatnim zbirkama vidi Milošević 2003, 4; Bekić 1998, 233–242.

5 Kenner *et alii* 1890, 18-24; Thallóczy 1890, 323-330; Milošević 2003, 4.

6 Ulomci AMS Kat. br. D 129 i MCK inv. br 381. Usporedi Cambi 1984.

7 CIL III 2709, 2710 = 9726, 2714 = 9736, 2715, 2716, 2717 = 9728, 9733, 9734 (usp. str. 2269), 9737, 9738 i 8781; 9741, 9742, 13976, 14931, 14932, 14933; ILJug 1949, 1950, 1952, 733; Bulić 1894, 5, br. 3(1984); Sanader 2000a, 225–236; Fadić 1995, 163-187; Tončinić 2003, 266, br. 18; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, kat. br. 16, 26-27; O VII. legiji usporedi i RE XII (1924-1925) 1614-1629 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 6-17, 64-67, kat. br. 1-83; Fadić 1997, 77-119; Tončinić 2004.

8 CIL III 2708=9725, 2711. Tončinić *et alii* 2006, kat. br. 18-20, 28. O XI. legije usporedi i RE XII (1924-1925) 1692 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 18, 22, 67-68, kat. br. 85, 89 i 113. Upitno je jeli pečat 14022 i p. 2328¹⁷⁹ uistinu potječe s Garduna, vidi: Betz 1938, 26. O još jednom mogućem spomeniku XI. legije sa Garduna vidi Tončinić 2007, 263-264.

9 Sanader 2000a, 225–236; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, kat. br. 23 i 24. Nadgrobni spomenici i drugi natpisi IV. legije na Gardunu za sada nisu potvrđeni. Usporedi RE XII (1924-1925) 1540-1549 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 46-48 i 72, kat. br. 217-220. O jednom mogućem spomeniku IV. legije vidi Tončinić 2007, 263-264.

10 CIL III 14934; Alföldy 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, kat. br. 11/3; Spaul 2000, 431.

11 CIL III 9727 (2712); Alföldy 1987b, 242-243, 268-269, 278-279, kat. br. 1/62.

7, 27-28; Višić-Ljubić 2008, cat. no. 15; Fadić 2008, cat. no. 17-23; Babić 2008, cat. no. 28, 30, 44, 55-56; Župić 2008b, cat. no. 18, 24, 20.

3 Milošević 2003, 4.

4 For the finds in private collections see Milošević 2003, 4; Bekić 1998, 233–242.

5 Kenner *et alii* 1890, 18-24; Thallóczy 1890, 323-330; Milošević 2003, 4.

6 Fragments AMS cat. no. D 129 and MCK Inv. no. 381. Compare Cambi 1984.

7 CIL III 2709, 2710 = 9726, 2714 = 9736, 2715, 2716, 2717 = 9728, 9733, 9734 (comp. page. 2269), 9737, 9738 and 8781; 9741, 9742, 13976, 14931, 14932, 14933; ILJug 1949, 1950, 1952, 733; Bulić 1894, 5, no. 3(1984); Sanader 2000a, 225–236; Fadić 1995, 163-187; Tončinić 2003, 266, no. 18; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, cat. no. 16, 26-27; About the VII legion compare also RE XII (1924-1925) 1614-1629 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 6-17, 64-67, cat. no. 1-83; Fadić 1997, 77-119; Tončinić 2004.

8 CIL III 2708=9725, 2711. Tončinić *et alii* 2006, cat. no. 18-20, 28. About the XI legion compare also RE XII (1924-1925) 1692 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 18, 22, 67-68, cat. no. 85, 89 and 113. It is doubtful whether the seal 14022 and 2328¹⁷⁹ indeed come from Gardun, see: Betz 1938, 26. Regarding another possible monument of the XI legion from Gardun see Tončinić 2007, 263-264.

9 Sanader 2000a, 225–236; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, cat. no. 23 and 24. Tombstones and other inscriptions of the IV legion at Gardun have not been confirmed yet. Compare RE XII (1924-1925) 1540-1549 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 46-48 and 72, cat. no. 217-220. Regarding another possible monument of the IV legion from Gardun see Tončinić 2007, 263-264.

10 CIL III 14934; Alföldy 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, cat. no. 11/3; Spaul 2000, 431.





*ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*¹², *cohors I Belgarum*¹³, *cohors III Alpinorum*¹⁴, *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*¹⁵. Osim navedenih uz Gardun se vežu i *cohors Aquitanorum*, koja je potvrđena u Hrvacima¹⁶ te *cohors IV Noricorum*, koja je potvrđena u Dugopolju.¹⁷ S Garduna potječe i nekoliko vojnih natpisa koje ne možemo sa sigurnošću pripisati određenoj vojnoj jedinici.¹⁸ Među navedenim spomenicima do sada su najveću pozornost izazvale stele s prikazom vrata. Riječ je o skupini vojničkih nadgrobnih spomenika koja je svojstvena prvenstveno za pripadnike VII. legije i drugih postrojbi koje su potvrđene na Gardunu. One su zarana izdvojene u zasebni tip¹⁹ te je na osnovi njih pretpostavljeno postojanje klesarske radionice na Gardunu.²⁰ Ostaci jednog istaknutog primjerka do danas su uzidani u dvije građevine na Gardunu. Na četiri vojničke stele s Garduna javljaju se epigrami, koji upućuju na zaključak da je u okviru te radionice djelovao i jedan pjesnik.²¹ Uz brojne vojne natpise s Garduna potječe i velika količina sitnih arheoloških nalaza vojne provenijencije,²² a svi oni svjedoče o postojanju rimskog vojnog uporišta na ovome mjestu.

*Claudia nova*¹¹, *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*¹², *cohors I Belgarum*¹³, *cohors III Alpinorum*¹⁴, *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*¹⁵. Other units associated with Gardun in addition to the mentioned ones are *cohors Aquitanorum*, whose presence was confirmed in Hrvace,¹⁶ and *cohors IV Noricorum*, which was confirmed in Dugopolje.¹⁷ Gardun also yielded several military inscriptions securely attributable to a specific military unit.¹⁸ Among the mentioned monuments, the greatest attention so far has been attracted by the door-steles. This group of military tombstones is characteristic primarily for the members of the VII legion and other units known to have been present at Gardun. The stele were distinguished as a separate type from very early on,¹⁹ and it was based on them that the idea of the presence of a stone mason's workshop at Gardun was put forward.²⁰ The remains of a prominent piece were built into two buildings at Gardun and have remained there to this day. Four military steles from Gardun feature epigrams suggesting that a poet was active within the presumed workshop.²¹ In addition to the

12 CIL III 9735; Alföldy 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, kat. br. 2/1.

13 CIL III 9739; Bulić 1903, 134 br. 3242; Alföldy 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, kat. br. 7/4-5; Spaul 2000, 190-192.

14 CIL III 14935; Alföldy 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, kat. br. 5/7; Spaul 2000, 266-268; Tončinić 2003, 266, br. 17; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, kat. br. 21 i 25.

15 CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336¹ (10182), 14930; Bulić 1903, 129 no. 3315; Abramić 1940, 225 ff; Alföldy 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, kat. br. 18/4-11; Spaul 2000, 35-37; Tončinić 2005, 147-157; Demicheli 2006, kat. br. 18.

16 CIL III 9760, Alföldy 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, kat. br. 6/2; Spaul 2000, 141-142.

17 Cambi 1994.

18 Na primjer: CIL III 2713, 2718, 2719, 13977.

19 Hofmann 1905, 54-60 i 88.

20 Cambi 1989, 46-47; Cambi 1991, 66; Cambi 1993, 33; Cambi 1994, 166. O stelama VII. legije iz Tilurija usporedi i Sanader 2003b i Tončinić 2004, 157-164.

21 Sanader 2000a, 225-236 (MTK 2); CIL III 9733 (AMS, Inv. br. 303 A); ILJug 1950 (AMS, Inv. br. 3959 A); Fadić 1995, 168-172 (MCK, Inv. br. B/1373). O epigramima na stelama iz Garduna usporedi i Rendić-Miočević 1987, 226-228; Sanader *et alii* 2007b.

22 Milošević 1998, 243-248, Radman-Livaja 1998; Bekić 1998; Ivčević 2005; Ivčević 2010.

11 CIL III 9727 (2712); Alföldy 1987b, 242-243, 268-269, 278-279, cat. no. 1/62.

12 CIL III 9735; Alföldy 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, cat. no. 2/1.

13 CIL III 9739; Bulić 1903, 134 br. 3242; Alföldy 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, cat. no. 7/4-5; Spaul 2000, 190-192.

14 CIL III 14935; Alföldy 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, cat. no. 5/7; Spaul 2000, 266-268; Tončinić 2003, 266, no. 17; Tončinić *et alii* 2006, cat. no. 21 and 25.

15 CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336¹ (10182), 14930; Bulić 1903, 129 no. 3315; Abramić 1940, 225 ff; Alföldy 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, cat. no. 18/4-11; Spaul 2000, 35-37; Tončinić 2005, 147-157; Demicheli 2006, cat. no. 18.

16 CIL III 9760, Alföldy 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, kat. br. 6/2; Spaul 2000, 141-142.

17 Cambi 1994.

18 For example: CIL III 2713, 2718, 2719, 13977.

19 Hofmann 1905, 54-60 i 88.

20 Cambi 1989, 46-47; Cambi 1991, 66; Cambi 1993, 33; Cambi 1994, 166. Regarding the stele of the VII legion from Tilurium compare also Sanader 2003b and Tončinić 2004, 157-164.

21 Sanader 2000a, 225-236 (MTK 2); CIL III 9733 (AMS, Inv. no. 303 A); ILJug 1950 (AMS, Inv. no. 3959 A); Fadić 1995, 168-172 (MCK, Inv. no. B/1373). Regarding the epigrams on the stele from Gardun compare also Rendić-Miočević 1987, 226-228; Sanader *et alii* 2007b.

Već je zarana zamijećeno da ni na jednom drugom nalazištu na području rimske provincije Dalmacije nije zabilježen toliki broj nadgrobnih spomenika aktivnih vojnika VII. legije kao na širem području Garduna. Iz toga je izveden zaključak da je ovdje morao biti stalni logor VII. legije za vrijeme njenog boravka u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji.²³ Taj je podatak od iznimnog značaja pošto se kod antičkih pisaca nisu sačuvali podaci o položaju logora VII. legije, a isto vrijedi i za njegovo antičko ime. Zbog toga se Gardun u literaturi ponekad navodio kao mjesto nepoznatog antičkog imena²⁴, a često se izjednačavao i s Delminijem (*Delminium*)²⁵ i Ardubom (*Arduba*).²⁶ I Gardun²⁷ i Trilj²⁸ su izjednačavani s Tilurijem (*Tilurium*). Danas je općeprihvaćeno tumačenje Stjepana Gunjače prema kojem se Gardun u antici zvao Tilurij (*Tilurium*), a Trilj *Pons Tiluri*.²⁹ Ta imena antički izvori i spomenici bilježe u različitim oblicima - *Tabula Peutingeriana* kao *Tilurio*, Antoninov itinerar (337,4 i dalje) kao *Ponte Tiluri*, Anonimni Ravenjanjin kao *Tilurion* (IV 16 = 210,12) i *Ponteluri* (IV 16 = 210,13), miljokaz s nalazišta Orepak u selu Pruda kod Narone kao *Til[urio]*³⁰, miljokaz iz Runovića kod Imotskog kao *Tilur(io)*³¹ te Plinije (N.H. 3,142) kao *Tribulium*.³² Etnik ili osobno ime *Ianuarius Tilurinus* možda je izvedenica iz imena *Tilurium*.³³ Ono se do danas sačuvalo u imenu grada Trilja.³⁴

23 RE XII (1924-1925) 1617-1618 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 8-9.

24 Patsch 1908, 103; Grgin, 1929, 26; Betz 1938, 9; Pregled starije literature vidi kod Alföldy 1987a, 313, bilješka 7.

25 Pregled starije literature vidi kod Gunjača 1937, 43, bilješka 42 te Alföldy 1987a, 313, bilješka 2.

26 Grgin 1929, 26. Pregled starije literature vidi kod Gunjača 1937, 43, bilješka 44 i 45 te Alföldy 1987a, 313, bilješka 5.

27 Pregled starije literature vidi kod Alföldy 1987a, 314, bilješka 8.

28 Abramić 1927, 143.

29 Gunjača 1937, 39-46. Alföldy 1987a, 313-316.

30 Patsch 1908, 101.

31 Abramić 1927, 142.

32 Gunjača 1937; Alföldy 1987a, 314.

33 Alföldy 1987a, 314; Mayer 1957, 337-338.

34 Gunjača 1937, 42. vidi i bilješku 40!!

many military inscriptions, Gardun also yielded a great many small archaeological finds of military origin²², all of which bear witness to the existence of a Roman military stronghold at this position.

It was observed from very early on that the wider area of Gardun is second to no other site in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia when it comes to the number of tombstones of active soldiers of the VII legion. This led to the conclusion that the VII legion must have had a permanent camp there during its sojourn in Roman Dalmatia.²³ This is an exceptionally important piece of information, considering that neither the data on the position of the camp of the VII legion, nor its ancient name have been preserved in texts of ancient writers. Due to this, Gardun was sometimes referred to in the literature as a place whose ancient name was unknown²⁴, while in other cases it was equated with *Delminium*²⁵, *Arduba*.²⁶ Both, Gardun²⁷ and Trilj²⁸ were equated with *Tilurium*. The opinion of Stjepan Gunjača that the ancient name of Gardun was *Tilurium*, while that of Trilj was *Pons Tiluri* is now generally accepted.²⁹ These names were documented in ancient sources in various ways - *Tabula Peutingeriana* refers to it as *Tilurio*, Antonine Itinerary (337,4 and further) as *Ponte Tiluri*, Anonymous of Ravenna as *Tilurion* (IV 16 = 210,12) and *Ponteluri* (IV 16 = 210,13), the milestone found at Orepak in the village of Pruda near Narona as *Til[urio]*³⁰, the milestone from Runovići near Imotski as *Tilur(io)*³¹, and Pliny (N.H. 3,142) as *Tribulium*.³² The ethnonym or personal name *Ianuarius*

22 Milošević 1998, 243-248, Radman-Livaja 1998; Bekić 1998; Ivčević 2005; Ivčević 2010.

23 RE XII (1924-1925) 1617-1618 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 8-9.

24 Patsch 1908, 103; Grgin, 1929, 26; Betz 1938, 9; For an overview of the earlier literature see Alföldy 1987a, 313, note 7.

25 For an overview of the earlier literature see Gunjača 1937, 43, note 42 te Alföldy 1987a, 313, note 2.

26 Grgin 1929, 26. For an overview of the earlier literature see Gunjača 1937, 43, notes 44 and 45 as well as Alföldy 1987a, 313, note 5.

27 For an overview of the earlier literature see Alföldy 1987a, 314, note 8.

28 Abramić 1927, 143.

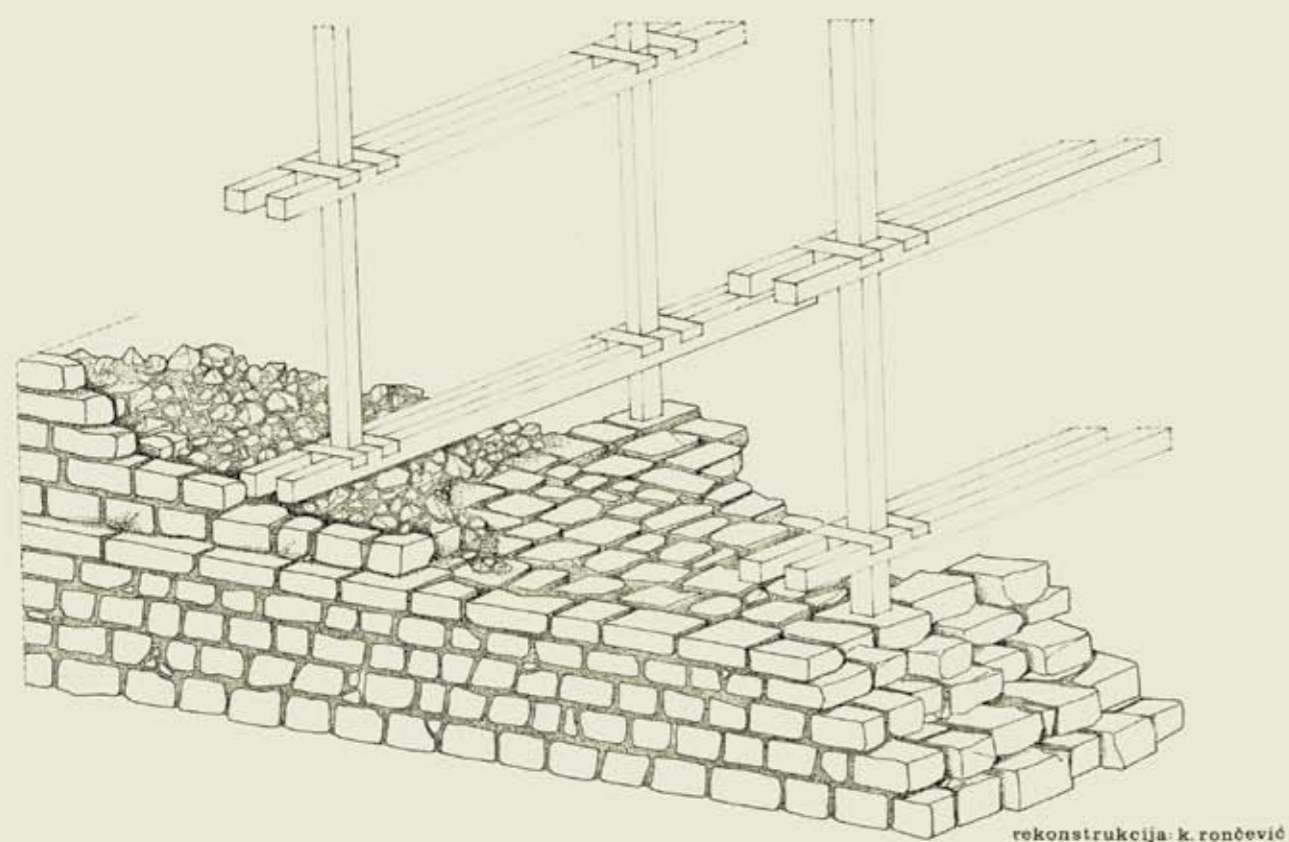
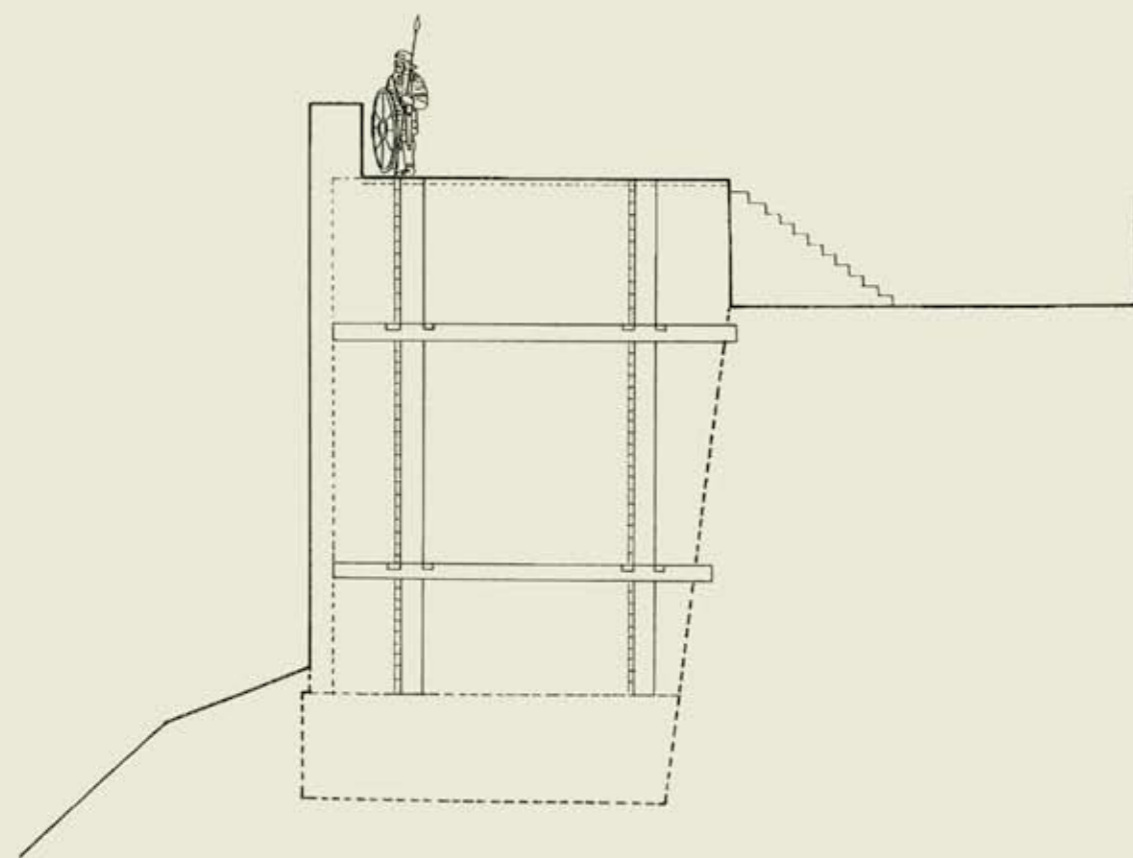
29 Gunjača 1937, 39-46. Alföldy 1987a, 313-316.

30 Patsch 1908, 101.

31 Abramić 1927, 142.

32 Gunjača 1937; Alföldy 1987a, 314.





Iako je u znanstvenoj literaturi značaj ovog nalazišta odavno uočen, znanost se donedavno samo jednom temeljito pozabavila pitanjem Tilurija. Riječ je o članku Marina Zaninovića koji vrlo iscrpno analizira vojni značaj Tilurija u antici. Marin Zaninović je zaključio da se iza Plinijevog Tribulija krije gradina ilirskog plemena Delmata koja je prethodila rimskom legijskom logoru, a nalazila se na mjestu crkve Sv. Petra.³⁵ Osim pojedinačnih nalaza s Garduna³⁶, o prapovijesnom Tiluriju posredno svjedoče i brojni prapovijesni nalazi iz korita rijeke Cetine³⁷, ali i druga prapovijesna nalazišta u njegovoj neposrednoj okolini, među kojima valja istaknuti tzv. Prizidu. Riječ je o prapovijesnom bedemu koji je zatvarao pristup u dolinu sela Vojnić sa zapada, s visoravni Podi. Pružao se od krajnjega juga brda Čemernice, tj. brda Bračice do lokaliteta Kusića gomile koji se nalazi istočno od sela Bučani, a nastavljao se i dalje prema Gardunu. Taj je bedem, čija je izvorna širina iznosila oko 2 m, a visina oko 4 m, građen tehnikom suhozida. Od velikog kamenja složena su lica bedema, a međuprostor je ispunjen sitnijim kamenjem.³⁸

Stratešku važnost ovog položaja prepoznali su i Rimljani. Oni su na platou zapadno od crkve Sv. Petra podigli legijski logor koji je bio karika u nizu utvrda na potezu Ivoševci kod Kistanja (*Burnum*) – Tepljuh kod Drniša (*Promona*) – Kadina glavica – Balijina glavica (*Magnum*) – Muć (*Andetrium*) – Gardun (*Tilurium*) – Humac (*Bigeste*). Pretpostavlja se da su Rimljani tim nizom utvrda presjekli područje Delmata te stvorili obrambenu crtu, neku vrstu limesa prema, u tom vremenu, još nesigurnoj unutrašnjosti Ilirika.³⁹ U posljednje vrijeme je Darko Periša odbacio postojanje takve obrambene linije te je osnivanje stalnog vojnog logora u Tiluriju povezao s novčanimjima Delmata i drugih pokorenih naroda u devet

Tilurinus is perhaps a derivative from the name *Tilurium*.³³ It has remained preserved to this day in the name of the town of Trilj.³⁴

Even though the significance of this site has long been noted in the scholarly literature, until recently the issue of Tilurium has been dealt with in detail by the scientific community on only one occasion, i.e. in an article by Marin Zaninović. In this paper, which contains an in-depth analysis of the military importance of Tilurium during antiquity, Zaninović put forward the opinion that Pliny's Tribulium referred to a hillfort of the Illyrian tribe of the Dalmatae, which predated the Roman legionary camp and which was situated at the position of the church of St. Peter's.³⁵ In addition to single finds from Gardun³⁶, numerous prehistoric finds from the bed of the Cetina river³⁷ are another indirect testimony about the prehistoric Tilurium, and the same holds true for other prehistoric sites in its immediate vicinity, among which the so-called Prizida deserves a special mention. This is a prehistoric rampart that closed access to the valley of the Vojnić village from the west, from the Podi plateau. It stretched from the southernmost tip of Mount Čemernica, i.e. from the Bračice Hill to the site of Kusića Gomile, situated east of the village of Bučani, and it extended further towards Gardun. This was a dry-stone rampart, originally around 2 m wide and around 4 m high. The outer faces were built of large stone blocks and the interior was then filled with rubble.³⁸

The Romans were not slow in recognizing the strategic importance of this position. On the plateau west of the St. Peter's church they built a legionary camp, which was a link in the chain of fortifications connecting Ivoševci near Kistanje (*Burnum*) – Tepljuh near Drniš (*Promona*) – Kadina Glavica – Balijina Glavica (*Magnum*) – Muć (*Andetrium*) – Gardun (*Tilurium*) – Humac (*Bigeste*). It is assumed that this series of forts built by the Romans cut across the territory of the Dalmatae, establishing a

35 Zaninović 1967, 16 = Zaninović 2007b, 146-148; Zaninović 1996a, 280.

36 Woodward 1909; Milošević 1981, kat. br. 35, 51; Milošević 1998, 245.

37 Milošević 1998, 291-294; Milošević 1999; Milošević 2003.

38 Britvić 1965, 29-33.

39 Patsch 1915., 33-34; Šašel 1974; Zaninović 1996a, 281-282. Alföldy 1987a, 315; Sanader 2002a, 713-718 = Sanader 2002b, 120-128.

33 Alföldy 1987a, 314; Mayer 1957, 337-338.

34 Gunjača 1937, 42. See also note 40!!

35 Zaninović 1967, 16 = Zaninović 2007b, 146-148; Zaninović 1996a, 280.

36 Woodward 1909; Milošević 1981, kat. br. 35, 51; Milošević 1998, 245.

37 Milošević 1998, 291-294; Milošević 1999; Milošević 2003.

38 Britvić 1965, 29-33.

delmatskih kohorti nakon Batonovog ustanka.⁴⁰ Legijski logor Tilurij (*Tilurium*) nadzira je osim toga prijelaz preko rijeke Cetine (*Hippus*) na području grada Trilja (*Pons Tiluri*), a time i ceste koje su iz antičke Salone vodile prema sjeveroistoku, u unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije i prema antičkoj Naroni na jugoistoku. Prema *Tabula Peutingeriana* riječ je o pravcu *Salona – Argentaria*, a na salonitanskom natpisu CIL III 3201 = 10159 + 3198 b = 10156 b ta je cesta zabilježen kao cesta *a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum*.⁴¹ Od te se ceste u Trilju odvajala cesta za Naronu, koja je bila dio cestovnog pravca Akvileju - Drač.⁴² O Trilju kao ishodištu ceste za Naronu svjedoče miljokazi s nalazišta Orepak u selu Pruda kod Narone⁴³ i iz Runovića kod Imotskog⁴⁴ Točno mjesto prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine (*Hippus*) na području grada Trilja (*Pons Tiluri*) još nije sa sigurnošću potvrđeno. O mogućim lokacijama svjedoči cijeli niz arheoloških nalaza iz korita rijeke Cetine. Prema mjesnim podacima koje prenosi starija literatura ostaci mosta zabilježeni su na čak tri mjesta – uzvodno od Trilja na Drniću, u Trilju, oko 50 m nizvodno od današnjeg mosta, odnosno oko položaja starog mosta, i nizvodno od Trilja kod tzv. Peštine Mlinice, odnosno na položaju „Mostine“ ispod crkve Sv. Petra na Gardunu. Na osnovi činjenice da *Tabula Peutingeriana* na Cetini bilježi dva prijelaza (*bivium*) u literaturi je zastupljeno i mišljenje o postojanju dvaju antičkih mostova.⁴⁵ U posljednje vrijeme je argumente za moguću lokaciju rimskog mosta sabrao Ante Milošević.⁴⁶ Konačni sud o lokaciji i kronologiji mogućih prijelaza ili mostova mogu dati jedino stručna obrada i arheološko-topografsko kartiranje svih dosadašnjih nalaza. U iščekivanju toga valja naglasiti da su do sada najkonkretnije potvrde nađene u Trilju između današnjeg mosta i položaja visećeg mosta.

40 Periša 2008.

41 Bojanovski 1974, 151.

42 Bojanovski 1977, 83.

43 Patsch 1908, 101.

44 Abramić 1927, 142.

45 Bulić 1899, 26; Bojanovski 1977, 90; Zaninović 1996a, 286-287.

46 Milošević 2009.

defence line, a limes of sorts, standing guard against the still precarious interior of Illyricum.³⁹ Darko Periša has recently dismissed the existence of such a defence line, linking in turn the foundation of a permanent military camp in Tilurium with the recruitment among the Dalmatae and other subjugated peoples into nine Dalmatian cohorts in the wake of Bato's insurrection.⁴⁰ The legionary camp Tilurium also controlled the crossing over the Cetina river (*Hippus*) in the area of the town of Trilj (*Pons Tiluri*), and with this also the roads that led from ancient Salona towards northeast, into the interior of the province of Dalmatia, and southeast, towards ancient Naronu. On the *Tabula Peutingeriana* this is the communication *Salona – Argentaria*, and on the Salonitan inscription CIL III 3201 = 10159 + 3198 b = 10156 b it was documented as the road *a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum*.⁴¹ The road to Naronu, which formed part of the communication Aquileia – Dyrrhachium,⁴² branched from that road in Trilj. A testimony to the fact that Trilj was the point of origin for the road to Naronu is found on the milestones from the site of Orepak in the village of Pruda near Naronu⁴³ and from Runovići near Imotski.⁴⁴ The exact point where the road crossed the Cetina (*Hippus*) in the area of the town of Trilj (*Pons Tiluri*) has not been ascertained yet. A plethora of archaeological finds from the bed of the Cetina river are indications of the possible positions. According to the information collected from the local inhabitants and published in the older literature, the remains of a bridge were documented at as much as three positions – at Drnić upstream of Trilj; in Trilj, around 50 m downstream from the present-day bridge, that is, around the position of the old bridge; and downstream from Trilj at the so-called Peština Mlinica, that is, the position of "Mostine" below the church of St. Peter's at Gardun. Based on the fact that on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* one finds two crossings (*bivium*) over the Cetina, the opinion was put forward in the literature that there had in fact been two ancient bridges.⁴⁵ The arguments

39 Patsch 1915., 33-34; Šašel 1974; Zaninović 1996a, 281-282. Alföldy 1987a, 315; Sanader 2002a, 713-718 = Sanader 2002b, 120-128.

40 Periša 2008.

41 Bojanovski 1974, 151.

42 Bojanovski 1977, 83.

43 Patsch 1908, 101.

44 Abramić 1927, 142.

45 Bulić 1899, 26; Bojanovski 1977, 90; Zaninović 1996a,



Riječ je o natpisu CIL III 3202 koji govori o popravku mosta, votivna ara koju je *I(ovi) O(ptomo) M(aximo) / et N(Umini) H(ippi) FL(uminis) /*

posvetio konzularni beneficijar I. legije, drveni piloni, okovi za drvene pilone i dr.⁴⁷

Do danas nije poznat točan datum dolaska Rimljana na Gardun i podizanja vojnog logora. To je pitanje u izravnoj vezi s problemima rimsko-delmatskih sukoba i dolaska rimskih legija u Dalmaciju, odnosno

for the possible site of the Roman bridge were recently reviewed by Ante Milošević.⁴⁶ The final verdict on the site and chronology of the possible crossings or bridges can be given only after the expert analysis and archaeological-topographical mapping of all previous finds have been carried out. While waiting for this to happen it must be pointed out that the most concrete evidence discovered so far is found in Trilj between the present-day bridge and the position of the suspension bridge – the inscription CIL III 3202, which speaks of a repair to the bridge, a votive

286-287.

46 Milošević 2009.

47 Gunjača 1950, 50; Milošević 2009.



u Tilurij. Rimljani su s ilirskim Delmatima ratovali više od sto pedeset godina – 156. g. pr. Kr. je pohod na Delmate vodio Gaj Marcije Figul, a 155. g. pr. Kr. Publije Kornelije Scipion Nazika. Lucije Cecilije Metel je 119. g. pr. Kr. prezmio u Saloni te je ondje ostao i protiv Delmata ratovao do 117. g. pr. Kr. 78. do 76. g. pr. Kr. Salonu Delmatima ponovno preotima Gaj Koskonije. 51. g. pr. Kr. Krista je vojnu intervenciju na Delmate poslao tadašnji prokonzul Ilirika Gaj Julije Cezar. 48. g. pr. Kr. Aulo Gabinije je poražen od Delmata kod Sinodija, a ratovanje je 47. g. pr. Kr. nastavio Publije Vatinije. 34. do 33. g. pr. Kr. protiv Delmata ratuju Marko Agripa i Gaj Oktavijan. Tek je gušenje velikog ilirskog ustanka 6. do 9. g. značilo kraj ratovanja Rimljana s Delmatima. Marin Zaninović iznosi mišljenje da se Plinijev spomen Tilurija odnosi na vrijeme Oktavijanove vojne ekspedicije 34 - 33. pr. Kr. i podržava opće mišljenje da je do gradnje logora došlo nakon gušenja Batonova ustanka 9. godine.⁴⁸ Nadalje smatra da je prije VII. legije ovdje boravila *legio IX Hispana*,⁴⁹ pa je prema tome već ona morala podizati logor. To se mišljenje temelji na nadgrobnom spomeniku Seksta Kornelija (CIL III 13977). Riječ je o jedinom spomeniku te legije ne samo u Tiluriju nego i u čitavoj rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, a on je uz to i upitan.⁵⁰ Većina autora slaže se da je VII. legija u Dalmaciju, a time i u Tilurij moralo doći najkasnije u toku ili neposredno nakon delmatsko-panonskog ustanka 6. do 9. g.⁵¹ Valja ipak napomenuti da postoje i druga mišljenja koja se zasnivaju na analizi nadgrobničkih spomenika VII. legije. Na osnovi te analize Otto Cuntz zaključuje, da učestalost kojom se

altar dedicated *I(ovi) O(ptomo) M(aximo) / et N(Umini) H(ippi) FL(uminis) /* by a consular beneficiarium of the I legion; wooden piles, fittings for wooden piles etc.⁴⁷

The exact date of the arrival of the Romans in Gardun and the establishment of the military camp has remained unknown to this day. This issue is directly linked with the problems of the confrontations between Rome and the Dalmatae and the arrival of the Roman legions in Dalmatia, that is, Tilurium. The Romans waged war on the Illyrian Dalmatae for more than a hundred and fifty years – in 156 B.C. the campaign against the Dalmatae was led by Caius Marcius Figulus, while in 155 B.C. the leader was Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Lucius Caecilius Metellus spent the winter of 119 B.C. in Salona, and remained there waging war against the Dalmatae until 117 B.C. Between 78-76 B.C. Caius Cosconius once again seized Salona from the Dalmatae. In 51 B.C. Gaius Julius Caesar, who was the proconsul of Illyricum at the time, mounted a military intervention against the Dalmatae. In 48 B.C. the Dalmatae defeated Aulus Gabinius near Sinodium, and the war was resumed in 47 B.C. by Publius Vatinius. In 34-33 B.C. Marcus Agrippa and Gaius Octavianus waged war on the Dalmatae. The end to the wars of Rome with the Dalmatae was put only after the great Illyrian rebellion of A.D. 6-9 was suppressed. Marin Zaninović put forward the opinion that Pliny's mention of Tilurium refers to the time of Octavian's military expedition in 34-33 B.C. and supported the general opinion that the camp was constructed after Bato's insurrection was quashed in A.D. 9.⁴⁸ Further, he believes that the *legio IX Hispana*⁴⁹ resided there before the VII legion, and that it was the former that must be credited with the construction of the camp. This opinion is based on the tombstone of Sextus Cornelius (CIL III 13977). Not only is this the only monument attributed to that legion in Tilurium and entire Roman Dalmatia, it is also doubtful.⁵⁰ Most authors

48 Zaninović 1996a, 282-284.

49 Zaninović 1996a, 284.

50 Bulić 1894, 5, br. 4 (1983) ga nije čitao kao vojni natpis; RE XII (1924-1925) 1665 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling), pripisuje ga IX. legiji i datira u vrijeme cara Augusta; Betz 1938, 52 i 72, kat. br. 233, navodi ga na popisu mogućih spomenika IX. legije; Wilkes 1969, str. 461, donosi ga na popisu spomenika VII. ili XI. legije; RE Supp. XI (1968) 1265 s. v. *Tilurium* (G. Alföldy) navodi da se navodna oznaka devete legije može čitati i kao nepoznati *domus*; Zaninović 1996a, 284, upozorava na oba mišljenja; Fadić 1997, 80, donosi ga na popisu mogućih spomenika VII. legije.

51 RE XII (1924-1925) 1616 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Wilkes 1969, 92-94; Zaninović 1996a, 284; Mitchell 1976, 303; Strobel 2000, 528.

47 Gunjača 1950, 50; Milošević 2009.

48 Zaninović 1996a, 282-284.

49 Zaninović 1996a, 284.

50 Bulić 1894, 5, no. 4 (1983) did not read it as a military inscription; RE XII (1924-1925) 1665 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling), attributed it to the IX legion and dated it to the time of emperor Augustus; Betz 1938, 52 and 72, cat. no. 233, mentioned it in the list of the possible monuments of the IX legion. Wilkes 1969, p. 461 listed it among the monuments of the VII and XI legions; RE Supp. XI (1968) 1265 s. v. *Tilurium* (G. Alföldy) stated that the alleged mark of the ninth

među obiteljskim imenima vojnika, koji potječu iz Male Azije, javljaju obiteljska imena zapovjednika i drugih sljedbenika Marka Antonija, dokazuje da su ti vojnici unovačeni u razdoblju između 35. i 32. g. pr. Kr. za potrebe Marka Antonija. Poslije bitke kod Akcija 31. g. pr. Kr. stari su vojnici Antonijevih legija otpušteni, a mladi su vojnici nastavili služiti u Dalmaciji. Jednostavnom računicom - zbrajanjem godina vojne službe koje su navedene na nadgrob-nim spomenicima i datuma kada su pokojnici mogli biti unovačeni (35. do 32. g. pr. Kr.) - dobivaju se godine kada su pojedini vojnici preminuli u Iliriku. Iz nje proizlazi da je VII. legija najkasnije 15. g. pr. Kr. već morala boraviti u Iliriku.⁵² U to bi se uklopila i neka razmišljanja o izgradnji tzv. delmatskog limesa već za vrijeme pohoda Marka Agripe i Gaja Oktavijana 34. do 33. g. pr. Kr.⁵³

Nije poznato ni točno vrijeme odlaska VII. legije iz rimske provincije Dalmacije, ali većina autora taj događaj datira u razdoblje oko sredine 1. st.⁵⁴ E. Ritterling smatra da je VII. legija prije 58. g. napustila Dalmaciju kako bi u provinciji Meziji zauzela mjesto legije *III Scythica*, koja je 56. na 57. g. premještena u Armeniju.⁵⁵ Druga mogućnost je da je tek 61. g. premještena u Meziju kako bi zauzela mjesto legije *V Macedonica*, koja je također premještena na Istok.⁵⁶ Karl Strobel smatra da je VII. legija u Meziji od samog početka preuzela logor u Viminaciju iz kojeg je legija *III Scythica* otišla vjerojatno već 55. g.⁵⁷ John J. Wilkes i Marin Zaninović su naglasili mišljenja o još ranijem odlasku, i to već 45. g., kada je bila pripojena Trakija. Ono se zasniva na zapažanju da je u Dalmaciji zabilježen relativno mali broj spomenika legije VII. *Claudia pia fidelis*, a John J. Wilkes u prilog ranog odlaska naglašava, da je mogao biti i rezultat Skribonijanove urote, odnosno spoznaje koju opasnost mogu predstavljati dvije legije u

agree that the latest plausible date for the arrival of the VII legion in Dalmatia, and with this also in Tilurium, was during or immediately after the Dalmatian-Pannonian insurrection of A.D. 6-9.⁵¹ It nevertheless deserves mention that there are also other opinions based on the analysis of the tombstones of the VII legion. Based on this analysis, Otto Cuntz concluded that the frequency with which the family names of commanders and other followers of Marc Anthony appear among the family names of the soldiers originating from Asia Minor, is the proof that these soldiers were recruited between 35 and 32 B.C. to serve Marc Anthony's needs. Following the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. the elder soldiers of Anthony's legions were dismissed, while the young soldiers continued their service in Dalmatia. A simple calculation – adding the years of military service found on the tombstones to the plausible recruitment dates of the deceased (35-32 B.C.) – gives us the years in which specific soldiers died in Illyricum. The results show that the VII legion must have been present in Illyricum by 15 B.C. at the latest.⁵² This tallies well with certain considerations about the construction of the so-called Dalmatian limes already during the campaign of Marcus Agrippa and Gaius Octavianus in 34-33 B.C.⁵³

The exact time of the departure of the VII legion from the Roman province of Dalmatia is not known either, but most authors date that event to the period around the middle of the 1st century A.D.⁵⁴ E. Ritterling thinks that the VII legion left Dalmatia before A.D. 58 in order to replace the legion *III Scythica* in the province of Moesia, which was moved to Armenia at the turn from A.D. 56 to 57.⁵⁵ The other possibility is that it was transferred to Moesia only in A.D. 61 as a replacement for the legion *V Macedonica*, which was likewise shifted east.⁵⁶ Karl Strobel

legion could be read as an unknown *domus*; Zaninović 1996a, p. 284, draws attention to both opinions; Fadić 1997, 80, put it on the list of the possible monuments of the VII legion.

51 RE XII (1924-1925) 1616 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Wilkes 1969, 92-94; Zaninović 1996a, 284; Mitchell 1976, 303; Strobel 2000, 528.

52 Cuntz 1929, 74-75; Betz 1938, 14-17.

53 Šašel 1974.

54 RE XII (1924-1925) 1619 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 38; Strobel 2000, 528; Wilkes 1969, 96; Zaninović 1996a, 287.

55 RE XII (1924-1925) 1619 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling).

56 Betz 1938, 38.

52 Cuntz 1929, 74-75; Betz 1938, 14-17.

53 Šašel 1974.

54 RE XII (1924-1925) 1619 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 38; Strobel 2000, 528; Wilkes 1969, 96; Zaninović 1996a, 287.

55 RE XII (1924-1925) 1619 s. v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling).

56 Betz 1938, 38.

57 Strobel 2000, 528.

Dalmaciji.⁵⁸ U ovom kontekstu valja naglasiti da u međuvremenu raspoložemo s ulomcima tegula s pečatima legije *VII Claudia pia fidelis*, koji su nađeni na Gardunu i u Čitluku.⁵⁹ Oni svjedoče o boravku i građevinskim aktivnostima legije nakon 42. g. u samom Tiluriju, ali i na mjestu Klaudijeve kolonije *Aequum*. Ostaje otvoreno jesu li se i u kojoj mjeri preklapali teritorij kolonije *Aequum* i prata legionis legijskog logora Tilurija.⁶⁰

Sve navedene rekonstrukcije nekadašnjih događanja u svezi s rimskim logorom Tilurijem i s boravkom rimskih postrojbi u Iliriku, odnosno Dalmaciji, zasnivale su se na samo jednoj znanstvenoj disciplini, naime na staroj povijesti i antičkim pisanim izvorima. Potvrdu dosadašnjih teza ili rezultate koji bi u kombinaciji s dosadašnjim spoznajama mogli pružiti temelje za stvaranje novih zaključaka mogla su pružiti samo arheološka istraživanja. Već spomenuti arheološki nalazi, podaci različitih putopisaca i starijih autora o vidljivim ostacima logorske arhitekture⁶¹ i rijetki do danas nad zemljom vidljivi ostaci, jasno upućuju na potencijal i značaj ovog nalazišta. No, iako je u više navrata naglašeno da je arheološko istraživanje legijskog logora Tilurija jedna od važnih zadaća budućih arheologa,⁶² ono je započelo tek 1997. g. Od tada pod rukovodstvom prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja u Tiluriju. Ona se odvijaju u sklopu znanstveno-istraživačkog projekta Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj (130-000000-0777), koji od 1997. Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa

58 Nesselhauf 1941, 42; Wilkes 1969, 96; Zaninović 1996a, 287.

59 Tončinić *et alii* 2006; Tončinić 2009.

60 Za teritorij legijskog logora Tilurija usporedi Zaninović 1996b, 268-270.

61 Usporedi Milošević 1981, 49-50 kat. br. 66; Zaninović 1996a: 285; Milošević 2003, 2-4.

62 Gunjača 1937, 46; Betz 1938, 8-9; Zaninović 1996a: 285.

thinks that in Moesia the VII legion from the very start took over the camp in Viminacium, which the legion *III Scythica* left probably already in A.D. 55.⁵⁷ John J. Wilkes and Marin Zaninović put emphasis on the opinions about an even earlier departure in A.D. 45, the year Thrace was annexed. This is based on the observation that relatively few monuments of the legion *VII Claudia pia fidelis* were documented in Dalmatia, and John J. Wilkes stressed in favour of the early departure that it may have been an aftermath of the Scribonianus' plot, that is the recognition of the danger posed by the presence of two legions in Dalmatia.⁵⁸ It is necessary to stress in this context that in the meantime we have at our disposal the fragments of the tegulae bearing the stamp of the legion *VII Claudia pia fidelis* found at Gardun and in Čitluk.⁵⁹ They bear witness to the residence and building activities of the legion after A.D. 42 in Tilurium itself, but also at the position of Claudius' colony of *Aequum*. It remains open whether and to what extent the territory of the *Aequum* colony overlapped with the *prata legionis* of the legionary camp of Tilurium.⁶⁰

All the mentioned reconstructions of former events connected with the Roman camp of Tilurium and with the stay of the Roman units in Illyricum and Dalmatia were based on a single scholarly discipline, that is, the ancient history and ancient written sources. The corroboration of previous theses or the results that could be combined with previous knowledge to serve as the foundation on which new conclusions could be based, could have been provided only by archaeological investigations. The already mentioned archaeological finds, the records by various travellers and earlier authors about visible remains of the camp architecture⁶¹, as well as rare still visible above-ground remains, clearly point to the prospects and importance of this site. However, even though it was stressed on several occasions that the archaeological investigation of the legionary camp of Tilurium was a major task fac-

57 Strobel 2000, 528.

58 Nesselhauf 1941, 42; Wilkes 1969, 96; Zaninović 1996a, 287.

59 Tončinić *et alii* 2006; Tončinić 2009.

60 For the territory of the legionary camp of Tilurium compare Zaninović 1996b, 268-270.

61 Compare Milošević 1981, 49-50 cat. no. 66; Zaninović 1996a: 285; Milošević 2003, 2-4.

RH podržava kroz treće projektno razdoblje⁶³, a uz potporu Ministarstva kulture RH, županije Splitško-dalmatinske i Grada Trilja.⁶⁴

Istraživanja su potaknuta gore navedenim nedoumicama, a pred istraživače se postavilo više ciljeva, od kojih kao najznačajnije valja istaknuti sljedeće:

1. Konačno utvrđivanje položaja i parametara nekadašnjeg rimskog legijskog logora.

2. Utvrđivanje kronologije gradnje kao i njene stratigrafije.

I kao 3. je od izvanredne važnosti konačno bilo prekinuti odljev arheoloških nalaza s tog lokaliteta te budućim nalazima utvrditi kontekst koji nema ni jedan gardunski spomenik koji se čuva u muzejima.

Istraživanjima je obuhvaćen samo mali dio nekadašnjeg logora, ali dosadašnji rezultati i studije pokretnih te nepokretnih nalaza pokazuju da Gardun krije impozantne ostatke rimske logorske arhitekture i vojne opreme. Ujedno su dobiveni odgovori na pojedina pitanja, ali su otvorena i brojna nova.

Pregledima područja oko crkve Sv. Petra za sada nije potvrđena prapovijesna gradina, ali su uz rimske spolije nađeni i ulomci rimske keramike, a u nekim grobovima su prepoznati i (rimski?) zidovi. U arheološkim iskopavanjima na području samog logora također nisu dokumentirane stratigrafske jedinice koje bi se mogle datirati u prapovijesno razdoblje, ali pojedinačni nalazi upućuju na zaključak da je taj prostor mogao biti nastanjen i prije dolaska Rimljana.

63 Od 1997. do 2002. kroz projekt Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj – Tilurij (130666) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/arh_dets.asp?trazi=130666&gdje=1&ID=1071); od 2003. do 2006. kroz projekt Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj – Tilurij (130460) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/result_det.asp?trazi=tilurij&gdje=1&Submit=Pretrazi&ID=0130460) i od 2007. kroz projekt Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj (130-0000000-0777) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/public/c2prikaz_det.asp?cid=1&psid=31&offset=20&ID=1470)

64 Sanader 1998; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2002c; 2003a; Sanader&Tončinić 2003; Sanader *et alii* 2005a; 2005b; Sanader *et alii* 2006; Sanader *et alii* 2007a; 2008; 2009; 2010. Usporedi i <http://www.fastionline.org/> s.v. *Gardun* (09.04.2010.)

ing future archaeologists,⁶² it commenced only as late as 1997. Since then, the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University in Zagreb, under the management of Prof. Dr. Mirjana Sanader, has carried out systematic archaeological investigations at Tilurium. The investigations unfold in the framework of the scientific and research project *Roman military camps in Croatia* (130-0000000-0777), supported by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports through the third project period⁶³, with the support of the Ministry of Culture of RC, the Split-Dalmatia county and the town of Trilj.⁶⁴

The investigations were stimulated by the above-mentioned uncertainties, and the researchers were faced with several objectives, the most important being: 1. To definitely ascertain the position and parameters of the former Roman legionary camp. 2. To determine the chronology of construction as well as its stratigraphy. 3. It was crucial to finally put an end to the drain of archaeological finds from that site, and to use the future finds to try to contextualize the finds from Gardun kept in various museums, none of which comes from a known context.

The investigations covered only a small part of the former camp, but the results obtained so far and the studies of movable and immovable finds show that Gardun hides imposing remains of Roman camp architecture and military equipment. At the same time certain questions received answers, but many new ones were also raised.

62 Gunjača 1937, 46; Betz 1938, 8–9; Zaninović 1996a: 285.

63 From 1997 to 2002 through the project *Roman military camps in Croatia – Tilurium* (130666) ([http://zprojektiold/arh_dets.asp?trazi=130666&gdje=1&ID=1071](http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/arh_dets.asp?trazi=130666&gdje=1&ID=1071)); from 2003 to 2006 through the project *Roman military camps in Croatia – Tilurium* (130460) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/result_det.asp?trazi=tilurij&gdje=1&Submit=Pretrazi&ID=0130460) and since 2007 through the project *Roman military camps in Croatia* (130-0000000-0777) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/public/c2prikaz_det.asp?cid=1&psid=31&offset=20&ID=1470)

64 Sanader 1998; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2002c; 2003a; Sanader&Tončinić 2003; Sanader *et alii* 2005a; 2005b; Sanader *et alii* 2006; Sanader *et alii* 2007a; 2008; 2009; 2010. Compare also <http://www.fastionline.org/> s.v. *Gardun* (09.04.2010.)





Prvenstveno se to odnosi na nalaze keramike⁶⁵, ali dokumentirane su i pojedine kamene alatke poput ulomka od opsidijana (?)⁶⁶. Predrimskom horizontu pripada brončani primjerak grčko-ilirskog novca *Pharosa* iz 4. ili 3. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁷ Za sada ostaje otvoreno je li se rani primjerci rimskog republikanskog novca također mogu pripisati predrimskom horizontu.⁶⁸

Na samom zapadnom kraju seoske ceste, nalaze se rijetki ostaci logorske arhitekture koji su do danas sačuvani nad zemljom. Riječ je o ostacima masivnog zapadnog logorskog bedema. Vidi se srž bedema izrađena od nabacanog kamenja zalivenog vezivom, a na nekim mjestima se prepoznaje još jedan konstruktivni detalj - otisci masivnih drvenih greda koje su bile ugrađene u bedem. Temeljem vidljivih ostataka može se predložiti idejna rekonstrukcija zapadnog bedema i dokumentirati pravac na kojem se pružao.⁶⁹ U jugoistočnom dijelu logora dokumentiran je segment zida širine 3,15 m s temeljnom stopom širine 0,20 - 0,40 m. Zid je izgrađen od većih blokova kamena, a temelji od kamenja različitih dimenzija bez žbuke. Dimenzije i položaj zida upućuju na zaključak da je riječ o južnom bedemu logora.⁷⁰ Položaj navedenih bedema i prirodna konfiguracija terena na sjeveru i istoku upućuju na zaključak da je logor zauzimao površinu od oko 12 ha. Iako se površine legijskih logora međusobno razlikuju, one uglavnom variraju između 20 i 25 ha⁷¹, a u tom je kontekstu zanimljivo da se površina od oko 12 ha pretpostavlja i za Burnum, drugi legijski logor u provinciji Dalmaciji.⁷²

U jugoistočnom dijelu nekadašnjeg logora je, osim segmenta južnog bedema, istražena građevina s nizom zanimljivih konstruktivnih rješenja. U zidove su ugrađene drvene grede. One vidljive na licu zidova međusobno su povezane gredama koje prola-

The surveys of the area around the St. Peter's church have not confirmed a prehistoric hillfort, but the fragments of Roman pottery were found in addition to Roman spolia, and (Roman?) walls were recognized in some of the graves. The archaeological excavations within the camp have likewise yielded no stratigraphic units attributable to the prehistoric period, but individual finds point to the conclusion that this area could have been inhabited before the Romans arrived. This primarily applies to the ceramic finds⁶⁵, but there were also stone tools, such as an obsidian fragment (?).⁶⁶ A bronze Greek-Illyrian coin from the 4th-3rd cent. B.C. from Pharos is another find attributable to the pre-Roman horizon.⁶⁷ It presently remains open whether the early specimens of Roman Republican coins can also be ascribed to the pre-Roman horizon.⁶⁸

The extreme western end of the village road contains the rare remains of the camp architecture, which have remained preserved above ground to this day. The remains belong to a massive western camp rampart. The still visible core of the rampart consists of mortar-bound rubble, and another construction detail – the impressions of massive timber beams built into the rampart are recognizable at places. The visible remains allow one to put forward an ideal reconstruction of the western rampart and to document its course.⁶⁹ A wall segment 3,15 m wide, with a 0,20-0,40 m wide foundation was documented in the southeastern part of the camp. The wall was built of larger blocks of stone, and the foundation consists of stones of various size without mortar. The dimensions and position of the wall point to the conclusion that this is the southern rampart of the camp.⁷⁰ The position of these ramparts and the natural configuration of the terrain in the north and east point to the conclusion that the camp covered the surface of around 12 ha. Even though the surface areas of legionary camps differ, they mostly vary between 20 and 25 ha.⁷¹ It is interesting in this context that 12 ha is also the size assumed for Burnum, the second legionary camp in the province of Dalmatia.⁷²

65 Šimić-Kanaet 2003, 109; Podrug 2010.

66 Sanader *et alii* 2010.

67 Šeparović 2010, kat. br. 1.

68 Šeparović 2010, kat. br. 2-6. Usporedi i Šeparović 2006.

69 Sanader 2003a, 21-31; Sanader&Tončinić 2005.

70 Sanader *et alii* 2006.

71 Usporedi Baatz 1962, 80-81; Johnson 1987, 42; Campbell 2006, 33.

72 N. Cambi *et alii* 2007.

65 Šimić-Kanaet 2003, 109; Podrug 2010.

66 Sanader *et alii* 2010.

67 Šeparović 2010, cat. no. 1.

68 Šeparović 2010, kat. br. 2-6. Compare also Šeparović 2006.

69 Sanader 2003a, 21-31; Sanader&Tončinić 2005.

70 Sanader *et alii* 2006.

71 Compare Baatz 1962, 80-81; Johnson 1987, 42; Campbell 2006, 33.

72 N. Cambi *et alii* 2007.

ze okomito kroz zid. Južni i istočni zid poduprti su kontraforima. Da bi se nivelirao teren prostorije su ispunjene kamenom. Cjelovito su istraženi, konzervirani i rekonstruirani samo južni i istočni zid te prostorija koju oni zatvaraju. No, istraživanja pokazuju da se ispod ove terase prema sjeveru nastavlja niz paralelnih prostorija/građevina. Usporedba s tlocrtima rimskih legijskih i drugih vojnih logora upućuje na zaključak da se ovdje nalazila vojnička spavaonica (*centuria*).⁷³ Na osnovi komparativne analize tlocrta rimske arhitekture, zidova dokumentiranih na parceli zapadno od njega, tlocrtnog prikaza geofizičkih istraživanja na istoj parceli, konfiguracije terena te karakterističnih tlocrta rimskih legijskih logora može se pretpostaviti sklop od šest spavaonica jedne legijske kohorte, koje su položene u smjeru sjever-jug, a nadovezuju se na prethodne.⁷⁴

U središnjem dijelu logora nađeni su ostaci podnog mozaika. Sačuvan je ulomak središnjeg polja na kojem se prepoznaje stražnji dio bika prikazan bijelim i svijetlocrvenim kockicama na crnoj podlozi. Polje je okruženo rubom na koji se nadovezuje niz crnih i bijelih rombova. U podlozi ovog mozaika nađena su dva ulomka mozaika s različitim motivima – jedan mali s plavim viticama na bijeloj podlozi i jedan veći na kojem se izmijenjuju pravokutna polja različitih boja. Ovi ulomci svjedoče o postojanju dva mozaika, koji su stariji od onog s prikazom bika. Slijed tilurijskih mozaika se prema provedenoj analizi može okvirno smjestiti s prijelaza 1. st. pr. Kr. pa do kraja 1. st.⁷⁵

Osim navedenih, iskopavanja su se vodila i na jednoj građevini koja je paralelna sa zapadnim bedemom, a ostaci njenog zapadnog zida sa zanimljivim otiscima drvenih greda također su očuvani do danas. Iz stratigrafskih jedinica u koje su ukopani temelji zidova ove građevine potječe većina rimske vojne opreme i oružja koji su nađeni na Gardunu. U sjeverozapadnom kutu logora samo su dijelom istraženi ostaci cisterne s potpornim stupovima koji su nosili svod i kanalom kojim je voda vjerojatno otjecala prema središtu logora.

73 Sanader 2009a; Usporedi Petrikovits 1975, 37-40 sl. 2 i 3; Johnson 1987, 190 sl. 127, 192 sl. 129.

74 Sanader *et alii* 2008.

75 Matulić 2010.

In addition to a segment of the south rampart, the excavation in the southeast part of the former camp revealed a building exhibiting a series of interesting constructional details. It had wooden beams built into the walls. Those visible on the wall face were interconnected with beams set vertically through the wall. The south and east walls were supported with counterforts. The rooms were filled with stone in order to level the terrain. Only the southern and eastern walls, as well as the room they enclosed, were thoroughly investigated, conserved and reconstructed. However, the investigations showed that a series of parallel rooms/structures continue northwards from beneath this terrace. A comparison with the layouts of Roman legionary camps and other military camps points to the conclusion that a military dormitory (*centuria*) was situated there.⁷³ Based on the comparative analysis of the layout of Roman architecture, the walls documented on the plot of land west of it, ground plan of the geophysical investigations on the same plot, terrain configuration and the characteristic layouts of Roman legionary camps, one can assume that there lay a complex of six dormitories of a legionary cohort, oriented north-south and laying adjacent to the previous ones.⁷⁴

The remains of a floor mosaic were found in the central part of the camp. A fragment of the central field remained preserved, on which one can recognize the rear of a bull depicted with white and light red tiles on a black background. The field is surrounded by a border from which continues a series of black and white rhombuses. Two mosaic fragments with different motifs were found in the bed of this mosaic – a small one with blue tendrils on a white background and a larger one with alternating rectangular fields in various colours. These fragments bear witness to the presence of two mosaics predating the one with the bull depiction. The analysis places the sequence of the mosaics from Tilurium approximately from the turn of the 1st cent. B.C. until the end of the 1st century A.D.⁷⁵

In addition to the mentioned positions, the excavations were also carried out on a structure lying parallel to the western rampart, and the remains of its western wall with interesting impressions of timber beams have likewise remained preserved to this day. The stratigraphic units

73 Sanader 2009a; Compare Petrikovits 1975, 37-40 sl. 2 and 3; Johnson 1987, 190 Fig. 127, 192 Fig. 129.

74 Sanader *et alii* 2008.

75 Matulić 2010.

Do sada su istraženi samo manji dijelovi arhitektonskih ostataka, koji se za sada samo podrobnom usporedbom s drugim rimskim vojnim logorima mogu pripisati rimskoj vojnoj arhitekturi. Za razliku od njih sitni se arheološki nalazi mnogo lakše mogu povezati s vojskom, jer su tipični za rimske vojne logore. Riječ je o ulomcima keramičkih i staklenih posuda, ulomcima građevinske keramike i kamenih arhitektonskih elemenata, nadgrobni spomenici, novcu, rimskom oružju i dijelovima rimske vojne opreme te raznim drugim predmetima. Oni svjedoče o naseljenosti Garduna tokom čitave antike, ali ujedno i o najintenzivnijem životu tokom prve pol. 1. st., kada je na Gardunu boravila VII. legija.

into which the wall foundations of these structures were dug yielded most of the Roman military equipment and weapons found at Gardun. In the northwestern part of the camp, the remains of a cistern with supporting pillars that carried the roof and a canal that probably carried water to the centre of the camp, were only partly investigated.

Only a limited part of the architectural remains have been investigated so far. These remains can be attributed to the Roman military architecture only based on a comprehensive comparison with other military camps. Unlike those, small archaeological finds can be associated with the military much more easily because they are typical for Roman military camps. This includes fragments of ceramic and glass vessels, fragments of construction ceramics and architectural elements in stone, tombstones, coins, Roman weapons and parts of Roman military equipment as well as a number of other objects. They bear testimony to the fact that Gardun was settled throughout the antiquity, and that life was most intense during the first half of the 1st cent. A.D., when the VII legion resided in Gardun.





KATALOG NALAZA
THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

GARDUN – ANTIČKI TILURIUM
GARDUN – THE ANCIENT TILURIUM

1. Vrh balističkog projektila

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 6174
željezo

dužina: 7,6 cm, dužina glave: 5,2 cm,
dužina trna: 2,4 cm, debljina glave u
najširem dijelu: 1,3 cm, debljina trna u
najširem dijelu: 0,4 cm, težina: 40 g
1. st.

Glava i trn sulice su četvrtastoga presjeka, trn je nešto širi u dijelu uz glavu, a glava je izduženog piramidalnog oblika. Vrh je zaravnjen. Pripada nešto rjeđoj inačici s trnom za nasad te glavom dvostruko dužom od trna, što ga datira u carsko doba. S obzirom na to da su samo legije, pretorijanci i ratna mornarica u rimskoj vojsci rabili balističke sprave, naš se primjerak može datirati u prve dvije trećine 1. st., odnosno u vrijeme boravka legije u Gardunu.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 24.
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 9, fig. 6. 41 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, 160, T. XVII. 26, 28 (Hofheim); Tudor 1964, 241, T. 3. 17, 18 (Racari); James & Taylor 1994, 94, fig.1 (Qasr Ibrim); Zanier 1994, 589, fig. 2 (Oberammergau); Harnecker 1997, 34, 93, T. 79. 848, 849 (Haltern); Sivec 1997, 146, T. 1. 6 (Ljubljana); Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, 9, 24, T. 22. 431 – 458 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 3. 44 – 46; Radman-Livaja 2001a, 135, T. 3, 5 (Sisak); Roma sul Danubio 2002, 245, IV a, 125 (Aquila)

S. I.

2. Vrh balističkog projektila

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-923
željezo

dužina: 10,7 cm, promjer tuljca: 1 cm,
težina: 40 g
1. st.

Glava ovog projektila ima četvrtasti presjek te je tipičnog izduženog piramidalnog oblika, dok je nasad izveden u obliku tuljca. S obzirom na dimenzije možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o balističkom projektilu. Vjerojatno se može dovesti u vezu s legionarskom posadom Tilurija te ga je, stoga, moguće datirati u 1. st. Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 223, T. 1.3
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170

I. R.-L.

1. Bolt head

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 6174
iron

length: 7.6 cm, length of head: 5.2 cm,
length of tang: 2.4 cm, width of head at the
widest point: 1.3 cm, width of tang at the
widest section: 0.4 cm, weight: 40 g
1st cent.

Head and tang of the bolt have a rectangular cross-section, the tang is wider near the head, which has an elongated pyramidal shape. The tip is flattened. It belongs to a relatively rare variant with a tang, with a head twice the length of the tang, a feature that dates it to the imperial period. As in the Roman army only the legions, praetorians and the navy used catapults, this piece can be dated to the first two thirds of the 1st cent., that is, the period the legion resided in Gardun.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 24.
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 9, fig. 6. 41 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, 160, T. XVII. 26, 28 (Hofheim); Tudor 1964, 241, T. 3. 17, 18 (Racari); James & Taylor 1994, 94, fig.1 (Qasr Ibrim); Zanier 1994, 589, fig. 2 (Oberammergau); Harnecker 1997, 34, 93, T. 79. 848, 849 (Haltern); Sivec 1997, 146, T. 1. 6 (Ljubljana); Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, 9, 24, T. 22. 431 – 458 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 3. 44 – 46; Radman-Livaja 2001a, 135, T. 3, 5 (Sisak); Roma sul Danubio 2002, 245, IV a, 125 (Aquila)

S. I.

2. Bolt head

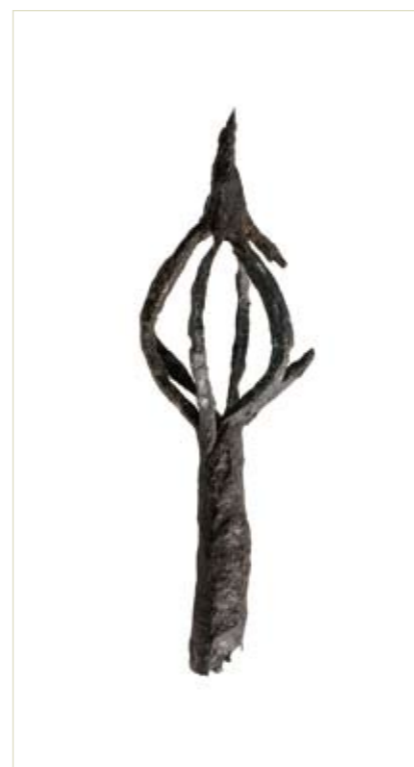
Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-923
iron

length: 10.7 cm, diameter of socket: 1 cm,
weight: 40 g
1st cent.

Catapult bolt-head of a rectangular cross-section and the typical elongated bodkin-shape. It is socketed and in view of its dimensions it was presumably a ballistic missile. It can probably be brought into connection with the legionary garrison in Tilurium, which allows one to date it to the 1st cent.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 223, T. 1.3
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170

I. R.-L.



3. Bolt head

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-924
iron

length: 9.4 cm, diameter of socket: 1 cm,
weight: 50 g
1st cent.

This object by its shape, more precisely its bodkin-shaped head and socket, as well as its weight and size, corresponds to typical Roman catapult missiles.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 223, T. 1. 5
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170

I. R.-L.

4. Incendiary missile

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-910
iron

length: 14.2 cm, diameter of socket: 1,1 cm,
weight: 65 g
1st cent.

This incendiary missile, the so-called *malleolus*, is one of the rare preserved specimens from the Roman period. This socketed missile had a cage-like tip consisting of 6 bars, 4 of which are still preserved. The size and weight of this missile make it obvious that it was used for firing from a catapult. This fact allows us at the same time to associate it with the presence of the legionary garrison in Tilurium, giving us the approximate date around the end of the 1st cent. B.C. and the first half of the 1st cent. A.D.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 219-222, T. 1. 2
Lit.: James 1983, 142-143; Coulston 1985, 266; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 134-135

I. R.-L.

3. Vrh balističkog projektila

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-924
željezo

dužina: 9,4 cm, promjer tuljca: 1 cm,
težina: 50 g
1. st.

Svojim izgledom, točnije piramidalnom glavom i nasadom na tuljac te težinom i dimenzijama, ovaj predmet odgovara tipičnim rimskim balističkim projektilima.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 223, T. 1. 5
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170

I. R.-L.

4. Zapaljivi projektil

Gardun (Tilurium),
MCK, B-910

željezo
dužina: 14,2 cm,
promjer tuljca: 1,1 cm, težina: 65 g
1. st.

Ovaj zapaljivi projektil, tzv. malleolus, je jedan od rijetkih sačuvanih primjeraka iz rimskog vremena. Riječ je o projektilu s nasadom na tuljac čiji je vrh u obliku malog kaveza bio formiran od 6 šipki, od kojih su još 4 sačuvane u cijelosti. S obzirom na dimenzije i težinu, očito je riječ o projektilu namijenjenom odapinjanju iz balističkog stroja. To je ujedno i razlog da ga se veže uz nazočnost legionarske posade u Tiluriju pa ga se vjerojatno može okvirno datirati u kraj 1. st. pr. Kr i prvu pol. 1. st.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 219-222, T. 1. 2
Lit.: James 1983, 142-143; Coulston 1985, 266; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 134-135

I. R.-L.

5. Vrh strijele

Gardun (Tilurium), 1921., AMS, H 6012
željezo
dužina: 8,6 cm, dužina glave: 3,9 cm,
dužina tuljca: 4,7 cm, širina tuljca: 0,9
cm, širina glave 1,6 cm, težina: 20 g
6. st.

Sačuvan je vrh strijele romboidne glave, s tuljcem za nasad. Pripada skupini strijela s plosnato raskovanom glavom, a takav se oblik nije upotrebljavao za bacačke sprave. Njezine dimenzije i težina također upućuju na to da je vjerojatno bila strijela za ručni luk. Glava je romboidna i plosnatog je presjeka. Premda se ovaj oblik oružja ne može datirati prema tipološkim oznakama, naš primjerak je precizno datiran zbog okolnosti nalaza. Naime, pronađen je u Gardunu, zajedno s vrhom koplja (AMS, H 5995) i Justinijanovim novcem datiranim u 30. godinu vladanja (556./557. g.). To nam omogućuje da nastanak našeg primjerka smjestimo u ranobizantsko justinijansko vrijeme.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 25.
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, fig. 28. 7 (Mainz); Henderson 1949, 152, 153, T. LIX. 293 (Richborough); Harnecker 1997, 4, 91, T. 77. 812, 814 (Haltern); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 23, 24, T. 361., 362. (Vindonissa); Bekić 1998, T. 2. 8 (Gardun); Voirol 2000, 11, T. 537. (Avenches); Sivec 1997, T. 1. 1 (Ljubljana); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 72; Galliazzo 1979, 210-211, fig. 92. 9 (Treviso).

S. I.

6. Vrh strijele

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 965
željezo
dužina: 7,5 cm, širina: 2,6 cm,
debljina: 0,3 cm
1.-5. st.

Listolika plosnata strijela, s tuljcem za nasad. Listolike strelice plosnatog vrha nepromijenjene su u uporabi od prapovijesti do srednjeg vijeka te ih je izvan konteksta teško datirati, a kao i za koplja, teško je odrediti jesu li ih rabili vojnici kao dio naoružanja ili su služile za lov. S obzirom na to da je naš primjerak pronađen u vojničkom logoru možemo ga odrediti kao vojničku strijelu i datirati u vrijeme trajanja rimskog logora Tilurij.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Alicu et alii 1994, T. 22. 171; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 19. 319; Bekić 1998, 239, T. 2. 8; Dolenz 1998, T. 11. M172

S. I.

5. Arrowhead

Gardun (Tilurium), 1921, AMS, H 6012
iron
length: 8.6 cm, length of head: 3.9 cm,
length of socket: 4.7 cm, width of socket: 0.9
cm, width of head: 1.6 cm, weight: 20 g
6th cent.

The tip of the arrow with a rhombic head and a socket have remained preserved. It belongs to the group of arrows with a flattened head, a shape that was not used for ballistic machines. Its size and weight are another indication that this object was probably an arrow for a bow. The head has a rhombic shape and flat cross-section. Even though this type of weapon cannot be dated by typological features, our piece has been dated with precision due to the circumstances of the find. To be precise, it was found in Gardun in association with a spear tip (AMS, H 5995) and Justinian's coin dated to his 30th year of reign (556/557). This allows us to place the creation of our piece in the early Byzantine period of Justinian's reign.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 25.
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, fig. 28. 7 (Mainz); Henderson 1949, 152, 153, T. LIX. 293 (Richborough); Harnecker 1997, 4, 91, T. 77. 812, 814 (Haltern); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 23, 24, T. 361., 362. (Vindonissa); Bekić 1998, T. 2. 8 (Gardun); Voirol 2000, 11, T. 537. (Avenches); Sivec 1997, T. 1. 1 (Ljubljana); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 72; Galliazzo 1979, 210-211, fig. 92. 9 (Treviso).

S. I.

6. Arrowhead

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004, MTK, 965
iron
length: 7.5 cm, width: 2.6 cm, thickness: 0.3
cm
1st-5th cent.

Flat leaf-shaped socketed arrow. Leaf-shaped arrows with a flat head remained in use unchanged from prehistory to the Middle Ages, and are consequently very difficult to date out of context. Same as spears, it is difficult to ascertain whether they were used by soldiers as part of their weaponry or were used in hunting. Considering that our piece was found in a military camp, we can determine it as a military arrow and date it to the period of life of the Roman camp of Tilurium.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Alicu et alii 1994, T. 22. 171; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 19. 319; Bekić 1998, 239, T. 2. 8; Dolenz 1998, T. 11. M172

S. I.



· 58



59 ·

7. Arrowhead

Gardun (Tilurium), 1998, MTK 52
iron
length: 2.5 cm, width: 1.2 cm,
weight: 1.08 g
1st-4th cent.

Trilobate tanged arrowhead, belongs to the group appearing from the 2nd cent. B.C. and lasting to the 4th cent. The appearance of the preserved portion makes it probable that it belonged to type Zanier 2 or 3, which are dated from the Republican period until the 3rd cent., enduring even into the 4th cent.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 1
Lit.: Fingerlin 1972, 226, fig. 13. 1-2; Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, 23-24, T. 20. 336, 338-341, 343-358; Košćević 2000, 133, kat. br. 239; Feugère 2002, 67, fig. 69.; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 166, T. 17. 63

S. I.

8. Arrowhead

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 6010
iron
length: 7.75 cm, diameter of socket: 1.2 cm
7th-10th cent.

Medieval socketed arrowhead with barbs in the shape of a swallow's tail. It is not possible to date arrowheads with precision based on typology, and as we are lacking precise data on the circumstances of discovery of the Gardun piece, we can offer only an approximate dating. Iron arrowheads in the shape of a swallow's tail are usually approximately dated from the 7th to the 10th cent., or between the 9th and 12th cent. On some sites such arrowheads are dated already from the 5th cent. They also appear in forts from late antiquity, where they are dated to the 6th cent.; in the necropolises of the 7th and 8th cent.; in the Early Croatian necropolises of the 8th cent. and the first half of the 9th cent. this is the most common type of arrowheads.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Marušić 1967, T. 3. 5, grob 112; Jelovina 1976, T. XXV. 14, T. LXI. 9, T. XXX. 4, 5; Belošević 1980, T. XXVII. 4, 15, 25, T. XXVIII. 13, T. XXIX. 19; Belošević 1985, T. IX. 4, 5; I Langobardi 1990, 150, br. III. 24; Popović 1999, 112, fig. 59. 2

S. I.

7. Vrh strijele

Gardun (Tilurium), 1998., MTK 52
željezo
dužina: 2,5 cm, širina: 1,2 cm,
težina: 1,08 g
1. – 4. st.

Trobridna strelica s nasadom na trn, pripada skupini koja se javlja od 2. st. pr. Kr. i traje do 4. st. Prema sačuvanom dijelu mogla je pripadati tipu Zanier 2 ili 3, koji traju od republikanske doba do 3. st., a javljaju se i u 4. st.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 1
Lit.: Fingerlin 1972, 226, fig. 13. 1-2; Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, 23-24, T. 20. 336, 338-341, 343-358; Košćević 2000, 133, kat. br. 239; Feugère 2002, 67, fig. 69.; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 166, T. 17. 63

S. I.

8. Vrh strijele

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 6010
željezo
dužina: 7,75 cm,
promjer tuljca: 1, 2 cm
7. - 10. st.

Vrh strijele s krilcima u obliku lastavičjeg repa i tuljcem za nasad pripada razdoblju srednjeg vijeka. Vrhove strijela nije moguće precizno datirati na osnovi tipologije, a kako za gardunski primjerak nemamo precizne podatke o okolnostima nalaza moguća je jedino okvirna datacija. Obično se željezni vrhovi strijela u obliku lastavičjeg repa okvirno datiraju od 7. do 10. st., odnosno od 9. do 12. st. Takve su strijele na nekim lokalitetima datirane već od 5. st., javljaju se u kasnoantičkim utvrdama, gdje su datirane u 6. st. u nekropolama 7. i 8. st., a u starohrvatskim nekropolama 8. i prve polovice 9. st. najzastupljeniji su tip vrhova strijela.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Marušić 1967, T. 3. 5, grob 112; Jelovina 1976, T. XXV. 14, T. LXI. 9, T. XXX. 4, 5; Belošević 1980, T. XXVII. 4, 15, 25, T. XXVIII. 13, T. XXIX. 19; Belošević 1985, T. IX. 4, 5; I Langobardi 1990, 150, br. III. 24; Popović 1999, 112, fig. 59. 2

S. I.

9. Koštano ojačanje kompozitnog luka
Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-856
kost
dužina: 8,5 cm, širina: 1,8 cm
1. st.?

Ovo koštano ojačanje vrha kompozitnog luka nije sačuvano u cijelosti jer mu je odlomljen donji dio no vrh s utorom za napinjanje tetive je dobro sačuvan. Ukoliko ovaj nalaz vežemo uz nazočnost druge kohorte Kiresta (cohors II Cyrrhestarum) u Tiluriju, 1. st. bi moglo biti prihvatljiva datacija.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1. 1
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135, 164

I. R.-L.

10. Koštano ojačanje kompozitnog luka
Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-855
kost
dužina: 13,7 cm, širina: 1,6 cm
1. st.?

Ovom koštanom ojačanju vrha kompozitnog luka također nedostaje donji kraj, a sačuvani dio je slomljen u dva dijela, naknadno slijepljenih prilikom restauracije.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1.7
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135, 164

I.R.-L.

11. Koštano ojačanje kompozitnog luka
Gardun, MCK, MCK-B-857
dužina: 10,4 cm, širina: 1,5 cm
1. st. ?

Ovaj koštani komad je vjerojatno ojačanje drška luka. Oštećen je na oba kraja pa je teško procijeniti izvorne dimenzije.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1.4
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135

I. R.-L.

9. Bone reinforcement of a composite bow
Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, B-856
bone
length: 8.5 cm, width: 1.8 cm
1st cent.?

This bone reinforcement of the top of a composite bow is not entirely preserved, as its lower part has broken off; however, the top with a groove for drawing the string is well preserved. If we associate this find with the presence of the *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* in Tilurium, the 1st cent. would be a plausible date.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1. 1
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135, 164

I. R.-L.

10. Bone reinforcement of a composite bow
Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, B-855
bone
length: 13.7 cm, width: 1.6 cm
1st cent. ?

This bone reinforcement of the top of a composite bow is likewise lacking the lower portion, while the preserved segment was broken in two parts, subsequently reassembled during the restoration.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1.7
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135, 164

I.R.-L.

11. Bone reinforcement of a composite bow
Gardun, MCK-B-857
bone
length: 10.4 cm, width: 1.5 cm
1st cent. ?

This bone object is probably a reinforcement of the grip of the bow. It is damaged on both ends, which renders difficult the assessment of its original size.

Publication: Radman-Livaja 1998, 222-223, T. 1.4
Lit.: Coulston 1985, 222-259; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 88, 134-135

I.R.-L.



12. Spearhead
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1921, AMS, H 5995
iron
length: 29.2 cm, length of socket: 11.5 cm, length of head: 17.7 cm, diameter of socket at the widest part: 2.2 cm, width of head at the widest part: 3.6 cm, weight: 155 g
6th cent.

Socketed leaf-shaped spearhead, with damaged edges and a very prominent longitudinal mid-rib. In the Roman army spears belonged to the infantry and cavalry equipment, and its various shapes and sizes were conditioned by its function, considering that it was used for throwing as well as close combat. Although this type of weapon cannot be dated on typological grounds, our piece has been precisely dated owing to the circumstances of the find. It was found in Gardun in 1921, together with an arrowhead (AMS, inv. no. H 6010) and Justinian's coin dated to his 30th year of reign (556/557). This allows us to date the creation of our piece in the early Byzantine Justinian's period.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 26
Lit.; Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Fingerlin 1972, T. 14. 3 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1 (Hedderheim); Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804 (Haltern); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9; for its use in late antiquity: Milošević 1998, 230, 374 (Blajici, Krušvar); Chadwick Hawkes & Clough Dunning 1962-1963, T. 7. 7, 8 (Richborough)

S. I.

S. I.

12. Vrh koplja
Gardun (Tilurium), 1921.,
AMS, H 5995
željezo
dužina: 29,2 cm, dužina tuljca: 11,5 cm, dužina vrha: 17,7 cm, promjer tuljca u najširem dijelu: 2,2 cm, širina vrha u najširem dijelu: 3,6 cm, težina: 155 g
6. st.

Listoliko koplje s tuljcem za nasad, rubovi vrha su oštećeni, a uzdužno rebro snažno istaknuto. Koplje je u rimskoj vojsci bilo dio pješaka i konjaničke opreme, a različiti oblici i veličine uvjetovani su namjenom koplja jer se rabilo kao bacačko oružje, ali i za borbu izbliza. Premda se ovaj oblik oružja ne može datirati prema tipološkim oznakama, naš primjerak je precizno datiran zbog okolnosti nalaza. Pronađen je u Gardunu 1921, zajedno s vrhom strijele (AMS, inv. br. H 6010) i Justinijanovim novcem datiranim u 30. godinu vladanja (556./557.). To nam omogućuje da nastanak našeg primjerka smjestimo u ranobizantsko justinijansko vrijeme.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 26
Lit.; Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Fingerlin 1972, T. 14. 3 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1 (Hedderheim); Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804 (Haltern); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9; za uporabu u kasnoj antici: Milošević 1998, 230, 374 (Blajici, Krušvar); Chadwick Hawkes & Clough Dunning 1962-1963, T. 7. 7, 8 (Richborough)

13. Vrh koplja

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 5996

željezo

dužina: 22,4 cm, dužina tuljca: 8,5 cm, dužina vrha: 13,9 cm, promjer tuljca: 1,4 cm, širina vrha u najširem dijelu: 3,3 cm, težina: 75 g
1.-5. st

Listoliko koplje s tuljcem za nasad koji je prilično oštećen i nedostaje mu jedan dio, uzduž vrha jedva je vidljivo rebro.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 27
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1 (Hedderheim); Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804 (Haltern); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 152, T. 3. 10

S. I.

14. Vrh koplja

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 5998

željezo

dužina: 20,2 cm, dužina tuljca: 7,3 cm, dužina vrha: 12,9 cm, promjer tuljca u najširem dijelu: 1,5 cm, širina vrha u najširem dijelu: 2,1 cm, težina: 60 g
1.-5. st.

Listoliko koplje s tuljcem za nasad, tuljac je oštećen, na sredini koplje ima rebro.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 28.
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9

S. I.

13. Spearhead

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 5996

iron

length: 22.4 cm, length of socket: 8.5 cm, length of head: 13.9 cm, diameter of socket: 1.4 cm, width of head at the widest part: 3.3 cm, weight: 75 g
1st-5th cent.

Leaf-shaped spearhead with a considerably damaged socket. Part of the socket is missing. Along the length of the head runs a barely visible rib.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 27
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1 (Hedderheim); Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804 (Haltern); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 152, T. 3. 10

S. I.

14. Spearhead

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 5998

iron

length: 20.2 cm, length of socket: 7.3 cm, length of head: 12.9 cm, diameter of socket at the widest part: 1.5 cm, width of head at the widest part: 2.1 cm, weight: 60 g
1st-5th cent.

Leaf-shaped spearhead with damaged socket and a mid-rib.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 28.
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11 (Hofheim); Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287 (Richborough); Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Reddé et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13 (Alésia); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 20-21, T. 16. 255-258, T. 17. 262-269 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6. 66-68; Roma sul Danubio 2002, 231, IVa.11 (Carnuntum); Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9

S. I.



15. Spearhead

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2002, MTK 966

iron

height: 16.5 cm, width at the widest part: 3 cm, diameter of socket: 1 cm
1st-5th cent.

Leaf-shaped spearhead with an oval cross-section.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4; Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11; Hawkes & Dunning 1964, T. 7. 7-8; Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287; Simon 1968, 30-31, fig. 19. 1-3; Fingerlin 1972, 227, fig. 14. 4; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1; Reddé, von Schnurbein et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 16, 255-258, T. 17, 262-269; Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804; Dolenz 1998, 314, T. 6. M 39; Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9, T. 3. 10-12, T. 4. 13-14; Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 26 - 28

S. I.

16. Spear butt

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2004, MTK 968

iron

height: 5.3 cm, diameter: 1.5 cm
1st-5th cent.

Iron reinforcement of the spear base (butt) in the shape of a socket with a pointed tip. There is a slot at the joint. The upper part is missing.

Publication: Ivčević, *Metalni nalazi*, in: *Tilurij 3* (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2.31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2. 9; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 - M 61, T. 8. M 64 - M 74; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

15. Vrh koplja

Gardun (Tilurium), 2002., MTK 966

željezo

visina: 16,5 cm, širina u najširem dijelu: 3 cm, pr. tuljca 1 cm
1.-5. st.

Listoliko oblikovan vrh koplja, ovalnog presjeka.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4; Ritterling 1913, T. XVII. 11; Hawkes & Dunning 1964, T. 7. 7-8; Henderson 1949, 152, T. LVIII. 287; Simon 1968, 30-31, fig. 19. 1-3; Fingerlin 1972, 227, fig. 14. 4; Fisher 1973, fig. 43. 1; Reddé, von Schnurbein et alii 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 16, 255-258, T. 17, 262-269; Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75. 800, 804; Dolenz 1998, 314, T. 6. M 39; Petru 1972, T. XC. 1; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 151, T. 2. 8-9, T. 3. 10-12, T. 4. 13-14; Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 26 - 28

S. I.

16. Petica koplja

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 968

željezo

visina: 5,3 cm, promjer: 1,5 cm
1.-5. st

Željezno ojačanje dna koplja (petica) u obliku je tuljca koji je na vrhu zaoštren, na mjestu gdje je spojen nalazi se prorez, nedostaje gornji dio.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2.31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2. 9; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 - M 61, T. 8. M 64 - M 74; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

17. Petica koplja

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2004., MTK 969
željezo
visina: 9,2 cm, pr: 2,4 cm
1.-5. st.

Petica (željezno pojačanje dna koplja) u obliku je tuljca koji je na vrhu zaoštren, na mjestu gdje je spojen nalazi se prorez, nedostaje gornji dio.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2. 31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2.; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 – M 61, T. 8. M 64 – M 74; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

18. Petica koplja

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2000., MTK 559
željezo
dužina: 5,9 cm, promjer: 2,6 cm,
težina 29,34 g
1.-5. st.

Željezno ojačanje dna koplja, sačuvano u cijelosti.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 2
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2. 31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2. 9; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 – M 61, T. 8. M 64 – M 74; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 7. 82-84; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

19. Petica sulice

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999., MTK 540
željezo
dužina: 4,5 cm, promjer: 1,1 cm,
težina: 5,22 g
1.-5. st.

Ojačanje dna sulice s kuglasto naglašenim dnom.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 3
Literatura: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 21. 399-406; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 156, T. 7. 26-27

S. I.

17. Spear butt

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2004, MTK 969
iron
height: 9.2 cm, diameter: 2.4 cm
1st-5th cent.

Butt (iron reinforcement of the spear base) in the shape of a socket with a pointed tip, a slot at the joint. The upper part is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2. 31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2.; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 – M 61, T. 8. M 64 – M 74; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

18. Spear butt

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2000, MTK 559
iron
length: 5.9 cm, diameter: 2.6 cm,
weight 29.34 g
1st-5th cent.

Entirely preserved iron reinforcement of a spear butt.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 2
Lit.: Behrens & Brenner 1911, 115, fig. 28. 18; Unz 1975, 91, fig. 2. 31; Harnecker 1997, T. 78. 825; Sivec 1997, T. 1. 10; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18. 301-303; Bekić 1998, 235, T. 2. 9; Dolenz 1998, 315, T. 7. M 57 – M 61, T. 8. M 64 – M 74; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 7. 82-84; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. d

S. I.

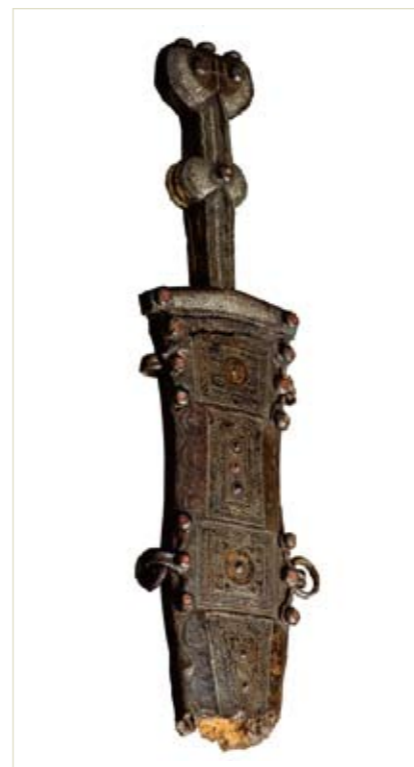
19. Javelin butt

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999, MTK 540
iron
length: 4.5 cm, diameter: 1.1 cm,
weight 5.22 g
1st-5th cent.

Reinforcement of a javelin butt ending with a knob.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 3
Literatura: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 21. 399-406; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 156, T. 7. 26-27

S. I.



20. Javelin butt

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999, MTK 540
iron
length: 4 cm, diameter: 1.1 cm,
weight 3.66 g
1st-5th cent.

Reinforcement of a javelin butt ending with a knob.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 4
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 21, 399-406

S. I.

21. Military dagger (pugio)

Bed of the Cetina river near Trilj, MCK, 5103
iron, wood, leather, silver, copper alloy, enamel
total length: 26.9 cm, length of grip: 10 cm, thickness of cross-guard: 1.5 cm, length of scabbard: 16.9 cm, width of scabbard: 5.6 cm, thickness of scabbard: 1.5 cm, weight: 290 g
end of the 1st cent. B.C.

Military dagger with a scabbard. It consists of a hilt with a cross-guard and a blade in sheath.

The lower part of the scabbard is missing. The grip begins with a pommel that has three rivets on top, set next to each other and decorated with red enamel. On the semicircular plate of the pommel there are another two rivets separated by a trident motif executed by a copper wire inlay. An elliptical widening with a rivet in the middle runs along the centre of the grip.

The grip is decorated with inlaid linear motifs in silver and copper wire. Two rivets on the back of the grip connected the outer fitting with the tang and wooden plates. The grip tapers gently from the pommel to the cross-guard, and it has a convex cross-section through its entire length. The cross-guard is set perpendicularly to the grip and it is slightly bent towards the scabbard. The width of the scabbard alternately tapers and widens; first it narrows, then widens, and it once again tapers toward the broken off tip of the dagger.

The lateral sides of the dagger are reinforced with fittings at places where the scabbard is widest. The fittings are supported with rivets identical to those on the grip of the dagger, and decorated with red enamel. Each of the lower two fittings has one preserved link in the eye.

20. Petica sulice

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999., MTK 541
željezo
dužina: 4 cm, promjer: 1,1 cm,
težina: 3,66 g
1.-5. st.

Ojačanje dna sulice s kuglasto naglašenim dnom.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 4
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 21, 399-406

S. I.

21. Vojnički bodež (pugio)

Korito Cetine kod Trilja, MCK, 5103
željezo, drvo, koža, srebro, bakrena slitina, emajl
ukupna dužina: 26,9 cm, dužina drške: 10 cm, debljina križnice: 1,5 cm, dužina korica: 16,9 cm, širina korica: 5,6 cm, debljina korica: 1,5 cm, težina: 290 g
kraj 1. st. pr. Kr.

Vojnički bodež s koricama. Sastoji se od drške s križnicom i sječiva u koricama. Donji dio korica bodeža nedostaje. Na početku drške je jabučica na čijem vrhu su postavljene tri zakovice u nizu jedna do druge i ukrašene crvenim emajlom. Na polukružnoj pločici jabučice su još dvije zakovice između kojih je motiv trozuba izrađen tauširanim bakrenom žicom. Po sredini rukohvata je elipsasto proširenje s jednom zakovicom u središtu.

Rukohvat je ukrašen tauširanim linearnim motivima od srebrene i bakrene žice. Na stražnjoj strani drške nalaze se dvije zakovice koje su spajale vanjski okov s jezičcem i drvenim pločicama. Rukohvat se od jabučice do križnice lagano sužava, a duž čitave duljine ima konveksan poprečni presjek. Križnica je postavljena vodoravno na rukohvat i lagano je povinuta prema koricama. Širina korica bodeža se naizmjenice sužava i širi; prvo se sužava, zatim širi, da bi se prema odlomljenom kraju bodeža opet sužila. Bočne strane bodeža su, na mjestima gdje su korice bodeža najšire, ojačane okovima. Okove pridržavaju zakovice jednake onima na dršci bodeža i ukrašene crvenim emajlom. Poredane su po tri u nizu, jedna ispod druge. Donja dva okova u ušici imaju sačuvanu po jednu kariku.

Cijela prednja strana korica bodeža bogato je ukrašena tauširanjem (umetnutim srebrnim i bakrenim nitima) i podijeljena na četiri polja. Prvo polje je kvadratnog oblika s rozetom obrubljenom vegetabilnim motivima. Sljedeće je pravokutno polje s tri manja medaljona postavljena jedan iznad drugoga i uokvirana lovorovim vijencem. Treće polje je ukrašeno istim motivom kao i prvo polje.

Četvrto polje ponavlja motiv drugog polja i najvjerojatnije je bilo trokutastog oblika, ali kako je bodež prelomljen završetak polja nije sačuvan. Stražnja strana korica bodeža nije ukrašena.

Objava: Milošević 2008, 49-55, fig. 50-52

Lit.: Scott 1985, 172, 193, fig. 1. 48; Obmann 2000, 5-13; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 47-54, 128, fig. 8., T. 15. 59; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 83-86, fig. 44; Milošević 2008, 49-55, fig. 50-52; Milošević 2009, 176-179, fig. 16.

A. L.

22. Ukasni okov korica mača bronca

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-870
bronca
visina: 5 cm, širina: 4,2 cm, debljina: 0,2 cm
druga. pol. 1. st.

Ukasni okov korica mača romboidnog oblika ukrašen urezanim linijama, s rupicom na vrhu. Donji dio okova ukrašen je s rombom kojeg uokviruju dvije vodoravne trake koje se nastavljaju u vrpčaste volute s krajevima izvijenim prema unutrašnjoj strani.

Objava: neobjavljen
Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 112; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 15, T. 9. 150, 2082 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, 75, 137, fig. 86. 121, T. 9. 121; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 40, 128, T. 12. 49; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 81, fig. 41. 5

A. L.

The entire front of the scabbard is richly decorated with inlaid silver and copper threads and divided into four fields. The first field is square with a rosette bordered with vegetable motifs. The next field is rectangular, with three smaller medallions set one above the other and framed with a laurel wreath. The third field is decorated with the same motif as the first field.

The fourth field repeats the motif of the second field. It was most likely triangular, but since the dagger is broken, the end of the field has not been preserved. The back of the scabbard is undecorated.

Publication: Milošević 2008, 49-55, fig. 50-52

Lit.: Scott 1985, 172, 193, fig. 1. 48; Obmann 2000, 5-13; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 47-54, 128, fig. 8., T. 15. 59; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 83-86, fig. 44; Milošević 2008, 49-55, fig. 50-52; Milošević 2009, 176-179, fig. 16.

A. L.

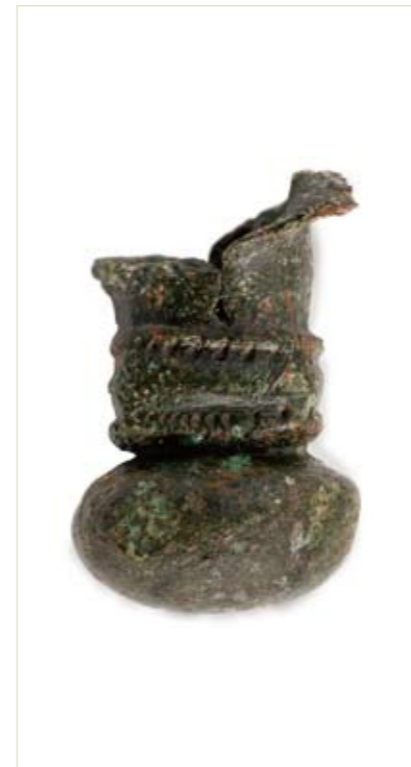
22. Decorative fitting from a sword scabbard

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-870
bronze
height: 5 cm, width: 4.2 cm,
thickness: 0.2 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent.

Decorative fitting from a sword scabbard of a rhomboid shape, decorated with incised lines, with a perforation on top. The lower part of the fitting is decorated with a rhomb framed with two horizontal stripes continuing into ribbon-shaped volutes with inward-curving ends.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 112; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 15, T. 9. 150, 2082 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, 75, 137, fig. 86. 121, T. 9. 121; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 40, 128, T. 12. 49; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 81, fig. 41. 5

A. L.



23. Base of a scabbard chape

Gardun (Tilurium), 2003, MTK 970
bronze, tin
height: 7.2 cm, width: 0.7-2.5 cm
1st cent.

Base of a scabbard chape. Traces of tin are visible on one side running the length of the scabbard, probably from soldering.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Literatura: Müller 2002, T. 38. 423; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 16, T. 9. 165-166

S. I.

24. Chape from a sword scabbard

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005, MTK 971
bronze
height: 2.5 cm,
diameter of knob on top: 1.8 cm
1st half of the 1st cent.

The top consists of a flattened knob above which is a rectangular part decorated with incised lines on the edges. The chape-end of the sword scabbard belonged to a sword of the Mainz type, on which the edges of the scabbard had a protective metal groove along the entire length.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 157, fig. 31.; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 8. 127; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 10. 135; Müller 2002, T. 38. 419; Radman - Livaja 2004a, 160, T. 11. 44, 46

S. I.

25. Fitting from a sword scabbard

Gardun (Tilurium), MTK 971
bronze
length: 7.9 cm, height: 1.1 cm,
weight: 3.74 g
end of the 1st cent. B.C. - 1st cent.

Fragment of a sheet-bronze fitting from a sword scabbard. It has a prominent mid-rib and a shallow rib along either edge. It is bent at the ends and has a rivet preserved on one side. In addition to reinforcing the front and back of the scabbard, the fittings served also for passing the links for the leather straps of the sword through the rings at their ends. The scabbard fittings like the ones from Gardun were used from the last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. until the end of the 1st cent. They were placed in pairs a little below the sword

23. Dno korica mača

Gardun (Tilurium), 2003., MTK 970
bronca, kositar
visina: 7,2 cm, širina: 0,7-2,5 cm
1. st.

Dno korica s jedne strane u cijeloj dužini uz spoj vidljivi tragovi kositra, vjerojatno od lemljenja.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Literatura: Müller 2002, T. 38. 423; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 16, T. 9. 165-166

S. I.

24. Okov dna korica mača (okrajak)

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 971
bronca
visina: 2,5 cm,
promjer kuglice na vrhu: 1,8 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Vrh je u obliku spljoštene kugle iznad koje je četvrtasti dio ukrašen urezanim linijama na rubovima. Okov dna korica mača pripadala je maču tipa Mainz, kojima su rubovi korica cijelom dužinom bili zaštićeni metalnim žlijebom. Datiraju se u prvu polovicu 1. st.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 157, fig. 31.; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 8. 127; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 10. 135; Müller 2002, T. 38. 419; Radman - Livaja 2004a, 160, T. 11. 44, 46

S. I.

25. Okov korica mača

Gardun (Tilurium), MTK 43
bronca
dužina: 7,9 cm, visina: 1,1 cm,
težina: 3,74 g
kraj 1. st. pr. Kr - 1. st.

Ulomak okova korice mača izrađen od brončanog lima, ima jedno istaknuto središnje uzdužno rebro te uz rubove po jedno plitko rebro, na krajevima savijen, a s jedne strane sačuvana zakovica. Osim što su učvršćivali prednju i stražnju stranu korica okovi su služili i da bi se kroz prstenasto proširenje na kraju provukle karike za kožno remenje mača. Okovi korica poput gardunskih traju od posljednje četvrtine 1. st. pr. Kr. do

kraja 1. st. Postavljeni su u paru, nešto ispod drške mača. Primjerci poput našeg pripadali su mačevima tipa Pompeji ili tipa Mainz, a međusobno ih je moguće razlikovati po širini. Okovi su se sastojali od dva dijela; prednjeg i stražnjeg, koji obično nije bio ukrašen, a međusobno su spajani zakovicama.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 9.
Lit.: Fingerlin 1972, fig. 13. 10; Unz 1974, 34, fig. 6. 26-27; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 19. 7-8; Unz & Deschler- Erb 1997, T. 7. 105; Deschler- Erb 1999, T. 9. 112-113; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 160, T. 11. 39

S. I.

26. Spojna kuka karičastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1902.,
AMS, H 4053
bronca
dužina: 8,2 cm
1. st.

Zmijolika kuka, s jedne strane završava proširenjem s urezima koje predstavlja glavu, a po tijelu je ukrašena urezanim linijama. Sačuvana spojna kuka iz Garduna kopčala je desnu naramenicu. Spojne kuke karičastog oklopa datiraju se u 1. st., a javljaju se i početkom 2. st. kada ih postupno zamjenjuju dvije prsne ploče. Prema tipologiji koju je izradio Eckhard Deschler-Erb (Deschler - Erb 1999, 38, n. 158) gardunski primjerak pripadao bi tipu 2 kojem su značajke zmijoliko tijelo s glavom ovna ili zmije.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, T. 35. 861, 862; Radman - Livaja 2004a, T. 27. 130 - 132; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 96, fig. 51, 4; Košćević 2008, 263, fig. 59

S. I.

grip. Pieces like ours belonged to the swords of the *Pompeii* or *Mainz* types, distinguishable between themselves by width. The fittings consisted of two parts, front and back—the latter usually left undecorated—which were attached to each other by rivets.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 9.
Lit.: Fingerlin 1972, fig. 13. 10; Unz 1974, 34, fig. 6. 26-27; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 19. 7-8; Unz & Deschler- Erb 1997, T. 7. 105; Deschler- Erb 1999, T. 9. 112-113; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 160, T. 11. 39

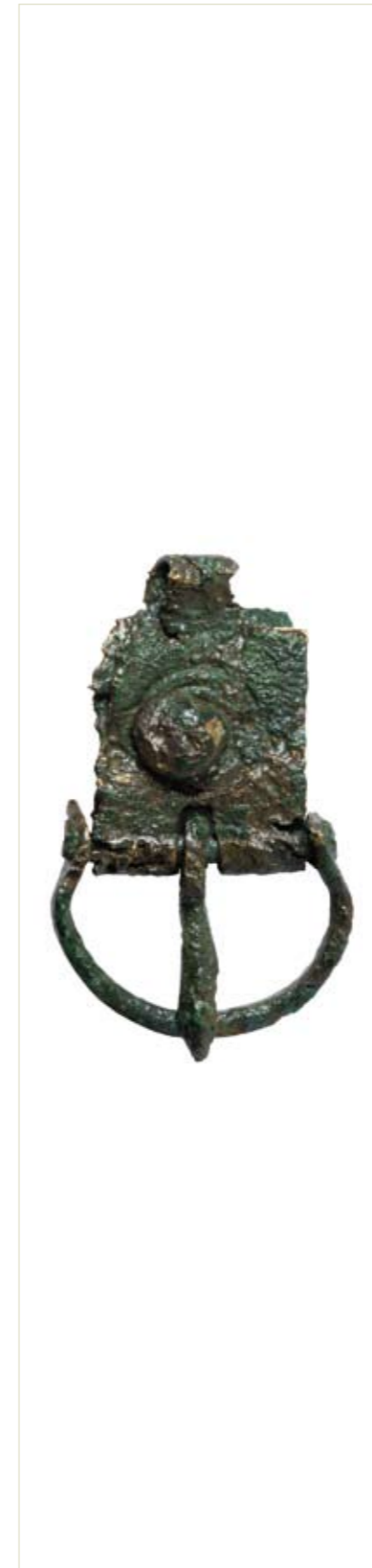
S. I.

26. Fastener from a mail armour
Gardun (Tilurium), 1902, AMS, H 4053
bronze
length: 8.2 cm
1st cent.

Snake-shaped hook, ending on one side with an incised widening that stands for the head, with a body decorated with incised lines. The preserved junction loop from Gardun fastened the right shoulder flap. Fastening hooks of a mail armour are dated to the 1st cent., and appear also at the beginning of the 2nd cent., when a pair of chest plates begin to gradually replace them. According to the typology worked out by Eckhard Deschler-Erb (Deschler-Erb 1999, 38, n. 158), the piece from Gardun would belong to type 2, characterized by a snake-shaped body with the head of a ram or snake.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, T. 35. 861, 862; Radman - Livaja 2004a, T. 27. 130 - 132; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 96, fig. 51, 4; Košćević 2008, 263, fig. 59

S. I.



27. Junction loop (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1892, AMS, H 3127
bronze
length: 4.6 cm, width: 1.6 cm
1st cent.

Loop made of a bent wire has an irregular circular shape. The fitting is rectangular, with rounded edges at the end near the loop, while on the opposite end it has two semicircular indentations. The fitting was attached with two rivets, one of which is preserved. Segments of the laminated armour were attached with junction loops, that is fittings with a circular loop, for attaching segments of the *Corbridge* type armour. They may have belonged to any of the three variants of this armour. They attached strips of the left and right sections of the lower part of the armour. Our piece belongs to type Thomas Hi, characterized by plates with parallel edges. Pieces with the end indented like that on the specimen from Gardun are rare, and the end of this type appears also on some other types of junction loops.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 1-2; Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 26. 31; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 19. 7; Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, T. 32. 670 - 672, 675 - 681, 684 - 691; Voirol 2000, 49, T. 7. 47; Feugère 2002, 105, fig. 130.; Thomas 2003, 93, fig. 61. 17; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 182-183; Matešić 2005, 103, T. 9. 112-114

S. I.

28. Buckle (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1908, AMS, H 4439
bronze
height of frame: 2 cm, length of frame: 1.5 cm, height of fitting: 1.5 cm, length of fitting: 2.15 cm, length of pin: 1.7 cm
1st cent.

Frame of a D-shaped buckle, of a circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and has openings through which passes the bar on which the buckle fitting is attached so that it bends over the bar, and it is reinforced with a rivet in the centre; on the outer side of the fitting is a flattened loop for connecting to another fitting; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of the laminated armour (*Corbridge* A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.

27. Spojna petlja obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1892.,
AMS, H 3127
bronca
dužina: 4,6 cm, širina: 1,6 cm
1. st.

Ušica od savijene žice je nepravilnog kružnog oblika, okov je pravokutan, na kraju uz ušicu rubovi su zaobljeni, a na drugom kraju je dvostruko polukružno zasječeno, okov je bio pričvršćen s dvije zakovice od kojih je jedna sačuvana. Za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa rabile su se spojne petlje, odnosno okovi s kružnom ušicom i to za povezivanje dijelova oklopa tipa *Corbridge*. Mogle su pripadati bilo kojoj od tri inačice navedenog oklopa. Spajale su poluobruč lijeve i desne strane donjeg dijela oklopa. Naš primjerak pripada tipu Thomas Hi kojem je značajka da su rubovi pločice paralelni. Primjerci sa zarezanim krajem kao što je na gardunskom primjerku su rijetki, a takav završetak javlja se i na nekim drugim tipovima spojnih petlji.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 1-2; Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 26. 31; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 19. 7; Unz & Deschler - Erb 1997, T. 32. 670 - 672, 675 - 681, 684 - 691; Voirol 2000, 49, T. 7. 47; Feugère 2002, 105, fig. 130.; Thomas 2003, 93, fig. 61. 17; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 182-183; Matešić 2005, 103, T. 9. 112-114

S. I.

28. Kopča obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1908.,
AMS, H 4439
bronca
visina okvira: 2 cm, dužina okvira: 1,5 cm, visina okova: 1,5 cm, dužina okova: 2,15 cm, dužina trna: 1,7 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče D-oblika, kružnog presjeka; prema krajevima se stanjuje i ima otvore kroz koje prolazi prečka na koju se vezuje okov kopče tako da je presavijen preko prečke, a na sredini učvršćen zakovicom; na vanjskoj strani okova je raskovana ušica za povezivanje s drugim okovom; trn se malo širi prema vrhu i lagano je sa-

vijen. Takve su kopče služile za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa (Corbridge A i B/C). Pripadaju tipu Thomas A ii.

Objavljeno: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 13. Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2, 7-8 (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8, 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33. T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Simpson 2000, T. 25. 7; Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2.; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 103

S. I.

29. Kopča obručastog oklopa

Gardun (Tilurium), 1885., AMS, H 1601 bronca
visina okvira: 1,9 cm, dužina okvira: 1,3 cm, visina okova: 1,5 cm, dužina: 1,8 cm, dužina trna: 1,5 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče D-oblika i kružnoga presjeka; prema krajevima se stanjuje i ima otvore kroz koje prolazi prečka na koju se vezuje okov kopče tako da je presavijen preko prečke, a na sredini učvršćen zakovicom; na vanjskoj strani okova je raskovana ušica za povezivanje s drugim okovom kroz koju je provučena prečka; trn se malo širi prema vrhu i lagano je savijen. Takve su kopče služile za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa (Corbridge A i B/C). Pripadaju tipu Thomas A ii.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 14 Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2., 7.-8. (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4, 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 7; Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2.; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 103

S. I.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 13. Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2, 7-8 (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8, 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33. T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Simpson 2000, T. 25. 7; Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2.; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 103

S. I.

29. Buckle (*lorica segmentata*)

Gardun (Tilurium), 1885, AMS, H 1601 bronze
height of frame: 1.9 cm, length of frame: 1.3 cm, height of fitting: 1.5 cm, length of fitting: 1.8 cm, length of pin: 1.5 cm
1st cent.

Frame of a D-shaped buckle, with a circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and it has openings through which passes a bar, to which the buckle fitting is connected so that it is bent over the bar, and it is reinforced with a rivet in the centre; on the outer side of the fitting is a flattened loop for connecting to another fitting, through which the bar passes; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of the laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 14 Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2., 7.-8. (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4, 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 7; Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2.; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 103

S. I.



30. Buckle (*lorica segmentata*)

Gardun (Tilurium), 1904., AMS, inv. no. H 4204 bronze
height of frame: 1.7 cm, length of frame: 1.35 cm, height of first fitting: 1.35 cm, length of first fitting: 2.2 cm, height of second fitting: 1.4 cm, length of second fitting: 2.2 cm, length of pin: 1.6 cm
1st cent.

Frame of a D-shaped buckle, with a circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and it has openings through which passes a bar, to which the buckle fitting is connected so that it is bent over the bar; on the outer side of the fitting there are flattened loops through which passes the bar; the bar provided support for the second fitting, which has two circular openings; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of the laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 15. Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12,13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2., 7.-8. (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2

S. I.

31. Buckle (*lorica segmentata*)

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004, MTK 975 bronze
height of frame: 1.7 cm, length of frame: 1.35 cm, height of first fitting: 1.5 cm, length of first fitting: 1.6 cm, height of second fitting: 1.4 cm, length of second fitting: 2.6 cm, length of pin: 1.5 cm
1st cent.

Frame of a D-shaped buckle, with a circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and it has openings through which passes a bar, to which the buckle fitting is connected so that it is bent over the bar; on the outer side of the fitting there is a flattened loop through which passes the bar providing support for the second fitting, which has two circular openings for rivets; the pin becomes wider around the middle and again tapers towards

30. Kopča obručastog oklopa

Gardun (Tilurium), 1904., AMS, inv. br. H 4202 bronca
visina okvira: 1,7 cm, dužina okvira: 1,35 cm, visina prvog okova: 1,35 cm, dužina prvog okova: 2,2 cm, visina drugog okova: 1,4 cm, dužina drugog okova: 2,1 cm, dužina trna: 1,6 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče D-oblika i kružnoga presjeka; prema krajevima se stanjuje i ima otvore kroz koje prolazi prečka na koju se vezuje okov kopče tako da je presavijen preko prečke; na vanjskoj strani okova dvije su raskovane ušice kroz koje je provučena prečka; pomoću nje je učvršćen drugi okov koji ima dva kružna otvora; trn se malo širi prema vrhu i lagano je savijen. Takve su kopče služile za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa (Corbridge A i B/C). Pripadaju tipu Thomas A ii.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 15. Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12,13, 15-19 (Hofheim); Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2., 7.-8. (Mainz); Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8 (Dangstetten); Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450, 22 (Ljubljana); Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 67, T. XXV. 362-363 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 30-31, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790 (Vindonissa); Thomas 2003, 13, fig. 2

S. I.

31. Kopča obručastog oklopa

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 975 bronca
visina okvira: 1,7 cm, dužina okvira: 1,35 cm, visina prvog okova: 1,5 cm, dužina prvog okova: 1,6 cm, visina drugog okova: 1,4 cm, dužina drugog okova: 2,6 cm, dužina trna: 1,5 cm
1. st.

Okvir D-kopče, kružnog presjeka, prema krajevima se stanjuje i ima otvore kroz koje prolazi prečka na koju se vezuje okov kopče tako da je presavijen preko prečke, na vanjskoj strani okova je raskovana ušica kroz koju je provučena prečka pomoću koje je učvršćen drugi okov koji ima dva kružna otvora za zakovice, trn se širi u središnjem dijelu te se ponovo sužava prema vrhu tako da ima rombo-

idni oblik, lagano savijen. Takve su kopče služile za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa (Corbridge A i B/C). Pripadaju tipu Thomas A ii.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13; Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19; Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7.-8.; Webster 1949, 59, fig. 4. 2; Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8; Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450. 22; Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27; Frere & Joseph 1979, fig. 26. 22; Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. i; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 179, T. 30. 162, 180, T. 31. 172; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 99, fig. 56. 15

S. I

32. Okvir kopče obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 979
bronca
dužina: 1,7 cm, visina: 2,4 cm,
dužina trna: 2 cm
1. st.

Okvir D-kopče s donje strane ravan, s gornje polukružno zaobljen. Takve su kopče služile za spajanje dijelova obručastog oklopa (Corbridge A i B/C).

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13; Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19; Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7-8; Webster 1949, 59, fig. 4. 2; Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8; Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450. 22; Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27; Frere & Joseph 1979, fig. 26. 22; Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 33, T. 34., 783-790; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. i; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 179, T. 30. 162, 180, T. 31. 172; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 99, fig. 56. 15

S. I.

33. Šarnir ramenog dijela obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1998., MTK 542
bronca, željezo
dužina: 3,5 cm, visina: 3 cm, težina: 8,72 g
1. st.

the top, which gives it a rhomboidal shape, slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of the laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13; Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19; Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7.-8.; Webster 1949, 59, fig. 4. 2; Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8; Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450. 22; Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27; Frere & Joseph 1979, fig. 26. 22; Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 33., T. 34. 783-790; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. i; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 179, T. 30. 162, 180, T. 31. 172; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 99, fig. 56. 15

S. I

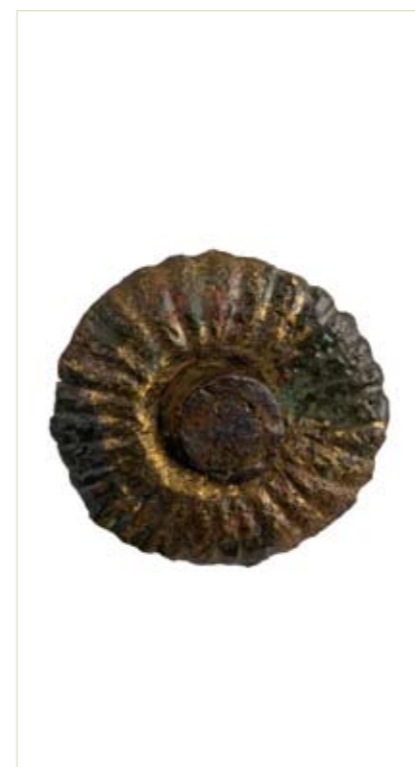
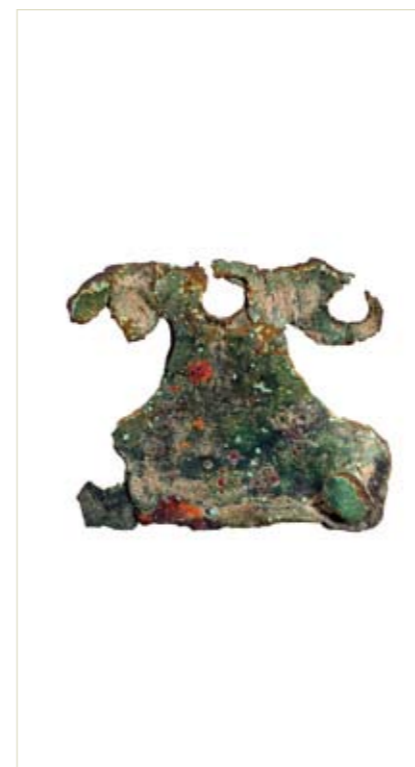
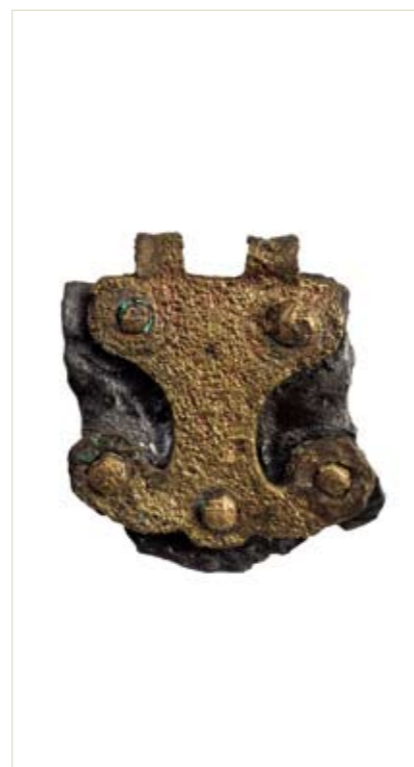
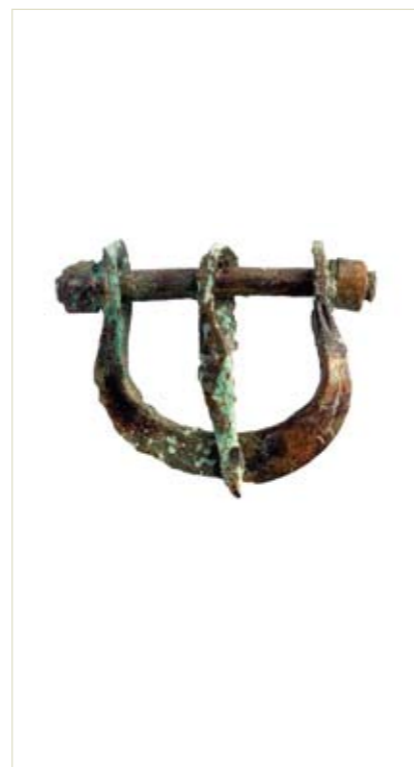
32. Buckle frame (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005, MTK 979
bronze
length: 1.7 cm, height: 2.4 cm,
length of pin: 2 cm
1st cent.

Frame of a D-shaped buckle, with a straight lower part and semicircularly rounded upper part. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of the laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C).

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13; Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 12-13, 15-19; Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7-8; Webster 1949, 59, fig. 4. 2; Fingerlin 1972, fig. 11. 8; Petru 1972, T. XXIX. grob 450. 22; Unz 1972, fig. 4. 27; Frere & Joseph 1979, fig. 26. 22; Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 33, T. 34., 783-790; Bishop 2002a, 9, fig. 1. i; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 179, T. 30. 162, 180, T. 31. 172; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 99, fig. 56. 15

S. I.

33. Lobate hinge (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1998, MTK 542
bronze, iron
length: 3.5 cm, height: 3 cm, weight: 8.72 g
1st cent.



Part of a hinge (fitting) of an armour with five preserved rivets, a part of an iron armour plate, preserved in the lower part. It was used for fastening the upper shoulder guards and the chest and shoulder-neck guard of a laminated armour of Corbridge type. Belongs to the Thomas F iv type.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 5
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 253-255; Bishop 2002b, 36, figs. 5. 5, 37, 5. 6. 3b; Thomas 2003, 68, fig. 48.; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 176 - 179; Bishop & Matešić 2005, T. 9. 111; Coulston 2006, 85-87, fig. 52. 1-7

S. I.

34. Lobate hinge (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999, MTK 30
bronze, iron
length: 2.7 cm, height: 2.3 cm,
weight: 2.40 g
1st cent.

Part of a hinge (fitting) of a Corbridge type armour, used for fastening the upper shoulder guards, and the chest and shoulder-neck guard of a laminated armour of the Corbridge type. Belongs to the Thomas F iv type.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 6
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 253-255; Bishop 2002b, 36, fig. 5. 5, 5. 6. 3b; Thomas 2003, 68, fig. 48; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 176 - 179; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 111; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 85-87, fig. 52. 1-7

S. I.

35. Decorative fitting (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999, MTK 45
bronze
diameter: 3.1 cm, weight: 3.64 g
1st cent.

Decorative fitting of a Corbridge type armour, in the shape of a rosette decorated with dotted lines on the surface; a rivet with a flat circular head was preserved passing through the circular opening in the middle of the fitting.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 7
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 265; Thomas 2003, 116, fig. 73

S. I.

Dio šarke (okova) oklopa sa sačuvanih pet zakovica, dio željezne pločice oklopa sačuvan s donje strane. Služio je za spajanje gornjih ramenih ploča te prsne i ramene-vratne ploče obručastog oklopa tipa Corbridge. Pripada tipu Thomas F iv.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 5
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 253-255; Bishop 2002b, 36, figs. 5. 5, 37, 5. 6. 3b; Thomas 2003, 68, fig. 48.; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 176 - 179; Bishop & Matešić 2005, T. 9. 111; Coulston 2006, 85-87, fig. 52. 1-7

S. I.

34. Šarnir ramenog dijela obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999., MTK 30
bronca, željezo
dužina: 2,7 cm, visina: 2, 3 cm, težina: 2,40 g
1. st.

Dio šarke (okova) oklopa tipa Corbridge, koji je služio za spajanje gornjih ramenih ploča te prsne i ramene-vratne ploče obručastog oklopa tipa Corbridge. Pripada tipu Thomas F iv.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 6
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 253-255; Bishop 2002b, 36, fig. 5. 5, 5. 6. 3b; Thomas 2003, 68, fig. 48; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 180, T. 31. 176 - 179; Matešić 2005, T. 9. 111; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 85-87, fig. 52. 1-7

S. I.

35. Ukrasni okov obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999. god., MTK 45
bronca
promjer: 3,1 cm, težina: 3,64 g
1. st.

Ukrasni okov oklopa tipa Corbridge u obliku rozete kojem je površina ukrašena točkastim linijama, zakovica okrugle, ravne glave sačuvana je provučena kroz kružni otvor u sredini okova.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 7
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 265; Thomas 2003, 116, fig. 73

S. I.

36. Ukrasni okov obručastog oklopa
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999., MTK 50
bronca
promjer: 2 cm, težina: 0,84 g
1. st.

Ukrasni okov oklopa tipa Corbridge u obliku rozete kojem je površina ukrašena urezanim linijama, zakovica u sredini ima okruglu, ravnu glavu s utisnutom kružnicom.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 8
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 265; Thomas 2003, 116, fig. 73.1

S. I.

37. Rubni okov štita

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 974
bronca
visina: 7,5 cm, širina: 1,7 cm
1.-2. st.

Brončani lim uzdužno je presavijen, na krajevima su bile zakovice koje su ga spajale, sačuvana je jedna zakovica.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XVIII. 28; Unz 1974, 33, fig. 5. 24; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 25. 547, 555, 557; Matešić 2005, T. 8. 92-99

S. I.

38. Obrazina kacige

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 973
željezo, bronca
visina: 14,4 cm, širina: 12 cm, debljina: 0,2 cm
sredina 1. st.

Na gornjem dijelu sačuvan je tuljac sa šipkom i dio okova kojim je obrazina bila pričvršćena za kalotu kacige, obrazina se prema donjem dijelu lagano sužava, a zatim širi s obje strane, uz rub na gornjem dijelu su bile dvije zakovice (sačuvan je brončani trn jedne), jedna rupica za zakovicu nalazi se na dnu obrazine.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Hartmann 1983, 6, fig. 2.; Waurick 1988, 333, fig. 3. 2-3; Harnecker 1997, 95-96, T. 82. 870a; Radman – Livaja 2004a, 74-75, fig. 16. 176, T. 27. 128; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 103, fig. 59. 4

S. I.

36. Decorative fitting (*lorica segmentata*)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1999, MTK 50
bronze
diameter: 2 cm, weight: 0.84 g
1st cent.

Decorative fitting of a Corbridge type armour, in the shape of a rosette decorated with incised lines on the surface; a rivet in the centre has a flat circular with an impressed circle.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 3. 8
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 265; Thomas 2003, 116, fig. 73.1

S. I.

37. Edge fitting of a shield

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005, MTK 974
bronze
height: 7.5 cm, width: 1.7 cm
1st-2nd cent.

Sheet bronze plate folded along the length, with rivets on the ends, one of which has remained preserved.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XVIII. 28; Unz 1974, 33, fig. 5. 24; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 25. 547, 555, 557; Matešić 2005, T. 8. 92-99

S. I.

38. Helmet cheek-piece

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004, MTK 973
iron, bronze
height: 14.4 cm, width: 12 cm, thickness: 0.2 cm
mid-1st cent.

On the upper part there is a preserved socket with a rod and a part of the fitting by which the cheek-piece was attached to the dome of the helmet. The cheek-piece gently tapers towards the lower part, then it becomes wider on both sides. There were two rivets (a bronze pin of one of those has remained) next to the edge on the upper part. There is one rivet-hole at the base of the cheek-piece.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Hartmann 1983, 6, fig. 2.; Waurick 1988, 333, fig. 3. 2-3; Harnecker 1997, 95-96, T. 82. 870a; Radman – Livaja 2004a, 74-75, fig. 16. 176, T. 27. 128; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 103, fig. 59. 4

S. I.



39. Crest mount
Gardun (Tilurium), 1914, AMS, H 4685
bronze
height: 3.9 cm, width: 3.3 cm
1st-2nd cent.

Arms of the mount widen towards the ends and they are gently curving outwards. The lower part that was attached to the dome of the helmet is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz 1972, 54, fig. 3. 11; Deimel 1987, T. 73. 3; Rodríguez Colmenero & Vega Avelaira 1996, fig. 3. 3; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 29. 603; Harnecker 1997, T. 63. 872; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 10. 142-143, T. 11. 144

S. I.

40. Tip of a standard?

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-912
iron
height: 15 cm, width: 11.9 cm, thickness: 0.7 cm, height of prong: 5 cm, width of prong: 1.8 cm, thickness of prong: 0.7 cm, weight: 221 g
1st cent.?

Object in the shape of a stylized horseman riding a running horse, depicted in the profile. The body of the horse continues into an irregular elliptical opening and a rhomboidal prong.

Publication: unpublished

A. L.

39. Držak perjanice
Gardun (Tilurium), 1914., AMS, H 4685
bronca
visina: 3,9 cm, širina: 3,3 cm
1.-2. st.

Krakovi držača šire se prema krajevima, lagano su izvijeni prema van, nedostaje donji dio koji se učvršćivao na kalotu kacige.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz 1972, 54, fig. 3. 11; Deimel 1987, T. 73. 3; Rodríguez Colmenero & Vega Avelaira 1996, fig. 3. 3; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 29. 603; Harnecker 1997, T. 63. 872; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 10. 142-143, T. 11. 144

S. I.

40. Vršak vojničkog stijega?

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-912
željezo
visina: 15 cm, širina: 11,9 cm, debljina: 0,7 cm, visina trna: 5 cm, širina trna: 1,8 cm, debljina trna: 0,7 cm, težina: 221 g
1. st.?

Opis: Predmet u obliku stiliziranog konjanika s konjem u trku; prikaz u profilu. Na tijelo konja nastavlja se nepravilni elipsasti otvor i trn u obliku romba.

Objava: neobjavljeno

A. L.

41. Pojasna kopča

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6177
bronca
visina: 3,6 cm, dužina: 3,1 cm, debljina:
0,5 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče je polukružan s krajevima uvijenima prema unutrašnjoj strani, prečka kopče je udubljena na mjestu gdje je bio trn, na prečki su dvije ušice kroz koje se provlačila osovina za okov; presjek polukružnoga dijela okvira kopče je trokutast, s unutrašnje strane je istaknuto rebro; trn nije sačuvan.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 1
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 278-282; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 21-22; Voirol 2000, 51, T. 9. 65; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 202

S. I.

42. Pojasna kopča

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885.,
AMS, H 1599
bronca, kositar
visina: 2,5 cm, dužina: 2,6 cm, debljina:
0,4 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče je polukružan s krajevima uvijenima prema unutrašnjoj strani, prečka kopče je udubljena na mjestu gdje je bio trn, na prečki su dvije ušice kroz koje se provlačila osovina za okov; presjek polukružnoga dijela okvira kopče je trokutast, s unutrašnje strane istaknuto je rebro; trn nije sačuvan; s prednje strane kopča je pokositrena po cijeloj svojoj površini.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 2
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Ko-

41. Belt buckle

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6177
bronz
height: 3.6 cm, length: 3.1 cm,
thickness: 0.5 cm
1st cent.

Buckle with a semicircular frame whose ends curve inwards. The bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the fitting passed; the semicircular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 1
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 278-282; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 21-22; Voirol 2000, 51, T. 9. 65; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 202

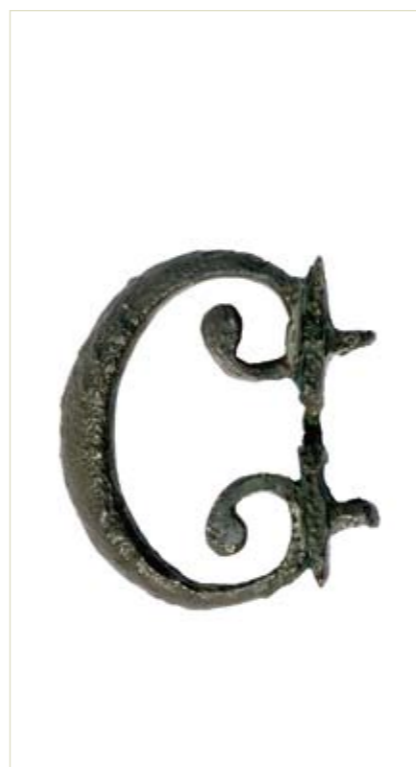
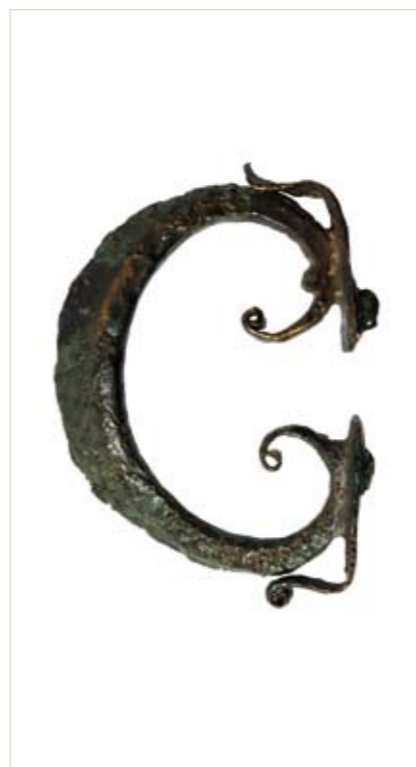
S. I.

42. Belt buckle

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885, AMS, H 1599
bronz, tin
height: 2.5 cm, length: 2.6 cm,
thickness: 0.4 cm
1st cent.

Buckle has a semicircular frame with inwards-curving ends; the bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the fitting passed; the semicircular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing; the entire front surface of the buckle has been tinned.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 2
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Ko-



Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 278-282; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 21-22; Voirol 2000, 51, T. 9. 65; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 202

S. I.

43. Belt buckle

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1908, AMS, H 4453
bronz
height: 3.4 cm, length: 2.3 cm,
thickness: 0.4 cm
1st cent.

Buckle with a semicircular frame with thinned inward-curving ends; the bar of the buckle curves outwards at the ends; a piece is missing in the central part where the pin was; only the traces of the axis loops are visible; the semicircular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 3
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 290-291; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 205; Višić-Ljubić 2006, 164, fig. 2

S. I.

44. Belt buckle

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6176
bronz, silver
height: 3.1 cm, length: 2.7 cm,
thickness: 0.4 cm
1st cent.

Buckle has a semicircular frame with inwards-curving ends; the bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the fitting passed; the semicircular part of the buckle frame has a semicircular cross-section; the pin is missing; traces of silver-coating are preserved on the front.

šćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 278-282; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 21-22; Voirol 2000, 51, T. 9. 65; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 202

S. I.

43. Pojasna kopča

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1908.,
AMS, H 4453
bronca
visina: 3,4 cm, dužina: 2,3 cm,
debljina: 0,4 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče je polukružan sa stanjenim krajevima i uvijenima prema unutrašnjoj strani; prečka kopče je na krajevima uvijena prema vanjskoj strani, nedostaje dio na središnjem dijelu gdje se nalazio trn, a ušice za osovinu vidljive su samo u tragovima; presjek polukružnoga dijela okvira kopče je trokutast, s unutrašnje strane istaknuto je rebro; trn nije sačuvan.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 3
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14, 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 16. 290-291; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 184, T. 35. 205; Višić-Ljubić 2006, 164, fig. 2

S. I.

44. Pojasna kopča

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6176
bronca, srebro
visina: 3,1 cm, dužina: 2,7 cm, debljina:
0,4 cm
1. st.

Okvir kopče je polukružan s krajevima uvijenima prema unutrašnjoj strani, prečka kopče je udubljena na mjestu gdje je bio trn, na prečki su dvije ušice kroz koje se provlačila osovina za okov; presjek polukružnoga dijela okvira

kopče je polukružan; trn nije sačuvan, a s prednje strane sačuvani su ostaci posrebrjenja.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 4
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14. 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8, 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Višić-Ljubić 2006, 165, fig. 3a-3b.

S. I.

45. Pojasna kopča

Gardun (Tilurium), 2000., MTK 22
bronca
visina: 5 cm, širina: 3, 8 cm,
težina: 13, 44 g
1. st.

Polukružna kopča s volutnim završecima s gornje strane je premazana kositrom i ukrašena urezanim linijama, trn nedostaje.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 2. 6
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14. 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa)

S. I.

46. Pojasna kopča s okovom

Gardun (Tilurium), 1907.,
AMS, H 4382
bronca, nijelo
gumb: promjer: 2 cm, debljina: 0,6 cm;
okov kopče: dužina: 10, 35 cm, visina:
3,15 cm, debljina: 0,15 cm
1. st.

Glava gumba ukrašena je urezanim biljnim motivima, pomoću zgloba je spojena za pravokutni okov pojasa kojemu se na rubovima vide zakovice pomoću

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 4
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14. 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8, 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa); Višić-Ljubić 2006, 165, fig. 3a-3b.

S. I.

45. Belt buckle

Gardun (Tilurium), 2000, MTK 22
bronze
height: 5 cm, width: 3.8 cm,
weight: 13.44 g
1st cent.

Semicircular buckle with volutae-shaped ends; coated with tin on the upper part and decorated with incised lines; the pin is missing.

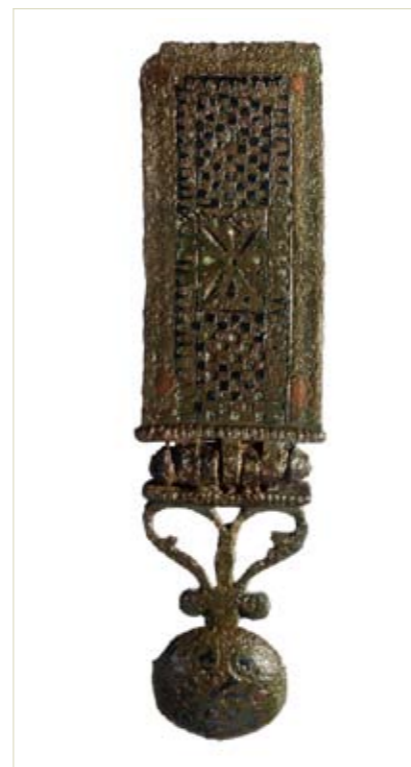
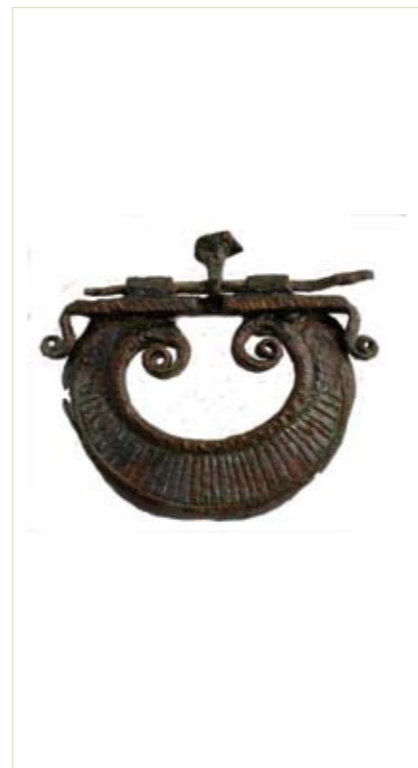
Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 2. 6
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15 (Mainz); Ritterling 1913, T. XI. 14. 20-21 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2 (Mainz); Petru 1972, T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Oldenstein 1976, 211-212, T. 74. 971 (Wiesbaden); Sagadin 1979, 312-313, T. 9. 15 (Ptuj); Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316 (Ivoševci); Košćević 1991, 66-67, T. XXVI. 365 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 32-34, T. 43. 1138-1163, T. 44. 1164-1182 (Vindonisa)

S. I.

46. Belt buckle with a fitting

Gardun (Tilurium), 1907, AMS, H 4382
Bronze, niello
button: diameter: 2 cm, thickness: 0.6 cm;
buckle fitting: length: 10.35 cm, height: 3.15 cm, thickness: 0.15 cm
1st cent.

The head of the button is decorated with vegetable motifs, hinged to the rectangular belt fitting with visible rivets by which it was attached to the belt; the rectangular field on the front is decorated with a rosette in the middle, surrounded by a chequered pattern framed with the *dents-de-loup* motif. All incised motifs are filled with niello. Buckles of this type were situated on a dagger or sword strap and were used for fastening the weap-



ons to the belt. They appear throughout the Roman Empire and mostly date from the first half of the 1st cent., whereas in the Flavian period they are rare. In the typology worked out for Britain by Francis Grew and Nick Griffiths, the fittings are divided into two basic types based on the shape and method of decoration (Grew & Griffiths 1991, 49). Our piece by its features matches type A, which includes rectangular fittings with a flat polished surface, frequently decorated by punching, incision and niello. They were attached to the belt either by rivets passed through perforations on the corners—as in the case of our fitting—or by prongs on the back. The most frequent decoration on belt fittings like our one were incision and punching, as well as niello. The decoration on the fitting from Gardun consists of a rosette and a chequered pattern framed with a series of triangles, which is a usual motif on buckle fittings in the 1st cent.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz 1972, 55, fig. 4. 12; Henderson 1949, T. XXXIII. 72; Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 40. 1012, 1020; T. 45. 1211, 1232-1233; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19. 354; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 29; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 6; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 108, fig. 62. 3, 21

S. I.

47. Buckle pin

Gardun (Tilurium), 1884, AMS, H 1211
bronze
dimensions: 3.4 x 2.4 cm
1st cent.

Buckle pin in the shape of a lily, the loop is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 5
Lit.: Petru 1972, T. XCV. 19. T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1 (Mainz); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 17. 300-301; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 36, T. 43. 1141, T. 44. 1178 (Vindonisa)

S. I.

kojih je bio pričvršćen na pojas; s prednje strane je pravokutno polje koje je ukrašeno rozetom u sredini, uokolo nje se nalazi šahovnica, uokvirena motivom vučjih zubi. Svi urezani motivi su ispunjeni nijelom. Takve kopče su se nalazile na pojasu za bodež ili za mač i pomoću njih se oružje kopčalo na pojas. Javljaju se na području cijelog Rimskog Carstva, najviše ih je iz prve polovice 1. st., a u flavijevsko doba su rijetki. U tipologiji koju su za područje Britanije izradili Francis Grew i Nick Griffiths okovi su podijeljeni u dva osnovna tipa s obzirom na oblik i način ukrašavanja (Grew & Griffiths 1991, 49). Naš primjerak, prema svojim karakteristikama, odgovara tipu A u koji su uvršteni četvrtasti okovi ravne uglačane površine, često ukrašene punciranjem, urezivanjem i nijelom. Za pojas su bili učvršćeni pomoću zakovica koje su se provlačile kroz rupice na uglovima, što je slučaj s našim okovom, ili pomoću trnova sa stražnje strane. Na pojasnim okovima poput našeg najčešće je primijenjen ukras izrađen urezivanjem i punciranjem te nijeliranjem. Ukras na gardunskom okovu sastoji se od rozete i šahovnice uokvirenih nizom trokuta, što je jedan od uobičajenih motiva na okovima kopči u 1. st.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz 1972, 55, fig. 4. 12; Henderson 1949, T. XXXIII. 72; Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 40. 1012, 1020; T. 45. 1211, 1232-1233; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19. 354; Simpson 2000, 151, T. 25. 29; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 6; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 108, fig. 62. 3, 21

S. I.

47. Trn kopče

Gardun (Tilurium), 1884.,
AMS, H 1211
bronca
dimenzije 3, 4 x 2, 4 cm;
1. st.

Trn kopče je izrađen u obliku ljiljana, nedostaje ušica.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 5
Lit.: Petru 1972, T. XCV. 19. T. XCIII. 26 (Ljubljana); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1 (Mainz); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 17. 300-301; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 36, T. 43. 1141, T. 44. 1178 (Vindonisa)

S. I.

48. Trn kopče

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 983
bronca, kositar
dužina: 4,5 cm, širina: 2,5 cm
1. st.

Trn kopče izrađen je u obliku ljiljana, ušica je lijevana zajedno s trnom, s prednje strane trn je premazan kositrom.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1; Petru 1972, T. XCV. 19, T. XCIII. 26; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 43. 1141, T. 44. 1178; Bekić 1998, 238, T. 3. 18; Višić-Ljubić 2006, 165, fig. 3

S. I.

49. Kopča

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-431
bronca
visina: 3,7 cm, širina: 2,1 cm,
debljina: 0,3 cm
1. st.

Kopča načinjena od vrpčaste brončane žice pravokutnog presjeka, zavijenih krajeva prema unutrašnjoj strani, na koju je pričvršćena vrpčasta osovina s krajevima koji su savijeni u ušicu sa strana. Po sredini osovine nalazi se odlomljeni dio za pričvršćivanje za remen. Prekrivena tamnozelenom patinom.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 189, fig. 8. 315; Grew & Griffiths, 1991, 50, 75, fig. 15, 157; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 19, T. 13. 209 (Vindonissa); Bekić 1998, 234-235, T. 4. 10; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 85, fig. 43. d, fig. 45

A. L.

50. Kopča s dugmetom

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894.,
AMS, H 3217
bronca
visina: 2,1 cm, dužina: 3,6 cm,
debljina: 0,2 cm
1. st.

Srcoliki okvir kopče ima dva motiva pelta rađena na proboj, na prečki kopče dvije su ušice; trn je dosta savijen, a na vrhu trna nije sačuvano dugme.
Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 6

48. Buckle pin

Gardun (Tilurium), 2004, MTK 983
bronze, tin
length: 4.5 cm, width: 2.5 cm
1st cent.

Buckle pin in the shape of a lily, the loop is cast together with the pin, the front of the pin is coated with tin.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1; Petru 1972, T. XCV. 19, T. XCIII. 26; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 43. 1141, T. 44. 1178; Bekić 1998, 238, T. 3. 18; Višić-Ljubić 2006, 165, fig. 3

S. I.

49. Buckle

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-431
bronze
height: 3.7 cm, width: 2.1 cm,
thickness: 0.3 cm
1st cent.

Buckle made of a ribbon-like bronze wire of a rectangular cross-section, with inward-curving ends. Ribbon-like axis with ends coiled into a loop on the sides is attached to the wire. A broken-off joint to the belt is set at the middle of the axis. Covered with dark green patina.

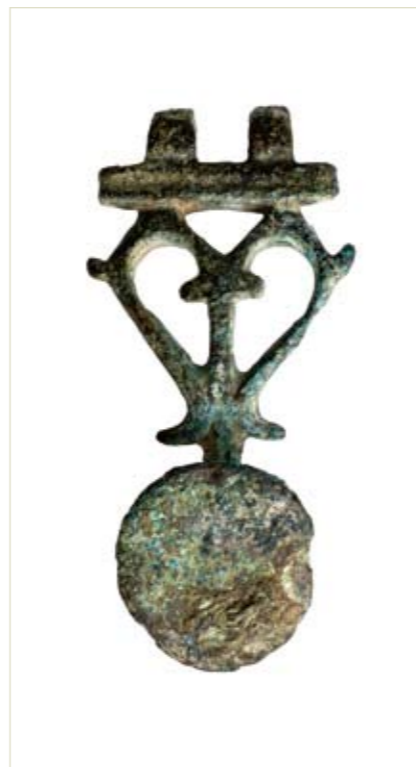
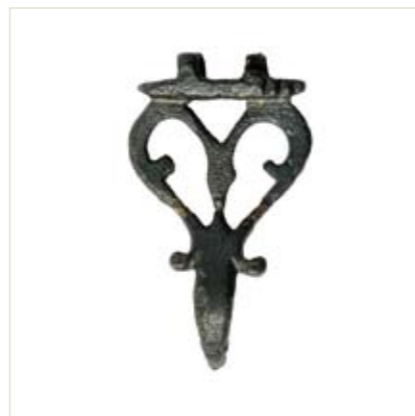
Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 189, fig. 8. 315; Grew & Griffiths, 1991, 50, 75, fig. 15, 157; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 19, T. 13. 209 (Vindonissa); Bekić 1998, 234-235, T. 4. 10; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 85, fig. 43. d, fig. 45

A. L.

50. Buckle with a button

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894, AMS, H 3217
bronze
height: 2.1 cm, length: 3.6 cm, thickness: 0.2 cm
1st cent.

Cordate buckle frame with two openwork peltate motifs, with two loops on the bar of the buckle; the pin is considerably bent, and the button on the tip of the pin is missing.
Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 6



Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9. 2 (Mainz); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 37-38, T. 45. 1232 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, T. 9. 67 (Avenches); Matešić 2005, T. 20. 254-255

S. I.

51. Buckle with a button

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-885
bronze
height: 2.4 cm, length: 5.1 cm,
thickness: 0.2 cm
1st cent.

Cordate buckle, the frame is peltate, rendered in openwork; there are two loops on the bar of the buckle; the pin is bent, with a button on the tip.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9. 2; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 37, T. 45. 1233 (Vindonissa); Ivčević 2004, 160, kat. br. 6, T. 1. 6

A. L.

52. Belt fitting from a military apron

Gardun (Tilurium), 1898, AMS, H 3674
bronze, silver
length: 4.4 cm, height: 1.6 cm
1st cent.

One end of the fitting is widened and decorated with incisions; it has four pins on the back, while a silver plaque is applied on the front.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 7
Lit.: Oldenstein 1976, 191, 265, T. 59. 743 (Saalburg); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 52, T. 69. 1984 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-389; Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71, 73, 75-77 (Avenches)

S. I.

Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9. 2 (Mainz); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 37-38, T. 45. 1232 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, T. 9. 67 (Avenches); Matešić 2005, T. 20. 254-255

S. I.

51. Kopča s dugmetom

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-885
bronca
visina: 2,4 cm, dužina: 5,1 cm, debljina: 0,3 cm
1. st.

Kopča srcolikog oblika, okvir kopče ima oblik pelte, izrađena tehnikom na proboj; na prečki kopče nalaze se dvije ušice; trn je savijen, na vrhu trna nalazi se dugme.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 9. 2; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 37, T. 45. 1233 (Vindonissa); Ivčević 2004, 160, kat. br. 6, T. 1. 6

A. L.

52. Okov remena vojničke pregače

Gardun (Tilurium), 1898.,
AMS, H 3674
bronca, srebro
dužina: 4,4 cm, visina: 1,6 cm
1. st.

Na jednom je kraju proširen i ukrašen urezima; sa stražnje su strane četiri trna, na prednjoj strani aplicirana je srebrna pločica.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 7
Lit.: Oldenstein 1976, 191, 265, T. 59. 743 (Saalburg); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 52, T. 69. 1984 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-389; Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71, 73, 75-77 (Avenches)

S. I.

53. Okov remena vojničke pregače

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1889.,
AMS, H 2580
bronca
dužina: 3,9 cm, visina: 1,5 cm, debljina
s trnom: 0,7 cm
1. st.

Pravokutni okov na jednom je kraju
proširen i ukrašen urezima; sa stražnje su
strane četiri trna

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 8
Lit.: Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71, 73, 75–77
(Avenches); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20.
383-389; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 52,
T. 69. 1984 (Vindonissa); Oldenstein
1976, 191, 265, T. 59. 743 (Saalburg)

S. I.

54. Okov remena vojničke pregače

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1886.,
AMS, H 1832
bronca
dužina: 2,7 cm, visina: 1,6 cm,
debljina s trnom: 0,6 cm
1. st.

Pravokutni neukrašeni okov; sa stražnje
su strane četiri trna.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 9
Lit.: Oldenstein 1976, 191, 265, T. 59.
743 (Saalburg); Unz & Deschler-Erb
1997, 52, T. 69. 1984 (Vindonissa);
Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-389;
Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71, 73, 75–77
(Avenches)

S. I.

55. Okov remena vojničke pregače

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005., MTK 989
bronca, kositar
1. st.
dimenzije: 3,2 x 3,6 cm, debljina s tr-
nom: 0,4 cm

Pravokutna pločica, s donje strane uz rub
dva trna, bila je premazana kositrom.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 42.
1083, 1085, 1091, 1103, 1113, 1120;
Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-389;
Müller 2002, T. 64. 677

S. I.

53. Belt fitting from a military apron

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1899, AMS, H 2580
bronze
length: 3.9 cm, height: 1.5 cm,
thickness with the pin: 0.7 cm
1st cent.

Rectangular fitting with one end widened
and decorated with incisions; there are four
pins on the back.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 8
Lit.: Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71, 73, 75–77
(Avenches); Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-
389; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 52, T. 69.
1984 (Vindonissa); Oldenstein 1976, 191,
265, T. 59. 743 (Saalburg)

S. I.

54. Belt fitting from a military apron

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1896, AMS, H 1832
bronze
length: 2.7 cm, height: 1.6 cm,
thickness with the pin: 0.6 cm
1st cent.

Rectangular fitting without decoration; there
are four pins on the back.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 9
Lit.: Oldenstein 1976, 191, 265, T. 59. 743
(Saalburg); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 52, T.
69. 1984 (Vindonissa); Deschler-Erb 1999,
T. 20. 383-389; Voirol 2000, 19, T. 9. 71,
73, 75–77 (Avenches)

S. I.

55. Belt fitting from a military apron

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005, MTK 989
bronze, tin
3.2 x 3.6 cm, thickness with the pin: 0.4 cm
1st cent.

Tin-coated rectangular plaque, with two pins
along the edge on the back.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 42. 1083,
1085, 1091, 1103, 1113, 1120; Deschler-
Erb 1999, T. 20. 383-389; Müller 2002, T.
64. 677

S. I.



56. Rivet

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, AZ-465-1
bronze
diameter: 2.8 cm
1st cent.

Circular rivet with a pin on the back; the
front was decorated with concentric circles
that frame the central interior field with a
dot; the rims are serrated.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 81-82, fig. 569.; Unz
& Deschler-Erb 1997, 55-56, T. 74, 2279-
2282; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 89-91

A. L.

57. Rivet

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, AZ-465-7
bronze
diameter: 2.1 cm
1st cent.

Circular rivet with a pin on the back; en-
graved decoration in the central field on the
front is indiscernible; on the back is a pin
within two concentric circles.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 79-80; Unz & Desch-
ler-Erb 1997, 53, T. 73, 2204; Deschler-
Erb 1999, 188, T. 44, 853; Radman-Livaja
2004a, 89-90, T. 38, 239

A. L.

58. Fastener

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, AZ-B-461-1
bone
length: 3.5 cm, width: 2.2 cm
1st cent.

Fastener with a trapezoidal loop perforated in
the centre, the upper part has an irregular cir-
cular shape with a perforation in the middle.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 53-54, T. 72.
2125, 2126, 2128; Radman-Livaja 2004a,
92-93, 134, T. 41. 270

A. L.

56. Zakovica

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, AZ-465-1
bronca
promjer: 2,8 cm
1. st.

Zakovica kružnog oblika, s trnom na po-
leđini; prednja strana zakovice ukrašena
koncentričnim kružnicama koje uokvi-
ruju središnje unutarnje polje s točki-
com, rubovi su nazupčeni.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 81-82, fig. 569.;
Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 55-56, T. 74,
2279-2282; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 89-
91

A. L.

57. Zakovica

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, AZ-465-7
bronca
promjer: 2,1 cm
1. st.

Okrugla zakovica s trnom na poledini;
na prednjoj strani je središnje polje s gra-
viranim ukrasom čiji je prikaz nejasan;
na stražnjoj strani je trn unutar dvije
koncentrične kružnice.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 79-80; Unz & Des-
chler-Erb 1997, 53, T. 73, 2204; Des-
chler-Erb 1999, 188, T. 44, 853; Rad-
man-Livaja 2004a, 89-90, T. 38, 239

A. L.

58. Pričvršćivač

Gardun (*Tilurium*),
MCK, AZ-B-461-1
kost
dužina: 3,5 cm, širina: 2,2 cm
1. st.

Pričvršćivač s trapezastom petljom per-
foriranom u sredini, gornji dio je nepra-
vilnog zaobljenog oblika s rupicom po
sredini.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 53-54,
T. 72. 2125, 2126, 2128; Radman-Liva-
ja 2004a, 92-93, 134, T. 41. 270

A. L.

59. Dugme s jednostrukom ušicom
Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-465-2
bronca
dužina: 2,9 cm, širina: 1,8 cm
1. st.

Dugmasti pričvršćivač s povijenom jednostrukom oblom petljom, dugme i petlja su kružnog oblika.

Objava: neobjavljeno
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 53, T. 71, 2082; Deschler-Erb 1999, 184, T. 41. 791.
Radman-Livaja 2004a, 92, 94, 133, 189, T. 40. 259

A. L.

60. Dugme s jednostrukom ušicom
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 990
bronca
dužina: 2,4 cm, promjer glave: 1,5 cm, dužina trakice s ušicom: 1,6 cm, promjer ušice: 0,8 cm
1. st.

Glava dugmeta je konveksna, a sa stražnje strane je brončana trakica savijena pod pravim kutom, na kraju oblikovana kao ušica.

Objavljeno: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 32. 70; Unz 1974, fig. 14. 176, 183; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 71. 2066-2085; Voirol 2000, 61, T. 19. 202; Feugère & Poux 2002, 83, fig. 4. 7; Šeparović 2003, T. 2. 8-9; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 190, T. 41. 262

S. I.

61. Dugme s dvostrukom ušicom
Gardun (Tilurium), 2001., MTK 993
bronca
dužina: 4 cm, promjer pločice: 2,9 cm, visina: 0,7 cm
1. st.

Sa stražnje strane kružne pločice nalazi se brončana traka savijena pod pravim kutom te se širi u obliku nepravilnog pravokutnika, kojemu se u uglovima nalaze kružni otvori.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 72. 2152; Müller 2002, T. 44. 480, 481

S. I.

59. Button with a single loop
Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-465-2
bronze
length: 2.9 cm, width: 1.8 cm
1st cent.

Button-like fastener with a curved single round loop; the button and the loop are round.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 53, T. 71, 2082; Deschler-Erb 1999, 184, T. 41. 791.
Radman-Livaja 2004a, 92, 94, 133, 189, T. 40. 259

A. L.

60. Button with a single loop
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005, MTK 990
bronze
length: 2.4 cm, diameter of head: 1.5 cm, length of strip with a loop: 1.6 cm, diameter of loop: 0.8 cm
1st cent.

Button with a convex head, on the back is a bronze strip bent at a right angle and formed into a loop.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 32. 70; Unz 1974, fig. 14. 176, 183; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 71. 2066-2085; Voirol 2000, 61, T. 19. 202; Feugère & Poux 2002, 83, fig. 4. 7; Šeparović 2003, T. 2. 8-9; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 190, T. 41. 262

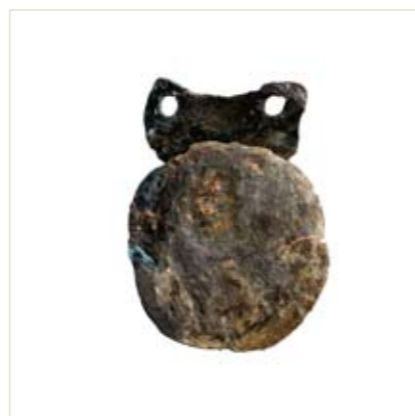
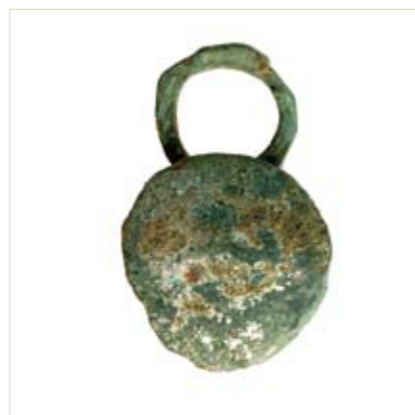
S. I.

61. Button with a double loop
Gardun (Tilurium), 2001, MTK 993
bronze
length: 4 cm, diameter of plaque: 2.9 cm, height: 0.7 cm
1st cent.

On the back of the circular plaque is a bronze strip bent at the right angle, which widens in the shape of an irregular rectangle with round openings in the corners.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 72. 2152; Müller 2002, T. 44. 480, 481

S. I.



62. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1902, AMS, H 4018
bronze
length: 5.1 cm, height: 2.7 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Ribbon-like bow of the fibula is decorated with a series of incised transverse lines along the central longitudinal rib, as well as with a series of small incisions on the edges of the bow; the foot ends with a decorative knob, the partly preserved rectangular catch-plate has a round opening on the outer side and a series of incisions on the upper edge.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj (in preparation)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

63. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1939, AMS, H 5242
bronze
length: 5.4 cm, height: 2.6 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Ribbon-like bow of the fibula is decorated with a series of incised transverse lines along the central longitudinal rib, as well as with a series of small incisions on the edges of the bow; the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate has two impressed circles and a series of incisions on the upper edge.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj (in preparation)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

64. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1907, AMS, H 4372
bronze
length: 5.3 cm, height: 2.6 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

62. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1902., AMS, H 4018
bronze
dužina: 5,1 cm, visina: 2,7 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Vrpčasti luk fibule ukrašen je središnjim uzdužnim rebrom s nizom urezanih poprečnih linija, a na rubovima luka nizom sitnih ureza, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, dijelom sačuvana zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta ima kružni otvor s vanjske strane te niz ureza na gornjem rubu.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Had-a, Sinj (u pripremi)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

63. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1939., AMS, H 5242
bronze
dužina: 5,4 cm, visina: 2,6 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr. - treća četvrtina 1. st.

Vrpčasti luk fibule ukrašen je središnjim uzdužnim rebrom s nizom urezanih poprečnih linija, a na rubovima luka nizom sitnih ureza, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta, ima dvije utisnute kružnice i niz sitnih ureza uz gornji rub.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj (u pripremi)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

64. Aucissa fibula
Gardun (Tilurium), 1907., AMS, H 4372
bronze
duž. 5,3 cm, vis. 2,6 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Vrpčasti luk fibule ukrašen je središnjim uzdužnim rebrom s nizom urezanih poprečnih linija, a na rubovima luka nizom sitnih ureza, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta i ima dva kružna otvora te niz ureza na gornjem rubu.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj (u pripremi)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

65. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 3112
bronca
dužina: 5,4 cm, visina: 2,4 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Vrpčasti luk fibule ukrašen je središnjim uzdužnim rebrom s nizom urezanih poprečnih linija, a na rubovima luka nizom sitnih ureza, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta i ima kružne ureze sa strane, ukrašena je urezanim trokutima.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj (u pripremi)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 133. 1661, 1662; Lacabe 1995, T. 35. 262-267; Ivčević 2002a, T. IV, 32-35

S. I.

66. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894.,
AMS, H 3211
bronca,
dužina: 3,9 cm, visina: 2,5 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta s urezima sa strane, u gornjem dijelu je ukrašena nizom kosih linija, zglobni tuljac je izrađen savijanjem prema van.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Had-a, Sinj, u pripremi
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

Ribbon-like bow of the fibula is decorated with a series of incised transverse lines along the central longitudinal rib, as well as with a series of small incisions on the edges of the bow; the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate has two round openings and a series of incisions on the upper edge.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj (in preparation)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 119. 1522, 1525, 1527; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002a, T. II. 17-20

S. I.

65. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, H 3112
bronze
length: 5.4 cm, height: 2.4 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Ribbon-like bow of the fibula is decorated with a series of incised transverse lines along the central longitudinal rib, as well as with a series of small incisions on the edges of the bow; the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate has round incisions on the side, decorated with incised triangles.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj (in preparation)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 133. 1661, 1662; Lacabe 1995, T. 35. 262-267; Ivčević 2002a, T. IV, 32-35

S. I.

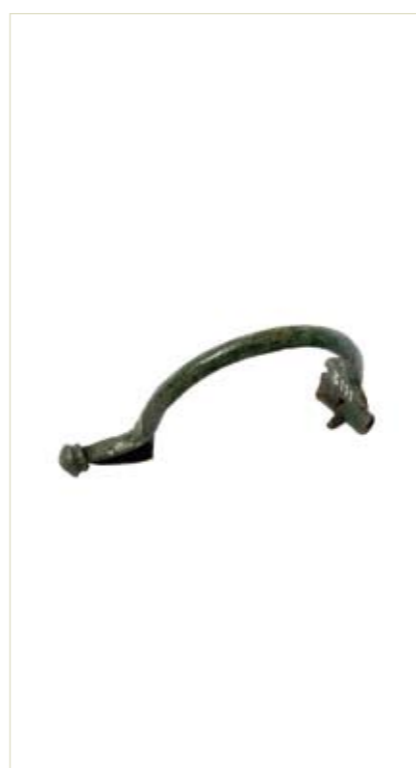
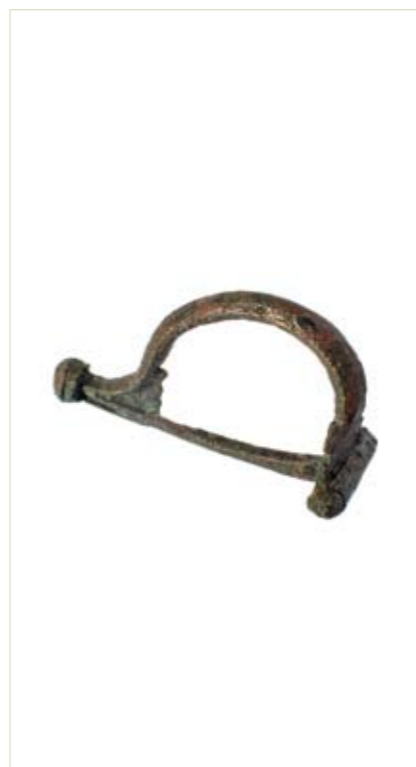
66. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894, AMS, H 3211
bronze
length: 3.9 cm, height: 2.7 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section, the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate is incised at the side, decorated in the upper part with a series of slanting lines, the socket is made by outward bending.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj, in preparation
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.



67. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894, AMS, H 3276
bronze
length: 4.6 cm, height: 2.7 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section, the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate is incised at the side, decorated in the upper part with a series of slanting lines, the socket is made by outward bending.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj, in preparation
Literatura: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

68. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1892, AMS, H 3111
bronze
length: 6.2 cm, height: 3.8 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section, the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate is incised at the side, decorated in the upper and lower parts with a series of slanting lines, the socket is made by outward bending.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj, in preparation
Literatura: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII, 59-67, T. VIII, 68-75.

S. I.

67. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894.,
AMS, H 3276
bronca
dužina: 4,6 cm, visina: 2,7 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr. - treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta s urezima sa strane, u gornjem dijelu je ukrašena nizom kosih linija, zglobni tuljac je izrađen savijanjem prema van.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Had-a, Sinj, u pripremi
Literatura: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

68. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1892.,
AMS, H 3111
bronca,
dužina: 6,2 cm, visina: 3,8 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta s urezima sa strane, u gornjem i donjem dijelu je ukrašena nizom kosih linija, zglobni tuljac je izrađen savijanjem prema van.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj, u pripremi
Literatura: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII, 59-67, T. VIII, 68-75.

S. I.

69. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 1894.,
AMS, H 3215
bronca
dužina: 5,1 cm, visina: 3,2 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta s urezima sa strane, zglobni tuljac je izrađen savijanjem prema van.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj (u pripremi)
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

70. Aucissa fibula

Gardun(Tilurium), AMS, H 5227
bronca
dužina 4,8 cm, visina: 2,6 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta s urezima sa strane, na njoj nije vidljiv natpis.

Objava: Ivčević, Izdanja Hada, Sinj, u pripremi
Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII, 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

71. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 2003., MTK 1015
bronca
dužina: 4,1 cm, visina: 1,7 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr. - treća četvrtina 1. st.

Fibula Aucissa tipa s trakastim lukom, nedostaju zglobni tuljac i igla, luk je ukrašen središnjim neukrašenim rebrom, a rebra uz rubove luka su tanja i plića od središnjeg, na zaglavnoj pločici nema vidljivog ukrasa niti natpisa, prijelaz luka u nogu bio je označen vjerojatno s dvije poprečne linije od kojih je vidljiv dio jedne.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Marović 1959, fig. 15. 4; Feugère 1985, T. 133. 1647-1648; Lacabe 1995,

69. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1894, AMS, H 3215
bronze
length: 5.1 cm, height: 3.2 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section, the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate is incised at the side, the socket is made by outward bending.

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj (in preparation)

Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

S. I.

70. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 5227
bronze
length: 4.8 cm, height: 2.6 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section, the foot ends with a decorative knob, the rectangular catch-plate is incised at the side, the inscription on the plate is not visible

Publication: Ivčević, Izdanja HAD-a, Sinj, in preparation

Lit.: Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Ivčević 2002a, T. VII, 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75

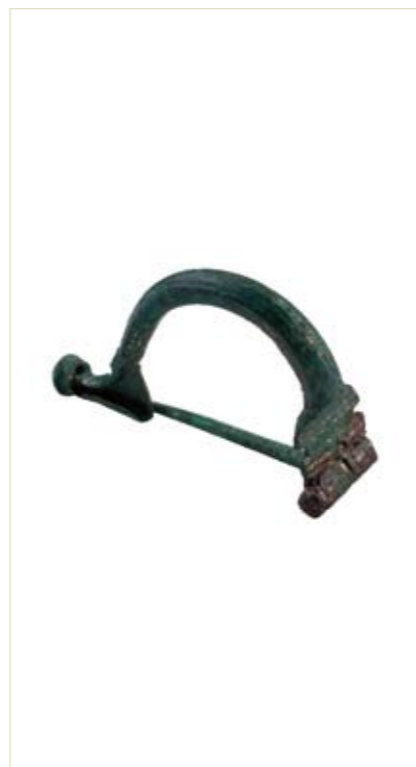
S. I.

71. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2003, MTK 1015
bronze
length: 4.1 cm, height: 1.7 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Aucissa fibula with a strap bow, the socket and the pin are missing, the bow is decorated with an undecorated mid-rib, and the ribs along the sides of the bow are thinner and shallower than the central rib; the catch-plate bears no visible decoration or inscription; transition from bow to foot was probably marked with two transverse lines, one of which is still partly visible.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Marović 1959, fig. 15. 4; Feugère 1985, T. 133. 1647-1648; Lacabe 1995, T. 24. 192;



Ivčević 2002, T. III. 22, 24; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 4; Ivčević 2007, 264-265, kat. br. 28, 29

S. I.

72. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005, MTK 1016
bronze, iron
length: 6.4 cm, height: 4.1 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

Aucissa fibula with a strap bow, the pin and the part of the fastening mechanism are missing; the axis of the pin is made of iron, the socket is made by outward bending, the catch-plate is decorated with two longitudinal ribs decorated with a series of transverse lines, the central part of the catch-plate has a concave indentation on both sides, the bow is decorated with a central rib filled with vertical lines like those on the catch-plate; undecorated ribs run along the edges of the bow, the transition of the bow to the foot is marked with two incised lines, the foot has a slightly triangular cross-section in the part nearer to the bow.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Marić 1968, T. XIX. 32-34; Thill 1969, 155, fig. 10. 115; Koščević 1980, T. IV. 26; Rey-Vodoz 1986, 180, T. 10. 152-153; Riha 1994, T. 19, 2259, 2266, T. 20. 2281; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002, T. II. 17-20; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 6; Ivčević 2003, 159, fig. 4, 6; Ivčević 2007, 249, kat. br. 4

S. I.

73. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005, MTK 1022
bronze, iron
length: 5.3 cm, height: 3 cm
last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.

The bow of the fibula has a polygonal cross-section; incised longitudinal lines with a series of vertical lines between them run along the centre of the bow; the catch-plate is rectangular with semicircular indentations on the edge, decorated with a pair of two incised longitudinal lines with a series of vertical lines between them; the socket was made by outward bending, the axis of the pin is made of iron, the transition from the bow to the foot is marked by two vertical ribs, the foot ends with a decorative knob.

T. 24. 192; Ivčević 2002, T. III. 22, 24; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 4; Ivčević 2007, 264-265, kat. br. 28, 29

S. I.

72. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 1016
bronca, željezo
dužina: 6,4 cm, visina: 4,1 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr. - treća četvrtina 1. st.

Fibula Aucissa tipa s trakastim lukom; nedostaje igla i dio mehanizma za kopčanje igle, osovina igle izrađena je od željeza, tuljac izrađen savijanjem prema van, zaglavna pločica ukrašena dvama uzdužnim rebri koja su ukrašena nizom poprečnih linija, središnji dio zaglavne pločice konkavno je zasječen s obje strane, luk je ukrašen središnjim rebrom koje je poput onih na zaglavnoj pločici popunjeno okomitim linijama, na rubovima luka su neukrašena rebra, prijelaz luka u nogu označen dvjema urezanim linijama, noga na dijelu bližem luku ima blago trokutast presjek.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Marić 1968, T. XIX. 32-34; Thill 1969, 155, fig. 10. 115; Koščević 1980, T. IV. 26; Rey-Vodoz 1986, 180, T. 10. 152-153; Riha 1994, T. 19, 2259, 2266, T. 20. 2281; Lacabe 1995, T. 31. 234-239; Fauduet 1999, T. X. 65, 67; Ivčević 2002, T. II. 17-20; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 6; Ivčević 2003, 159, fig. 4, 6; Ivčević 2007, 249, kat. br. 4

S. I.

73. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 1022
bronca, željezo
dužina: 5,3 cm, visina: 3 cm
zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-1. st.

Luk fibule je poligonalnog presjeka, a sredinom luka su urezane uzdužne linije između kojih je niz okomitih linija, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta i na rubovima polukružno zarezana, ukrašena s po dvije urezane uzdužne linije između kojih je niz okomitih linija, zglobni tuljac izrađen je savijanjem prema van, osovina igle izrađena je od željeza, prijelaz luka u nogu naglašen je dvama okomitim rebri, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
 Lit.: Popescu 1945, 488, fig. 2. 9; Lerat 1956, T. VII. 131-134; Marović 1959, fig. 14. 3, fig. 22. 3, fig. 25. 2, fig. 38. 1; Košćević 1980, T. VI. 39; Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Riha 1994, T. 20. 2294, T. 21. 2295-2298; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Mazur 1998, T. 10. 121-125; Ivčević 2002, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75; Ivčević 2003, 160, fig. 10; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 7

S. I.

74. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 1027
 bronca
 dužina: 4 cm, visina: 2,3 cm
 zadnja četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.-treća četvrtina 1. st.

Luk fibule je polukružnog presjeka, noga završava kuglastim ukrasom, zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta, ukrašena motivom trokuta koji je ispunjen kosim linijama, a sa svake strane mu je po jedna koncentrična kružnica, zglobni tuljac je izrađen savijanjem prema unutra.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
 Lit.: Popescu 1945, 488, fig. 2. 9; Lerat 1956, T. VII. 131-134; Marović 1959, fig. 14. 3, fig. 22. 3, fig. 25. 2, fig. 38. 1; Košćević 1980, T. VI. 39; Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Riha 1994, T. 21. 2296, 2298, T. 22. 2314; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 333; Mazur 1998, T. 10. 121-125; Ivčević 2003, 160, fig. 10.; Ivčević 2007, 260, kat. br. 22

S. I.

75. Pojasna kopča s okovom

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-897
 bronca
 dužina: 3 cm, širina: 4,2 cm, debljina: 0,4 cm
 4. st.

Pojasna kopča sa sačuvanim okovom. Predica ovalnog oblika s trnom polukružnog presjeka, povijen na vrhu. Trn je svinutom kukom pričvršćen na osovinu predice. Na osovinu je pričvršćen okov kopče. Okov se spajao s remenom s dvije zakovice, od kojih je sačuvana jedna okrugla zakovica. Vanjski rubovi okova su oštećeni.

Objava: neobjavljeno
 Lit.: Košćević 1991, 68, fig. 452.; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 219, T. 137, 5

A. L.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
 Lit.: Popescu 1945, 488, fig. 2. 9; Lerat 1956, T. VII. 131-134; Marović 1959, fig. 14. 3, fig. 22. 3, fig. 25. 2, fig. 38. 1; Košćević 1980, T. VI. 39; Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Riha 1994, T. 20. 2294, T. 21. 2295-2298; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 331; Mazur 1998, T. 10. 121-125; Ivčević 2002, T. VII. 59-67, T. VIII. 68-75; Ivčević 2003, 160, fig. 10; Šeparović 2003, T. 1. 7

S. I.

74. Aucissa fibula

Gardun (Tilurium), 2005, MTK 1027
 bronze
 length: 4 cm, height: 2.3 cm
 last quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. – third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D.

The bow of the fibula has a semicircular cross-section; the foot ends with a decorative knob; the catch-plate is rectangular and decorated with the motif of a triangle hatched with slanting lines, with a concentric circle on either side; the socket was formed by bending it inwards.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
 Lit.: Popescu 1945, 488, fig. 2. 9; Lerat 1956, T. VII. 131-134; Marović 1959, fig. 14. 3, fig. 22. 3, fig. 25. 2, fig. 38. 1; Košćević 1980, T. VI. 39; Feugère 1985, T. 130. 1629; Riha 1994, T. 21. 2296, 2298, T. 22. 2314; Lacabe 1995, T. 45. 333; Mazur 1998, T. 10. 121-125; Ivčević 2003, 160, fig. 10.; Ivčević 2007, 260, kat. br. 22

S. I.

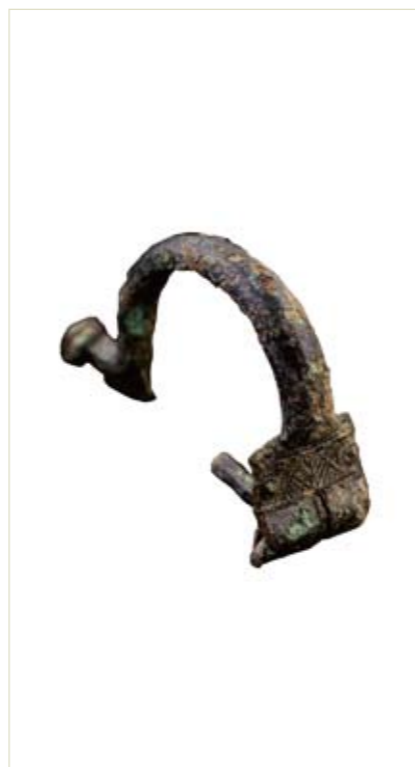
75. Belt buckle with a fitting

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-897
 bronze
 length: 3 cm, width: 4.2 cm, thickness: 0.4 cm
 4th cent.

Belt buckle with a preserved fitting. The buckle frame is oval and has a pin of a semi-circular cross-section, bent at the tip. The pin is attached to the axis of the buckle frame by a curved hook. The buckle fitting is attached to the axis. The fitting was attached to the belt by two rivets, one of which—circular—has been preserved. The outer edges of the fitting are damaged.

Publication: unpublished
 Lit.: Košćević 1991, 68, fig. 452.; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 219, T. 137, 5

A. L.



76. Belt buckle with a fitting

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-898
 bronze
 length: 3.8 cm, width: 5.3 cm, thickness: 0.5 cm
 2nd half of the 3rd cent. – 4th cent.

Belt buckle with a preserved fitting. The buckle frame is oval and elongated, with a circular cross-section in the shape of letter D. The pin is attached to the axis of the buckle frame by a curved hook. Double rectangular buckle fitting is attached to the axis. The fitting is decorated with incised horizontal and vertical incisions, and with a series of punched circles with dots in the middle. The fitting was attached to the belt by three rivets, of which two rivets with holes have been preserved. Bordering grooves are visible on the outer edges of the fitting, which are damaged at places.

Publication: unpublished
 Lit.: Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 322 (Podgrade Asseria); Košćević 1991, 67, fig. 451; Radman-Livaja 2004, 97, T. 49. 344; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 218-219, fig. 137. 4

A. L.

77. Buckle frame

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-887
 bronze
 length: 2.8 cm, width: 2 cm, thickness: 0.5 cm
 5th-6th cent.

D-shaped buckle frame, of oval shape and circular cross-section; the axis for the pin is thinned, the pin is missing.

Publication: unpublished
 Lit.: Višić-Ljubić 1994, 234, br. 23; Piteša 2009, 37-38, kat. br. 50, 52-53

A. L.

76. Pojasna kopča s okovom

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-898
 bronca
 dužina: 3,8 cm, širina: 5,3 cm, debljina: 0,5 cm
 druga pol. 3. – 4. st.

Pojasna kopča sa sačuvanim okovom. Predica kopče ovalnog je, izduženog, kružnog presjeka u obliku slova D. Trn je svinutom kukom pričvršćen na osovinu predice. Na osovinu je pričvršćen dvostruki četvrtasti okov kopče. Okov je ukrašen urezanim vodoravnim i okomitim urezima te nizom punciranih krugova s točkicama u sredini. Okov se spajao s remenom s tri zakovice, od kojih su sačuvane dvije zakovice na rupicama. Na vanjskim rubovima okova, koji su mjestimično oštećeni, vidljive su obrubne brazdice.

Objava: neobjavljeno
 Lit.: Nedved 1981, 180, fig. 8. 322 (Podgrade Asseria); Košćević 1991, 67, fig. 451; Radman-Livaja 2004, 97, T. 49. 344; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 218-219, fig. 137. 4

A. L.

77. Predica

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-887
 bronca
 dužina: 2,8 cm, širina: 2 cm, debljina: 0,5 cm
 5. -6. st.

Predica D-oblika, ovalnog je oblika i kružnog presjeka, osovinu za trn stanjena, trn nedostaje.

Objava: neobjavljeno
 Lit.: Višić-Ljubić 1994, 234, br. 23; Piteša 2009, 37-38, kat. br. 50, 52-53

A. L.

78. Amforasti pojasni jezičac

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1925.,
AMS, H 4898
bronca
visina: 4,8 cm, širina: 2,1 cm, debljina:
0,2 cm
druga pol. 4. st - prva pol. 5. st.

Na sredini i s obje strane u gornjem dije-
lu bubrežasti je proboj, a cijela površina
prekrivena je utisnutim koncentričnim
kružnicama; sačuvan je samo jedan mali
dio ušice za vješanje ili zakovice.

Objavljeno: Ivčević 2005, str. 166, T. 1. 10.
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 6 (Mainz);
Henderson 1949, 129, T. XXXVI. 112-
113 (Richborough); Bullinger 1969, T.
XII. 1-1a (Salona); T. XIII. 5-5a (Car-
nuntum); Burger 1969, fig. 116, grob
270, 6 (Ságvár); Sagadin 1979, 315, T.
10. 4 (Ptuj), T. 10, 6 (Čepna); Koščević
1991, 70, T. XXVII. 379 (Sisak); Višić-
Ljubić 1994, 227, 231, kat. br. 7 (Salo-
na); Buora 2002, 196, T. V. 53 (Aqui-
leia); Rendić-Miočević et alii 2003, 30-
31, fig. 251

S. I.

79. Amforasti pojasni jezičac

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1898.,
AMS, H 3671
bronca;
visina: 3,6 cm, širina: 1,8 cm, debljina:
0,1 cm
druga pol. 4. st. - prva pol. 5. st.

Prednja strana ukrašena je urezanim
koncentričnim kružnicama i valovitim
linijama; vrh jezičca je oštećen pa nije
moguće ustvrditi je li se učvršćivao vje-
šanjem ili zakovicama.

Objavljeno: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 11
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 6 (Ma-
inz); Burger 1969, fig. 107, grob 175,
1 (Ságvár); Sagadin 1979, 315, T. 10. 4
(Ptuj), 6 (Čepna); Koščević 1991, 70, T.
XXVII, 379 (Sisak); Višić-Ljubić 1994,
227, 231, kat. br. 5 (Salona); Buora
2002, 196, T. V, 51 (Aquilaia); Rendić-
Miočević et alii 2003, 30-31, fig. 251

S. I.

78. Amphora-shaped belt strap end
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1925, AMS, H 4898
bronze
height: 4.8 cm, width: 2.1 cm, thickness: 0.2
cm
2nd half of the 4th cent. – first half of the 5th
cent.

There is a kidney-shaped openwork design in
the centre and on either side in upper part,
and the entire surface is covered with im-
pressed concentric circles; only a small part of
the suspension loop or a rivet has remained.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, p. 166, T. 1. 10.
Lit.: Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8. 6 (Mainz);
Henderson 1949, 129, T. XXXVI. 112-113
(Richborough); Bullinger 1969, T. XII. 1-1a
(Salona); T. XIII. 5-5a (Carnuntum); Burger
1969, fig. 116, grob 270, 6 (Ságvár); Sagadin
1979, 315, T. 10. 4 (Ptuj), T. 10, 6 (Čepna);
Koščević 1991, 70, T. XXVII. 379 (Sisak);
Višić-Ljubić 1994, 227, 231, kat. br. 7 (Sa-
lona); Buora 2002, 196, T. V. 53 (Aquilaia);
Rendić-Miočević et alii 2003, 30- 31, fig.
251

S. I.

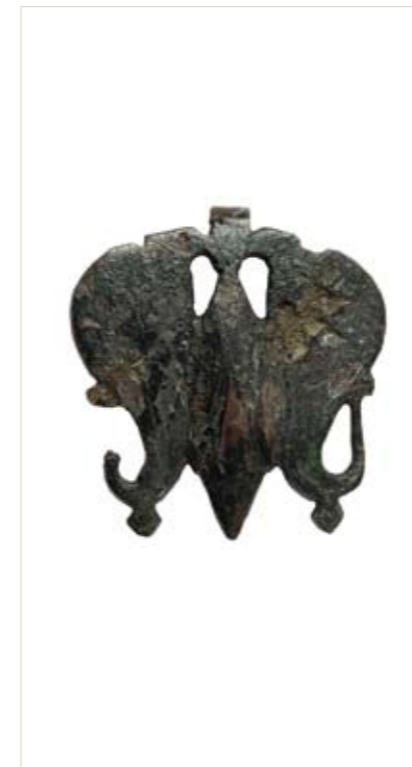
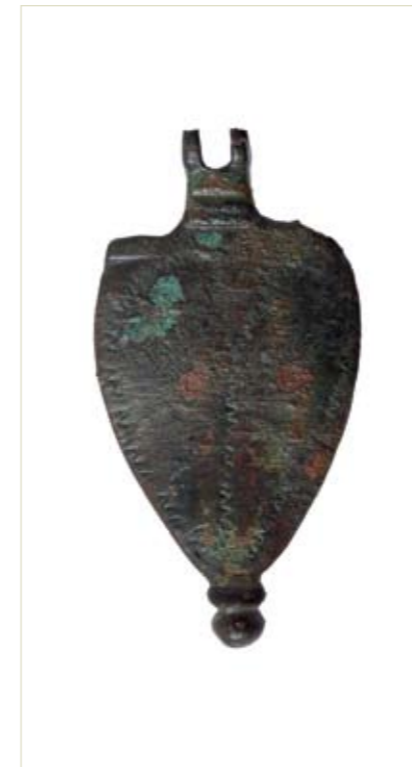
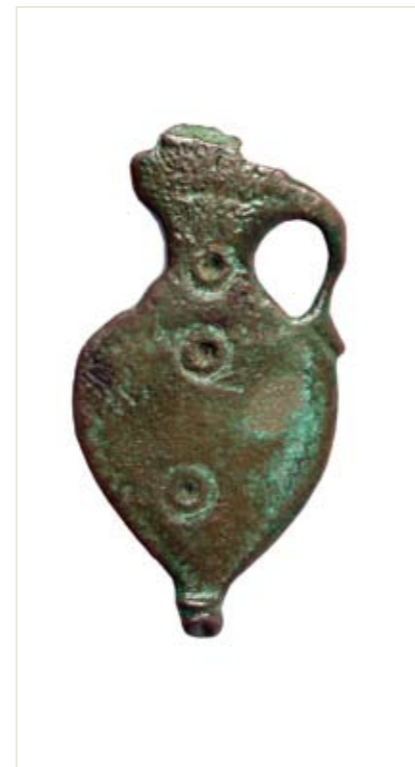
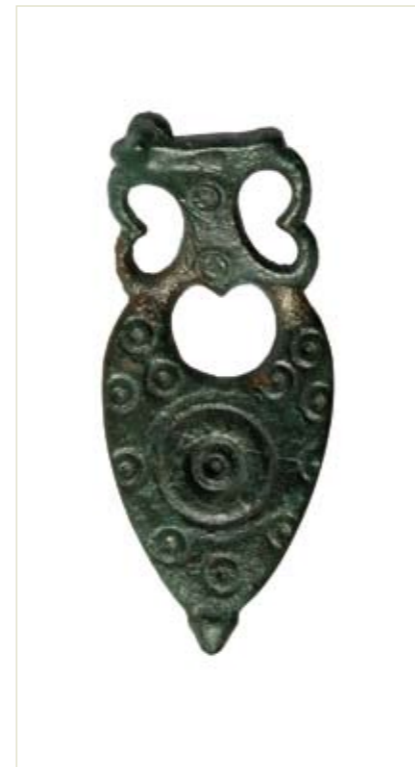
79. Amphora-shaped belt strap end

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1898, AMS, H 3671
bronze
height: 3.6 cm, width: 1.8 cm, thickness: 0.1
cm
2nd half of the 4th cent. – first half of the 5th
cent.

The front is decorated with incised concen-
tric circles and wavelines; the tip of the strap
end is damaged, so it is impossible to ascer-
tain whether it was attached by suspension
or rivets.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 11
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 6 (Mainz);
Burger 1969, fig. 107, grob 175, 1 (Ságvár);
Sagadin 1979, 315, T. 10. 4 (Ptuj), 6
(Čepna); Koščević 1991, 70, T. XXVII, 379
(Sisak); Višić-Ljubić 1994, 227, 231, kat. br.
5 (Salona); Buora 2002, 196, T. V, 51 (Aq-
uileia); Rendić-Miočević et alii 2003, 30-31,
fig. 251

S. I.



80. Amphora-shaped belt strap end
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1892, AMS, H 3035
bronze
height: 6 cm, width: 3.1 cm,
thickness: 0.2 cm
2nd half of the 4th cent. – first half of the 5th
cent.

The front is decorated with incised wavelines
and ends with a decorative knob; the loop is
cast; the strap end consists of two pieces; the
fitting has not been preserved

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 12
Lit.: Sagadin 1979, 315, T. 10. 7 (Ptuj)

S. I.

**81. Three-part leaf-shaped pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1887, AMS, H 2125
bronze
height: 3.6 cm, width: 3,35 cm
1st cent.

Three-part leaf-shaped pendant; the suspen-
sion loop was made by bending toward the
back of the pendant, there is a groove on ei-
ther side of the shoulder, the central part has
a triangular ending, ending in the shape of a
palmette on both sides; there are two open-
ings on the upper part of the pendant, the
surface is decorated with irregular incised
lines, and the motif is not discernible. It
belongs to type Bishop 1, variant 1s. They
appear from the Claudian to the Flavian pe-
riod, after which they mostly went out of use.
They were hung on the straps by phalerae,
and they are almost invariably decorated
with incision, silvering and niello. There are
many variants of their shape, the central part
is generally leaf-shaped, and the basic decora-
tive motifs are vegetable.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Dixon &Southern 1992, 69, fig. 38:
Vanden Berghe 1996, 89, T. 17. 4; Unz
&Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 51, 1390.

S. I.

80. Amforasti pojasni jezičac
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1892.,
AMS, H 3035
bronca
visina: 6 cm, širina: 3,1 cm,
debljina: 0,2 cm
druga pol. 4. st - prva pol. 5. st.

Prednja strana ukrašena je urezanim
valovitim linijama i završava kuglastim
ukrasom; ušica je izvedena lijevanjem;
jezičac je bio dvodijelan; okov nije saču-
van

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 12
Lit.: Sagadin 1979, 315, T. 10. 7 (Ptuj)

S. I.

**81. Trodijelni listoliki privjesak
konjske orme**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1887.,
AMS, H 2125
bronca
visina: 3,6 cm, širina: 3,35 cm
1. st.

Trodijelni listoliki privjesak, ušica za
vješanje izrađena je savijanjem prema
poledini privjeska, na ramenima je sa
svake strane po jedan otvor, središnji dio
završava trokutasto, na obje strane zavr-
šava u obliku palmete, na gornjem dijelu
privjeska su dva otvora, na površini su
urezane linije ali su nepravilne i nije vid-
ljiv motiv. Pripada tipu Bishop 1, vari-
janti 1s. Javljaju se od klaudivjevskog do
flavijevskog vremena, nakon čega uglav-
nom izlaze iz upotrebe. Na remenje su se
vješali pomoću falere, a gotovo redovito
su ukrašeni urezivanjem, posrebnjem i
nijelom. Postoje brojne varijante u obli-
ku, uglavnom je središnji dio poput lista,
a osnovni motivi ukrasa su biljni.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Dixon &Southern 1992, 69, fig. 38:
Vanden Berghe 1996, 89, T. 17. 4; Unz
&Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 51, 1390.

S. I.

82. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (Tilurium), 1892.,
AMS, H 3128
bronca
visina: 4,4 cm, širina: 1,2 cm
1. st.

Listoliki privjesak, rubovi izduženog privjeska su valoviti, ušica je izrađena savijanjem prema poledini, na donjem kraju kuglasti ukras. Pripada tipu Bishop 4, premda se ne podudara u potpunosti s ponuđenim Bishopovim varijantama, kao ni ranije objavljeni privjesci tog tipa iz Garduna što ne čudi s obzirom na činjenicu da je raznolikost karakteristična za taj tip privjeska, te se unutar osnovnog tipa (izduženi oblik valovitih rubova s kuglastim ukrasom na dnu i kukicom za vješanje na vrhu) privjesci međusobno razlikuju po obliku i ukrasu. Datiraju se od klaudivijskog razdoblja do početka 2. st. Neki autori primjerke slične našima stavljaju u skupinu kopljastih.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 26. 523; Radman – Livaja 2004a, 216, T. 67. 491; Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 22; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 56. 1533-1535; Šeparović & Uroda 2009, 47, fig. 74.

S. I.

83. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, MCK-B-872
bronca
visina: 5,3 cm, širina: 2,7, debljina: 0,3 cm
1. st.

Privjesak u obliku lista s ušicom savijenom prema natrag. Ukrašen je urezanim linijama, a vidljivi su tragovi pokositrenja. Dno privjeska završava kuglastim ukrasom.

Objava: neobjavljen
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 49, T. XIII, 202-204; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 41, T. 56, 1555, 1556 (Vindonissa); Šeparović 2003, 242, T. 5. 2.8

A. L.

82. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1892, AMS, H 3128
bronze
height: 4.4 cm, width: 1.2 cm
1st cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant, the elongated pendant has undulated edges, the loop is formed by bending toward the back, the lower end has a decorative knob. It belongs to type Bishop 4, even though it does not match entirely the variants offered by Bishop, same as the previously published pendants of that type from Gardun. This is not surprising considering that variety is a characteristic mark of this pendant type, and within the basic type (elongated form with undulating edges with a decorative knob at the end and a suspension hook at the top) the pendants are distinguished by form and decoration. They are dated from the Claudian period until the beginning of the 2nd cent. Some authors place pieces similar to ours into the group of spear-shaped pendants.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 26. 523; Radman – Livaja 2004a, 216, T. 67. 491; Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 22; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 56. 1533-1535; Šeparović & Uroda 2009, 47, fig. 74.

S. I.

83. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, MCK-B-872
bronze
height: 5.3 cm, width: 2.7 cm, thickness: 0.3 cm
1st cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant with a loop bent backwards. It is decorated with incised lines, with visible traces of tinning. The base of the pendant ends with a decorative knob.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 49, T. XIII, 202-204; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 41, T. 56, 1555, 1556 (Vindonissa); Šeparović 2003, 242, T. 5. 2. 8

A. L.

**84. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), MCK, B-866
bronze
length: 3.1 cm, width: 2.4 cm
1st cent.

Openwork leaf-shaped pendant, the suspension loop broke off but the beginning of the loop is preserved, there are four circular openings forming a square at the beginning of each leaf. Edges are damaged but follow the segmented form of the leaf. The surface is corroded.

Publication: unpublished
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 147, fig. 45. 4a, 4b; Koščević 1991, 52-53, 306-308; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 42, T. 59. 1650; Deschler-Erb 1999, 168, T. 28. 558-559.

A. L.

85. Pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, AMS-70561
bronze
height: 4.6 cm, height with button: 6.65 cm, width: 2.4 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent. – 2nd cent.

Drop-shaped pendant ending with a decorative knob, the loop at the top was made by bending backwards, the circular head of the button with the loop, used to attach the pendant to the belt, is missing a small piece.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16; Unz 1974, 39, fig. 11. 131; fig. 12. 133; Nedved 1981, 157, fig. 2. 71; Deimel 1987, T. 83. 2; Koščević 1991, T. XIII. 204; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 55. 1479; Voirol 2000, 55, T. 13. 113; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 30. 589, 594; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 5. 7; Šeparović & Uroda 2009, 45, fig. 64

S. I.

84. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-866
bronca
dužina: 3,1 cm, širina: 2,4 cm
1. st.

Privjesak listolikog oblika izrađen tehnikom na proboj, s odlomljenom ušicom za vješanje, sačuvan početak ušice, na početku svakog listića nalaze se četiri kružna proboja raspoređena tako da tvore kvadrat. Rubovi su oštećeni, ali prate raščlanjenu formu lista. Površina je prekrivena korozijom.

Objava: neobjavljen
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 147, fig. 45. 4a, 4b; Koščević 1991, 52-53, 306-308; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 42, T. 59. 1650; Deschler-Erb 1999, 168, T. 28. 558-559.

A. L.

85. Privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (Tilurium), AMS, AMS-70561
bronca
visina: 4,6 cm, visina s gumbom: 6,65 cm, širina: 2,4 cm
druga pol. 1. st. - 2. st.

Privjesak je u obliku suze, završava kuglastim ukrasom, na vrhu je ušica koja je izrađena savijanjem prema poledini, glava gumba s ušicom, pomoću kojeg je privjesak bio učvršćen za remen, je kružnog oblika, nedostaje manji dio.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16; Unz 1974, 39, fig. 11. 131; fig. 12. 133; Nedved 1981, 157, fig. 2. 71; Deimel 1987, T. 83. 2; Koščević 1991, T. XIII. 204; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 55. 1479; Voirol 2000, 55, T. 13. 113; Deschler – Erb 1999, T. 30. 589, 594; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 5. 7; Šeparović & Uroda 2009, 45, fig. 64

S. I.

86. Privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885.,
AMS, H 1596

bronca

visina: 7,5 cm, širina: 3,35 cm

druga pol. 1. st. - 2. st.

Privjesak je u obliku suze, završava kružnim otvorom koji je služio za vješanje nekog ukrasa, ušica za vješanje, u obliku ptičje glave, je izrađena savijanjem prema naprijed, a prijelaz iz gornjeg u donji dio tijela snažnije naglašen nego je slučaj s privjescima tipa Bishop 5. Navedene razlike ukazuju na vezu s ptičolikim privjescima. U Vindonissi postoji skupina privjesaka s ušicom u obliku ptičje glave kojima su tijela, premda u osnovi suzolika, međusobno variraju u obliku

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)

Literatura: Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 54. 1531; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 1. 8; Ivčević 2008, 218, T. I, 3

S. I.

87. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885.,
AMS, H 1612

bronca

visina: 2,35 cm, širina: 1,7 cm

druga pol. 1. st.

Privjesak pripada jednoj varijanti listolikih privjesaka, ušica za vješanje izrađena je savijanjem prema poledini, donji dio nedostaje, ukras urezanim linijama i bubrežastim probojima. Rijetko se nalaze na rimskim lokalitetima, a i međusobno pokazuju neke razlike. Nešto su bolje zastupljeni na području zapadne Galije, pa im se tamo smješta porijeklo. Datirani su u flavijevsko razdoblje, odnosno u drugu pol. 1. st. Slični su privjesci koji se mogu svrstati u tip Bishop 5 i kojima je oblik tijela u osnovi suzolik i sužava se prema donjem dijelu. S obzirom na to da gardunskom primjerku nedostaje donji dio, moramo ostaviti mogućnost da je pripadao tom tipu.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)

Lit.: Unz 1974, fig. 11. 132; Oldenstein 1976, T. 30. 207; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 56. 1555-1556; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 28. 574; Poux & Robin 2000, 205, fig. 16. 5; Matešić 2005, 111, T. 13. 180; Koščević 2008, 261, fig. 50

S. I.

86. Pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885, AMS, H 1596
bronze

height: 7.5 cm, width: 3.35 cm

2nd half of the 1st cent. – 2nd cent.

Drop-shaped pendant ending with a round opening on which a decorative object was suspended; the suspension loop in the shape of a bird's head was made by bending backwards, and the transition from the upper to the lower part is more strongly pronounced than is usual for Bishop 5 type pendants. The mentioned differences point to the connection with the bird-shaped pendants. Vindonissa yielded a group of pendants with a bird-shaped loop whose bodies—essentially drop-shaped—feature different shapes.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)

Literatura: Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 54. 1531; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 1. 8; Ivčević 2008, 218, T. I, 3

S. I.

87. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1885, AMS, H 1612
bronze

height: 2.35 cm, width: 1.7 cm

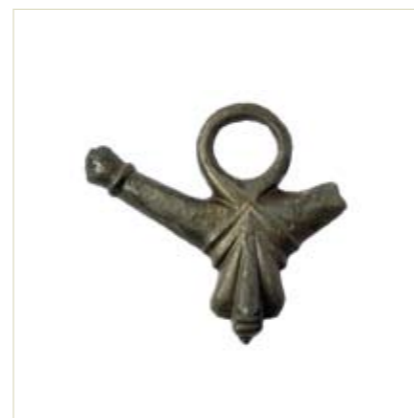
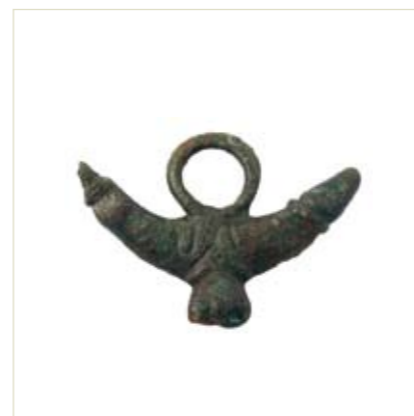
2nd half of the 1st cent.

The pendant belongs to a variant of leaf-shaped pendants, the suspension loop is made by bending backwards, the lower part is missing, the decoration is executed with incised lines and kidney-shaped perforations. These pendants are rarely found on Roman sites, and the type features certain differences. They appear in somewhat larger number in western Gaul, which is why scholars trace their origin there. They are dated to the Flavian period, that is, the second half of the 1st cent. Similar pendants are attributable to Bishop's type 5, with a basically drop-shaped body tapering towards the lower part. In view of the fact that the Gardun piece lacks the lower part we have to leave open the possibility that it belonged to that type.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)

Lit.: Unz 1974, fig. 11. 132; Oldenstein 1976, T. 30. 207; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 56. 1555-1556; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 28. 574; Poux & Robin 2000, 205, fig. 16. 5; Matešić 2005, 111, T. 13. 180; Koščević 2008, 261, fig. 50

S. I.



88. Lunate pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1897, AMS, H 3556
bronze

height: 4.6 cm, width: 3.9 cm

Augustan-Tiberian period

Lunate pendant with down-facing arms ending with a decorative knob; the central palmette-shaped decoration is hinged to the phalera.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)

Literatura: Voiron 2000, 52, T. 10. 89; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 48. 1319; Müller 2002, T. 51. 557; Fahr 2005, 129, fig. 9. 5

S. I.

89. Lunate pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1897, AMS, H 3557
bronze

length: 6.7 cm, height: 4.55 cm

1st cent.

Upward-facing lunule ornament, with a fist on one side and a phallus on the other; incised lines are on the front.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)

Lit.: Unz 1972, 58, fig. 7. 71; Franken 1996, 109, fig. 207.; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 27, 539-540; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 58. 1616; Müller 2002, T. 46. 515

S. I.

90. Lunate pendant from a horse harness

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1914, AMS, H 4612
bronze

length: 5.7 cm, height: 5.2 cm

1st cent.

Upward-facing lunule ornament, on one side is a fist, the other arm is missing, the suspension loop is ring-shaped.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)

Lit.: Unz 1972, 58, fig. 7. 71; Franken 1996, 109, fig. 207.; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 27, 539-540; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 58. 1616; Müller 2002, T. 46. 515

S. I.

88. Lunulasti privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1897.,
AMS, H 3556

bronca

visina: 4, 6 cm, širina: 3,9 cm

augustovsko-tiberijsko doba

Lunulasti privjesak, krakovi su mu okrenuti na dolje i završavaju kuglastim ukrasom, u sredini ukras u obliku palmete, zglobom povezan s falerom.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)

Literatura: Voiron 2000, 52, T. 10. 89; Unz & Deschler – Erb 1997, T. 48. 1319; Müller 2002, T. 51. 557; Fahr 2005, 129, fig. 9. 5

S. I.

89. Lunulasti privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1897.,
AMS, H 3557

bronca

dužina: 6,7 cm, visina: 4, 55 cm

1. st.

Lunula je okrenuta prema gore, s jedne strane je šaka, a s druge falus, s prednje strane urezane su linije.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)

Lit.: Unz 1972, 58, fig. 7. 71; Franken 1996, 109, fig. 207.; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 27, 539-540; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 58. 1616; Müller 2002, T. 46. 515

S. I.

90. Lunulasti privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1914.,
AMS, H 4612

bronca

dužina: 5,7 cm, visina: 5,2 cm

1. st.

Lunula je okrenuta prema gore, s jedne strane je šaka, a drugi krak nedostaje, ušica za vješanje je prstenasta.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)

Lit.: Unz 1972, 58, fig. 7. 71; Franken 1996, 109, fig. 207.; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 27, 539-540; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 58. 1616; Müller 2002, T. 46. 515

S. I.

**91. Listoliko-srcoliki privjesak
konjske orme**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1902.,
AMS, H 4013
bronca
visina: 4,9 cm, širina: 2,3 cm,
debljina: 0,1 cm,
druga pol. 1. st.-početak 2. st.

Listoliki privjesak, s donje strane mu je kuglasti završetak, ušica za vješanje nije sačuvana.

Objavljeno: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 17.
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16 (Mainz); Lawson 1978, 150, fig. 9. 8 (Rottweil); Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 71 (Ivoševci); von Schnurbein 1983, fig. 8. 11 (Friedberg); Koščević 1991, 49, T. XIII. 204 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 41, 44, T. 55. 1504, 1511-1512 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 24, T. 13. 113 (Avenches); Istenič 2000, 173, 172, T. 112. grob 539, 8, (Ptuj); Šeparović 2003, 224, T. 5. 2 (Gardun)

S. I.

**92. Trodijelni listoliki privjesak
konjske orme**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1914.,
AMS, H 4617
bronca
visina: 7 cm, širina: 6,3 cm,
debljina: 0,1 cm
druga pol. 1. st.

Na gornjem dijelu privjeska su dvije perforacije u obliku pelte, a takve tvore i postranični krakovi koji se uvijaju prema van i ponovno spajaju s privjeskom, srednji krak završava u obliku palmete, a postranični se sužavaju prema vrhu, prednja strana ukrašena je urezanim vegetabilnim motivima, a uz rub točkastim linijama, na nekoliko mjesta vidljivi ostaci posrebrjenja, na vrhu privjeska je ušica, koja je služila za učvršćivanje privjeska na faleru.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 19
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 178, T. XII. 37 (Hofheim); Petru 1972, T. XCV. 21 (Ljubljana); Boube-Piccot 1964, 159, fig. 1. 6 (Tarragona); Lawson 1978, 15, fig. 9. 7-8 (Newstead); Koščević 1991, 49, T. XV. 220 (Sisak); Mackensen 1991, 174, fig. 4. 4 (Magdalensberg); Dixon & Southern 1992, 69, fig. 38 (Rottweil); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 51, 1384 (Vindonissa); Šeparović 2003, 243, T. 5. 2 (Gardun); Ivčević 2004, 237, 241, fig. 9. (Narona)

S. I.

**91. Leaf-shaped and cordate pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1902, AMS, H 4013
bronze
height: 4.9 cm, width: 2.3 cm,
thickness: 0.1 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent. – beginning of the
2nd cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant with a spherical ending on the lower side, the suspension loop is not preserved.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 17.
Lit.: Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16 (Mainz); Lawson 1978, 150, fig. 9. 8 (Rottweil); Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 71 (Ivoševci); von Schnurbein 1983, fig. 8. 11 (Friedberg); Koščević 1991, 49, T. XIII. 204 (Sisak); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 41, 44, T. 55. 1504, 1511-1512 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 24, T. 13. 113 (Avenches); Istenič 2000, 173, 172, T. 112. grave 539, 8, (Ptuj); Šeparović 2003, 224, T. 5. 2 (Gardun)

S. I.

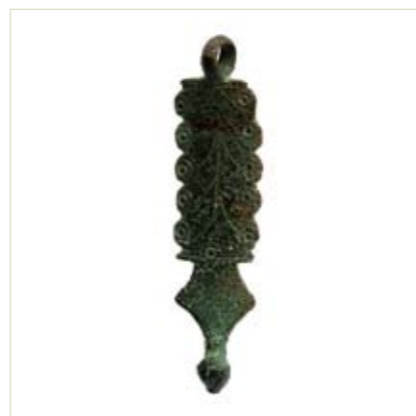
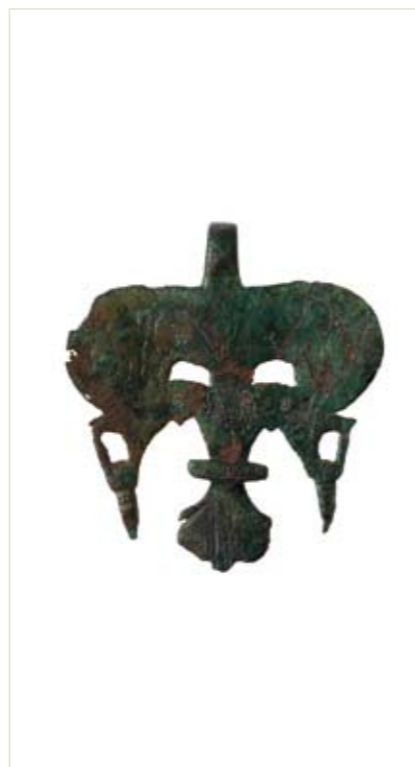
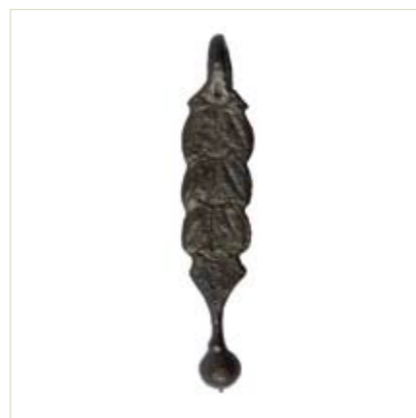
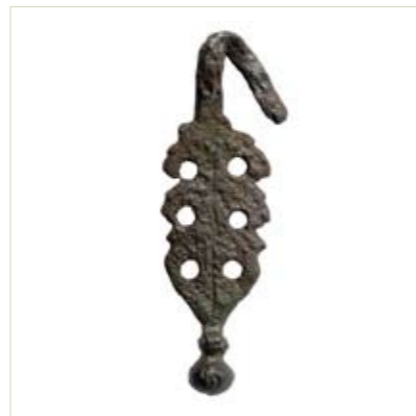
**92. Three-part leaf-shaped pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1914, AMS, H 4617
bronze
height: 7 cm, width: 6.3 cm,
thickness: 0.1 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent.

There are two peltate perforations on the upper part of the pendant, and the same design is formed by lateral arms that curl outwards and again connect with the pendant; the middle arm ends in the shape of a palmette, while the lateral ones taper towards the top; the front is decorated with incised vegetable motifs and with dotted lines along the edge; remains of silvering are visible at several places; a loop at the top of the pendant served for fixing the pendant to the phalera.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 19
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 178, T. XII. 37 (Hofheim); Petru 1972, T. XCV. 21 (Ljubljana); Boube-Piccot 1964, 159, fig. 1. 6 (Tarragona); Lawson 1978, 15, fig. 9. 7-8 (Newstead); Koščević 1991, 49, T. XV. 220 (Sisak); Mackensen 1991, 174, fig. 4. 4 (Magdalensberg); Dixon & Southern 1992, 69, fig. 38 (Rottweil); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 51, 1384 (Vindonissa); Šeparović 2003, 243, T. 5. 2 (Gardun); Ivčević 2004, 237, 241, fig. 9. (Narona)

S. I.



**93. Leaf-shaped pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6178
bronze
height: 3.7 cm, width: 1.1 cm,
thickness: 0.1 cm
1st cent.

Pendant with undulating edges, there are three circular openings along the edge on either side, a spherical ending at the base, the front is decorated with incised lines, the suspension loop created by bending the wire back on itself.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 20
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2, 20 (Mainz); Unz 1972, 47, fig. 6. 63 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67 (Ivoševci); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 55, 1524 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

**94. Leaf-shaped pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6179
bronze
height: 4.3 cm, width: 0.9 cm,
thickness: 0.15 cm
1st cent.

Pendant with undulating edges, the front is decorated with incised lines and dots, the end is spherical, the loop formed by bending the wire upon itself.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 2. 22
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 56. 1533 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

**95. Leaf-shaped pendant
from a horse harness**

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1889, AMS, H 2482
bronze
height: 4.8 cm, width: 1.25 cm,
thickness: 0.1 cm
1st cent.

Pendant with undulating edges decorated with concentric circles, the front is decorated with incised lines, the lower part of the pendant is flattened in the form of a rhomb, ending with a decorative knob, the loop consists of a bent wire.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 23.
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, str. 47, T. 56, 1537 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

93. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6178
bronca
visina: 3,7 cm, širina: 1,1 cm,
debljina: 0,1 cm
1. st.

Rubovi privjeska su valoviti, sa svake strane uz rub su tri kružna otvora, na dnu kuglasti završetak, prednja strana ukrašena urezanim linijama, ušica za vješanje izvedena savijanjem žice.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 20
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2, 20 (Mainz); Unz 1972, 47, fig. 6. 63 (Vindonissa); Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67 (Ivoševci); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 55, 1524 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

94. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, H 6179
bronca
visina: 4,3 cm, širina: 0,9 cm,
debljina: 0,15 cm
1. st.

Rubovi privjeska su valoviti, prednja strana ukrašena urezanim linijama i točkama, kuglasti završetak, ušica izvedena savijanjem žice.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 2. 22
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 56. 1533 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

95. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme

Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1889.,
AMS, H 2482
bronca
visina: 4,8 cm, širina: 1,25 cm,
debljina: 0,1 cm
1. st.

Rubovi su valoviti i ukrašeni koncentričnim kružnicama, prednja strana ukrašena urezanim linijama, u donjem dijelu privjesak je raskovan u obliku romba, završava kuglastim ukrasom, ušica izvedena savijanjem žice.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 23.
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, str. 47, T. 56, 1537 (Vindonissa)

S. I.

96. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2002., MTK 996
bronca
visina: 3,9 cm, širina: 1,5 cm, debljina: 0,1 cm
druga pol. 1. st - početak 2. st.

Privjesak u obliku lista, sa svake strane uz rub su tri kružna otvora, na dnu bikonični završetak, prednja strana je ukrašena urezanim linijama, ušica za vješanje nedostaje.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 20; Unz 1972, 47, fig. 6. 63; Unz 1974, T. 12. 142; Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1524; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 20, 167, T. 2. 21; Radman-Livaja 2004, 216, T. 67. 488

S. I.

97. Listoliko - sroliki privjesak konjske orme
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2003., MTK 998
bronca
visina: 3 cm, širina: 1,5 cm, debljina: 0,1 cm
druga pol. 1. st.- prva četvrtina 2. st.

Privjesak u obliku lista ukrašen s tri kružna otvora, na dnu bikonični završetak.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Bekić 1998, 241, T. 4. 7; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1503, 1510; Istenič 2000, 372, T. 112. grob 539, 8; Koščević 1991, T. XIII. 204; Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2, 71; Unz 1974, T. 12. 133; Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16

S. I.

96. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2002, MTK 996
bronze
height: 3.9 cm, width: 1.5 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent., beginning of the 2nd cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant, there are three circular openings along the edge on either side, the end is biconical, the front is decorated with incised lines, the suspension loop is missing.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Behrens 1914, 68, fig. 2. 20; Unz 1972, 47, fig. 6. 63; Unz 1974, T. 12. 142; Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2. 67; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1524; Ivčević 2004, 166, T. 1. 20, 167, T. 2. 21; Radman-Livaja 2004, 216, T. 67. 488

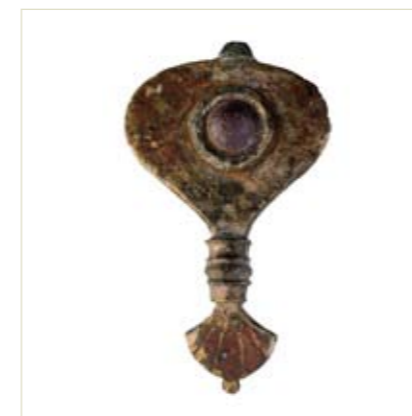
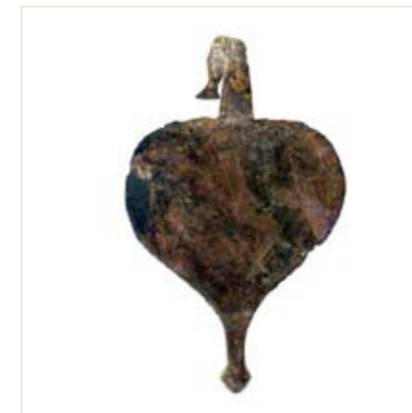
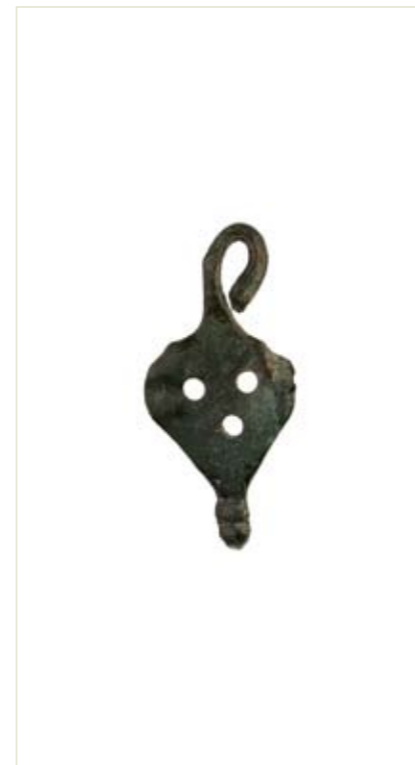
S. I.

97. Leaf-shaped and cordate pendant from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2003, MTK 998
bronze
height: 3 cm, width: 1.5 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent. – 1st quarter of the 2nd cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant decorated with three circular openings, with a biconical ending.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Bekić 1998, 241, T. 4. 7; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1503, 1510; Istenič 2000, 372, T. 112. grob 539, 8; Koščević 1991, T. XIII. 204; Nedved 1981, 156, fig. 2, 71; Unz 1974, T. 12. 133; Behrens 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16

S. I.



98. Leaf-shaped and cordate pendant from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2006, MTK 1000
bronze
height: 3.1 cm, width: 1.3 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent. – 1st quarter of the 2nd cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant with two circular openings in the upper part and one opening in the lower part, the latter with a groove in the lower portion, the pendant ends with a knob.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 2; Müller 2002, T. 50. 552; Feugère, Poux 2002, str. 83, fig. 4. 15, 16; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1504; Koščević 1991, T. XIII, 205; Oldenstein 1977, T. 29. 192; Unz 1974, T. 12. 143.

S. I.

99. Pendant from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999, MTK 53
bronze
height: 5.2 cm, width: 3.1 cm, weight: 3.49 cm
1st cent.

The loop of the pendant consists of a bent wire, ending in the shape of a bird's head; the pendant tapers abruptly towards the biconical end.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 1.
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 157, fig. 2. 70; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 54. 1471, T. 55. 1529; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 5. 8; Ivčević 2008, 218, T. 1. 3

S. I.

100. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2000, MTK 40
bronze
height: 6.5 cm, width: 3.9 cm, weight: 19.34 cm
mid-1st cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant with a triple rib in the lower part, below which it widens in the shape of a palmette; a round-headed rivet is inserted into a circular background in the upper part.

Publication: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 4
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 48, 49; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 18.7, 8; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 50. 1372

S. I.

98. Listoliko - sroliki privjesak konjske orme
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2006. god., MTK 1000
bronca
vis. 3,1 cm, šir. 1,3 cm, deblj. 0,1 cm
druga pol. 1. st - prva četvrtina 2. st.
Privjesak u obliku lista, na gornjem dijelu dva kružna otvora, a na donjem jedan kojemu je s donje strane utor, kuglasti završetak privjeska.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 2; Müller 2002, T. 50. 552; Feugère, Poux 2002, str. 83, fig. 4. 15, 16; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 55. 1504; Koščević 1991, T. XIII, 205; Oldenstein 1977, T. 29. 192; Unz 1974, T. 12. 143.

S. I.

99. Privjesak konjske orme
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1999., MTK 53
bronca
visina: 5,2 cm, širina: 3,1 cm, težina: 3,49 cm
1. st.
Ušica privjeska je izrađena savijanjem a završetak je ušice u obliku ptičje glave, u donjem dijelu se privjesak naglo sužava, a završetak mu je bikoničan.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 1.
Lit.: Nedved 1981, 157, fig. 2. 70; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 54. 1471, T. 55. 1529; Feugère & Poux 2001, 83, fig. 5. 8; Ivčević 2008, 218, T. 1. 3

S. I.

100. Listoliki privjesak konjske orme
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2000., MTK 40
bronca
visina: 6,5 cm, širina: 3,9 cm, težina: 19,34 g
sredina 1. st.

Listoliki privjesak u donjem dijelu ima trostruko rebro ispod kojeg se širi u obliku palmete, u gornjem dijelu zakovica okrugle glave umetnuta u kružnu podlogu.

Objava: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 4
Lit.: Koščević 1991, 48, 49; Zabehticky-Scheffenegger & Kandler 1979, T. 18.7, 8; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 50. 1372

S. I.

101. Okov konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium), 1902,
AMS, H 4049
bronca
dužina: 5,2 cm, širina: 1 cm,
debljina s trnom: 1 cm
1. st.

Krajevi okova su zaobljeni, prema sredini se sužava, a potom širi, središnji dio ukrašen urezima i konkavnim udubljenjima, sa stražnje strane na svakom kraju po jedan trn za pričvršćivanje za remen.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 16
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 173, T. XIII. 20 (Hofheim); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 63. 1817 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 26, T. 18. 78, 177 (Avenches)

S. I.

102. Okov konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium),
AMS, inv. br. H 6175
bronca
dužina: 4,9 cm, širina: 1,1 cm, debljina:
0,3 cm
1. st.

Kružni probušeni krajevi okova koji se prema sredini širi, na sredini krug sa središnjim kružnim otvorom, okov je zakrivljen tako da je sredina izdignuta.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 17
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 173, T. XIII. 16, 17 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8, 9 (Mainz); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 63. 1809, T. 64. 1820 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 26, T. 18. 78, 178 (Avenches)

S. I.

103. Okov konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium), 2002., MTK 1001
bronca
dužina: 5,3 cm, širina: 0,9 cm, debljina:
0,1 cm
1. st.

Dio okova u obliku četiri kružnice sa središnjim kružnim otvorom.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64. 1822; Ritterling 1913, T. XIII. 16-17

S. I.

101. Fitting from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 1902, AMS, H 4049
bronze
length: 5.2 cm, width: 1 cm,
thickness with the pin: 1 cm
1st cent.

Fitting with rounded endings, becomes narrower towards the middle and then widens; the central part is decorated with incisions and concave depressions; on either end on the back there is a pin by which it was attached to the strap.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 16
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 173, T. XIII. 20 (Hofheim); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 63. 1817 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 26, T. 18. 78, 177 (Avenches)

S. I.

102. Fitting from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), AMS, inv. no. H 6175
bronze
length: 4.9 cm, width: 1.1 cm,
thickness: 0.3 cm
1st cent.

Circular perforated ends of the fitting that widens towards the middle, in the centre is a circle with a central round opening, the fitting is curved so that the centre is raised.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 166, T. 1. 17
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, 173, T. XIII. 16, 17 (Hofheim); Behrens 1918, 28, fig. 8, 9 (Mainz); Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, 47, T. 63. 1809, T. 64. 1820 (Vindonissa); Voirol 2000, 26, T. 18. 78, 178 (Avenches)

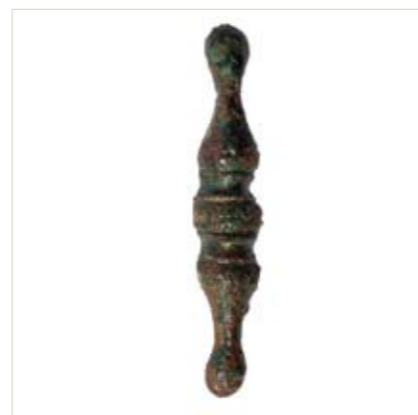
S. I.

103. Fitting from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2002, MTK 1001
bronze
length: 5.3 cm, width: 0.9 cm,
thickness: 0.1 cm
1st cent.

Part of a fitting in the shape of four circles with a central circular opening.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64. 1822; Ritterling 1913, T. XIII. 16-17

S. I.



104. Fitting from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005, MTK 1002
bronze
diameter of plaque: 3.5 cm, thickness of
plaque: 0.1 cm, length of rivet: 2.5 cm, di-
ameter of the head of the rivet: 1.1 cm
1st-4th cent.

The fitting consists of a plaque with five circular openings, four of which are placed along the edge, while the fifth is in the centre; a rivet with a biconical head, decorated with incised lines, passes through the central opening; the edge of the plaque is decorated with a series of incisions.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 8; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259, 260; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599

S. I.

105. Fitting from a horse harness strap
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2005, MTK 1003
bronze
diameter of plaque: 2.9 cm
1st-4th cent.

Round fitting with five circular openings, four along the edge and one in the middle, with a series of small incisions along the edge.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259, 260; Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 8

S. I.

106. Fitting from a horse harness
Gardun (*Tilurium*), 2003, MTK 1004
bronze
diameter of plaque: 3.2 cm, thickness of
plaque: 0.1 cm
1st-4th cent.

Round fitting with five circular openings, four along the edge and one in the middle, with a series of small incisions along the edge.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259-260

S. I.

104. Okov konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 1002
bronca
promjer pločice: 3,5 cm, debljina plo-
čice: 0,1 cm, dužina zakovice: 2,5 cm,
promjer glave zakovice: 1,1 cm
1-4. st.

Okov se sastoji od pločice s pet kružnih otvora, od čega su četiri uz rub, a jedna je na sredini, kroz središnji otvor provučena je zakovica bikonične glave, ukrašena urezanim linijama, pločica je uz rub ukrašena nizom ureza.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 8; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259, 260; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599

S. I.

105. Okov remena konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium), 2005., MTK 1003
bronca
promjer pločice: 2,9 cm
1-4. st.

Okrugli okov s pet kružnih otvora, od čega su četiri uz rub, a jedna je na sredini, uz rub pločice je niz sitnih ureza.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259, 260; Šeparović 2003, T. 5. 8

S. I.

106. Okov konjske orme
Gardun (Tilurium), 2003. god.,
MTK 1004
bronca
promjer pločice: 3,2 cm, debljina ploči-
ce: 0,1 cm
1-4. st.

Okrugli okov s pet kružnih otvora, od čega su četiri uz rub, a jedna je na sredini, uz rub pločice niz sitnih ureza.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Oldenstein 1977, T. 51. 599; Koščević 1991, T. XXX. 409; Alicu et alii 1994, T. 32. 672; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 74. 2274, 2294, 2296-2297; Voirol 2000, 64, T. 22. 259-260

S. I.

107. Okov za oglavnik
Gardun (Tilurium), 2003., MTK 1006
bronca
dužina: 5,6 cm, širina: 1,5 cm
2. st.

Okov listolikog oblika s donje strane ukrašen izvijenim viticama koje tvore bubrežasti ukras, sa stražnje strane trn, zglobni tuljac, pomoću kojeg je bila pričvršćena ušica za remen, je oštećen.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 27. 38;
Oldenstein 1977, T. 66. 867; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64. 1839

S. I.

108. Kopča remena sedla
Gardun (Tilurium), 2004., MTK 1007
bronca, željezo, kositar
visina: 3,2 cm, širina: 2,5 cm
1. st.

Četvrtasti okvir kopče pravokutnog presjeka, na bočnim krajevima kružno zadebljan i profiliran s gornje strane, s jedne strane vidljivi tragovi kositrenog premaza, ostaci prečke za iglu izrađeni su od željeza.

Objava: Ivčević 2010 (u pripremi)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XIV. 23; Werner 1970, 77, br. 1, T. 21. 18; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 67. 1922-1923; Dolenz 1998, 338, T. 30. M 281, M 282; Harnecker 1998, T. 67. 726

S. I.

107. Fitting from a headstrap
Gardun (Tilurium), 2003, MTK 1006
bronce
length: 5.6 cm, width: 1.5 cm
2nd cent.

Leaf-shaped pendant decorated in the lower part with curving tendrils forming a kidney-shaped ornament, with a pin on the back, the socket hinge by which the loop was attached to the strap is damaged.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Frere & Joseph 1974, fig. 27. 38; Oldenstein 1977, T. 66. 867; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64. 1839

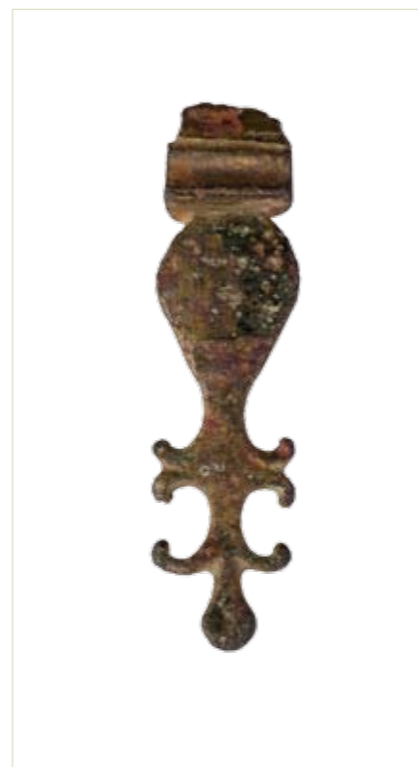
S. I.

108. Buckle from a saddle girth
Gardun (Tilurium), 2004, MTK 1007
bronce, iron, tin
height: 3.2 cm, width: 2.5 cm
1st cent.

Square frame of a buckle of a rectangular cross-section, with round swellings on lateral ends, profiled on the upper part; traces of tin coating are visible on one side; the remains of the pin bar are made of iron.

Publication: Ivčević 2010 (in preparation)
Lit.: Ritterling 1913, T. XIV. 23; Werner 1970, 77, br. 1, T. 21. 18; Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 67. 1922-1923; Dolenz 1998, 338, T. 30. M 281, M 282; Harnecker 1998, T. 67. 726

S. I.



109. Fitting from a saddle strap
Gardun (Tilurium), 1892, AMS, H 2958
bronce, tin
length: 9 cm, height: 5 cm
1st cent.

Openwork fitting from a saddle strap, with four loops belonging to a hinge on one side and with a missing edge on the other side. Eight rivets, five of which are preserved, were lined along the hinge of the fitting. Such fittings were usually used as decorative items on the straps hanging from the saddle. The peculiarity of the Gardun piece is that it is bent on one side and has loops for a hinge. They formed part of the equipment of early imperial horsemen. Securely dated specimens belong to the period from Tiberius to Nero, with tentative evidence of use during the Flavians.

Publication: Riegl 1901, T. XIV. 8
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 65. 1877, 1884; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 39. 732

S. I.

110. Dolabra (Roman military axe)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1926, AMS, H 4911
iron
length: 47 cm, length of blade of axe: 13.4 cm, diameter of the shaft hole: 5 x 3.5 cm, weight: 1900 g
1st cent.

The shaft hole is oval; a gently curved point is on one side and a flattened trapezoidal axe on the other. Dolabra (Roman military axe) was a part of military equipment, used for digging trenches, forest clearance, woodwork, construction works, but also as a weapon. Ancient writers mention it in military contexts. If we take into consideration the size and position of the point with regard to the axe, as well as the fact that it was found at Gardun, we can conclude that it was a military axe. The form of the shaft hole allows us to date it to the 1st cent.

Publication: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 30
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 118, fig. 68. 2, 5; Vanden Berghe 1996, 91, T. 18. 4; Hoffiller 1911, 174, fig. 17 (Sisak); Pietsch 1983, 16, 17, T. 3. 45 (Saalburg)

S. I.

109. Okov remenja sedla
Gardun (Tilurium), 1892.,
AMS, H 2958
bronca, kositar
dužina: 9 cm, visina: 5 cm
1. st.

Okov remenja sedla izrađen tehnikom na proboj, s jedne strane su četiri ušice šarke, a s druge strane nedostaje rub. Osam zakovica, od čega je sačuvano pet, nalazilo se u nizu uz zglob okova. Takvi su okovi obično služili kao ukras remenja koje je visilo sa sedla. Neobičnost je gardunskog primjerka što je s jedne strane savijen i ima ušice za zglob. Bili su dio opreme konjanika u ranocarsko doba. Sigurno datirani primjerci pripadaju vremenu od Tiberija do Nerona, a postoje naznake uporabe u flavijevsko doba.

Objava: Riegl 1901, T. XIV. 8
Lit.: Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 65. 1877, 1884; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 39. 732

S. I.

110. Dolabra (trnokop)
Gardun (Tilurium), 1926.,
AMS, H 4911
željezo
dužina: 47 cm, dužina sječiva sjekire: 13,4 cm, promjer otvora za nasad drške: 5 x 3,5 cm, težina 1900 g
1. st.

Rupa za nasad drške je ovalna; s jedne je strane blago povijeni trn, a s druge raskovana sjekira u obliku trapeza. Trnokop (dolabra) bio je dio vojne opreme, a rabio se za kopanje rovova, krčenje šume, obradu drva, građevinske radove, ali i kao oružje. U vojnom kontekstu spominju ga antički pisci. Uzmemo li u obzir veličinu i položaj trna u odnosu na sjekiru te činjenicu da je pronađen u Gardunu, možemo zaključiti da je riječ o vojnom trnokopu. Prema otvoru za nasad možemo ga datirati u 1. st.

Objava: Ivčević 2005, 167, T. 2. 30
Lit.: Bishop & Coulston 2006, 118, fig. 68. 2, 5; Vanden Berghe 1996, 91, T. 18. 4; Hoffiller 1911, 174, fig. 17 (Sisak); Pietsch 1983, 16, 17, T. 3. 45 (Saalburg)

S. I.

111. Kaserola (*trulla*)

Gardun(Tilurium), MCK, B-919
bronca

dimenzije: visina: 9,5 cm, promjer oboda: 16,1 cm, promjer dna: 9,4 cm, dužina ručke: 14,5 cm, širina ručke: 5,4 cm, debljina stijenke: 0,4 cm, težina: 858 g
2. st.

Kaserola je sačuvana u cijelosti. Tijelo posude je zaobljeno, a obod je izvijen prema van. Ispod oboda je pojas ukrašen paralelnim dvostrukim žljebovima. Drška je diskoidna, pravokutnog presjeka s perforiranim kružnim završetkom. Dno posude je ravno s nekoliko koncentričnih kružnica.

Objava: neobjavljeno

Lit.: Radnóti 1938, T. XXI. 6; Eggers 1951, T. 12. 142; Breščak 1982, 43, T. 2. 18; Milošević 2009, 178, fig. 18; Jovanović 2010; kat. br. 3.

A. L.

112. Reljef, tropej

Gardun (Tilurium), 1886.,
AMS, D 129

mramor
dužina: 136 cm, visina: 104 cm,
debljina: 24 cm
rano 1. st.

Reljefna ploča sa završetkom natpisnog polja i prikazom tropeja, činila je desni ugaio veće konstrukcije. Tropej je vjerojatno podignut u čast Tiberijeve pobjede nad pobunjenim Ilirima u ratu koji je trajao od 6. do 9. god. Nakon što je, 12. godine, zajedno s Germanikom proslavio trijumf u Rimu, Tiberije je vjerojatno svoju pobjedu ovjekovječio postavljanjem spomenika u Tiluriju - vojnom logoru VII legije.

Na bočnoj strani prikazan je bucranij s girlandama, a taj se motiv vjerojatno ponavljao u nizu cijelom dužinom bočne strane spomenika. Na prednjoj strani nalazilo se uokvireno natpisno polje kojem se s bočne strane nalazi vegetabilni ukras i figuralni prikaz, a ispod polja je friz oružja. Na prikazu se nalazi tropej s oružjem i vezanim barbarima. Zanimljiv je prikaz dvojice barbara s detaljno izrađenom odjećom i obućom te koja se međusobno bitno razlikuje, pa se pretpostavlja da su prikazani predstavnici pokorenih plemena koja su sudjelovala u ustanku protiv Rima; Dalmati i Panonci.

Lit.: Cambi 2005, 25, fig. 21 (ranije objave navedene su na str. 25. bilj 52); Sanader, Tončinić 2009, fig. 1

S. I.

111. Casserole (*trulla*)

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, B-919
bronz

dimensions: height: 9.5 cm, rim diameter: 16.1 cm, base diameter: 9.4 cm, length of handle: 14.5 cm, width of handle: 5.4 cm, wall thickness: 0.4 cm, weight: 858 g
2nd cent.

Entirely preserved casserole with a rounded body and an everted rim. A strip decorated with parallel double grooves runs below the rim. The discoid handle has a rectangular cross-section and a perforated circular ending. The base of the vessel is flat with several concentric circles.

Publication: unpublished

Lit.: Radnóti 1938, T. XXI. 6; Eggers 1951, T. 12. 142; Breščak 1982, 43, T. 2. 18; Milošević 2009, 178, fig. 18; Jovanović 2010; kat. br. 3.

A. L.

112. Relief, tropaion

Gardun (Tilurium), 1886, AMS, D 129
marble

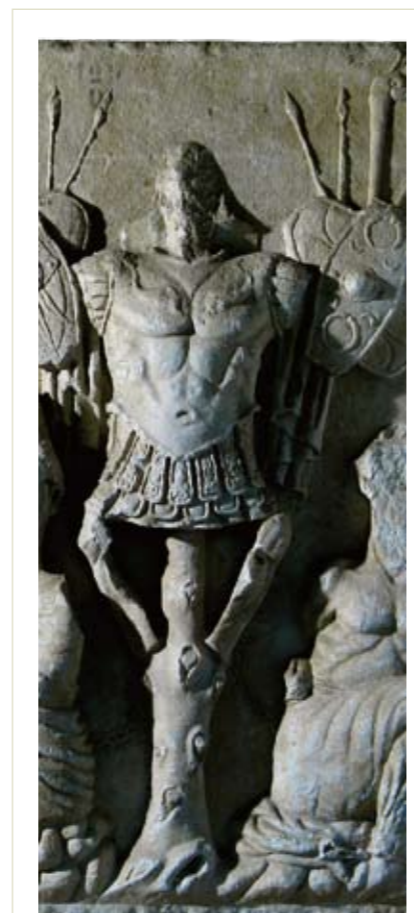
length: 136 cm, height: 104 cm, thickness: 24 cm
early 1st cent.

Relief slab with the end of the inscription field and a depiction of a tropaion, originally standing in the right corner of a larger structure. The tropaion was probably erected to honour Tiberius' victory over the rebelled Illyrians in the war lasting between A.D. 6 and 9. After he celebrated—together with Germanicus—a triumph in Rome in A.D. 12, Tiberius most likely commemorated his victory by erecting a monument in Tilurium – the military camp of the VII legion.

A bucranium with garlands is depicted on a lateral side, and this motif was probably repeated throughout the length of the lateral side of the monument. On the front was a framed inscription field flanked by a vegetable ornament and a figural depiction, with a friese of weapons running below. The scene depicts a tropaion with weapons and bound barbarians. Of particular interest is the scene featuring two barbarians in elaborately rendered clothes and footwear, each showing a distinct style, suggesting that the scene portrays members of subjugated tribes participating in the insurrection against Rome: the Dalmatae and the Pannonians.

Lit.: Cambi 2005, 25, fig. 21 (previous publications are listed on p. 25, note 52); Sanader, Tončinić 2009, fig. 1

S. I.



113. Fragment of a relief from a tropaion

Gardun (Tilurium), MCK, MCK-AZ-381
limestone

height: 57 cm, width: 60 cm, thickness: 28 cm
2nd decade of the 1st cent.

Fragment of a tropaion, which together with a fragment kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split forms part of a larger whole. The left lower part of the inscription field framed with a double profilation is preserved. A part of a voluta ansa is on the outer side of the tabula, while a part of the friese with a depiction of weapons (shield) and a torso of a subjugated barbarian is preserved below. Based on the outline of the beaten-off part of the relief surface and the comparison with the depiction on the larger slab of the tropaion on the opposite side of the monument, one can discern the knees and legs of another—seated—barbarian.

Publication: Abramić 1937, 7-19; Gabričević 1955; Picard 1957; Cambi 1984, 77-92, fig. 2. 4

A. L.

A. L.

113. Ulomak reljefa tropeja

Gardun (Tilurium),
MCK, MCK-AZ-381

vapnenac
visina: 57 cm, širina: 60 cm, debljina: 28 cm
drugo desetljeće 1. st.

Ulomak tropeja koji s ulomkom što se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu čini dio veće cjeline. Sačuvan je donji lijevi dio natpisnog polja uokviren dvostrukom profilacijom. S vanjske strane tabule nalazi se dio volute anse, a ispod je sačuvan dio friza s prikazom oružja (štit) i torzom jednog pokorenog barbara. Prema obrisu otučenog dijela površine reljefa, te usporedbom s prikazom na većoj ploči tropeja koji se nalazio na suprotnoj strani spomenika, uočavaju se koljena i noge još jednog barbara u sjedećem položaju.

Objava: Abramić 1937, 7-19; Gabričević 1955; Picard 1957; Cambi 1984, 77-92, fig. 2. 4

**114. Nadgrobna stela
vojnika Lucija Mumija**

Vojnić, MCK, MCK-B-1373
vapnenac
visina:175 cm, širina: 60 cm, debljina:
20 cm
sredina 1. st.

Nadgrobna stela pravokutnog oblika, sačuvana u cijeloj visini. Spomenik se kompozicijski može podijeliti u pet dijelova. Gornji dio stele čini profilirani trokutasti zabat u čijem središnjem dijelu je glava Atisa. Iznad zabata s lijeve i desne strane nalaze se dva grifona okrenuta prema stiliziranim palmetama. To je mitska životinja s lavljim tijelom i orlovskim krilima i kljunom. Ispod zabata je natpisno polje omeđeno s gornje i donje strane trostrukom profilacijom, a s bočnih strana flankirano tordiranim stupićima s kružno profiliranom bazom i korintskim kapitelima.

Tekst natpisa je koncipiran u šest redaka u natpisno polje dimenzija 37x38 cm, a veličina slova iznosi oko 5 cm. Visina prvog slova L iznosi 16,5 cm. L longa se proteže u visini tri retka natpisa.

Ispod prvog natpisnog polja nalazi se drugo natpisno polje, omeđeno jednostavnom jednostrukom profilacijom. Visina tog polja s profilacijom iznosi 24 cm, a širina 56,5 cm.

Tekst je donesen u sedam redaka, visina slova iznosi oko 2 cm.

Ispod drugog natpisnog polja nalazi se reljefno ukrašeno polje na kojem su uklesane dvije stilizirane narukvice i ogrlice. Na središnjem dijelu reljefa prikazano je devet okruglih vojničkih odlikovanja (phalerae) na mrežastoj podlozi.

Na gornjem središnjem dijelu prikazana je vrpca za vješanje odlikovanja.

Ispod polja s reljefom nalazi se završni dio natpisa koji sadrži podatke o dedikantu. Visina polja s natpisom je 21,5 cm, a širina je 59,5 cm. Natpis je isklesan u dva retka teksta, a visina slova je oko 5 cm.

Donji lijevi ugao tog trećeg natpisnog polja je oštećen, ali od slova je oštećen samo donji dio zaobljene haste slova C. Stela završava masivnim kvadratičnim usadnikom, visine 11 cm.

Slova su klesana pravilnom kapitalom, posebice u prvom i završnom dijelu. Njihova visina varira od 5 do 2 cm. Natpis je podijeljen na tri jasne cjeline; prva cjelina donosi podatke o pokojniku, u

**114. Funerary stele
of the soldier Lucius Mummius**

Vojnić, MCK, MCK-B-1373
limestone
height: 175 cm, width: 60 cm, thickness: 20 cm
mid-1st cent.

Rectangular funerary stele, preserved in its entire height. The composition of the monument can be divided into four segments.

The upper part of the stele consists of a profiled triangular pediment with the head of Attis in the centre.

On the left and right above the pediment stand two gryphons facing stylized palmettes. The gryphon is a mythical animal with the body of a lion and the wings and beak of an eagle.

The inscription field below the pediment is bordered on the upper and lower sides with a triple profilation, and on the flanks with small twisted columns with a round base and Corinthian capitals.

The text of the inscription is organized in six rows within the inscription field measuring 37x38 cm, with letters around 5 cm high. The height of the first letter L is 16.5 cm. The L longa stretches in the height of three rows of the inscription.

There is a second inscription field below the first one, framed with a simple profilations. This field with the profilation is 24 cm high by 56.5 wide.

The text is organized in seven rows and the letters are around 2 cm high.

The field with a relief decoration beneath the second inscription field depicts two engraved stylized bracelets and necklaces. Nine circular military medals (*phalerae*) on a mesh background are shown in the centre of the relief.

A ribbon on which the medal was suspended is depicted in the upper central part.

The concluding part of the inscription with the details on the dedicant comes beneath the field with the relief. The field with the inscription is 21.5 cm high by 59.5 cm wide.

The inscription is carved in two rows of text, with letters around 5 cm high.

The lower left corner of this third inscription field is damaged, but the only damaged portion of the letters is the lower part of the rounded bar of the letter C.

The stele ends with a massive square butt 11 cm high.

The letters were carved in regular capitals, above all in the first and the concluding parts. Their height varies between 5 and 2



cm. The inscription is divided into three distinct wholes; the first one contains information about the deceased, the second features a poem dedicated to him, while the third one provides information about the dedicant, a friend of the deceased person.

Text: L
MVMMIVS L FILIVS
FAB ANCYRA
MILES LEG VII
ANNORVM XXXVI
H S E
ARMA BIS OCTONIS FELICIA QUI
TULIT ANNIS
HIC SITVS EST FATO MVMIVS IPSE
SUO
SI SAPIVNT OBITI DATA MVNETA
PERCIPIS AM
ET RECIPIS NOSTRAE PIGNVS
AMICITIAE
HOC TIBI CVM TITVLO POSVIT
CORNELIVS CHRESTVS
EX DIXIT LACHRYMANS SIT TIBI
TERA LEVIS

L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) filius/ Fab(ia) (tribus) Ancyra (natus)/ miles leg(ionis) VII/ annorum XXXVI/ stipendiarum XVI/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis/ hic situs est fato Mumius ipse suo./ Si sapiunt obiti data muneta percipis am(pla)/ et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae./ Hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus/ Et dixit lachrymans sit tibi tera levis./

M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) libertus/ Chrestus posuit

Translation: *Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius from the Fabius Tribus, a native of Ancyra, a soldier of the VII legion, died at the age of XXXVI and after XVI years of military service. By the will of destiny here lies Mummius, who carried felicitous weapons two times eight years. When the deceased are aware of the gifts bestowed on them, you see them rich (splendid) and receive the vow (proof) of our friendship. This and the inscription was erected for you by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, who—in tears—said: "May the earth rest lightly on you". The monument was erected by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, a freedman of Marcus.*

Publication: Fadić 1995, p. 163-187, T. 1.-5; Fadić 1997, p. 77-119.

drugoj je cjelini pjesma posvećena pokojniku, dok treća cjelina donosi podatke o dedikantu, pokojnikovu prijatelju.

Tekst:
L MVMMIVS L FILIVS
FAB ANCYRA
MILES LEG VII
ANNORVM XXXVI
H S E
ARMA BIS OCTONIS FELICIA QUI
TULIT ANNIS HIC SITVS EST
FATO MVMIVS IPSE SUO
SI SAPIVNT OBITI DATA MVNETA
PERCIPIS AM
ET RECIPIS NOSTRAE PIGNVS
AMICITIAE
HOC TIBI CVM TITVLO POSVIT
CORNELIVS CHRESTVS
EX DIXIT LACHRYMANS SIT TIBI
TERA LEVIS

L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) filius/ Fab(ia) (tribus) Ancyra (natus)/ miles leg(ionis) VII/ annorum XXXVI/ stipendiarum XVI/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis/ hic situs est fato Mumius ipse suo./ Si sapiunt obiti data muneta percipis am(pla)/ et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae./ Hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus/ Et dixit lachrymans sit tibi tera levis./

M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) libertus/ Chrestus posuit

Prijevod: Lucije Mumije, sin Lucija iz Tribusa Fabija, rodom iz Ancyre, vojnik VII. legije (umro s) XXXVI godina i XVI godina vojničke službe. Ovdje je sam po svojoj sudbini smješten Mumius koji je nosio sretno oružje dva puta po 8 godina. Ako su pokojnici svjesni datih im darova, onda ih vidiš bogate (sjajne) i primaš zavjet (dokaz) našeg prijateljstva. Ovo ti je s natpisom postavio Marcus Cornelius Chrestus i plaćući rekao: „Neka ti je laka zemlja“. Spomenik podiže Marko Kornelije Krest, Markov oslobođenik.

Objava: Fadić 1995, str. 163-187, T. 1.-5; Fadić 1997, str. 77-119.

A. L.

115. Stela Gaja Julija Andromaha
Dugopolje, 1981., AMS, A 5963
vapnenac
visina: 204 cm, širina: 60 cm, debljina:
15 cm, visina slova 3 – 4,4 cm
između 40. i 80. god.

Stela je pronađena uzidana u kasnoantič-
ku grobnicu kao lijeva, bočna strana. Na
kutovima trokutnog zabata bili su akro-
teriji od kojih je sačuvan samo jedan,
a u sredini zabata je prikazana ženska
teatarska maska s kosom i pletenicama
spuštenim niz lice. Ispod zabata je friz s
vegetabilnim motivima i profilirani arhi-
trav položen na stupove s korintskim ka-
pitelima. Između stupova je uokvireno i
profilirano natpisno polje. Natpis glasi:
C(aius) IVLIVS AN / DROMA-
CHVS / MILES COH(ortis) II /
CYRRESTAR(um) / ANN(orum) LXV
STIPEND(iorum) / XXXXII / C(aius)
IVLIVS APOLLA / SODALIS VO(tum)
POSVIT

U donjem dijelu stele je reducirani pri-
kaz vrata, koji se sveo na dva kasetona
u kojima nema elemenata vrata već je
prikazano streljačko oružje; tobolac u
jednom te luk i strijela u drugom po-
lju. Tobolac je prikazan s poklopcem
i vrcama za učvršćivanje, dok su luk i
strijele također detaljno prikazani. Stela
je pripadala vojniku II kohorte Kiresta.
Ta jedinica strijelaca boravila je u Dal-
maciji u 1. st., sve do flavijevskog doba.
Vjerojatno je jedno vrijeme bila smješte-
na u vojnom logoru Tilverium. Po svojim
karakteristikama stela pokazuje da je bila
izrađena u radionici vojnog logora u Ti-
luriju. Stele takvih značajki javljaju se na
svim lokalitetima na kojima su boravili
pripadnici VII legije. Jedan od ikono-
grafskih elemenata na vojničkim stelama
koje su izrađene u toj radionici je prikaz
vrata u donjem dijelu. Kod ove stele do-
lazi do redukcije vrata kako bi se moglo
prikazati oružje karakteristično za jedini-
cu strijelaca kojoj je pripadao pokojnik.

Objava: Cambi 1994, 179, fig. 9.

S. I.

115. Stele of Caius Iulius Andromachus
Dugopolje, 1981, AMS, A 5963
limestone
height: 204 cm, width: 60 cm,
thickness: 15 cm, height of letters: 3-4.4 cm
between A.D. 40 and 80

The stele was found built into a tomb from
late antiquity as the left side. Only one of
the acroteria that had decorated the corners
of the triangular pediment is preserved. A
female theatre mask with hair and braids
framing the face is depicted in the centre of
the pediment. A frieze with vegetable motifs
and a profiled architrave borne by columns
with Corinthian capitals extends beneath the
pediment. Between the columns is a framed
and profiled inscription field. The inscription
reads:

C(aius) IVLIVS AN / DROMACHVS /
MILES COH(ortis) II / CYRRESTAR(um)
/ ANN(orum) LXV STIPEND(iorum) /
XXXXII / C(aius) IVLIVS APOLLA / SO-
DALIS VO(tum) POSVIT

In the lower part is a reduced representation
of the door, reduced to two casetons which
do not show door elements but archery
weapons; a quiver in one field and the bow
and arrow in the other. The quiver is depicted
with a lid and reinforcing straps, while the
bow and arrow are likewise shown in detail.
The stele belonged to a soldier of the II co-
hort of the Cyrrhetae. This unit of archers
resided in Dalmatia in the 1st cent. until the
Flavian period. During a certain period it
was probably accommodated in the military
camp of *Tilverium*. The features of the stele
suggest that it was produced in the workshop
of the military camp in Tilverium. Stele with
such features appear at all the sites where the
members of the VII legion were present. One
of the iconographic elements on the military
steles made in that workshop is the depic-
tion of the door in the lower part. In the
case of this stele, the door is reduced in order
to make space for representing the weapons
characteristic for the unit of archers to which
the deceased belonged.

Publication: Cambi 1994, 179, fig. 9.

S. I.



116. Stele of Burrius Trebocus
Hrvace, 1878, Franciscan monastery in Sinj,
RN 49
limestone
height: 142 cm, width: 57.5 cm, thickness:
21 cm
2nd half of the 1st cent.

The tombstone is rectangular, broken into
three parts. The upper part is missing. The
inscription field is preserved, framed with a
pronounced stepped profilation. An inscrip-
tion consisting of 7 rows is carved within the
inscription field. The letters of the inscrip-
tion are of rustic workmanship and unequal
height varying between 3 and 4 cm. The in-
scription is worn out at places, and a fracture
line cuts diagonally across the centre. Below
the field, a round shield (*parma*) and a mili-
tary bag (*loculus*) are rendered in low relief.
One can notice shallowly incised and hardly
readable letters on the surface of the shield.
In the Roman army, this kind of round shield
was worn by light troops (*velites*), auxiliaries
and cavalry. One can see a military bag with
a central horizontal reinforcement and two
lateral rings in the lower part of the monu-
ment.

BVRRIVS BETVLONI
F(ilius) TREBOCVS MILES
C(o)HO(rtis) AQVITANORVM
ANNORVM LV
5 STIP(endiorum) XXIX
H(ic) S(itus) E(st)
HERES POSVIT

*Here lies Burrius Trebocus, son of Betulonus, a
soldier in the Cohort of Aquitans, 55 years old,
29 years of service. Set up by the heir.*

This is the funerary monument of the soldier
Burrius Trebocus, who died during service in
the cohort of *Aquitani*, which arrived in Dal-
matia during the reign of emperor Vespasian.
The inscription does not feature the number
of the unit. The name of the deceased is gi-
ven in the binominal formula with a filiation.
This nomen and cognomen have hitherto not
been documented in the territory of Dalma-
tia. The name of his father—*Betulo*—points
to a Celtic origin, and it has already been do-
cumented in an inscription in Dalmatia.
Considering his age and years of service, it
can be concluded that he enrolled in the
army at the age of 26 and served many years
as a simple soldier.

Lit.: *CIL* III 9760; Glavinić 1878, 33, nr.
30; *EPH* IV, nr. 357; Patsch 1896, 11, 12;
Mišura 1921, 30; Višić-Ljubić 2008, 123.

E. V.-Lj.

116. Nadgrobna stela vojnika Burija Treboka
Hrvace, 1878. god. Arheološka zbirka
Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju,
inv. RN 49
vapnenac
Dimenzije: vis. 142 cm, šir. 57,5 cm,
deblj. 21 cm.
druga pol. 1. st..

Nadgrobna stela je pravokutnog oblika,
razlomljena u tri dijela. Gornji, završni
dio spomenika nedostaje. Sačuvano je
natpisno polje uokvireno istaknutom za-
ravnjenom letvicom stepenaste profilacije.
Unutar natpisnog polja uklesan je natpis u
sedam redaka. Slova su nepravilna, rustič-
no klesana i nejednake visine, koja varira
između 3 i 4 cm. Natpis je mjestimice izli-
zan i oštećen, a po sredini se poprečno pru-
ža linija loma. Ispod natpisnog polja su kao
znakovi vojničke službe u plitkom reljefu
prikazani jedan ispod drugoga okrugli štit
(*parma*) s ispupčenim umbom u sredini i
vojnička torbica (*loculus*). Na površini štita
se uočavaju plitko urezana, slabo vidljiva
slova. Okrugli štit su u rimskoj vojsci nosile
lakše naoružane jedinice (*velites*), pomoćne
jedinice i konjica. Na samom dnu stele je
prikaz vojničke torbice sa središnjim vodo-
ravnim ojačanjem i dvjema karičicama na
bočnim stranama.

BVRRIVS BETVLONI
F(ilius) TREBOCVS MILES
C(o)HO(rtis) AQVITANORVM
ANNORVM LV
5 STIP(endiorum) XXIX
H(ic) S(itus) E(st)
HERES POSVIT

*Ovdje počiva Burije Trebok, Betulonov
sin, vojničar kohorte Akvitanaca, star 55
godina, sa 29 godina vojničke službe. Na-
sljednik postavi.*

Ovaj nadgrobni spomenik je podignut
vojniku Buriju Treboku, koji je preminuo
dok je služio u kohorti Akvitanaca, koja je
u vrijeme cara Vespazijana došla u Dalma-
ciju. Na natpisu nije naznačen broj čete.
Ime pokojnika *Burrius Trebocus* iskazano
je dvočlanom imenskom formulom s fili-
jacijom. Taj *nomen* kao i *cognomen* dosad
nisu potvrđeni na prostoru Dalmacije.
Cognomen njegova oca, *Betulo*, upućuje na
keltsko podrijetlo, a u Dalmaciji je zabilje-
žen na jednom natpisu. S obzirom na sta-
rost i godine službe, može se zaključiti da je
Burije Trebok u vojsku stupio sa 26 godina
i kao običan vojnici dugi niz godina služio
u kohorti Akvitanaca.

Lit.: *CIL* III 9760; Glavinić 1878, 33, nr.
30; *EPH* IV, nr. 357; Patsch 1896, 11, 12;
Mišura 1921, 30; Višić-Ljubić 2008, 123.

E. V.-Lj.

ŽELJKO MILETIĆ

BURNUM – VOJNIČKO SREDIŠTE PROVINCIIJE DALMACIJE

BURNUM – A MILITARY CENTRE IN THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

Posiana povijesna vrela, epigrafički spomenici i podaci iz starih i recentnih arheoloških iskanja ukazuju da je aglomeracija Burnum za vrijeme 1. st. sastavljena od razolikih komponenti: rimskog legijskog logora s pripadajućim teritorijem, augziliarnog kastela te municipija, koji se razvio iz kanaba i naselja liburnskih Burnista (Gradina kod Puljana). Takav policentrični model naselja i niz urbanističkih rješenja kakva su se u Burnumu razvila u prvim desetljećima 1. st. kasnije nalazimo na limesu, pa tako i u panonskim središtima legijskih logora, od kojih su najbolje istraženi *Aquincum*¹ i *Carnuntum*². Stoga već prvi rezultati sustavnih istraživanja u Burnumu³ nadilaze lokalne okvire i važni su za razumijevanje povijesti drugih rimskih provincija.

Literary sources, epigraphic monuments and information from both older and more recent archaeological excavations suggest that the Burnum agglomeration during the 1st c. AD was composed of different components: a Roman legionary camp with accompanying area, an auxiliary *castellum*, and a *municipium* that had developed out of the *canabae* and the settlement of Liburnian tribe of Burnistae (Gradina near Puljani). This polycentric model of the settlement and a number of urban solutions developed in Burnum during the first decades of the 1st c. AD will be encountered later in the limes area, thus also in the structure of Pannonian legionary camps, of which *Aquincum*¹ and *Carnuntum*² have been most completely explored. Thus already the initial results of the systematic excavations in Burnum³ surpass any local value they might have had and are important for the understanding of the history of other Roman provinces.

1 Szilágyi 1956; Visy 1988, 80-90; Hajnóczy *et alii* 1995, 40-73; Póczy 1997; Zsidi 2004.

2 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977; Kandler *et alii* 2004.

3 Brojni podatci o kojima se raspravlja u ovoj radnji dobiveni su arheološkim istraživanjima koja su započela godine 2003. na inicijativu Joška Zaninovića, ravnatelja Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu i Željka Bulata, ravnatelja NP Krka unutar kojeg se nalazi lokalitet Burnum. Voditelj cjelokupnog znanstvenog projekta je Nenad Cambi, terenska istraživanja proveli su Joško Zaninović, Miroslav Glavičić i Željko Miletić, a u pojedinim istraživačkim kampanjama sudjelovali su Dražen Maršić, Mato Ilkić, Ivana Jadrić, Igor Borzić i Mate Radović te studenti diplomskog i doktorskog studija na Odsjeku za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru. Suradnički tim na istraživanjima, koji se bavi nedestruktivnim metodama pretraživanja, izradom 3-D dokumentacije i restauracijskim radovima, je Laboratorio di rilievo delle strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di archeologia dell'Università di Bologna, pod vodstvom Enrica Giorgia. Arhitektonsku dokumentaciju izradila je arhitektica Martina Baranić, konzervatorske i restauratorske radove izvode Frederik Levarda i tvrtka «Imota-portal».

1 Szilágyi 1956; Visy 1988, 80-90; Hajnóczy *et alii* 1995, 40-73; Póczy 1997; Zsidi 2004

2 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977; Kandler *et alii* 2004

3 Numerous data analyzed in this paper were retrieved through archaeological excavations initiated in 2003 by Joško Zaninović, the director of the City museum in Drniš and Željko Bulat, the director of the NP Krka, encompassing the site. The head of the entire scientific project is Nenad Cambi, the excavations were conducted by Joško Zaninović, Miroslav Glavičić and Željko Miletić, while Dražen Maršić, Mato Ilkić, Ivana Jadrić, Igor Borzić and Mate Radović, as well as undergraduate and graduate students at the Department of archaeology at the Zadar University occasionally participated in excavation campaigns. *Laboratorio di rilievo delle strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di archeologia dell'Università di Bologna*, headed by Enrico Giorgio, cooperated in the excavations, conducting the un-invasive methods of survey, keeping the 3D documentation, and restoring the material. Architectural documentation was created by the architect Martina Baranić, while conservation and restoration works were done by Frederik Levarda and the "Imota-portal".

Civitas peregrinorum

Središte liburnskih Burnista je *oppidum* na Gradini kod Puljana, na lijevoj obali Krke⁴. Teritorij im se pružao i na suprotnoj zapadnoj obali, gdje je graničio s varvarinskim teritorijem⁵. Matično liburnsko područje pruža se istočno od Krke, a razlog razvijanja središnjeg naselja ove zajednice na istočnoj obali izuzetno je povoljan smještaj na Gradini. Okružena dubokim kanjonom Krke ona ima formu poluotoka prirodno zaštićenog s tri strane, osim na uskoj «kopnenoj» strani, gdje je podignut obrambeni zid, od kojeg je danas ostao sačuvan nasip ponegdje visok i do šest metara. *Oppidum* je nadgledao prijelaze preko rijeke od Bobodola do Manojlovca. Na taj način kontrolirao je protok ljudi i roba na graničnom liburnsko-delmatskom prostoru, što mu je pospješilo gospodarsko uzdizanje iznad zajednica koje se nisu afirmirale u ranorimsko doba. Rijeka Krka većim dijelom je ujezerena, s golemim stalnim akumulacijama vode i velikim ribljim bogatstvom; dok su slapovi i brzaci bili izvanredno pogodni za podizanje mlinica, stupa i drugih agregata, što je bio znatan prinos gospodarskoj snazi Burnista.

Uspostavom ljetnog logora krajem republikanskog doba, a zatim i stalnog rimskog vojnog logora Burnum, po svoj prilici u Augustovo doba, teritorijalni odnosi bitno su se izmijenili. Publije Kornelije Dolabela, namjesnik Gornjeg Ilirika (Dalmacije), započeo je sustavno premjeravanje teritorija zajednica i zemljišnih posjeda radi izrade katastra provincije⁶. Razgraničenje legijskog teritorija sa susjednim autohtonim zajednicama moralo je uslijediti u njegovo vrijeme, između 14. i 20. god. Unatoč notornoj lojalnosti Liburna prema rimskoj vlasti, nakon ustanovljenja stalnog tabora zajednica Burnista izgubila je posjede na desnoj obali.

⁴ Zaninović 1968, 119 ff.

⁵ Čače 1989, 78-79, 86. S. Čače ističe mogućnost da se teritorij Burnista pruža isključivo lijevo (istočno) od Krke. U tom slučaju otvara se problem tko gospodari prostorom zapadno od Krke, sve do varvarinskih granica. Da je legijski logor nastao na prostoru koji nije pripadao Burnistima, nosio bi ime neke hipotetske zajednice na desnoj obali. Međutim, snažna zajednica Burnista kontrolirala je obje obale i komunikacije koje vode preko rijeke Krke.

⁶ Abramić & Colnago 1909, col 32, kat. br. 2 i 3; Betz 1938, 34-35, kat. br. 11; Rendić-Miočević 1968, 63 ff.; Wilkes 1976, 258 ff.; Babić 1996: 57 ff.; Čače 2003, 19-21.

Civitas peregrinorum

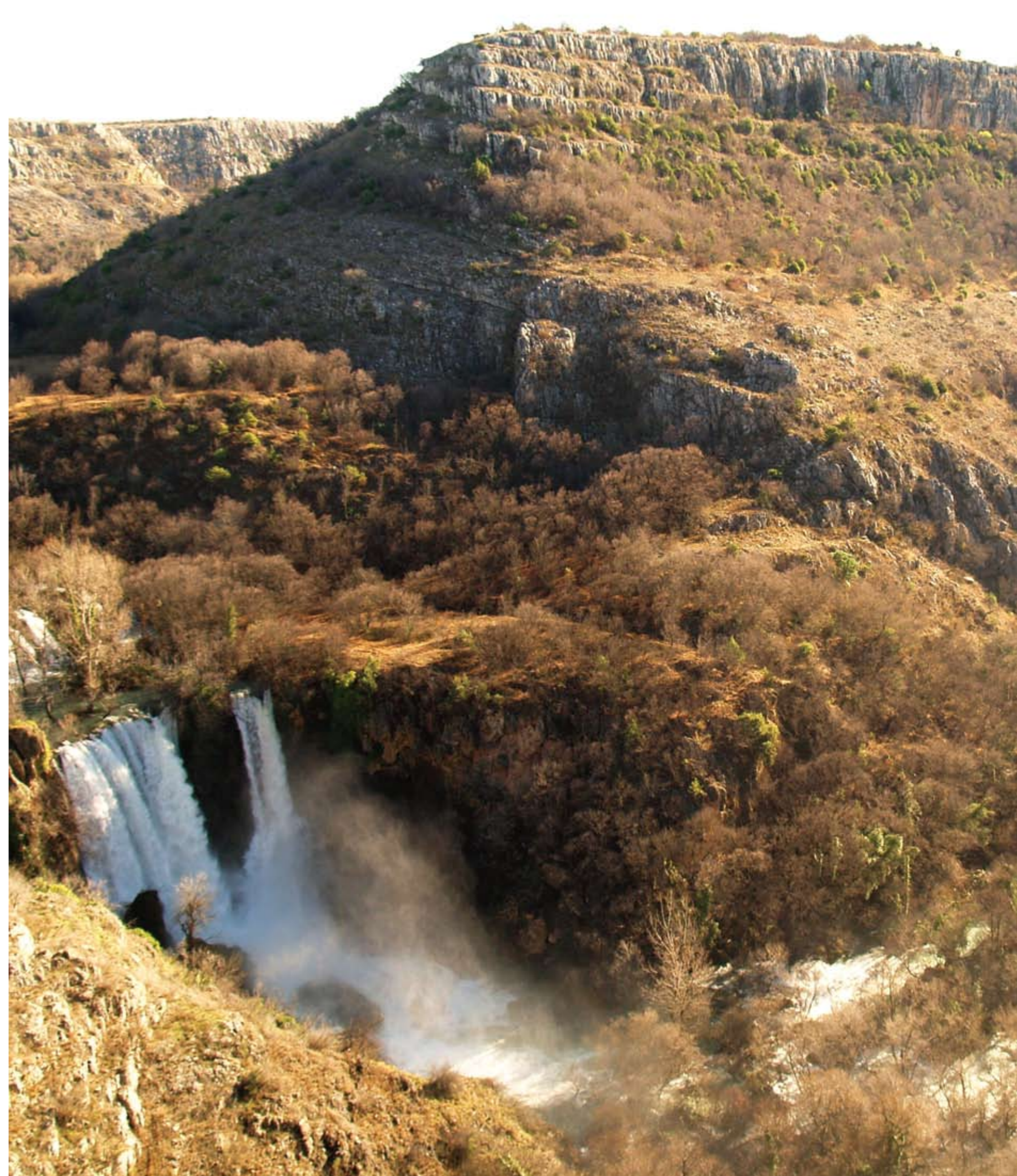
The centre of Liburnian tribe of Burnistae was an *oppidum* on the Gradina near Puljani, on the left bank of the Krka.⁴ Their territory extended over to the opposite, western shore, where it bordered the territory of the Varvarians.⁵ The core Liburnian area was east of the Krka, and the reason for the development of the central settlement of the community on the eastern bank is the exceptional position of the Gradina. Surrounded by the steep canyon of the Krka on three sides it has the form of a peninsula naturally protected on three sides, except for a narrow "land" side, where a protective wall was erected, of which today only a bank up to six meters high is preserved. The *oppidum* overlooked the river crossing from Bobodol to Manojlovac. In this way it controlled the passage of both people and goods on the border area between the Liburnians and the Delmatae, which allowed it to surpass economically the communities that had not risen to prominence in the early Roman period. The Krka is mostly composed of lakes, with enormous permanent water accumulations and a great wealth in fish, while the waterfalls and rapids were exceptionally suitable for mills, fulling mills, and other aggregates, significantly attributing to the economical power of the Burnistae.

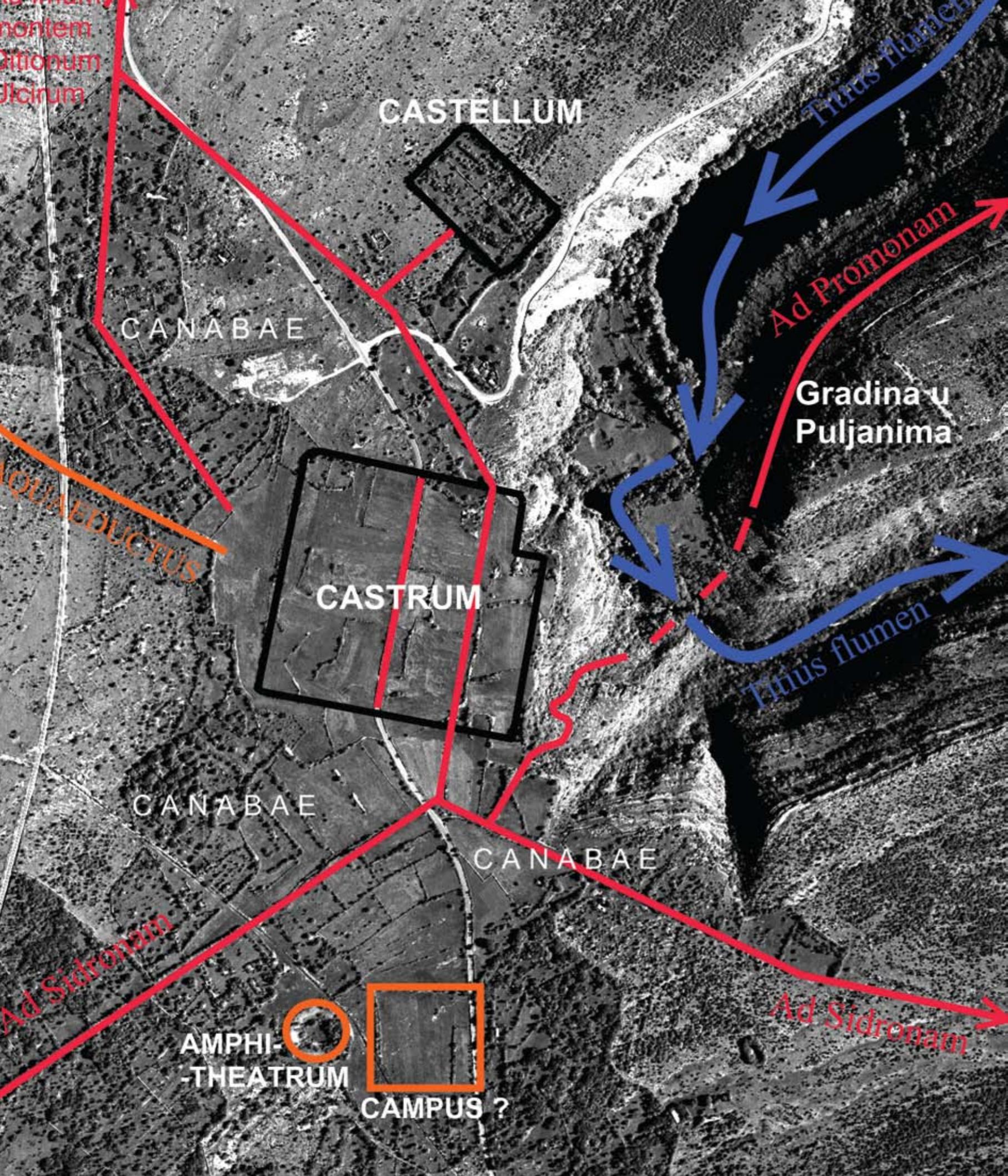
With the establishment of the summer camp during the end of the Republican age, followed by the permanent Roman legionary camp of Burnum, most probably founded in the Augustan period, the territorial relations were considerably changed. Publius Cornelius Dolabella, the governor of Upper Illyricum (Dalmatia), started a systematic survey of the communities' territories and estates for the making of a cadastre of the province.⁶ The

⁴ Zaninović 1968, 119 ff.

⁵ Čače 1989, 78-79, 86. S. Čače emphasized the fact that the territory of the Burnistae extended only to the left (east) of the Krka. In this case, a problem would appear as to who was in control of the area west of Krka, all the way to the boundary of the Varvarians. If the legionary camp was placed on the territory that did not belong to the Burnistae, it would bear a name of some hypothetical community from the right bank. But the powerful community of the Burnistae controlled both banks of the river and the communications leading over the Krka.

⁶ Abramić & Colnago 1909, col 32, cat. nr. 2 and 3; Betz





Territorium legionis

Vojska preuzima nadgledanje nekoliko riječnih prijelaza u dubokom kanjonu rijeke Krke oko Burnuma, uključujući i onaj nizvodno, nad Roškim slapom, koji je ranije bio pod kontrolom susjedne Varvarije, gdje su nađeni natpisi veterana⁷. Spomenik vojnika XI. legije⁸ upućuje da je stalna straža postavljena i na prijelaz kod Skardone, riječno-morske luke važne za opskrbu vojske⁹. Nazočnost legijskih vojnika u ovom značajnom naselju autohtonog podrijetla možda je razlog relativno kasnom postizanju municipaliteta, tek u flavijevskom periodu¹⁰. Krajem 1. st. iz Burnuma je otišla legija III. Flavia Felix¹¹, a u Trajanovo doba i jedno odjeljenje VIII. Legije Auguste. Preko luke Skardone sada su se uvozila dobra za susjedne municipije Varvariju, Rider i Magnum, ali je tekla i opskrba pomoćnih postrojbi u provinciji i vojske na panonskoj granici. Stanovništvo Panonije, a osobito pedesetak tisuća vojnika u četiri legijska i nekoliko desetina pomoćnih logora, ovisilo je o uvozu žitarica¹², ulja i manufakturnih proizvoda, pa su jadranske luke Aquileia¹³, Tergeste, Senia¹⁴, Iader¹⁵ i Scardona ostvarivale veliki promet. Rekognosciranjem s kolegom M. Glavičićem prošle godine smo otkrili rimsku lučku obalu Skardone u dužini oko 1 milje. Dužnost nadgledanja lučkog pretovara povremeno su dobivale isturene posade vojnih postrojbi čiji su matični logori bili u drugim provincijama. Legio I Adiutrix ima matični

7 CIL III, 9885, veteran XI. legije; 2818, veteran XI. legije; 2817, centurion, veteran *legionis IIII Macedonicae*; 2816, *evocatus Augusti*.

8 CIL III, 6413.

9 Cambi 2001, 146-147.

10 Alföldy 1965, 201; Vittinghoff 1977, 15, 27 ff.; Zaninović 1998, 127.

11 Zaninović 1968, 122; Betz 1938, 48.

12 Davies 1974, 318.

13 Panciera 1957, 46 ff.; Franzot 1999, 68-69.

14 Glavičić 1994, 67-69; CIL III, 13283. Na dva natpisa nađena na prijevoju Vratnik iznad Senja spominju se Tit Julije Saturnin i Gaj Antonije Rufo, konduktori iliričkog vektigala od 147. do 157. god. u vrijeme Antonina Pija, koji se zajedno s Kvintom Sabinom Veranom spominju na natpisima u Seniji, Atransu, kao i u 1. i 2. petovijskom mitreju kao *procuratores vehiculorum* i nadglednici financijskog ureda u Panoniji.

15 Cambi, 2001, 144-145; CIL III, 2922=9987.

demarcation between the legionary territory and neighboring autochthon communities must have been made in his time, between AD 14 and 20. Although they were notorious for their loyalty to the Romans, after the establishment of the permanent camp, the community of the Burnistae lost its territories on the right shore.

Territorium legionis

The army took over the supervision of river crossings in the deep canyon of the Krka around Burnum, including the downstream crossing over the Roški slap, formerly under control of the neighboring Varvaria, where some veteran inscriptions were found.⁷ A monument of the soldier of the XIth legion⁸ suggests that a permanent guard was placed on the crossing at Scardona, a river/sea port important for supplying of the army with provisions.⁹ The presence of legionaries in this important settlement of autochthon origin was perhaps the reason for its rather late acquiring of the municipal status, only in the Flavian period.¹⁰ In the late 1st c. the IIIth Flavia Felix legion had left Burnum,¹¹ and it was followed in the reign of Trajan by a unit of the VIIIth legion Augusta. The goods for the neighboring *municipia* of Varvaria, Rider and Magnum were imported through the harbor of Scardona, together with the supplies for the auxiliary units in the province and the army on the Pannonian border. The inhabitants of Pannonia, especially fifty thousand soldiers serving in four legionary and few dozens of auxiliary camps, depended on the import of grain,¹² oil and manufactured products, enabling the

1938, 34-35, cat. nr. 11; Rendić-Miočević 1968, 63 ff.; Wilkes 1976, 258 ff.; Babić 1996: 57 ff.; Čače 2003, 19-21

7 CIL III, 9885, a veteran of the XIth legion; 2818, a veteran of the XIth legion; 2817, a centurion, veteran of the *legionis IIII Macedonicae*; 2816, *evocatus Augusti*

8 CIL III, 6413

9 Cambi 2001, 146-147

10 Alföldy 1965, 201; Vittinghoff 1977, 15, 27 ff.; Zaninović 1998, 127

11 Zaninović 1968, 122; Betz 1938, 48

12 Davies 1974, 318

logor u panonskom Brigetiju¹⁶, ali neka njena odjeljenja i beneficijariji¹⁷ borave u Dalmaciji u doba Marka Aurelija. Frumentarij te postrojbe spomenut na natpisu iz Burnuma¹⁸ mogao je dobiti zadaću povezivanja oficija namjesnika u Dalmaciji i Panoniji radi osiguravanja opskrbe granice na Dunavu preko luke u Skardoni.

Južne granice legijskog teritorija dosezale su prostor oko Roškog slapa. Nadgrobni natpisi znak su da veterani tu imaju posjede, vjerojatno i postrojenja koja rade na vodeni pogon (mlinice, stupe). Isluženi vojnici ujedno su nadzirali prijelaz, koji je potpao pod legijski teritorij. Terminacijski natpisi nađeni su istočno od Krke u Oklaju¹⁹ i u Razvođu²⁰. Podignuti su u doba imperatora Klaudija, za namjesništva Lucija Voluzija Saturnina, da bi označili granice Burnista prema veteranskim posjedima u Mratovu, odnosno prema nekoj neimenovanoj autohtonj općini na zapadnim padinama planine Promine. Sa sjeverne strane Promine, u Uzdolju, otkrivena su dva granična kamena na kojima se spominju *prata legionis* (legijske livade)²¹ što je izraz istog značenja kao i *territorium legionis*. Natpisi određuju krajnju istočnu granicu velikog legijskog teritorija, kakav je bio potreban i radi opskrbe vojske vodom, drvima, mesom, žitom i pasištima za stoku. M. Zaninović s pravom pretpostavlja da je legijski teritorij neprekinuta cjelina, jer bi njegova segmentiranost ugrozila nadgledanje riječnih prijelaza, mostova i brdskih prijevoja na

Adriatic harbors of Aquileia,¹³ Tergeste, Senia,¹⁴ Iader,¹⁵ and Scardona to generate a significant traffic of goods. During a survey I had conducted together with my colleague M. Glavičić in the last year we have discovered the Roman harbor waterfront c. 1 mile long. The duty of supervising the harbor transshipment was occasionally given to the outwork crews of military units whose parent camps were located in other provinces. The *Legio I Adiutrix* had a central camp in the Pannonian Brigetio,¹⁶ but some of its divisions and beneficiaries¹⁷ resided in Dalmatia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. A *frumentarius* of the unit, documented on an inscription from Burnum,¹⁸ could have been given the duty to provide the link between the offices of the governors of Dalmatia and Pannonia, so as to secure the supplies for the Danube border through the harbor in Scardona.

Southern boundaries of the legionary camp extended to the area of the Roški slap. Sepulchral inscriptions suggest that the veterans had their estates in this area, probably also facilities powered by water (mills, fulling mills). The discharged soldiers in the same time supervised the crossing, belonging to the territory of the legions. Terminal inscriptions were found east of the Krka in Oklaj¹⁹ and Razvođe.²⁰ They were erected during the reign of Claudius and the governorship of Lucius Volusius Saturninus to mark the boundaries of the Burnistae with the veteran holdings in Mratovo, and an unnamed autochthon community on the western slopes of the Promina Mountain.

13 Panciera 1957, 46 ff.; Franzot 1999, 68-69

14 Glavičić 1994, 67-69; CIL III, 13283. Titus Julius Saturninus and Gaius Antonius Rufus are mentioned on two monuments discovered on the Vratnik pass above Senj, the conductors of the Illyrian *vectigalia* from 147 to 157, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, mentioned together with Quintus Sabinus Veranus on the inscriptions from Senia, Atranus, as well as on the 1st and 2nd Poetovian mithraeum as *procuratores vehicularum* and supervisors of the financial office in Pannonia.

15 Cambi, 2001, 144-145; CIL III, 2922=9987

16 Mócsy 1974, 99; Visy 1988, 55-57

17 Betz 1938, 41

18 CIL III, 2823

19 CIL III, 9833. [L(ucio)] Volus[io] / [Satu]rmino [leg(ato)] / [pro] pr(aetore) C(ai) C(aes(aris)) / [Aug(usti) G]erm[anici].

20 Patsch 1897, 17, cat. nr. 6; CIL III, 9832. *Vibullius t[ri]b(unus) / [le]g(ionis) VII et L(ucius) Sal[vi]us M(arcus) Sueto ce[n]turiones leg(ionis) X[I] / [iu]dices dati ex / [c]imvencione (sic) a / [L(ucio) V]olusio Satur[ri]no leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / [C(ai)] Caesaris Aug(usti) / [Ger]manici intertine[s] e[st]....*

16 Mócsy 1974, 99; Visy 1988, 55-57.

17 Betz 1938, 41.

18 CIL III, 2823.

19 CIL III, 9833. [L(ucio)] Volus[io] / [Satu]rmino [leg(ato)] / [pro] pr(aetore) C(ai) C(aes(aris)) / [Aug(usti) G]erm[anici].

20 Patsch 1897, 17, kat. br. 6; CIL III, 9832. *Vibullius t[ri]b(unus) / [le]g(ionis) VII et L(ucius) Sal[vi]us M(arcus) Sueto ce[n]turiones leg(ionis) X[I] / [iu]dices dati ex / [c]imvencione (sic) a / [L(ucio) V]olusio Satur[ri]no leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / [C(ai)] Caesaris Aug(usti) / [Ger]manici intertine[s] e[st]....*

21 M. Zaninović 1985, 63 ff. Medašni natpis nađen u Čenićima u Uzdolju čitamo: *T(erminus) pra(ti) / leg(ionis) / XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*. Natpis je podignut nakon 42. g. Natpis s podnožja brda Vedropolje u Uzdolju, nađen je oko 2 km sjevernije. Čitamo: *[. . . Termini? p]o[s(iti) inter p]ral[t]a leg(ionis) et fines / roboreti Fla(vii) / Marc(iani) per Augustianum Bellicum proc(uratorem) / Aug(usti)*. Prema vitezovoj karijeri, natpis se datira u trajansko doba, na kraj 1. st.

komunikacijskim pravcima²². Stoga su na sjevernim i zapadnim granicama razmješena odjeljenja u Kapitulu kod Knina, Strmici i Pađanima / Mokropolju. Pod zapovjedništvom u Burnumu, iako izvan teritorija legije, neistraženi je augzilijarni logor u Kadinoj glavici kod rimske Promone.

Prilikom izbora mjesta za podizanje dva stacionarna logora u Dalmaciji vodilo se računa da tvrđave budu «otoci» na dohvata ili usred neprijateljskog područja, ali i da imaju sigurno zaleđe i mogućnost odstupanja. U slučaju legijskog logora Tilurij odstupnica je kolonija Salona²³ kod Burnuma, to su lojalni Liburni. Raspored vojnih postrojbi i različitih utvrda na teritoriju Burnuma omogućavao je učinkovito nadgledanje ključnih komunikacijskih pravaca i brzo prodiranje u potencijalno neprijateljsko područje, među Delmate i dublje u kontinent preko Dinare. Mobilnost trupa povećana je kad su VII. i XI. legija sagradile ceste iz Salone i Burnuma u doba namjesnika Publija Kornelija Dolabele²⁴. Postrojbe iz Burnuma dale su odjeljenja za isturene burgove, tvrđe (*arces*) i stražarske kule (*turres*)²⁵. Te posade, zajedno s pomoćnim postrojbama u satelitskim kaštelima u Burnumu i Promoni osiguravale su cestu *ad inum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*²⁶, kao i segment magistrale Akvileja – Dirahij²⁷ i druge prometnice²⁸. Najkasnije početkom 2. st. dio tih vojničkih dužnosti u Burnumu i Magnumu preuzeli su beneficijari iz I. legije Pomoćnice (*Legio I Adiutrix*) i V. Makedonske legije (*Legio V Macedonica*)²⁹.

22 Zaninović 1985, 67 ff.

23 Zaninović 1985, 73-73; Sanader 2002a, 125-126.

24 Bojanovski 1974, 16-18. Uz kritički osvrt na prethodne restitucije teksta Bojanovski donosi dva natpisa o pet Dolabelinih cesta, uklesana na četiri ploče.

25 Koncentracija vojničkih natpisa na navedenim mjestima sigurna je potvrda postojanja tih objekata, koje će tek trebati ubicirati na terenu.

26 CIL III, 3201 + 3198b = 10159 + 10156b; Bojanovski 1974, 203 ff.

27 Miletić 2006, 129-130, sl. 4.

28 Zaninović 1974, 310-311.

29 Wilkes 1969, 122-127, 142-144. *Leg. I Adiutrix* i *leg. V Macedonica* daju od kraja 1. do početka 3. st. ljudstvo za beneficijarije u Dalmaciji.

On the northern side of the Promina, in Uzdolje, two boundary stones were found mentioning the *prata legionis* (legionary meadows),²¹ with the same meaning as the *territorium legionis*. The inscriptions determine the extreme eastern boundary of the large legionary territory, such as needed for the supplying of water, wood, meat, grain and pasturages for the army. M. Zaninović rightfully supposes that the legionary territory was an uninterrupted complex, because its partitioning would endanger the surveillance of river crossings, bridges and mountain passes on communication lines.²² Thus units were stationed on its northern and western boundaries, in Kapitul near Knin, Strmica and Pađane/Mokropolje. An unexcavated auxiliary camp in Kadina glavica not far from the Roman Promona, although outside the legionary territory, was under the command of Burnum.

When considering the locations for two stationary camps in Dalmatia, it was taken into account that the fortifications would be like “islands” near on inside the enemy territory, but also that they had a secure background and a possibility for retreat. When considering the legionary camp of Tilurium, the retreat was the colony of Salona,²³ but with Burnum the role was played by the loyal Liburnians. The distribution of military units and different fortifications on the territory of Burnum allowed an efficient surveillance of key communication lines and a fast inroad into a potential enemy territory, that of the Delmatae and deeper inland across the Dinara. The mobility of troops was increased when the VIIth and XIth legion had built the roads leading from Salona and Burnum during the governorship of Publius Cornelius Dolabella.²⁴ The units from Burnum have provided troops for outwork strongholds, fortresses (*arces*) and sentinel towers

21 M. Zaninović 1985, 63 ff. On the boundary inscription found in Čenići in Uzdolje we read: *T(erminus) pra(ti) / leg(ionis) / XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*. It was erected after AD 42. The inscription from the foot of the hill of Vedropolje in Uzdolje was found some 2 km more to the north. We read: *[. . . Termini? p]o[s(iti) inter p]ral[t]a leg(ionis) et fines / roboreti Fla(vii) / Marc(iani) per Augustianum Bellicum proc(uratorem) / Aug(usti)*. Judging by the knight's career, the inscription belongs to the reign of Trajan in the late 1st c.

22 Zaninović 1985, 67 ff.

23 Zaninović 1985, 73-73; Sanader 2002a, 125-126

24 Bojanovski 1974, 16-18. Together with a critical survey of earlier textual restitutions, Bojanovski publishes two inscriptions documenting five of Dolabella's roads, inscribed onto four tablets.

Castra legionis

Legije u Burnumu bile su smještene najprije u privremenom ljetnom logoru (*castra aestiva*) čiji tragovi zasad nisu uočeni na terenu. U njemu je boravila *Legio XX*, nazvana kasnije *Valeria Victrix*, koja iz Hispanije stiže oko godine 20. pr. Kr.³⁰ Njena nazočnost u provinciji Ilirik potvrđena je natpisom veterana Tita Fuficija iz Salone³¹, veterana iz Jadera³² i natpisom centuriona Salvija Frebrana Bakula iz Burnuma³³. Centurion (*bastatus prior*) u trenutku podizanja spomenika očito je bio u aktivnoj službi³⁴. Stela veterana Tita Fuficija nastala je u kladijevsko doba, ali možemo spekulirati da je doživio duboku starost te da je od trenutka njegovog časnog otpusta iz legije moglo proći i tridesetak godina. Niz godina provedenih na bojnim poljima na iliričkom prostoru, tako u Panonskom ratu od 13. do 9. god. pr. Kr., kao i Panonsko-delmatskom ratu protiv dva Batona od 6. do 9. god.³⁵ rezultirao je rijetkim spomenicima iz Ilirika. Spomenutim treba pridružiti žrtvenik iz Ivoševaca, s kampanskim *Iovilae* zavjetom³⁶, kojeg je J. Medini pravilno protumačio i uvjerljivo povezo s pripadnicima XX legije³⁷.

Nakon odlaska, najranije 10. god., XX. legiju zamijenjuje XI. Na prijelazu era zimski logor (*castra hiberna*) iliričkih postrojbi još uvijek je bila *Aquileia* u sjevernoj Italiji, gdje je nađeno nekoliko natpisa sa spomenom XX. legije³⁸ istovremenih onima u

(*turres*).²⁵ These crews, together with auxiliary units in satellite fortresses in Burnum and Promona secured the road *ad inum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*,²⁶ as well as the section of the main road from Aquileia to Dyrrachium²⁷ and other roads.²⁸ At the beginning of the 2nd c. at the latest, some of these military duties in Burnum and Magnum were taken over by the beneficiaries of the Ist auxiliary legion (*Legio I Adiutrix*) and the Vth Macedonian legion (*Legio V Macedonica*).²⁹

Castra legionis

The legions were initially placed in Burnum in a temporary summer camp (*castra aestiva*), traces of which, at least for now, have not been noticed. The *Legio XX*, later called *Valeria Victrix*, was stationed in this camp, arriving from Hispania in c. 20 BC.³⁰ Its presence in the Illyricum is verified by the inscriptions of the veteran Titus Fuficius from Salona,³¹ a veteran from Iader,³² and the inscription of the centurion Salvius Frebranus Bacculus from Burnum.³³ The centurion (*bastatus prior*) was obviously active when the monument was erected.³⁴ The stele of the veteran Titus Fulficius was made

25 The concentration of military inscriptions in these places is a certain confirmation for the existence of these objects, yet to be located in the landscape.

26 CIL III, 3201 + 3198b = 10159 + 10156b; Bojanovski 1974, 203 ff.

27 Miletić 2006, 129-130, fig. 4.

28 Zaninović 1974, 310-311

29 Wilkes 1969, 122-127, 142-144. *Leg. I Adiutrix* and *leg. V Macedonica* have provided troops for the beneficiaries in Dalmatia from the late 1st to the early 3rd c.

30 Ritterling 1924-1925, col. 1769-1781; Manning 2000, 69 ff.

31 CIL III, 2030; Cambi, 2005, 53, fig. 68. After the analysis of figurative elements N. Cambi suggests that the stele was made in the Claudian period (in the 40s), because the majority of figures have the character of Tiberian classicist academism, while the portrait of Fuficius shows a slight tension characteristic for Claudian tendencies.

32 CIL III, 2911. The inscription from Iader was discovered in Zadar or the surrounding area (Sukošan or Sv. Petar).

33 CIL III, 2836

34 If it was erected prior to AD 10, that is, prior to the removal of the legion, the appearance of the cognomen would be strange, because it became more frequent in the province of Dalmatia only in the mid-1st c.

30 Ritterling 1924-1925, col. 1769-1781; Manning 2000, 69 ff.

31 CIL III, 2030; Cambi, 2005, 53, sl. 68. Nakon analize likovnih elemenata N. Cambi smatra da je stela nastala u kladijevsko doba (četdesetih godina 1. st), jer većina figura pokazuje tiberijanski klasicistički akademizam, dok se na Fuficijevom liku zapaža i blagi nemir kladijevskih strujanja.

32 CIL III, 2911. Natpis iz Jadera potječe iz Zadra ili šireg zadarskog prostora (Sukošan ili Sv. Petar).

33 CIL III, 2836.

34 Ako je spomenik nastao prije 10. g., tj. prije odlaska legije, neobična je pojava kognomena, jer je on u provinciji Dalmaciji učestao tek sredinom 1. st.

35 Wilkes 1969, 61-77.

36 CIL III, 9898.

37 Medini 1979, 137 ff.

38 CIL V, 948, 939.





Burnumu³⁹. Tek nakon devastirajućeg Panonsko-delmatskog rata s Batonima, u Burnumu je bilo moguće podići stalni kameni logor za novu postrojbu.

Možemo samo nagađati je li o tim građevinskim aktivnostima bilo riječi na natpisu iz Burnuma⁴⁰, od kojeg su ostala sačuvana samo četiri slova CORN⁴¹. Postoji više prijedloga restitucije natpisa, koji su svi slabo iskoristivi zbog prevelike fragmentarnosti. Patsch⁴² ih restituira imenom Publija Kornelija Dolabele, namjesnika provincije od 14. do 20. god. Argument u prilog tezi je materijal – mramor – od kojeg je isklesana ploča debljine 6 cm, s uklesanim slovima visine oko 5 cm. Evidentno je riječ o spomeniku odlične kvalitete, koji je sudeći prema debljini bio uzidan u neku građevinu. Natpis je s lokaliteta Šupljaja, što znači da je bio postavljen u prostoru vojnog logora. Stoga je vjerojatno javnog karaktera i moguće je da se na njemu spominje upravo Dolabela. U tom slučaju natpis je postavljen da bi označio dovršenje neke veće gradnje. Bez obzira na to jesu li stalni logor izgradile pomoćne postrojbe (*Ala I Hispanorum*) same ili zajedno s legionarima, to se zbilo u godinama oko odlaska XX. legije i dolaska njene zamjene XI. legije, odnosno početkom Dolabelinog mandata⁴³. U tom slučaju, dolazak legije, ujedno i krajnji datum dovršetka izgradnje kastruma, pada u vrijeme između 14. god. što je početak Dolabelinog mandata u provinciji i prve posjete princa Druza Julija Cezara godine 17. Tiberije ga šalje u Ilirik da bi se privikao vojničkom životu i stekao naklonost vojske⁴⁴. Gradnja kastruma u Burnumu trajala je 4 do 6 godina.

U prilog ovakvoj dataciji idu i istraživanja kastruma sedamdesetih godina 20. st. B. Ilakovac koji je temeljito istražio legijski akvedukt iz Plavnog polja smatra njegovu izgradnju jedinstvenom zamisli s gradnjom

in the Claudian period, but we can speculate that he lived to a very old age, so that as much as 30 years could have passed from the moment of his honorable discharge to the moment of the erection of the monument. A number of years spent on battle fields of the Illyricum, in the Pannonian War of 13-9 BC, as well as in the Pannonian-Dalmatian war against the two Batos from AD 6-9³⁵ has resulted with few monuments originating in Illyricum. We should also mention an altar from Ivoševci with a Campanian *Iovilae* vow,³⁶ thoroughly analyzed and associated with the soldiers of the XXth legion by J. Medini.³⁷

After the removal of the XXth legion, in 10 BC at the latest, XIth legion replaced it in Burnum. About AD 1 the winter camp (*castra hiberna*) of the Illyrian troops was still in Aquileia in northern Italy, where several inscriptions mentioning the XXth legion had been found,³⁸ contemporary with those from Burnum.³⁹ Only after the devastating Pannonian-Dalmatian war with the Batos, it was possible to construct a permanent camp in stone for a new military unit.

We can only guess whether these construction activities were referred to in the Burnum inscription,⁴⁰ from which only four letters are preserved: CORN.⁴¹ There are various suggestions for the restitution of the inscription, none of them very useful, because it is simply too fragmented. Patsch⁴² reads here the name of Publius Cornelius Dolabella, the governor of the province from AD 14-20. Another argument for his thesis is the material – marble – from which the 6 cm table was made, with carved in letters some 5 cm high. It is obviously a monument of highest quality, probably embedded in some building, judging from its thickness. The inscription comes from the site of Šupljaja, which means it was placed within the area of the military camp. Thus it was probably of public character and it is possible that precisely Dolabella is mentioned on it. In this case, the inscription would commemorate the erection of some larger construction. No matter whether

39 Ritterling 1924-1925, col 1770.

40 CIL III, 14321.

41 CIL III, 14321¹⁸.

42 Patsch 1897, 179.

43 Patsch 1897a, col 1069.

44 Tacitus, *Annales*, 2. 44; Rendić-Miočević 1952, 41 i d. *Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est ut suaseret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obrinente.*

35 Wilkes 1969, 61-77

36 CIL III, 9898

37 Medini 1979, 137 ff.

38 CIL V, 948, 939

39 Ritterling 1924-1925, col 1770

40 CIL III, 14321

41 CIL III, 14321¹⁸

42 Patsch 1897, 179

logora. Sve skupa datira u doba Dolabele, najkasnije do 20. god., a kaže da sondiranja 1973./74. u logoru pokazuju da postoji bogat kulturni sloj iz Tiberijevog vremena⁴⁵.

Logor je pačetvorina približnih dimenzija 330 m x 295 m, sa stranicama omjera 10 : 9⁴⁶. Ako je dio logora bio i veliki trokutasti prostor sa sjeverozapadne strane (u kojem su mogle biti žitnice kao u sličnom prostoru u Karnuntu) njegova površina bila bi još nekoliko hektara veća. Logor u Burnumu podijeljen je na dvije velike cjeline. Unutar većeg sjeverozapadnog dijela, takozvane retenture (*retentura*), bila je glavina vojničkih spavaonica. U nešto manjem jugoistočnom dijelu pretenture (*praetentura*), na strani prema kanjonu Krke, osim zgrada zapovjedništva vjerojatno se nalazila i bolnica (*valetudinarium*) i spavaonice zaštitnih odjeljenja. U Burnumu principij je neočekivano blizu bedema iznad kanjona Krke, pa je površina preostalog prostora u pretenturi relativno mala. Zbog toga u dijelu pretenture između principija i bedema ima mjesta za spavaonice u širini jednog ili najviše dva pojasa (*strige; scamna*). Spavaonice su uočene analizom georadarskih i magnetometarskih pretraživanja⁴⁷. Možda je broj zaštitnih odjeljenja legije smanjen zbog sigurnosti koju pruža smještaj iznad kanjona Krke. Kako je recentnim istraživanjima ustanovljeno postojanje kastela auksilijarnih postrojbi, sad je jasno da one nisu boravile u legijskom logoru. U tom slučaju u pretenturi je dostajao i manji broj spavaonica za potrebe legijskih zaštitnih odjeljenja oko stožernih zgrada. Nedevasirajuća istraživanja u principiju i pretenturi, kao i nova saznanja o amfiteatru omogućila su dopunjenu kronologiju građevinskih faza.

Završetak izgradnje prvog trajnog logora (*castra legionis XI*) pada između 14. i 17. godine. Iz tog perioda bio bi stariji, manji principij, dimenzija 46 m x 53 m⁴⁸. Početkom 1. st. još se nije ustalio razmještaj glavnih građevinskih objekata u tlocrtima logora kakav je uobičajen na kasnijem trajansko-hadrijan-

45 Ilakovac 1982, 104.

46 Precizne mjere bit će određene tek kad se arheološki istraže bedemi.

47 Campedelli 2007, 54-55, sl. 1.

48 Reisch 1913, 123-124. Autor donosi ove mjere, ali na tlocrtu na slici 31 mjerilo je netočno nacrtano.

the permanent camp was constructed solely by auxiliary units (*Ala I Hispanorum*) or together with legionaries, it was erected during the period when the XXth legion was leaving and the XIth legion replaced it, that is, in the early years of the Dolabella's mandate.⁴³ In this case, the arrival of the latter, in the same time the last date for the finishing of the construction of the *castrum*, must have happened between AD 14 (the start of Dolabella's mandate in the province) and the first visit of Drusus Julius Caesar in AD 17. Tiberius had sent him to Illyricum to adapt to the military life and win the sympathies of the army.⁴⁴ The construction of the castle took 4 to 6 years.

The excavations of the *castrum* during the 1970s support this dating. B. Ilakovac, who has excavated the legionary aqueduct in Plavno polje, believes that its construction was contemporary with the erection of the camp. He dates the whole complex to the Dolabella's period, in AD 20 at the latest, and he adds that the trenches in 1973-4 within the camp showed a rich cultural layer from the Tiberian period.⁴⁵

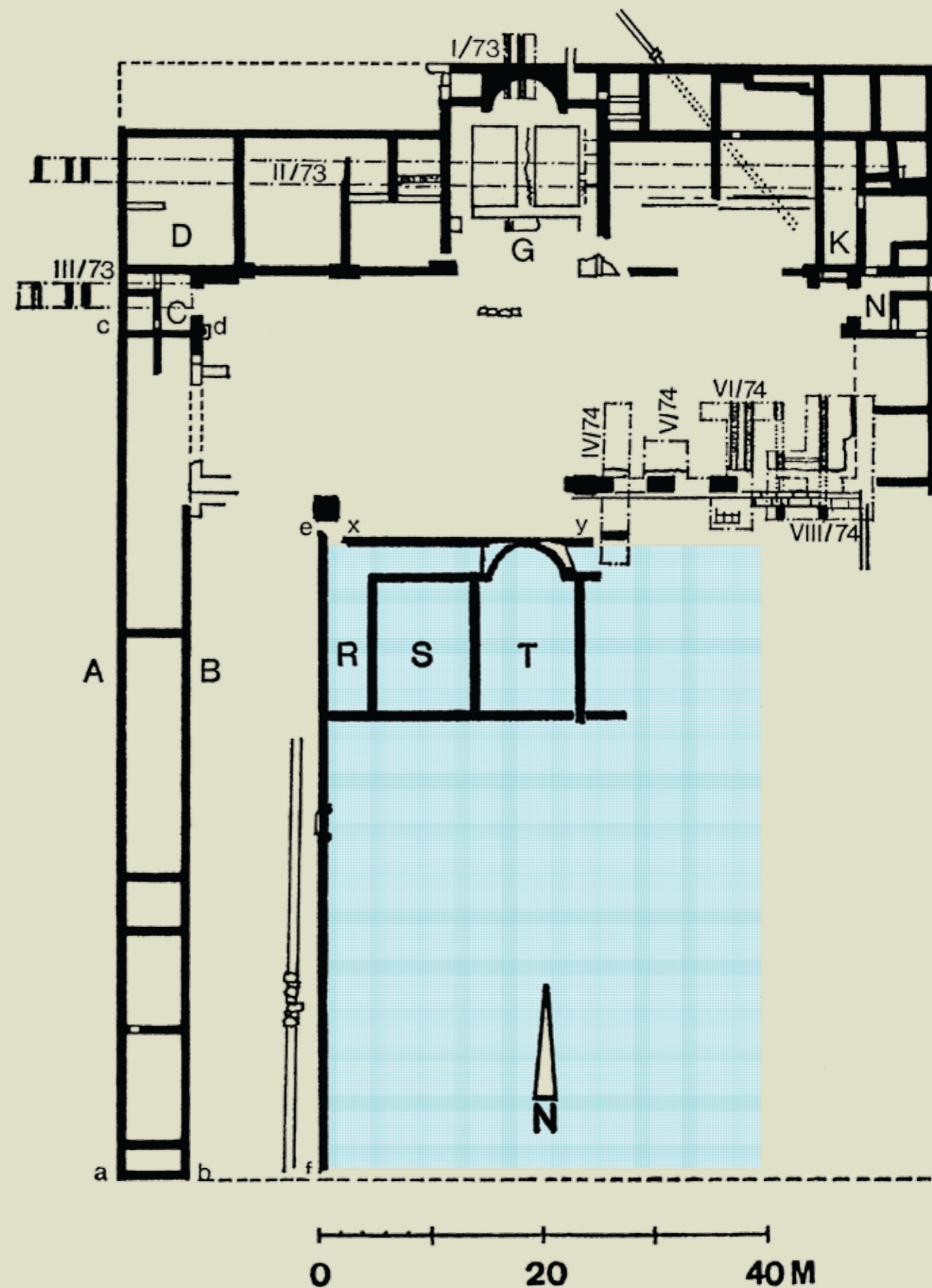
The camp was quadrangular in shape, some 330 x 295 m, with sides following a 10:9 ratio.⁴⁶ If a large triangle area to the north-west was also a part of the camp (where granaries could have been placed, like in a similar area in Carnuntum), its area would be larger for another few acres. The camp in Burnum was divided into two large complexes. Within the larger north-western section, the so-called rear division (*retentura*), hosted the majority of barracks. In a somewhat smaller south-eastern section of the front division (*praetentura*), on the side towards the canyon of the Krka, beside the command buildings, there was probably a hospital (*valetudinarium*) and the barracks of protective units. The principium was placed in Burnum unexpectedly close to the rampart above the canyon of the Krka, so that the remaining area of the *praetentura* was relatively small. Because of this there was only room for one or two lines of barracks (*strige; scamna*) in the part

43 Patsch 1897a, col 1069

44 Tacitus, *Annales*, 2. 44; Rendić-Miočević 1952, 41ff. *Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est ut suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente.*

45 Ilakovac 1982, 104

46 The precise measures will only be determined with the excavation of the ramparts.



skom podunavskom limesu. Smještaj burnumskog principija tako pokazuje odstupanja u odnosu na ustaljenu tlocrtnu dispoziciju niza logora na granicama trajansko-hadrijanskog Carstva.

Stratigrafija sitnog arheološkog materijala ustanovljena tijekom sustavnih istraživanja započetih 2003. god. upućuje da je prvi čvrsti amfiteatar podignut u doba Klaudija⁴⁹. Natpis namjesnika provincije Dalmacije Publija Anteja Rufa⁵⁰ i još jedan sitni ulomak s njegovim imenom⁵¹, pokazuju da su godine 51. ili 52. dovršeni značajni građevinski poduhvati na objektima u taboru⁵². Izgrađen je veći principij, koji je negirao starije zdanje. On je približnih dimenzija 104 m x 73 m, što čini uobičajeni arhitektonski omjer $\sqrt{2}$ (=1,41) : 1. Tlocrt te građevine sastojao se od dva bočna dugačka krila s nizom prostorija te od stražnjeg užeg krila s prostorijama oko središnjeg vojničkog svetišta (*aedes*), odvojenog od dvorišta - foruma - nizom arkada. Možemo reći da je taj takozvani *pretorium*, kako se dosad nazivao u literaturi, u stvari *principium*, tj. zapovjedni – stožerni - dio. Za usporedbu, on jako naliči principiju u Karnuntumu*. Obnova logora i izgradnja novog amfiteatra poduhvati su kojima je iskazana vladarska moć i nagrađena XI. legija (zajedno sa VII. u Tiluriju) za odanost caru koju je pokazala tijekom uzurpatorske pobune Lucija Aruncija Skribonijana, namjesnika provincije Dalmacije⁵³.

XI. legiju zamjenjuje III. *Flavia Felix*, koja je u Dalmaciju stigla oko 70. god. iz Mainza, nakon rekonstrukcije III. Makedonske legije. U provinciji Dalmaciji nađeno je svega nekoliko natpisa sa spomenom te legije⁵⁴. U Burnumu boravi sve do godine 86., do premještanja u Singidunum u Meziji. U literaturi se navodi da je od tog datuma provincija Dalmacija ostala bez legija. Zahvaljujući recentnim arheološkim istraživanjima došlo se do drugačijih spoznaja.

49 Cambi *et alii* 2006, 26; Glavičić & Miletić 2009, 78.

50 CIL III, 14987; Patsch 1897a; Reisch 1913, 124-128.

51 Abramić 1924, 222.

52 Natpis se datira u 51./52. god. na temelju imperatorskih aklamacija.

53 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977, plan 2.

54 Bulić 1905, 3 ff.

of *praetentura* between the principium and the ramparts. The barracks were recognized through the analysis of georadar and magnetometric surveys.⁴⁷ Perhaps the number of protective units in the legion was lessened because of the security provided by the position above the canyon of the Krka. Since recent excavations have shown the existence of a fortress of auxiliary units, it is now clear that they were not stationed in the camp itself. In this case, a smaller number of barracks for legionary protective units around the command buildings sufficed within the *praetentura*. The un-invasive research within the principium and *praetentura*, as well as new insights on the amphitheatre, allowed us to create an updated chronology of construction phases.

The finishing of the construction of the first permanent camp (*castra legionis XI*) is dated between AD 14 and 17. An earlier smaller principium, 46 x 53 m,⁴⁸ belongs to that period. In the early 1st c. the arrangement of buildings in the camp ground plan characteristic for later Trajanic-Hadrianic Danube limes was not yet a custom feature. The location of the Burnum principium, therefore, shows a divergence from a normal ground plan of a number of camps located on the borders of the Trajanic-Hadrianic Empire.

The stratigraphy of smaller archaeological material was determined during the systematic excavations that had begun in 2003; it suggests that the first permanent amphitheatre was erected in the reign of Claudius.⁴⁹ The inscription of the governor of Dalmatia, Publius Anteius Rufus,⁵⁰ and another smaller fragment with his name on it,⁵¹ show that in 51 or 52 some significant construction efforts pertaining to structures within the camp were finished.⁵² A larger principium was built, negating the earlier structure. Its dimensions were c. 104 x 73 m, which represents a common architectural ratio of $\sqrt{2}$ (=1,41) : 1. The ground plan of this building consisted of two lateral long wings with a line of rooms, and a narrower posterior wing with rooms around the central military sanctuary

47 Campedelli 2007, 54-55, fig. 1.

48 Reisch 1913, 123-124. The author discusses these measures, but the ground plan on figure 31 has a wrong scale.

49 Cambi *et alii* 2006, 26; Glavičić & Miletić 2009, 78

50 CIL III, 14987; Patsch 1897a; Reisch 1913, 124-128

51 Abramić 1924, 222

52 The inscription is dated to AD 51/52 on the basis of imperial acclamations.

Epigrafička evidencija VIII. legije u provinciji Dalmaciji je skromna. Malobrojni natpisi otkriveni su na širokom prostoru od Labina do Sarajevskog polja. Datiraju se u literaturi u rasponu od ranog 1. st. sve do u 3. st., a odnose se i na aktivne vojnike i na veterane⁵⁵. Tegule s pečatima VIII. legije u Dalmaciji su otkrivene u Aseriji, Burnumu, Tiluriju i Humcu⁵⁶. Posljedica te nekoherentnosti je da se boravak cijele legije ili njenih odjeljenja u literaturi određuje nekad u početak 1. st., često u 69. god., a nekad i u drugu polovicu 2. st.

Zasad nema uporišta niti u arheološkim niti literarnim izvorima da legija boravi početkom 1. st. u Burnumu. Isto tako, kratkotrajan boravak 69. god., na putu u građanski rat u Italiji, nije vjerojatan. Po završetku civilnog rata, legija je 70. god. prebačena preko Alpa u ekspediciji Vespazijanovog zeta Kvinta Petillija Cerijala, da bi smirila Batavce, koji su se prethodne godine pobunili na ispražnjenju rajnskoj granici⁵⁷. Nakon građanskog rata, na rajnskom limesu ostala je gotovo do kraja postojanja u Strasbourgu (rimski *Argentoratum*). Premda stacionira u Germaniji njena odjeljenja nalazimo razbacana na širokom prostoru, za različite potrebe, u raznim ekspedicijama i u građevinskim poduhvatima⁵⁸. Smatram da je tijekom tog dugotrajnog boravka u Germaniji, negdje iza 86. god., nakon odlaska III. legije iz Dalmacije, jedna veksilacija izdvojena i poslana u Dalmaciju.

Bojanovski je jedini natpis aktivnog vojnika VIII. legije iz Burnuma datirao u zadnju trećinu 1. st. na temelju pojave *tria nomina*, iskazivanja tribusa i drugih osobina te ga je povezo sa spomenutim tobožnjim boravkom legije godine 69. u Burnumu⁵⁹. Wilkes smatra da je vojnik novačen kad je legija već stacionirala u Germaniji, a s obzirom na doživljeni broj godina služenja u vojsci niti teoretski ne bi mogao biti u Burnumu prije godine 78. Kako je tada u Burnumu III. legija, Wilkes smatra da vojnik nije

55 Ritterling 1924-1925, col 1540-1541; Betz 1938, 46-48; Zaninović 1968, 122; Zaninović 2007, 271.

56 Betz 1938, 50-52, 71; Bojanovski 1990, 699-701.

57 Patsch 1900, 79-80, 95-97; Betz 1938, 51; Bojanovski 1990, 702-703; Tončinić 2003, 266; Dodig 2008, 145-146, 152-154.

58 Tacitus, *Historiae* IV. 68; CIL XIII, 4625.

59 Saxer 1967, br. 39 i 40.

(*aedes*), separated from the yard – the forum – with a line of arcs. We can say that this so-called *pretorium*, as known from earlier works, was actually a principium, that is, the command – headquarter – area. An analogy is found in the principium in Carnuntum. The renovation of the camp and the erection of a new amphitheatre are efforts showing the power of the emperor and gifts for the XIth legion (together with the VIIth, stationed in Tilurium), for the loyalty shown to the emperor during the usurpation of Lucius Aruncius Scribonianus, the governor of the province of Dalmatia.⁵³

The XIth legion was replaced by the IIIth *Flavia Felix*, arriving to Dalmatia in c. AD 70 from Mainz, after the reconstitution of the IIIth Macedonian legion. Only a few inscriptions mentioning this legion were found on the territory of the province of Dalmatia.⁵⁴ It was stationed in Burnum until AD 86, when it was transferred to Singidunum in Moesia. It is often stated that at this moment Dalmatia remained without legions. Thanks to the recent archaeological excavations, we now know better.

Epigraphic evidence for the VIIIth legion on the territory of the province of Dalmatia is rather scarce. A small number of inscriptions were discovered on a wide territory from Labin to Sarajevo field. They are dated from the early 1st c. to the 3rd, and they refer to both active soldiers and veterans.⁵⁵ The *tegulae* with the VIIIth legion seals in Dalmatia were discovered in Asseria, Burnum, Tilurium, and Humac.⁵⁶ The consequence of this incoherence was that the legion – or its divisions – was believed to be stationed in this area sometimes in the early 1st c., most frequently in AD 69, and sometimes even as late as the second half of the 2nd c.

At this moment, neither archaeological nor literary sources offer any support for the presence of the legion in Burnum in the early 1st c. Also, the short presence in 69, on the way to the ongoing civil war in Italy, is not very plausible. After the end of the civil war the legion was transferred over the Alps as a part of the campaign of Quintus Petilius Cerialis, Vespasian's son in law, who ventured to pacify the Batavians, who had revolted the

53 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977, plan 2

54 Bulić 1905, 3 ff.

55 Ritterling 1924-1925, col 1540-1541; Betz 1938, 46-48; Zaninović 1968, 122; Zaninović 2007, 271

56 Betz 1938, 50-52, 71; Bojanovski 1990, 699-701



bio u Burnumu ni prije 86. godine⁶⁰. Međutim, zbog primjeraka crjepova s pečatom legije ipak dopušta da dolaze u obzir oba datuma boravka barem dijela legije u Burnumu. Usto, Wilkes ne isključuje mogućnost da jedno odjeljenje boravi i u drugoj polovici 2. st. u Dalmaciji, ovaj put radi vojničkih razloga, konkretno Kvadsko-markomanskog rata⁶¹. Za tu tvrdnju zasad nema dokaza, a Bojanovski razložno tumači natpise nekoliko veterana VIII. legije iz tog perioda kao rezultat dedukcije i romanizacije središnje i istočne Bosne, prostora na kojem dominira gentilno ime *Aurelius*⁶².

Smatram da boravak veksilacije VIII. legije u Burnumu treba odrediti u period neposredno iza 86. god., pa do stjecanja municipalnog statusa u doba Hadrijana. Tome je dokaz i to što na svim ciglama iz Aserije, Bigesta, Humca, Burnuma legijska titula uvijek je *Augusta*, nikad s epitetom *pia fidelis*, koji stječe tek za Komoda⁶³. Titula *Augusta* je i na kamenim natpisima provincije: iz Labina (*miles*), Burnuma (*miles*), Kurikta (*veteranus*), Gradca kod Sarajeva (*veteranus*) i iz Nedina (*veteranus*)⁶⁴.

Castellum alarum et cohortium

U vidom u zračne snimke i rekognosciranjem terena tijekom recentnih arheoloških istraživanja u Burnumu prvi put su ustanovljeni ostatci auksilijarnog kastela, istočno od legijskog logora⁶⁵. Karakter građevine potvrđen je postavljanjem dviju sondi. Na sjeveroistočnom dijelu otkriveni su nekoliko metara široki zaobljeni temelji ugla bedema. Druga sonda, približno na sredini zapadnog zida, pokazala je kontrafor s unutarnje strane bedema. Nalazi nekoliko pečata LEG VII CPF na crjepovima pokazuju da je kaštel sazidan najkasnije u doba Klaudija, a ima indicija da u obzir dolaze i raniji datumi.

Epigrafička evidencija ukazuje da barem četiri pomoćne postrojbe u Burnumu borave tijekom 1. st.:

preceding year on the then abandoned frontier on the Rhine.⁵⁷ After the civil war, it remained almost to the end of its existence on the Rhine limes, in Strasbourg (Roman *Argentoratum*). Although stationed in Germania, its divisions were scattered on a large area, fulfilling different tasks, campaigning in various operations, and being engaged in construction works.⁵⁸ I believe that a *vexillatio* of that legion was separated out and sent to Dalmatia during its long-term sojourn in Germania, after the year AD 86 and the departure of the IIIIth legion.

Bojanovski has dated the only surviving inscription of an active soldier of the VIIIth legion of Burnum in the last third of the 1st c. on the basis of the appearance of *tria nomina*, the name of the *tribus*, and other characteristics, and associated it with the above mentioned supposed sojourn of the legion in AD 69 in Burnum.⁵⁹ Wilkes believes that the soldier was recruited when the legion was already stationed in Germania, and, considering the number of years he had already served in the army, he could not have been present in Burnum – even theoretically – before the year AD 78. Since the IIIIth legion was then sojourning in Burnum, Wilkes believes that the soldier was not present in Burnum before 86.⁶⁰ But, because of some tiles bearing the legion's inscriptions, he nevertheless allows the possibility that both dates could be relevant for the presence of at least a part of the legion in Burnum. Also, Wilkes does not exclude the possibility that one division was stationed in Dalmatia during the second half of the 2nd c., this time for military reasons, more specifically, because of the Quadi-Marcomannic war.⁶¹ This statement could not be verified at this moment, and Bojanovski interprets the inscriptions of several veterans of the VIIIth legion from this period as a result of deduction and Romanization of the central and eastern Bosnia, the area dominated by the *Aurelius gentilicium*.⁶²

I believe that the presence of a *vexillatio* of the VIIIth legion in Burnum belongs to the period immediately after the AD 86, until the acquiring of the municipal status

60 Bojanovski 1990, 699, br. 1.

61 Wilkes 1969, 115-116.

62 Wilkes 1969, 116.

63 Bojanovski 1990, 701.

64 Bojanovski 1990, 701

65 Betz 1938, 50-52; Bojanovski 1990, 700.

57 Patsch 1900, 79-80, 95-97; Betz 1938, 51; Bojanovski 1990, 702-703; Tončinić 2003, 266; Dodig 2008, 145-146, 152-154

58 Tacitus, *Historiae* IV. 68; CIL XIII, 4625

59 Saxer 1967, nr. 39 i 40

60 Bojanovski 1990, 699, nr. 1.

61 Wilkes 1969, 115-116

62 Wilkes 1969, 116

Ala I Hispanorum, Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria, Cohors III Alpinorum i *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*⁶⁶. Mali broj natpisa i općenito slabo poznata problematika pomoćnih postrojbi u prvoj polovici 1. st. razlog su što je teško preciznije odrediti točno vrijeme njihova boravka u provinciji, pa čak i slijed stacioniranja.

U znanstvenoj literaturi još nije ustanovljeno koliko se točno krije postrojbi iza desetak različitih epiteta koji se vežu uz ime I. hispanske ale. Iz toga razloga njena geneza i itinerar tijekom 1. st. slabo su poznati. Ona je, vjerojatno, jedna od brojnih postrojbi (deset legija, sedamdesetak pomoćnih kohorti i četrnaest ala), koje prema Veleju Paterkulu (*Historiae Romanae, II 113*) sudjeluju u gušenju velikog panonsko-delmatskog ustanka dvaju Batona od 6. do 9. god. Moguće je da su pripadnici postrojbe, stoga, dobro poznavali prostor provincije, u vrijeme kada je ala stigla u Burnum, čini se već u Tiberijevo doba, neposredno iza rata⁶⁷. Prilično je izvjesno da početkom Klaudijevog razdoblja, oko 42. god., odlazi u kastel na Bem-tériju u Budimpešti (*Aquincum*), gdje boravi do 69. god. Na panonskoj diplomi od 2. srpnja 61. god., koja potječe iz neposredne blizine Vukovara, spominju se dvije I. hispanske ale: *I. Hispanorum et Aravacorum* i *I. Hispanorum Auriana*⁶⁸. One su označene kao dio vojske Ilirika pod čim se nedvojbeno misli na *Illyricum Inferius*, što je sinonim za provinciju Panoniju⁶⁹. Znači, u to vrijeme I. hispanska ala nije više u Dalmaciji.

Čini se, da alu zamjenjuje *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria*⁷⁰. U literaturi se obično navodi da je u Burnumu boravila već tijekom prva dva desetljeća 1. st., a provinciju je napustila sredinom 1. st.⁷¹. Analiza spomenika ukazuje na nešto kasniji boravak ove postrojbe u Burnumu i Dalmaciji. Glede tog proble-

during Hadrian's reign. This is supported by the fact that the legion title is always *Augusta*, never with the *pia fidelis* epithet, acquired during the reign of Commodus, on all the tiles from Asseria, Bigeste, Humac, and Burnum.⁶³ The *Augusta* title is present on the stone monuments of the province: from Labin (*miles*), Burnum (*miles*), Curictum (*veteranus*), Gradac near Sarajevo (*veteranus*), and Nedin (*veteranus*).⁶⁴

Castellum alarum et cohortium

The analysis of the aerial photography and surveys conducted during the recent archaeological excavations in Burnum has enabled a detection of remains of an auxiliary fortification, east of the legionary camp.⁶⁵ The character of the building was confirmed with two trenches. On the north-eastern part several meters wide rounded foundations of an edge of a tower were discovered. The second trench, placed approximately in the centre of the western wall, revealed a buttress on the inside of the fortification. Several tiles with seals LEG VII CPF show that the fortress was built during the reign of Claudius at the latest, and there are indications supporting earlier dates.

Epigraphic evidence suggests that at least four auxiliary units were present in Burnum during the 1st c.: *Ala I Hispanorum, Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria, Cohors III Alpinorum* and *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*.⁶⁶ The small number of inscriptions and – generally – the problem of auxiliary formations in the first half of the 1st c., not often discusses, are the reasons for the inability to determine more precisely the exact period in which they were sojourning in the province, even the sequence of their presence.

The exact number of units hiding behind a dozen different epithets attached to the name of the Ist Hispanic ala is still undetermined. Because of this, its genesis and 1st c. itinerary of the unit are not well known. It was most probably one of numerous divisions (10 legions, 70 auxiliary cohorts and 14 *alae*) that have, according to Velleius Paterculus (*Historiae Romanae, II 113*), taken part in the

ma, osim dva natpisa iz Burnuma, osobito važne su portretna stela vojnika Marka Pithe iz Tilurija, kao i dvije vojničke stele iz Dugopolja⁷². Analize natpisa i tektonike spomenika, kao i fizionomijskih detalja na portretima na steli Marka Pithe evidentno ukazuju da pripadnici postrojbe borave u Dalmaciji sve do ranog vespazijanskog razdoblja⁷³. Neki od spomenutih vojnika umrli su tijekom aktivne službe, s preko četrdeset godina vojničkog staža. Kako drugdje u rimskom svijetu nije otkriven spomenik ove kohorte kasniji od vespazijanskog razdoblja, evidentno je postrojba rasformirana u vrijeme tog cara i kasnije nije obnovljena, barem ne pod istim imenom. Izuzetno dugo služenje nekih pripadnika II. kohorte Kiresta, možda se može objasniti time što su cijeli vojnički rok boravili u provinciji Dalmaciji, sve do rasformiranja postrojbe. Dolazak kohorte u upražnjeni kastel umilija u Burnum, gdje je zamijenila I. alu Hispanaca, vjerojatno se zbilo u vrijeme dolaska Klaudija na vlast i pobune namjesnika Dalmacije Lucija Aruncija Skribonijana 42. godine. Stele iz Dugopolja i Garduna snažna su indicija da kohorta nakon nekog vremena iz Burnuma prelazi u Tilurij, odnosno u utvrde koje su vezane uz taj kastrum. Snaga tilurijskog garnizona (legijskog logora i satelitskih utvrda) jako je umanjena odlaskom VII. legije oko 60. god. u Viminacij, pa se čini logičnim da je u to vrijeme došlo do premještanja II. kohorte Kiresta iz Burnuma u Tilurij, radi jačanja vojničke moći u zaleđu Salone.

Burnum tada postaje glavno vojničko središte cijele provincije jer u njoj još boravi XI. legija. Veliki je problem tko zamjenjuje kohortu Kiresta u Burnumu. U obzir dolaze *Cohors III Alpinorum* i *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*. Sigurnija datiranja jako otežava skroman broj spomenika Montanaca u Dalmaciji. Vjerojatnije je najprije tu boravila III. kohorta Alpinaca. Njena odjeljenja u Kapitulul kod

quenching of the great Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising of the two Batos (AD 6-9). It is possible that the soldiers of this unit were well acquainted with the territory of the province when the *ala* arrived at Burnum, already, it would seem, in the Tiberian period, immediately after the war.⁶⁷ It is more or less clear that at the beginning of the Claudian period (c. AD 42) it departed to the castle on Bem-téri in Budapest (*Aquincum*), where it was stationed to AD 69. On a Pannonian diploma of July 2, AD 69, discovered near Vukovar, two Ist Hispanic *alae* are mentioned: *I. Hispanorum et Aravacorum* i *I. Hispanorum Auriana*.⁶⁸ They were marked as a part of the army of Illyricum – surely with *Illyricum Inferius* in mind – which is a synonym for the province of Pannonia.⁶⁹ Thus, in this period the Ist Hispanic *ala* was no longer in Dalmatia.

It seems it was replaced by the *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria*.⁷⁰ It is often stated that it was already in Burnum during the first two decades of the 1st c., and departed from the province in the mid-1st c.⁷¹ The analysis of the monuments suggests a somewhat longer sojourn of this unit in Burnum and Dalmatia. With regards to this problem, beside the two Burnum inscriptions, a portrait stele of Marcus Pitho from Tilurium and two soldiers' stele from Dugopolje are of a special importance.⁷² The analysis of the inscriptions and monuments' tectonics, as well as physiognomic details on the portraits from the Marcus Pitho's stele, undoubtedly suggests that the soldiers of this unit were present in Dalmatia until the early Vespasian period.⁷³ Some of the mentioned soldiers have died during the active service, with more than twenty years of military service behind them. Since a monument of this cohort later than the Vespasian period was not

66 Miletić 2007, 190.

67 Wilkes 1969, 470 Appendix VIII, 471 ff. Appendix IX.

68 Raknić 1965, 71 ff.; Spaul 1994, 145.

69 Dušanić 1998, 51 ff.

70 CIL III 1741; Rendić-Miočević 1964, 341.

71 CIL III, 14934; Kubitschek 1924, 217, kat. br. 12; Betz 1954-1957, 84-85, 217, kat. br. 12; Alföldy 1962, 268, 293 kat. br. 11. 1; Suić 1970, 105-106, kat. br. 7; Medini 1984, 121, bilj. 7; Cambi 1994, 158-162; 2005, 66-68; Spaul 2000, 431.

63 Bojanovski 1990, 701

64 Bojanovski 1990, 701

65 Betz 1938, 50-52; Bojanovski 1990, 700

66 Wilkes 1969, 470 Appendix VIII, 471 ff. Appendix IX

72 Alföldy 1962, 268.

73 Stele Gaja Julija Andromaha i Gaja Julija Teodora uzidane su kao običan građevinski materijal u kasnoantičku grobnicu, a vjerojatno su podrijetlom iz groblja ranog carstva u blizini još neubiciranog burga na prostoru između Dicma i Dugopolja.

67 Raknić 1965, 71 ff.; Spaul 1994, 145

68 Dušanić 1998, 51 ff.

69 CIL III 1741; Rendić-Miočević 1964, 341

70 CIL III, 14934; Kubitschek 1924, 217, kat. nr. 12; Betz 1954-1957, 84-85, 217, kat. nr. 12; Alföldy 1962, 268, 293 kat. nr. 11. 1; Suić 1970, 105-106, kat. nr. 7; Medini 1984, 121, n. 7; Cambi 1994, 158-162; 2005, 66-68; Spaul 2000, 431

71 Alföldy 1962, 268

72 The stele of Gaius Julius Andromachus and Gaius Julius Theodorus were embedded as a common building material into a Late Antiquity tomb, and they are probably originally from an early imperial cemetery near to the yet undetermined fort between Dicmo and Dugopolje.

73 Cambi 1994, 158-162, 166 ff.; 2005, 66-68, fig. 94.

Knina⁷⁴, Skardoni⁷⁵ i Kadinoj glavici (*Promoni*)⁷⁶ potvrđena su vojničkim natpisima i snažna su indicija da je zapovjedno središte postrojbe bilo u Burnumu⁷⁷ odakle je prebačena u Humac kod Ljubuškog. Je li do tog premještanja došlo oko 69. god. kada XI. legija odlazi iz Burnuma u građanski rat? Zvuči logično, ali je stvar spekulacija. Na diplomi iz Salone⁷⁸ datiranoj 13. VII. 93. u doba Domicijana među postrojbama iz provincije spominje se i III. kohorta Alpinaca⁷⁹. Evidentno je nakon kraćeg zadržavanja u Burnumu kohorta duže boravila u Humcu, vjerojatno do kraja 1. st.⁸⁰, pa je tamo pronađen i veći broj spomenika.

Kohortu Alpinaca u Burnumu zamjenjuje *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*⁸¹, u isto vrijeme kad XI. legiju zamjenjuje *III Flavia felix*, koja je u Dalmaciju stigla oko 70. god. iz Mainza, nakon konstitucije od III. Makedonske legije. Pouzdan podatak je da se Montanci javljaju u Magdalensbergu u Noriku u prvoj pol. 1. st.⁸² Međutim, izostanak epiteta *civium Romanorum* na nekim spomenicima stvara dvojbu krije li se pod imenom te prve kohorte jedna ili dvije postrojbe⁸³. Na jednom od spomenika iz Burnuma⁸⁴, bez obzira na to što se na natpisu ne donosi epitet *civium Romanorum*, vojnik rodom iz Breše (*Brixia*) iskazuje tribus. To ga nedvojbeno legitimira kao rimskog građana, a kohortu kao građansku, dobrovoljačku, što neki autori nisu prepo-

74 Patsch 1897, 198, kat. br. 39; Spaul 2000, 266-268.

75 CIL III, 9886; Spaul 2000, 266-268.

76 CIL III, 2759; Spaul 2000, 266-268.

77 Alföldy 1962, 263 ff. Alföldy donosi kao mjesto nalaza ovog natpisa Burnum (Ivoševci), a točno mjesto njegova nalaska je Kapitul u Kninu. Smatra da je postrojba kraće vrijeme boravila u Burnumu već u prvoj pol. 1. st., što je sigurno prerano. Više ulomaka spomenika iz Burnuma nosi pokraćenu riječ COHORS bez sačuvanog imena postrojbe, pa nije isključeno da se odnose možda i na ovu kohortu. Krajem 1. st. postrojba boravi u kastelu u Humcu kod Ljubuškog.

78 CIL XVI, 38.

79 Sergejevski 1924, 117.

80 Alföldy 1962, 263.

81 CIL III, 15003; Alföldy 1962, 270 i 294, natpis br. 17. 2; Suić 1970, 106-107, br. 8; Spaul 2000, 294-295.

82 Brunšmid 1911, 35.

83 Lórinz 2001, 39-40.

84 Suić 1970, 106-107, br. 8.

discovered anywhere within the Roman world, it is clear that the unit was disbanded during that emperor's reign and that it was not later re-established, at least not under the same name. An exceptionally long term of service of several of the soldiers from the IIInd Cyrestus cohort is perhaps explainable with the fact that they had spent their entire term in the province of Dalmatia, until the unit was disbanded. The arrival of the cohort to an abandoned auxiliary castle in Burnum, where it had replaced the Ist Hispanic *ala*, probably took place during Claudius' ascension to power and the rebellion of the governor Lucius Aruncius Scribonianus in AD 42. The stele from Dugopolje and Gardun are a strong indication for the cohort's transfer from Burnum to Tilurium, that is, the fortresses associated with that *castrum*. The strength of the Tilurium garrison (legionary camp and satellite fortifications) was significantly diminished with the departure of the VIIth legion to Viminacium in c. AD 60, and it would seem logical that in the same time the IIInd Cyrestus cohort was transferred from Burnum to Tilurium, for the strengthening of the military power in the hinterland of Salona.

Burnum had now become the main military centre of the entire province, because the XIth legion was still stationed there. It is an unanswered question who precisely replaced the Cyrestus cohort in Burnum. The *Cohors III Alpinorum* and *Cohors I Montanorum civium Rom* remain plausible suggestions. A more precise chronology is complicated by the small number of Montanians in Dalmatia. It is more probable that the IIIrd Alpine cohort was at first present here. Its divisions in Kapitul near Knin,⁷⁴ Scardona,⁷⁵ and Kadina glavica (Promona)⁷⁶ are evidenced by the presence of military inscriptions and are a strong indication that the commanding centre of the unit was in Burnum,⁷⁷ from where it was transferred to Humac near Ljubuški. Was the transfer carried out in c. AD 69, when the XIth

74 Patsch 1897, 198, cat. nr. 39; Spaul 2000, 266-268

75 CIL III, 9886; Spaul 2000, 266-268

76 CIL III, 2759; Spaul 2000, 266-268

77 Alföldy 1962, 263 ff. stated as a place of discovery of this inscription Burnum (Ivoševci), but the precise place of its discovery is Kapitul near Knin. He believes that the division sojourned for a short period of time in Burnum in the first half of the 1st c., which is surely too early. Several fragments of monuments from Burnum have an abbreviated word COHORS without the (preserved) name of the unit, so it is not excluded that they refer to this cohort. In the late 1st c. the unit was stationed in Humac near Ljubuški.



znali⁸⁵. Vrlo je vrijedna opservacija da jedan vojnik, koji je služio u XI. legiji u Burnumu dolazi iz istog grada (*Brixia*) i iz istog tribusa, što je posljedica masovnog davanja građanstva nakon Cezarove smrti Transpadancima, koji su svi upisani u tribus Fabia⁸⁶. Rimski građani na službi u I. kohorti Montanaca su i vojnici Tiberius Iulius Buccio s natpisa iz Sankt Georgena am Langsee⁸⁷ i Tiberius Iulius Capatius s natpisa iz Sankt Veita an der Glan⁸⁸. Ipak, ni na tim noričkim natpisima nema epiteta *civium Romanorum*, jer očito nije prikazan cijeli naziv kohorte. Drugi natpis iz Burnuma⁸⁹ fragmentarno je sačuvan. Nakon kraćeg zadržavanja u Dalmaciji, kohorta je premještena u Panoniju. Nije sasvim sigurno da je njeno sjelo od oko 80. god. *Cannabiaca*, današnji Klosterneuburg⁹⁰. Nešto kasnije stacionira u kastele u Albertfalvi u Budimpešti, u vremenu oko 92. – 101. god. Zatim se spominje na diplomi Marka Herenija Polimite iz provincije Dacije, datiranoj 14. listopada 109. godine⁹¹. Prema tome, *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* zamijenila je u Burnumu III. kohortu Alpinaca kad ova ide u Humac oko 70. godine. Drugdje u Dalmaciji njeni spomenici nisu nađeni. Oko 86. god. iz Burnuma odlazi legija *III Flavia felix*, a s njom vjerojatno i Montanci. Do odlaska u Budimpeštu *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* u kastele u Burnumu boravila je najmanje desetak, a najviše oko šesnaest godina.

Slijed pomoćnih postrojbi tijekom 1. st. u Burnumu bio bi ovakav:

Ala I Hispanorum neposredno nakon ustanka 6.-9. g. do oko 42. g. (ide u Akvinkum u Panoniji),

Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria od oko 42. do oko 60. g. (ostaje u provinciji u Tiluriju i satelitskim utvrdama, gdje je rasformirana oko 80. g.),

85 Ilkić 2009b, 152.

86 Suić 1970, 108 i 123.

87 CIL III, 11509.

88 CIL III, 4846.

89 CIL III, 15003.

90 CIL XVI, 26.

91 Garbsch & Gudea 1990-1991, 61 ff.; Roxan 1996, cat. 148.

legion departed from Burnum in order to engage into the civil war? This sounds logical, but it is still only a speculation. On a diploma from Salona⁷⁸ of July 13, AD 93, thus from the reign of Domitian, among the units from the province the IIIrd Alpine cohort is also mentioned.⁷⁹ It is evident that the cohort was stationed in Humac for a longer period after only a short sojourn in Burnum, probably until the end of the 1st c.,⁸⁰ resulting in a larger number of monuments discovered at this site.

The Alpine cohort was replaced in Burnum by the *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*,⁸¹ in the same time when the XIth legion was replaced by the *III Flavia felix*, arriving to Dalmatia in c. AD 70 from Mainz, after being constituted out of the IIIth Macedonian legion. A reliable information places the Montanians in the Norican Magdalensberg in the first half of the 1st c.⁸² But the omission of the *civium Romanorum* epithet on some of the monuments creates an uncertainty whether one or two units are to be understood by this name.⁸³ On a monument from Burnum,⁸⁴ despite the omission of the *civium Romanorum* epithet, a soldier from Brescia (*Brixia*) had stated his *tribus*. This undoubtedly defines him as a Roman citizen, and the cohort as a civil, volunteer, one, which was not recognized by some authors.⁸⁵ The fact that a soldier serving in the XIth legion at Burnum came from the same city (*Brixia*) and was enlisted in the same *tribus*, a consequence of massive bequest of citizenship after Caesar's death to the Transpadanians, all enlisted in the Fabia *tribus*,⁸⁶ is a very important observation. Tiberius Iulius Boccio from the Sankt Georgen am Langsee inscription⁸⁷ and Tiberius Iulius Capatius from the Sankt Veit and der Glan inscription⁸⁸ were both Roman citizens serving in the Ist cohort of the Montanians. But there is no *civium Romanorum* epithet on these Norican inscrip-

78 CIL XVI, 38

79 Sergejevski 1924, 117

80 Alföldy 1962, 263

81 CIL III, 15003; Alföldy 1962, 270 and 294, inscription nr. 17. 2; Suić 1970, 106-107, nr. 8; Spaul 2000, 294-295

82 Brunšmid 1911, 35

83 Lórinz 2001, 39-40

84 Suić 1970, 106-107, nr. 8.

85 Ilkić 2009b, 152

86 Suić 1970, 108 and 123

87 CIL III, 11509

88 CIL III, 4846.

Cohors III Alpinorum od oko 60. do oko 70. g. (ostaje u provinciji u Humcu kod Ljubuškog, gdje je sigurno do 93. g.),

Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum od oko 70. do oko 86. g. (ide u Albertfalvu/Budimpeštu u Panoniji).

Postojanje auksilijarnog tabora rješava problem smještaja pomoćnih četa u Burnumu tijekom 1. st. U nevelikom kastrumu za njih mjesta nema uz legiju. Kastel isto tako razjašnjava gdje su mogle biti smještene pomoćne postrojbe u 2. i 3. st. u vrijeme kad je Burnum postao municipij, a kastrum izgubio vojničku namjenu, što je očito iz civilnih sadržaja koji se uvode u taj objekt⁹².

Nije isključeno da su ga koristili i beneficijariji, premda je vjerojatnije da je njihova *statio* smještena u potpuno zasebnu zgradu. O tome još nemamo nikakvih arheoloških potvrda. Nakon odlaska legija, kastel pomoćnih postrojbi postaje središnji vojni objekt i zapovjedno mjesto. Dio legijskog teritorija smanjen je na korist gradskog agera Burnuma.

Canabae

Canabae – *vicus militaris*⁹³ nevojnička je sastavnica Burnuma, koja zajedno s peregrin-skom zajednicom prethodi municipiju. Čine ih *cives Romani consistentes ad legionem*, oni koji su *ad castra*. Samo manjem dijelu epigrafičkih spomenika iz Burnuma mjesto nalaza precizno je određeno. Unatoč tome, možemo biti sigurni da su osobe koje potječu iz sloja potomaka oslobođenika italskih trgovačkih obitelji (*Aelonii, Anii, Caerellii, Calii, Cloelii, Folvii, Helvii, Paetronii, Papirii* i *Saenii*) stanovale upravo na prostoru kanaba⁹⁴. Na terenu se najbolje zamjećuju ostaci tog naselja na prostoru nekoliko stotina metara južno od logora, ali nema nikakve sumnje da su građevinski ostaci okruživali logor i sa zapadne i sa sjeverne strane. Taj urbanizaci-

92 Medini 1989, 255 ff. Medini je dao osobito važnu potvrdu prenamjene bivšeg tabora za civilne potrebe, kroz analizu metroačkih sadržaja uvedenih u kastrum.

93 Zaninović 1985, 66-67.

94 Glavičić 2002, 58-59.

tions, since obviously the full title of the cohort was not stated. Another inscription from Burnum⁸⁹ is only fragmentary. After a short sojourn in Dalmatia, the cohort was transferred to Pannonia. It is not completely certain whether its centre was from c. AD 80 *Cannabiaca*, modern Klosterneuburg.⁹⁰ Later we find it stationed in Albertfalva in Budapest, from c. 92-101. It is next mentioned in a diploma of Marcus Herennius Polimitus from Dacia, issued on October 14, AD 109.⁹¹ Thus, the *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* has replaced in Burnum the IIIrd Alpine cohort when it left for Humac in c. AD 70. The legion *III Flavia felix* departed from Burnum in c. 86, and with it, probably, also the Montanians. Before leaving for Budapest the *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* was stationed in the Burnum castle for at least ten, and at most 16 years.

The sequence of auxiliary units during the 1st c. in Burnum would be like this:

Ala I Hispanorum immediately after the AD 6-9 rebellion – c. AD 42 (departing for Aquincum, Pannonia),

Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria from c. 42 – c. 60 (remaining within the province, in Tilurium and satellite fortresses, where it was disbanded in c. AD 80),

Cohors III Alpinorum from c. 60 – c. 70 (remained in the province in Humac near Ljubuški, certainly until AD 93),

Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum from c. 70 – c. 86 (departing for Albertfalva/Budapest, Pannonia).

The existence of an auxiliary camp solves the problem of the accommodation of the auxiliary units in Burnum during the 1st c. In a rather small *castrum* there was no place for both them and the legion. The *castrum* also explains where the units could have been stationed during the next two centuries, when Burnum became a *municipium* and the *castrum* lost its military character, which is obvious because of civil facilities introduced into the structure.⁹²

89 CIL III, 15003

90 CIL XVI, 26

91 Garbsch & Gudea 1990-1991, 61 ff.; Roxan 1996, cat. 148

92 Medini 1989, 255 ff. Medini emphasized the analysis of the facilities related to the Metroac cult introduced into the *castrum* for the confirmation of the modification of a former military camp for civilian requirements.

rani prostor danas se u krajoliku iskazuje kao krške livade i oranice ispresijecane velikim mocirama, dok prostor koji u rimsko doba nije bio obuhvaćen arhitekturom danas čine erodirane krševite zaravni, litice i škrape. Pojedinačni objekti sasvim su udaljeni od tog građevinskog prstena. Tako su uz granicu s varvarinskim teritorijem, u današnjim Smrdeljima, otkrivene peći za pečenje krovnog crijepa, s pečatima vojnih postrojbi: XI. legije CPE, IIII. Flavije Feliks i VIII. Auguste⁹⁵. Legijskim teritorijem, a u završnom dijelu i kanabama, prolazio je akvedukt s izvorištem u Plavnom polju⁹⁶. Oko 2 km zapadno od logora otkrivena su četiri žrtvenika posvećena Jupiteru, na mjestu nalaza već spomenute are s posvetom *Iovillae*. Takva koncentracija votivnih spomenika snažno upućuje da je već na prijelazu era tu podignut hram Jupiteru⁹⁷. To bi moglo biti središnje svetište Burnuma. Jedina sakralna arhitektura koja je istražena u Burnumu, ali ne u kanabama, već na prostoru bivšeg legijskog tabora koji je pripao municipiju, metroačke su edikule podignute u doba Antonina Pija⁹⁸. Vjerojatno je nekom hramu pripadao i reljef s likom Junone uklesan na krupni kameni blok, ulomak arhitektonskog elementa, krajem 2. ili početkom 3. st⁹⁹. Votivni natpisi koji nose posvete *Iunoni*, *Minervae*¹⁰⁰, *Neptuno*¹⁰¹, *Maioribus*¹⁰², *Genio loci*¹⁰³, *Herculi*¹⁰⁴, *Liberu*¹⁰⁵, *Deabus Coelestis*¹⁰⁶, *Mithrae*¹⁰⁷, *Silvano* (CIL 3, 14984) dio su inventara sakralnih prostora. Ako etničku i socijalnu sliku stanovnika Burnuma, kao i repertoar posveta božanstvima, usporedimo s

95 Patsch 1900, 95-87.

96 Ilakovac 1982, 1984.

97 Patsch 1897, 190.

98 Reisch 1913, 119-120; Medini 1989, 255 ff.

99 Patsch, 1897, 183, kat. br. 13; Cambi 2007, 30-31.

100 Suić 1970, 112, kat. br. 12.

101 CIL III, 2827. Natpis je pronađen na prijelazu Bobodol zajedno s natpisom CIL III, 2826, koji je možda posvećen Marsu.

102 CIL III, 14983.

103 Suić 1970, 112, kat. br. 11.

104 CIL III, 14980.

105 Bersa, 1902, 143. Ara posvećena Liberu nađena je u zidu kuće u selu Devrske, na rubnom jugoistočnom dijelu burnumskog teritorija.

106 CIL III, 14981.

107 Suić 1965, 95-96, sl. 4.

It is not excluded that it could have been used by the beneficiaries, although it is more probable that their *statio* was transferred into a separated building. We have no archaeological support for this fact. After the departure of the legions, the auxiliary *castrum* became the central military structure and the command place. A part of the legionary territory was reduced and given over to the city *ager* of Burnum.

Canabae

The *canabae* – *vicus militaris*⁹³ were a civilian section of Burnum. It was a predecessor, together with the peregrine community, of the *municipium*. They were formed out of *cives Romani consistentes ad legionem*, those that were living *ad castra*. The precise place of origin is determined for only a small number of epigraphic monuments from Burnum. Nevertheless, we can be sure that the persons belonging to the class of the descendants of the freedmen of Italic merchant families (*Aelonii*, *Anii*, *Caerellii*, *Calii*, *Cloelii*, *Folnii*, *Helvii*, *Patronii*, *Papirii* and *Saenii*) resided precisely in the area of the *canabae*.⁹⁴ On the site the remains of this settlement are best visible in the area removed from the camp several hundred meters to the south, but there is no doubt that the structures encircled the camp also from the west and north. This urbanized area is today reflected in karst meadows and fields interspersed with large dry-masonry walls, while the area unsettled during the Roman period is today formed of eroded karst plateaus, cliffs and limestone pavements. Individual structures are removed from this urbanized area. Thus kilns for firing roof tiles, with seals of military units (XIth legion CPE, IIIIthe Flavia Felix, and VIIIth Augustae),⁹⁵ were discovered in modern Smrdelji, along the border with the Varvarian territory. An aqueduct had passed through legionary territory, in its final part also through the *canabae*, with a source in the Plavno field.⁹⁶ Four altars consecrated to Jupiter were discovered c. 2 km to the west of the camp, where the already mentioned altar with the *Iovillae* dedication was found. This concentration of votive monuments suggests

93 Zaninović 1985, 66-67

94 Glavičić 2002, 58-59

95 Patsch 1900, 95-87

96 Ilakovac 1982, 1984

puno bolje poznatom situacijom u naseljima srodnog tipa, Akvinku¹⁰⁸ i Karnuntu, nedaleko kojeg je brdo Pfaffenberg bilo sakralni areal – *mons sacer Carnuntinus*¹⁰⁹, možemo sa sigurnošću predvidjeti postojanje cijelog niza svetišta i u Burnumu, od kojih neka i u kanabama. Kroz cijelo 1. st. za ovo vojničko središte karakterističan je oficijelni kult, osobito onaj kapitolijske Trijade. Tek s odlaskom vojske u 2. st. afirmira se mitraizam i metroački kult.

Sredinom 1. st. u doba cara Klaudija izgrađen je amfiteatar, renoviran i dopunjen u doba Vespazijana¹¹⁰. To je građevina za uprizorenje zapanjujućih spektakala od prvoklasne važnosti u procesu romanizacije širokog prostora oko Burnuma. Amfiteatar je činio sportsko-rekreativnu cjelinu s građevinom udaljenom desetak metara na jug. Danas je ona prekrivena masivnim recentnim seoskim suhozidovima u kojima je velika količina nabacanih tegula – krovnog crijepa, zatim komadi mekanog kamena oblikovanog piljenjem i sitni ulomci keramičkih posuda. Ispod nabacanog kamenja, na istočnoj strani građevine, uočen je zid napravljen od pravilnih klesanaca vezanih žbukom. Indicije da je riječ o nekom rimskom objektu, za kojeg smo, zbog dimenzija, najprije pomišljali da se radi o još jednom kastelu, a sad se čini izglednijim da je riječ o vježbalištu (*campus*), osnažena su sondažnim iskapanjem. Na istočnom zidu otkrivena su vrata s tri prolaza, koja su nekad bila lučno zasvođena, ukupnog raspona gotovo 11 metara. Kako je zid relativno uzak (oko dvije i pol rimske stope) isključena je mogućnost da je riječ o bedemu auxilijarnog kaštela. To je potvrđeno i sondama na sjevernom i zapadnom zidu.

Premda na prostoru kanaba dosad nisu poduzimana iskapanja drugih objekata, možemo pretpostaviti da su u njima sagrađene kuće u kojima su boravili trgovci, gostioničari, obrtnici, žene i djeca vojnika; tu su trebala biti i konačišta, gostionice, razne manufakture i radionice, poput klesarskih, koje su razvile snažnu produkciju nadgrobničkih i drugih spomenika.

108 Szilágyi 1956, 107 ff.

109 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977, 701 ff.; Humer *et alii* 1998, 23-24; Kandler *et alii* 2004, 53 ff.

110 Cambi *et alii* 2006; Glavičić & Miletić 2009.

the existence of a Jupiter temple erected in c. AD 1.⁹⁷ This could well be the central sanctuary of Burnum. The only architecture of sacral character excavated in Burnum – not in the *canabae*, but rather in the area of the former legionary camp now belonging to the *municipium* – were the Metroac *aediculae* erected during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁹⁸ It is probable that a relief of Juno carved onto a massive stone block, a fragment of an architectural element (late 2nd or early 3rd c.), also belonged to some temple.⁹⁹ Votive inscriptions with dedications to *Iunona*, *Minervae*¹⁰⁰, *Neptuno*¹⁰¹, *Maioribus*¹⁰², *Genio loci*¹⁰³, *Herculi*¹⁰⁴, *Liberu*¹⁰⁵, *Deabus Coelestis*¹⁰⁶, *Mithrae*¹⁰⁷, *Silvano* (CIL 3, 14984), are a part of the inventory of sacral areas. If we compare the ethnic and social structure of Burnum, as well as the repertoire of dedications, with much better known situations in the similar type of settlements, Aquincum¹⁰⁸ and Carnuntum – the Pfaffenberg hill and its sacred area were not far from the latter, *mons sacer Carnuntinus*¹⁰⁹ – we expect to find a number of sanctuaries, some of them within the area of the *canabae*. During the entire 1st c., an official cult was characteristic for this military centre, especially that of the Capitoline Triad. Only with the departure of the army in the 2nd c. Mithraic and Metroac cults became present in Burnum.

In the mid-1st c., during the reign of the emperor Claudius, an amphitheatre was built, renovated and advanced during Vespasian's reign.¹¹⁰ This is a structure intended for

97 Patsch 1897, 190

98 Reisch 1913, 119-120; Medini 1989, 255 ff.

99 Patsch, 1897, 183, cat. nr. 13; Cambi 2007, 30-31

100 Suić 1970, 112, cat. nr. 12

101 CIL III, 2827. The inscription was found in the Bobodol crossing together with the inscription CIL III, 2826, perhaps dedicated to Mars.

102 CIL III, 14983

103 Suić 1970, 112, cat. nr. 11

104 CIL III, 14980

105 Bersa, 1902, 143. An altar dedicated to Liberu was discovered in a wall of a house in the Devrske village, on the south-eastern border area of the Burnum territory.

106 CIL III, 14981

107 Suić 1965, 95-96, fig. 4.

108 Szilágyi 1956, 107 ff.

109 Stiglitz *et alii* 1977, 701 ff.; Humer *et alii* 1998, 23-24; Kandler *et alii* 2004, 53 ff.

110 Cambi *et alii* 2006; Glavičić & Miletić 2009



Konačno, prostor kanaba bio je ispresijecan nekropolama. Rekognosciranjem terena uočene su brojne baze nadgrobnih spomenika in situ. Njihov položaj ucrtan je u karte zajedno s mjestima nalaza grobova i sepulkralnih spomenika poznatim iz arhivskih podataka, da bi se odredila rasprostranjenost nekropola duž cesta prema Skardoni, Aseriji / Sidroni i duž ceste *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*.

Municipium Burnistarum

Plinije Burnistae ističe kao jednu od važnijih peregrinskih zajednica, ne navodeći da je dobila bilo kakve privilegije¹¹¹. Tek početkom 2. st., nagrađeni su za neupitnu lojalnost i dugogodišnje služenje rimskoj vojsci. Burnum postaje municipij najkasnije 118. god., što je potvrđeno počasnim natpisom caru Hadrijanu¹¹² i natpisima sa spomenom gradskih dužnosnika¹¹³. Iz tog doba je i ključni kamen s monumentalnim poprsjem Herakla, nekad zaglavljnjen u gradskim ili nekim drugim vratima. Službeni karakter skulpture upućuje da je božanstvo vjerojatno postalo zaštitnik novog grada¹¹⁴. Vjerojatno je peregrinska zajednica postigla gradski status zajedno s kanabama, koje su isto tako živjele u simbiozi s vojskom.

U vrijeme dok u kastrumu borave legije, još nije moglo doći do pretvaranja principija u civilni forum s adjacencijama, jer je takva prenamjena mogla nastupiti tek podizanjem naselja na municipalni rang. Tada je cijeli kastrum postao dio civilnog naselja, a vojničko središte preselilo se u augsilijarni kastel. To je evidentno iz civilnih sadržaja u principiju kastruma i građevinskih aktivnosti nakon odlaska legija¹¹⁵. Najistaknutiji novi objekt, kojeg su talijanski kolege

amazing spectacles that were of the utmost importance for Romanization of the wider area of Burnum. The amphitheatre composed a sports and recreational complex, together with a structure some ten meters to the south. It is today covered with massive recent village dry-masonry walls with large quantities of *tegulae* – roof tiles, pieces of soft stone shaped through sawing and small fragments of ceramic vessels. Below the stone blocks, on the eastern side of the structure, a wall of regular-shape carved blocks connected with plaster was noticed. It was probably a Roman structure – we have initially believed, because of its dimensions, that it was another fortress, but now we believe it was a training ground (*campus*) – which was supported through trench excavations. A door with three openings was discovered in the eastern wall, once arched, with a total width of almost 11 meters. Since the wall was relatively thin (c. two and a half Roman feet), this could not have been a rampart of an auxiliary *castrum*. This was confirmed by trenches on the northern and western walls.

Although no other structures in the area of the *canabae* were excavated, we can suppose that there were residences for merchants, innkeepers, craftsmen, wives and children of the soldiers; there were probably also lodgings, inns, various manufactures and workshops, such as stonemason's, developing a large production of sepulchral and other monuments.

Finally, the area of the *canabae* was interspersed with necropoles. During a survey numerous in situ sepulchral bases were noticed. Their position was documented on maps together with locations of graves and sepulchral monuments known from archive data, so as to determine the distribution of the necropoles along the roads to Scardona, Asseria/Sidrona, and along the road *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*.

111 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* III, 139.

112 Suić 1952, 210-211. Ispravljeno čitanje natpisa u *ILJug*, 19, br. 845 pokazalo je da se izrijekom spominje *municipium Burnistarum*.

113 Zaninović 1968, 124 ff. CIL III, 9890 (=2828), natpis na bazi počasnog spomenika Hadrijanu odlukom vijeća dekuriona iz 118. g.; Natpis CIL III, 9891 (=2830), Gneju. Minuciju Faustinu Sexstu Juliju Severu dižu dekurioni; CIL III, 14321, spomen dekuriona.

114 Cambi 2005, 85, sl. 122.

115 Reisch 1913, 119 ff.

Municipium Burnistarum

Pliny names the Burnistae as one of important peregrine communities, without stating any of its privileges.¹¹¹ They were rewarded for their unquestioned loyalty and long-term service in the Roman army only in the early 2nd c. Burnum became a *municipium* in AD 118 at the latest, which is confirmed with an honorary inscription for the emperor Hadrian¹¹² and inscriptions mentioning city officials.¹¹³ The key stone with a monumental bust of Hercules also dates from this period, once wedged into a city or some other doors. The public character of the sculpture suggests that the deity probably became the protector of the new city.¹¹⁴ The peregrine community probably achieved the municipal status together with the *canabae*, also living in a symbiosis with the army.

While the legions were still sojourning in the *castrum*, the transformation of the principium into a civil forum with adjacent facilities was not possible, since the transformation was only possible with the elevation of the settlement to a municipal level. Then the entire *castrum* became a part of the civil settlement, while the military centre was moved to the auxiliary *castrum*. This is evident from civil facilities within the principium of the *castrum* and building activities after the departure of the legion.¹¹⁵ The most prominent new structure, reconstructed in 3D by our Italian colleagues, was a basilica placed transversally in relation to the main axis of the principium. It transformed the existing arches of the principium into the entrances on a long lateral wall on the side of the forum. The construction of the basilica had started after the departure of the legions, during the reign of Trajan, and it was finished in the time when the *municipium* was created. Perhaps the beam from which a fragment with Trajan's name is

rekonstruirali u 3-D tehnici, bila je bazilika položena transverzalno u odnosu na dužu os principija. Pritom je postojeće arkade principija ona uklopila kao ulaze na dugačkom bočnom zidu prema forumu. Izgradnja bazilike započela je nakon odlaska legija, u trajanskom razdoblju, a završena je u vrijeme nastanka municipija. Možda je upravo na toj građevini bila postavljena greda, od koje je preostao ulomak s imenom cara Trajana¹¹⁶. Na prostoru kapitolija uvodi se carski kult o čemu svjedoči natpis s posvetom Hadrijanu¹¹⁷. Da kult careva tu traje kroz 2. st. ukazuje reljef Kapitolijske vučice. Taj državni simbol postavljen je u zabat jedne od Kibelinih edikula dodanih na zapadnom i istočnom pročelju kapitolija u vrijeme obnove metroačkog kulta, koju je proveo Antonin Pij¹¹⁸. Glavni skulpturalni ukras edikula bio je monumentalni friz s likovima Kibebe, Atisa i Adonisa u prizorima iz metroačkog ciklusa.

preserved belonged precisely to this building.¹¹⁶ The imperial cult was introduced on the area of the Capitolium, which is testified by an inscription dedicated to Hadrian.¹¹⁷ A relief of the Capitoline she-wolf suggests that the imperial cult continued to be practiced during the 2nd c. This symbol of the state was placed on the pediment of one of Cybela's *aediculae* attached to the western and eastern façade of the Capitolium during the reinstallation of the Metroac cult conducted by Antoninus Pius.¹¹⁸ The main sculptural ornament of the *aediculae* was a monumental frieze with depictions of Cybele, Attis, and Adonis in scenes taken out of Metroac cycle.

116 CIL III, 14988; Patsch 1900, 77, fig. 44. The beam is 44 cm high, the letters are 18,7 cm high.

117 CIL III, 2828=9890

118 Reisch 1913, 119-120; Medini 1989, 255 ff.

116 CIL III, 14988; Patsch 1900, 77, sl. 44. Greda je visoka 44 cm, slova su visine 18,7 cm.

117 CIL III, 2828=9890.

118 Reisch 1913, 119-120; Medini 1989, 255 ff.

111 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* III, 139

112 Suić 1952, 210-211. Corrected reading in *ILJug*, 19, nr. 845, showed that a *municipium Burnistarum* was explicitly mentioned.

113 Zaninović 1968, 124 ff. CIL III, 9890 (=2828), an inscription on a base of an honorary monument erected for Hadrian on the basis of the decree of the council of the decurios in AD 118; CIL III, 9891 (=2830), erected for Gneius Minucius Faustinus Sextus Julius Severus by the decurios; CIL III, 14321, mentioning the decurios.

114 Cambi 2005, 85, fig. 122.

115 Reisch 1913, 119 ff.





KATALOG NALAZA
THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

BURNUM
VOJNIČKO SREDIŠTE PROVINCIJE DALMACIJE
BURNUM
A MILITARY CENTRE IN THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

1. Kaciga

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 7092
bronca
visina: 18 cm, širina: 43 cm, promjer kalote: 20,5 cm.
druga pol. 1. st.
Brončana kaciga tipa Weisenau. Dobro je sačuvana i restaurirana. Datirana je u flavijevsko razdoblje jer su tada prvi put zabilježene male ručke na vratobranu. U zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća pomiče je široki vratobran i činjenica da stražnji dio kalote nije jako spušten u odnosu na prednji. Na stražnjem dijelu kalote dobro se vide ostatci držača perjanice, a na vratobranu dva natpisa:
> CL VITALIS AVLI FUSCI - izveden punciranjem i MESTRI SVLIAE koji je nemarno urezan. Prvi natpis govori o pripadnosti vlasnika kacige (Aula Fuska) centuriji Klaudija Vitala. Drugi natpis ukazuje na činjenicu da je kaciga promijenila vlasnika – pripala je vojniku imena Sulia podrijetlom iz Hispanije.
Objava: Radman-Livaja 2001b, 54-55; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 34-35 (kat.33)
Lit.: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 178, sl.20; Waurick 1988, 333-338, fig. 3,3; Bishop-Coulston 2006, 100-106, fig.59

N. U.

2. Kaciga

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 7093
bronca
visina :18 cm, širina :38 cm
druga pol. 1. st.
Brončana kaciga tipa Weisenau. Kalota kacige slabo je očuvana ali je vratobranu sačuvan gotovo u cijelosti. Kaciga je restaurirana prilikom čega su se otkrila tri puncirana natpisa na vratobranu.
> VIRI MARTIALIS / CATVRONI · TAPILI te > VAL · F · / CVCVBI · / RVFI. Treći je natpis nečitak, i ne može se dešifrirati. Ova je kaciga istog tipa kao i prethodna, a njen je prvi vlasnik Katuron također podrijetlom iz Hispanije. Iz natpisa se vidi da je pripadao centuriji Virija Martiala.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 36,37 (kat.34)
Lit.: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 178, sl.20; Waurick 1988, 333-338, fig. 3,3; Radman-Livaja 2001b,54-55; Bishop-Coulston 2006, 100-106, fig.59

N. U.

1. Helmet

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7092
Bronze
Height: 18 cm, width: 43 cm, diameter of the calotte: 20,5 cm
Second half of the 1st c.
Bronze helmet of the Weisenau type. It is well-preserved and restored. It belongs to the Flavian period, because the earliest appearance of the small handles on the neck guard is documented in this period. The wide neck guard and the fact that the posterior part of the calotte is not much lowered in relation to the anterior places it into the last third of the 1st c. The remains of a crest support are clearly visible on the posterior part of the calotte, and two inscriptions are visible on the neck guard:
> CL VITALIS AVLI FUSCI (hallmarked) and MESTRI SVLIAE negligently carved in. The first inscription documents the affiliation of the helmet owner (Aulus Fuscus) to the centuria of Claudius Vitalus. The second points to the fact that the helmet had changed its owner – it became the ownership of a soldier from Hispania, Sulia.
Published in: Radman 2001b, 54-55; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 34-35 (kat.33)
Bibliography: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 178, sl.20; Waurick 1988, 333-338, fig. 3,3; Bishop-Coulston 2006, 100-106, fig.59

N. U.

2. Helmet

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7093
Bronze
Height: 18 cm, width: 38 cm
Second half of the 1st c.
Bronze helmet of the Weisenau type. The calotte is poorly preserved but the neck guard is almost complete. During the restoration three hallmarked inscriptions on the neck guard were discovered.
> VIRI MARTIALIS / CATVRONI · TAPILI and > VAL · F · / CVCVBI · / RVFI. The third is illegible, and it cannot be deciphered. It is of the same type as the preceding helmet, and its original owner, Caturon, was also from Hispania. The inscription makes clear that he was affiliated with the centuria of Virius Martial.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 36,37 (kat.34)
Bibliography: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 178, sl.20; Waurick 1988, 333-338, fig. 3,3; Radman-Livaja 2001b,54-55; Bishop-Coulston 2006, 100-106, fig.59

N. U.



3. Cheek piece

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7094
Bronze
Height: 15,5 cm, width: 10 cm
1st c.
Cheek piece of the Weisenau type. It was restored, and it probably belonged to one of the above helmets.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 35 (kat.35)
Bibliography: Unz& Deschler- Erb 1996, 27, T 27, 569; Bishop&Coulson 2006, , 100-106, fig.60

N. U.

4. Crest support

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2008, IDN 1395, PN 314/2008.
Bronze
Size: 5,6 cm
First half of the 1st c.
Bronze crest support.
Unpublished.
Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 95, fig. 58.4.; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 29, 602, 604-607

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.

5. A buckle of a segmental armor

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7095
Bronze
3,3 x 1,9 cm
1st c.
Fragmented hinged buckle, part of a segmental armor (*lorica segmentata*), Type I after Thomas.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.36)
Bibliography: Koščević 1991, 90, sl.629 a-d; Deschler-Erb 1999, 140, T 13, 172; Thomas 2003, Fig. 1, 58; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

6. A buckle of a segmental armor

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 6979
Bronze
3,1 x 1,9 cm.
1st c.
Fragmented hinged buckle, part of a segmental armor (*lorica segmentata*), Type I after Thomas.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.37)
Bibliography: Koščević 1991, 90, sl. 629 a-d; Deschler-Erb 1999, 140, T 13:172; Thomas 2003, fig 1., 67; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

3. Paragnatida

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 7094
bronca
visina:15.5 cm, širina: 10 cm
1. st.
Paragnatida kacige tipa Weisenau. Restaurirana je, a vjerojatno je pripadala jednoj od ranije navedenih kaciga.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 35 (kat. 35)
Lit.: Unz& Deschler- Erb 1996, 27, T 27, 569; Bishop&Coulson 2006, , 100-106, fig.60

N. U.

4. Nosač krijeste kacige

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2008., IDN 1395, PN 314/2008.
bronca
dimenzije: 5,6 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Brončani nosač krijeste kacige
Neobjavljeno.
Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 95, fig. 58.4.; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 29, 602, 604-607

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.

5. Kopča obručastog oklopa

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 7095
bronca
dimenzije: 3,3 x 1,9 cm
1. st.
Fragmentirana kopča na šarnir, dio obručastog oklopa (*lorica segmentata*), Thomasov tip I.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.36); Lit.: Koščević 1991, 90, sl.629 a-d; Deschler-Erb 1999, 140, T 13, 172; Thomas 2003, Fig. 1, 58; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

6. Kopča obručastog oklopa

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 6979
bronca
dimenzije: 3,1 x 1,9 cm.
1. st.
Fragmentirana kopča na šarnir, dio obručastog oklopa (*lorica segmentata*), Thomasov tip I.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.37); Lit.: Koščević 1991, 90, sl. 629 a-d; Deschler-Erb 1999, 140, T 13:172; Thomas 2003, fig 1., 67; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

7. Šarnir ramenih ploča

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6980

bronca

dimenzije: 4,2 x 2,9 cm.

1. st.

Šarnir ramenih ploča obručastog oklopa (*lorica segmentata*), Thomasov tip IX.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.38)

Lit.: Košćević 1991, 90, sl. 629 a-d; Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, Fig.55, 60; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

8. Šarnir ramenih ploča

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 6981

bronca

dimenzije: 4,8 x 3 cm.

1. st.

Šarnir ramenih ploča obručastog oklopa (*lorica segmentata*), Thomasov tip VI.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.39)

Lit.: Košćević 1991, sl. 629 a-d; Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, fig.51, 6; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

9. Šarnir ramenih ploča

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 7096

bronca

dimenzije: 3,1 x 3,3 cm.

1. st.

Šarnir ramenih ploča obručastog oklopa (*lorica segmentata*), Thomasov tip IV.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.40)

Lit.: Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, fig. 48,2; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

7. Sub-lobate hinge

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6980

Bronze

4,2 x 2,9 cm.

1st c.

Sub-lobate hinge of a segmental armor's (*lorica segmentata*) plate, Type IX after Thomas.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.38)

Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 90, sl. 629 a-d; Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, Fig.55, 60; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

8. Sub-lobate hinge

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6981

Bronze

4,8 x 3 cm.

1st c.

Sub-lobate hinge of a segmental armor's (*lorica segmentata*) plate, Type VI after Thomas.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.39)

Bibliography: Košćević 1991, sl. 629 a-d; Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, fig.51, 6; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.

9. Sub-lobate hinge

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7096

Bronze

3,1 x 3,3 cm.

1st c.

Sub-lobate hinge of a segmental armor's (*lorica segmentata*) plate, Type IV after Thomas.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.40)

Bibliography: Feugère 2002, 101-104, fig.130; Thomas 2003, fig. 48,2; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 81-84

N. U.



10. Fragment of a scale armor

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6982

Bronze

5,7 x 2,7 cm.

2nd c.

Fragments of a so-called scale armor (*lorica squamata*); six perforated plaques joined together with a wire. The plaques are elongated: they end almost flat at one end, but are curved on the other. The upper endings of scales have somewhat bigger perforations that were used for fastening the inner coating.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.41)

Bibliography: Deschler-Ebb 1999, 147, T 15,272; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 79-81

N. U.

11. Fastener of a mail armor

(*lorica hamata*)

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1305

Bronze

Size: 6 x 5 cm

First half of the 1st c.

An S-loop with one tip ending in an animal head and other in a panel with a fastening hole.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 45, T. 16. 3; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 35, 861-862, 870, 874; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 270

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.

12. A fragment of a shield fitting (*scutum*)

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1014

Bronze

Size: 11 x 10,5 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A bronze fragment of a shield fitting made of twisted sheets with internal angle shield supports.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 83, fig. 46. 1-2; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 25. 549, 554, 548

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.



10. Fragment ljuskastog oklopa

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6982

bronca

dimenzije: 5,7 x 2,7 cm.

2. st.

Djelovi tzv. ljuskastog oklopa (*lorica squamata*); šest perforiranih pločica međusobno spojenih žicom. Pločice su izduženog oblika: na jednom kraju završavaju gotovo ravno, dok su na drugom kraju zaobljene. Gornji kraj ljuski ima nešto veće perforacije koje su služile za povezivanje s podstavom.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 38 (kat.41)

Lit.: Deschler-Ebb 1999, 147, T 15,272; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 79-81

N. U.

11. Spojna kopča karičastog oklopa

(*lorica hamata*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1305

bronca

dimenzije: 6 x 5 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

S kopča s jednim završetkom u obliku životinjske glave te drugim pločastim s rupicom za pričvršćivanje.

Neobjavljeno.

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 45, T. 16. 3; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 35, 861-862, 870, 874; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 15. 270

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.

12. Ulomak okova štita (*scutum*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1014

bronca

dimenzije: 11 x 10,5 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončani ulomak okova štita izrađen od prelomljenog lima s kutnim unutrašnjim ojačanjima za štit.

Neobjavljeno.

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 83, fig. 46. 1-2; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 25. 549, 554, 548

M.G., Ž.M., J.Z.

13. Vojnički bodež (*pugio*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6945

željezo

dužina: sječivo 26,3 cm, drška 8,2 cm
(nije sačuvana u cjelosti), najveća širina
sječiva 6,5 cm

1. st.

Vojnički dvosjekli bodež (*pugio*), dobro
sačuvan i restauriran. Drška je ravna,
trokutastog presjeka s ispupčenjima na
gornjoj polovici. Pri vrhu sačuvanog
dijela drške nalazi se rupa za zakovicu
Završetak drške nije sačuvan. Sječivo je
najšire ispod drške, prema sredini se su-
žava, a oko sredine se opet širi te prelazi
u relativno izduženi vrh. Sječivo bodeža
ima naglašeno središnje rebro izvedeno
pomoću kanelura.

Objava:

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 39 (kat.42)

Lit.: Feugère 2002, 126-128, fig. 171,
e,f; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 47-55; Milo-
šević 2009, 177, sl. 17a

N. U.

14. Okrajak korica mača

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2009.,
IDN 1634; PN 135/2009.

bronca

dimenzije: 1,7 x 1,9 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončani okrajak korica mača.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 73, fig.
38.2.; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 8.
136-140; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 10.
127-128

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

15. Okov korica mača

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1299

bronca

dimenzije: 7,6 x 3 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Ulomak okova korica mača s mrežastim
uzorkom.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 73, fig.
37.1; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 4. 48

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

13. Military dagger (*pugio*)

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6945

Iron

Length: blade 26,3 cm, handle 8,2 cm (not
preserved in its entirety), maximum blade
width 6,5 cm

1st c.

Military double-edged dagger (*pugio*), well-
preserved, restored. The handle is straight,
of triangular cross section with bulges on the
upper half. A rivet perforation is placed at
the tip of the preserved part of the handle.
The end of the handle is lost. The blade is
the widest right below the handle, narrow-
ing towards the middle but again widening
afterwards and transforming into a relatively
elongated tip. The blade has an emphasized
central rib produced with cannelures.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 39
(kat.42)

Bibliography: Feugère 2002, 126-128, fig.
171, e,f; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 47-55;
Milošević 2009, 177, sl. 17a

N. U.

14. Scabbard chape

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2009,
IDN 1634; PN 135/2009

Bronze

Size: 1,7 x 1,9 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A bronze scabbard chape.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 73,
fig. 38.2.; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 8.
136-140; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 10.
127-128

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

15. Scabbard fitting.

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1299

Bronze

Size: 7,6 x 3 cm

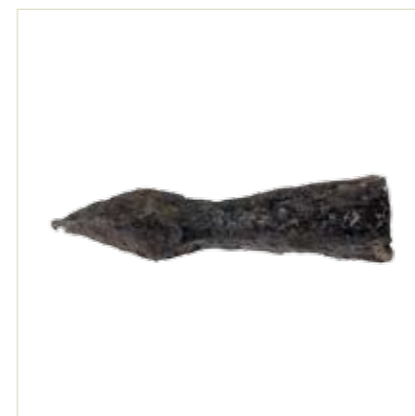
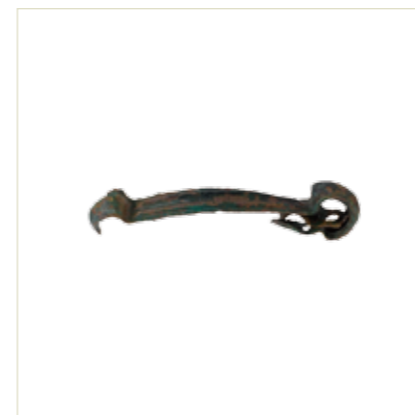
First half of the 1st c.

A fragment of scabbard fitting with reticular
ornament.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 73,
fig. 37.1; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 4. 48

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.



16. Fragment of a scabbard fitting for suspending strap rings

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1309

Bronze

Size: 7,8 x 1,7 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A bronze scabbard fitting for suspending
strap rings.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 160, T.
11. 39-42; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig.
59. 9; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 6. 78, 81,
T. 7. 92-109; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 9. 112

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

17. Bolt head

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6952

Iron

9,1 x 1,7 cm.

1st c. BC

A socketed bolt with pyramidal tip. The head
is quadrangular in cross section and some-
what elongated, while the socket is circular
in cross section.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 40
(kat.45)

Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, 134, T. 7, 86; Rad-
man Livaja 2004a, 59-62; Bishop-Coulston
2006, 58-61, fig. 29.b

N. U.

18. Bolt head

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007,
IDN 1511; PN 37/2007

Iron

Size: 6,9 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A tip of a bolt for a smaller ballistic machine
(*scorpio*).

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993,
1993, 57, fig. 27, 3a, 3c; Deschler-Erb 1999,
T. 2, 23-24; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 23,
461, 466, 469, 475-476

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

16. Okov korica mača - držač alki za remenje

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1309

bronca

dimenzije: 7,8 x 1,7 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončani držač alki za remenje na kori-
cama mača.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 160, T. 11.
39-42; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97,
fig. 59. 9; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T.
6. 78, 81, T. 7. 92-109; Deschler-Erb
1999, T. 9. 112

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

17. Balistički projektil

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS
6952

željezo

dimenzije: 9,1 x 1,7 cm

1. st. pr. Kr.

Balistički projektil s nasadom na tuljac i
piramidalnim vrhom. Glava je pravokut-
nog presjeka i nešto izduženija, a tuljac
kružnog.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 40
(kat.45)

Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, 134, T. 7, 86;
Radman Livaja 2004a, 59-62; Bishop-
Coulston 2006, 58-61, fig. 29.b

N. U.

18. Vrh balističkog projektila

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1511; PN 37/2007.

željezo

dimenzije: 6,9 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Vrh željeznog projektila za manji bali-
stički stroj (*scorpio*).

Neobjavljeno

Lit: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 1993, 57,
fig. 27, 3a, 3c; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 2,
23-24; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 23,
461, 466, 469, 475-476

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

19. Trobridna strijela

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6985

željezo

dimenzije: 2,8 x 1,2 cm

1. st.

Trobridna strijela s nasadom na trn, najzgodniji tip 2. U rimskom se kontekstu pojavljuju od 2. st. pr. Kr. pa sve do kasne antike.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 41 (kat.48)

Lit.: Zanier 1988, 5-27; Radman Livaja 2001a, 124, T. I, 1; Radman Livaja 2004a, 55-58

N. U.

20. Trobridna strijela

Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 6987

željezo

dimenzije: 2,6 x 0,9 cm

1. st.

Trobridna strijela s nasadom na trn koje se može definirati kao Zanierov tip 2.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 41 (kat.50)

Lit.: Zanier 1988, 5-27; Radman Livaja 2001a, 124, T. I, 1; Radman Livaja 2004a, 55-58

N. U.

21. Petica koplja

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1337

kovano željezo

dimenzije: 20 x 3 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Stožasti tuljac za nasađivanje koplja s ušicama za učvršćivanje.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 68, fig. 35, 24; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18, 301-302; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 7, 78-79; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 157, T. 8, 30

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

19. Trilobate arrowhead

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6985

Iron

2,8 x 1,2 cm.

1st c.

Trilobate tanged arrowhead, perhaps Type 2 of Zanier. They appear in a Roman context from the 2nd c. BC to the Late Antiquity.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 41 (kat.48)

Bibliography: Zanier 1988, 5-27; Radman Livaja 2001a, 124, T. I, 1; Radman Livaja 2004a, 55-58

N. U.

20. Trilobate arrowhead

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 6987

Iron

2,6 x 0,9 cm.

unknown

1st c.

Trilobate tanged arrowhead, Type 2 of Zanier.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 41 (kat.50)

Bibliography: Zanier 1988, 5-27; Radman Livaja 2001a, 124, T. I, 1; Radman Livaja 2004a, 55-58

N. U.

21. Spear butt

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1337

Forged iron

Size: 20 x 3 cm

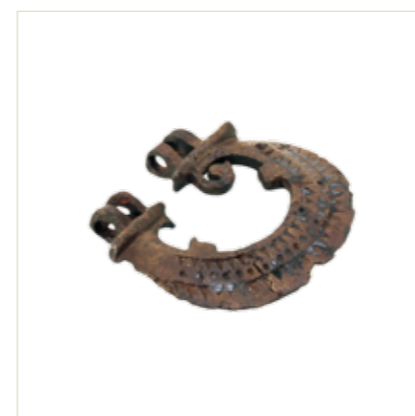
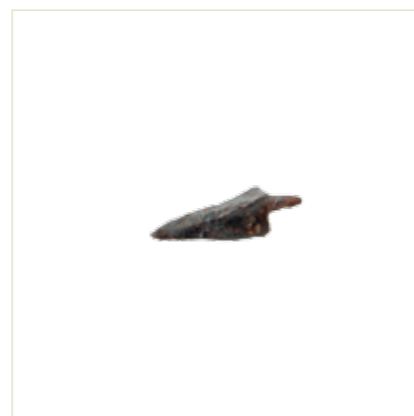
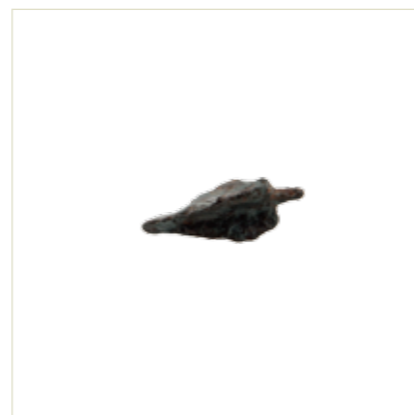
First half of the 1st c.

Cone socket with fastening loops.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 68, fig. 35, 24; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 18, 301-302; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 7, 78-79; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 157, T. 8, 30

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.



22. Spear head

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2009,
IDN 1693

Forged iron

Size: 20,7 x 3,7 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Socketed spear head.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 68, fig. 35, 10; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 16, 253, T. 17, 266, 274

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

23. Spear head

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1697

Forged iron

Size: 30 x 3,9 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Socketed spear head with a preserved socket.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Radman-Livaja 2004, 151, T. 2, 8; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 17, 262-263, 273; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6, 68

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

24. Buckle loop

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6977

Bronze

4,6 x 3,8 cm.

1st c.

A buckle loop, part of a military strap (*cingulum militare*). It is of a mild horseshoe shape with one volute within the frame (the other is lost) and two quadrangular appendages between the volutes and the centre of the frame. The loop itself is decorated with two rows of incised triangles with a line of circles between them. The ornament is produced with niello, often used on bronze or brass objects that were silvered or tinned. These buckles were characteristic for the Claudian age.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 43 (kat.55)

Bibliography: Grew & Griffiths 1991, 56, fig. 6, 18; Višić 2006, 165, sl. 4a

N. U.

22. Vrh koplja

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2009.,
IDN 1693

kovano željezo

dimenzije: 20,7 x 3,7 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Vrh koplja s tuljcem za nasad.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 68, fig. 35, 10; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 16, 253, T. 17, 266, 274

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

23. Vrh koplja

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1697

kovano željezo

dimenzije: 30 x 3,9 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Vrh koplja sa sačuvanim tuljcem za nasad.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Radman-Livaja 2004, 151, T. 2, 8; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 17, 262-263, 273; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 6, 68

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

24. Predica pojase kopče

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6977

bronca

dimenzije: 4,6 x 3,8 cm

1. st.

Predica pojase kopče koja je bila dio vojničkog opasača (*cingulum militare*). Blago je potkovastog oblika s jednom volutom unutar okvira (druga nije sačuvana) te dvama pravokutnim izdancima koji se nalaze između voluta i središta okvira. Sama predica ukrašena je s dva reda urezanih trokuta između kojih se nalazi red kružića. Ukrašen je načinjen niello tehnikom koja se najčešće primjenjivala na predmetima od bronce ili mjedi koji su bili posrebrnjeni ili pokositreni. Ovakve kopče uobičajene su za Klaudijevsko doba.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 43 (kat.55)

Lit.: Grew & Griffiths 1991, 56, fig. 6, 18; Višić 2006, 165, sl. 4a

N. U.

25. Pločica pojasa (*cingulum*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007., IDN 1376, PN 313/2007.

pokositrena bronca s tauširanim srebrom

dimenzije: 5 x 3,4 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Pokositrena brončana pločica pojasa s tauširanim srebrnim ukrasom.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 2; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19, 354-355; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 40, 1013-1023

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

26. Pločica pojasa (*cingulum*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2004., IDN 1099

pokositrena bronca s tauširanim olovom

dimenzije: 5,5 x 3,5 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončana pločica pojasa s geometrijskim ukrasom.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 2; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19, 354-355; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 40, 1013-1023

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

27. Kvadratična pločica pojasa (*cingulum*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006., IDN 1292

pokositrena bronca

dimenzije: 4,5 x 2,8 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončana pločica pojasa s dekoracijom uokolo središnjeg dijela.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Radman-Livaja 2004, 175, T. 36, 208; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 9; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 38, 942

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

25. Belt fitting

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007, IDN 1376, PN 313/2007

Tinned bronze with damascened silver

Size: 5 x 3,4 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Tinned bronze strap plaque with damascened silver ornament.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 2; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19, 354-355; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 40, 1013-1023

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

26. Belt fitting

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2004, IDN 1099

Tinned bronze with damascened lead

Size: 5,5 x 3,5 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A bronze strap plaque with geometric ornament.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 2; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 19, 354-355; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 40, 1013-1023

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

27. Quadrangular belt fitting

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006, IDN 1292

Tinned bronze

Size: 4,5 x 2,8 cm

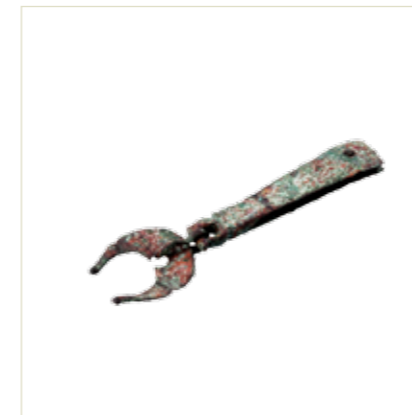
First half of the 1st c.

A bronze strap plaque ornamented around the central part

Unpublished

Bibliography: Radman-Livaja 2004, 175, T. 36, 208; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 97, fig. 59, 9; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 38, 942

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.



28. Belt plate with a fragmentary hinged dagger frog

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006, IDN 1077

Tinned bronze

Size: 8 x 2,4 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Quadrangular plaque with a fastening system for a scabbard strap.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 78, fig. 42, 96, fig. 59 (21); Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 45, 1215

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

29. Apron strap pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 6993

Bronze

Size: 6,7 x 1,9 cm.

1st c.

An apron strap pendant for a military belt. It is composed of two parts: the upper served for the fastening on a belt, and the lower is attached to it by a small hook and is crescent-shaped.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 45 (kat.63).

Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 43-44; Bishop 1992, 84-85, fig.4, 5

N. U.

30. Apron strap pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2004, IDN 1041

Bronze

Size: 5,8 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A bronze apron strap pendant for a military belt of a deltoid shape.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 98-99; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 26, 519-520; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 52, 1418-1419

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

28. Pojasna kopča s okovom

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006., IDN 1077

pokositrena bronca

dimenzije: 8 x 2,4 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Pravokutna pločica sa sistemom za kopčanje remena za korice bodeža.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 78, fig. 42, 96, fig. 59 (21); Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 45, 1215

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

29. Privjesak pojasnih ukrasnih traka

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), MHAS 6993

bronca

dimenzije: 6,7 x 1,9 cm

1. st.

Privjesak ukrasnih traka na vojničkom opasaču. Sastavljen je od dva dijela: gornji je služio za pričvršćivanje na ramenje, a donji je dio na njega spojen kukicom i lunulastog je oblika.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 45 (kat.63)

Lit.: Košćević 1991, 43-44; Bishop 1992, 84-85, fig.4, 5

N. U.

30. Privjesak pojasnih ukrasnih traka

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2004., IDN 1041

bronca

dimenzije: 5,8 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Brončani privjesak ukrasnih traka vojničkog opasača deltoidnog oblika.

Neobjavljeno.

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 98-99; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 26, 519-520; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 52, 1418-1419

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

31. Privjesak

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6997

bronca

dimenzije: 3,6 x 2,8 cm

1. st.

Privjesak sastavljen od dva dijela. Veći je lunulastog oblika, a u njegovoj sredini je ovisan mali privjesak. Krajevi manjeg i većeg privjeska završavaju dugmetastim nastavcima. Vjerojatno je pripadao vojničkoj pregačici ili pak konjskoj ormi. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.67)

Lit.: Koščević 1991, 43-44; Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 108, kat. 240;

Radman-Livaja 2004a, T. 39, 249

N. U.

32. Privjesak

Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 7005

bronca

dimenzije: 3,9 x 3,3 cm

1. st.

Privjesak u obliku falusa s oblom petljom za vješanje

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.75)

Lit.: Koščević 1991, 45; Deschler Erb 1999, 167, Taf.25, 544, 546

N. U.

33. Privjesak

Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 7006

bronca

dimenzije: 4 x 2,7 cm

1. st.

Privjesak u obliku stiliziranog falusa s izdancima na bočnim krakovima.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.76)

N. U.

31. Pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6997

Bronze

3,6 x 2,8 cm.

1st c.

A two-part pendant. The larger is crescent-shaped, with a small pendant fastened in the centre. The tips of both pendants end in a knob-shaped appendages. It was probably a part of a military apron or a horse gear.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.67).

Bibliography: Koščević 1991, 43-44; Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 108, kat. 240; Radman-Livaja 2004a, T. 39, 249

N. U.

32. Pendant

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7005

Bronze

3,9 x 3,3 cm.

1st c.

A phallic-shaped pendant with a round suspension loop.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.75).

Bibliography: Koščević 1991, 45; Deschler Erb 1999, 167, Taf.25, 544, 546

N. U.

33. Pendant

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7006

Bronze

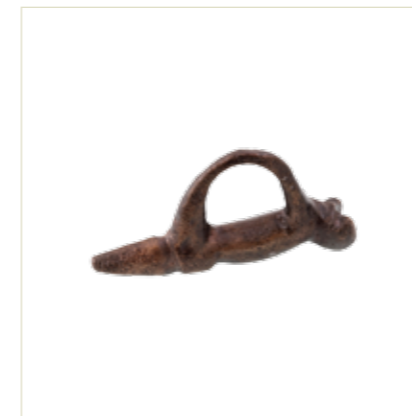
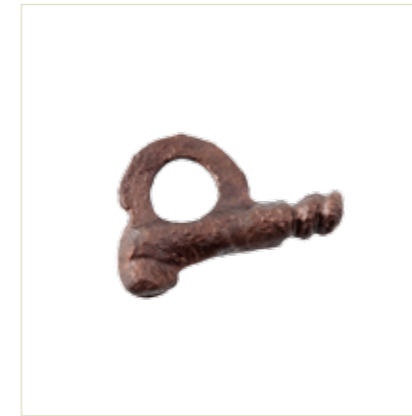
4 x 2,7 cm.

1st c.

A pendant in the shape of a stylized phallus with projections on lateral arms.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.76)

N. U.

**34. Pendant**

Očestovo near Knin, MHAS 7008

Bronze

3 x 1,6 cm.

2nd-3rd c.

A phallic-shaped pendant with a round suspension hook.

Published in: Šeparović 1999, 19; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.78)

Bibliography: Koščević 1991, str.45, 89; Bekić 1998, T. 5, 3; Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 93, kat.182.

N. U.

35. Pendant

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7009

Bronze

2 x 2,8 cm

2nd-3rd c.

A phallic-shaped pendant with a round suspension hook.

Published in: Šeparović 1999, 20; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.79)

N. U.

36. Pendant

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7010

Bronze

1,7 x 3,3 cm.

2nd-3rd c.

A phallic-shaped pendant with a semicircular suspension hook.

Published in: Šeparović 1999, 20; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.80).

Bibliography: Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 93, kat.183

N. U.

34. Privjesak

Očestovo kod Knina, MHAS 7008

bronca

dimenzije: 3 x 1,6 cm

2.-3. st.

Privjesak u obliku falusa s oblom kukom za vješanje.

Objava: Šeparović 1999, 19; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 48 (kat.78)

Lit.: Koščević 1991, str.45, 89; Bekić 1998, T. 5, 3; Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 93, kat.182

N. U.

35. Privjesak

Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7009

bronca

dimenzije: 2 x 2,8 cm

2.-3. st.

Privjesak u obliku falusa s okruglom kukom za vješanje.

Objava: Šeparović 1999, 20; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.79)

N. U.

36. Privjesak

Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 7010

bronca

dimenzije: 1,7 x 3,3 cm

2.-3. st.

Privjesak u obliku falusa s polukružnom kukom za vješanje.

Objava: Šeparović 1999, 20; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.80)

Lit.: Ožanić, Radman-Livaja, Rendić-Miočević 2003, 93, kat.183

N. U.

37. Privjesak
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7011
bronca
dimenzije: 4,2 x 1,8 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku falusa razrađenih
anatomskih pojedinosti s ušicom za
vješanje.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 20;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.81)

N. U.

38. Privjesak
Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7012
bronca
dimenzije: 1,7 x 3,1 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku falusa s ušicom
za vješanje.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 21 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.82)

N. U.

39. Privjesak
Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7013
bronca
dimenzije: 2 x 3,3 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku stiliziranog falusa
s velikom okruglom ušicom.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 21 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.83)

N. U.

40. Privjesak
Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7014
bronca
dimenzije: 1,6 x 2,2 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku stiliziranog falusa s
ušicom za vješanje.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 21;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.84)

N. U.

37. Pendant
Ivoševci near Knin (Burnum), MHAS 7011
Bronze
4,2 x 1,8 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A phallic-shaped anatomically detailed pen-
dant with a suspension loop.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 20;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.81)

N. U.

38. Pendant
Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7012
Bronze
1,7 x 3,1 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A phallic-shaped pendant with a suspension
loop.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 21 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 49 (kat.82)

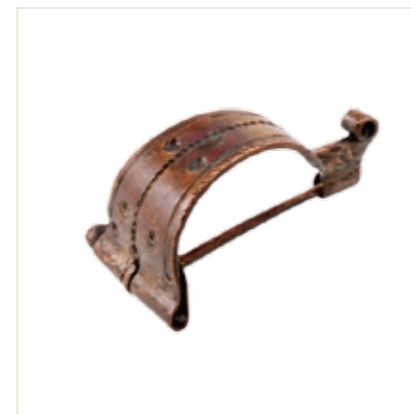
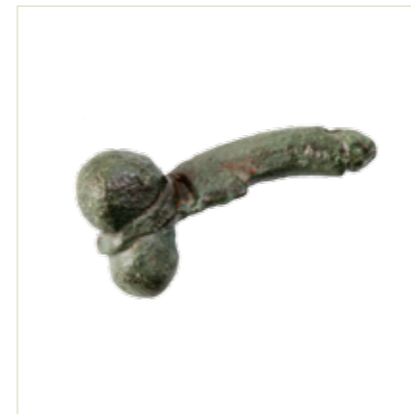
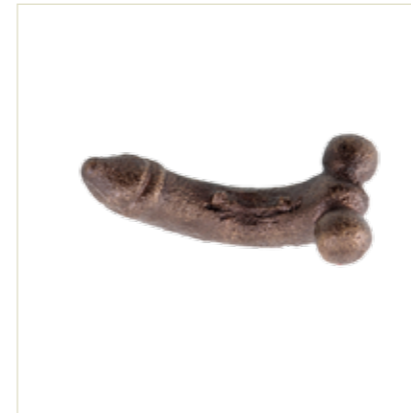
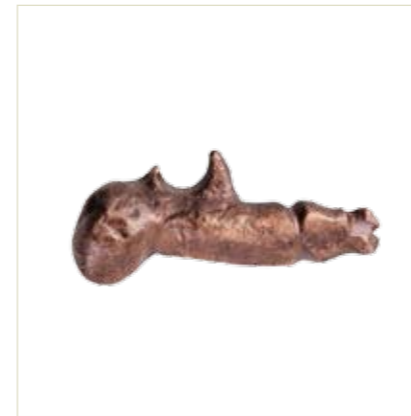
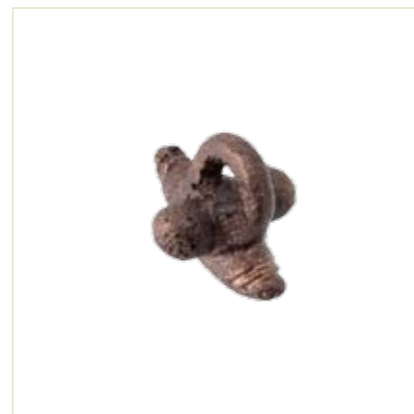
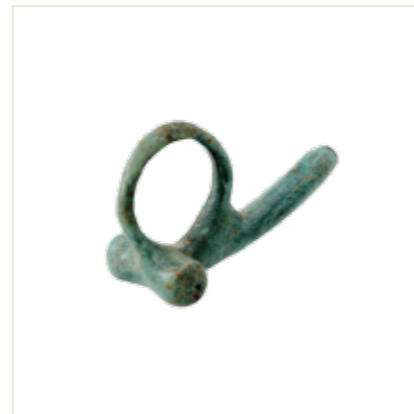
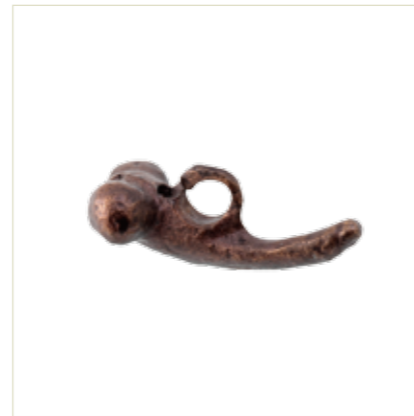
N. U.

39. Pendant
Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7013
Bronze
2 x 3,3 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A stylized phallic-shaped pendant with a
large suspension loop.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 21 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.83)

N. U.

40. Pendant
Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7014
Bronze
1,6 x 2,2 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A stylized phallic-shaped pendant with a
suspension loop.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 21;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.84)

N. U.



41. Pendant
Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7015
Bronze
1,1 x 3,1 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A phallic-shaped pendant, loop broken
away.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 22 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.85)

N. U.

42. Pendant
Ivoševci near Knin (Burnum), MHAS 7016
Bronze
0,9 x 3,4 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A phallic-shaped pendant, loop broken
away.
Published in: Šeparović 1999, 22 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.86)

N. U.

43. Pendant
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7017
Bronze
3,5 x 1,8 cm.
2nd-3rd c.
A phallic-shaped pendant, loop broken
away.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51
(kat.87)

N. U.

44. Alesia-type fibula
Ivoševci near Knin (Burnum), MHAS 7018
Bronze
3,4 x 1,6 cm.
1st c.
A fibula of the Alesia type. The bow is bifur-
cated with a thin line in the middle. Both
halves of the bow are decorated with a line of
three engraved circlets.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51
(kat.88)

N. U.

41. Privjesak
Nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 7015
bronca
dimenzije: 1,1 x 3,1 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku falusa odlomljene
ušice.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 22 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.85)

N. U.

42. Privjesak
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7016
bronca
dimenzije: 0,9 x 3,4 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku falusa odlomljene
ušice.
Objava: Šeparović 1999, 22 ;
Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 50 (kat.86)

N. U.

43. Privjesak
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7017
bronca
dimenzije: 3,5 x 1,8 cm
2.-3. st.
Privjesak u obliku falusa odlomljene
ušice.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51
(kat.87)

N. U.

44. Fibula tipa Alesia
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7018
bronca
dimenzije: 3,4 x 1,6 cm
1. st.
Fibula tipa Alesia. Luk fibule razdije-
ljen je tankom crtom po sredini. Obje
polovice luka ukrašene su nizom od tri
ugravirana kružića.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51
(kat.88)

N. U.

45. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7019
bronca

dimenzije: 6,5 x 2,8 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula. Luk je izrađen od šest traka međusobno povezanih okomitim trakama kružnog presjeka. Zaglavna je pločica ukrašena nizom horizontalnih žljebova. Nedostaje igla. Nožica završava profiliranim dugmetom.
Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51 (kat.89).
Lit.: Košćević 1980, T 2., 10; Ivčević 2007, 274-275, kat. 45

N. U.

46. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Bender, MHAS 7020
bronca

dimenzije: 5,5 x 2,8 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s natpisom (D)VRNACUS. Luk fibule polukružnog je presjeka, a pločica s natpisom je pravokutnog oblika. Nožica završava profiliranim dugmetom. Ove se fibule mogu datirati u 1. stoljeće poslije Krista, a javljaju se i tijekom 2. stoljeća.
Objava: Marović 1961, 112-113; Šeparović 1998, 180; Marović 2006, 87; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51 (kat.90)
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 247-248, kat.2

N. U.

47. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Bribir (Varvaria) MHAS 7021
bronca

dimenzije: 5,8 x 2,8 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s natpisom ATRIXTOS. Luk je razdijeljen plastičnim rebrom po sredini koje je ukrašeno nizom ureza. Zaglavna pločica je pravokutnog oblika s rupama na krajevima. Nožica završava profiliranim dugmetom.
Objava: Šeparović 1998, 178; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.91).
Lit.: Feugère 1985, Pl.123, 1562, 1565; Ivčević 2004, 236, sl. 4

N. U.

45. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Ivoševci near Knin (Burnum), MHAS 7019
Bronze

6,5 x 2,8 cm.
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula. The bow is made of six bands joined together with vertical straps circular in cross section. The head plaque is decorated with a line of horizontal grooves. The needle is missing. The leg ends in a moulded knob.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51 (kat.89).
Bibliography: Košćević 1980, T 2., 10; Ivčević 2007, 274-275, kat. 45

N. U.

46. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Bender, MHAS 7020
Bronze

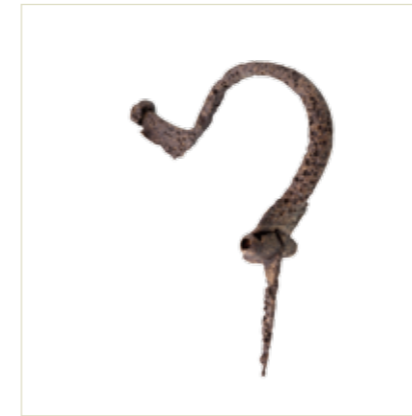
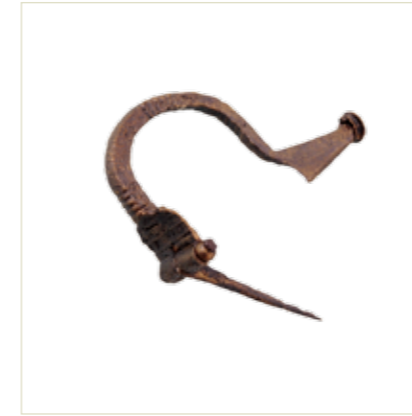
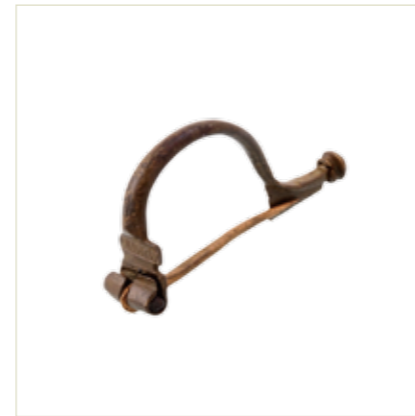
5,5 x 2,8 cm.
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula with an inscription (D)VRNACUS. The bow is semicircular in cross section, the plaque with the inscription is quadrangular. The leg ends in a moulded knob. These fibulae could be dated into the 1st c. AD, but they also appear in the 2nd.
Published in: Marović 1961, 112-113; Šeparović 1998, 180; Marović 2006, 87; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 51 (kat.90)
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 247-248, kat.2

N. U.

47. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Bribir (Varvaria) MHAS 7021
Bronze

5,8 x 2,8 cm.
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula with an inscription ATRIXTOS. The bow is bifurcated with a plastic rib along the middle, decorated with a line of incisions. The head plaque is quadrangular with perforations at the ends. The leg ends in a moulded knob.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.91).
Bibliography: Feugère 1985, Pl.123, 1562, 1565; Ivčević 2004, 236, sl. 4

N. U.



48. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7022
Bronze

5,2 x 3 cm.
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula with illegible inscription in two rows. The bow of the fibula is semicircular in cross section and is decorated with vertical lines at the beginning and in the middle. The head plaque is quadrangular and the leg ends in a moulded knob.
Published in: Šeparović 1998, 182; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.92).
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 262, kat. 24

N. U.

49. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7023
Bronze

5,5 x 3,3 cm.
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula with an inscription DVRNACVS. The fastening mechanism is not functioning. The bow is semicircular in cross section and heavily bent. The leg ends in a moulded knob. The fibula was in a bad shape prior to conservation.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 53 (kat.93).
Bibliography: Marović 2006, 87-88; Ivčević 2007, 261, kat.23

N. U.

50. *Aucissa*-type fibula
The surroundings of Knin (?), MHAS 7024
Bronze

4,3 x 3 cm
1st c.
An Aucissa fibula with an inscription REVETV on the plaque. The bow is semicircular in cross section and the head plaque quadrangular with rounded upper ends. The needle and the front part of the fibula are both missing. It is clear that the stamps were added after the fibula was produced.
Published in: Marović 2006, 89; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 53 (kat.94).
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 257, kat.17

N. U.

48. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7022
bronca

dimenzije: 5,2 x 3 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s nečitkim natpisom u dva reda. Luk fibule polukružnog je presjeka a ukrašen je okomitim linijama na početku i na sredini. Zaglavna pločica je četvrtasta, a na kraju nožice nalazi se profilirano dugme.
Objava: Šeparović 1998, 182; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.92)
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 262, kat. 24

N. U.

49. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?),
MHAS 7023
bronca

dimenzije: 5,5 x 3,3 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s natpisom DVRNACVS. Mehanizam za zakapčanje nije u funkciji. Luk fibule polukružnog je presjeka i dosta je savijen. Na kraju nožice nalazi se dugme. Sama je fibula bila loše sačuvana prije konzervacije.
Objava: Šeparović 1998, 181; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 53 (kat.93).
Lit.: Marović 2006, 87-88; Ivčević 2007, 261, kat. 23

N. U.

50. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Okolica Knina (?), MHAS 7024
bronca

dimenzije: 4,3 x 3 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s natpisom REVETV na pločici. Luk je polukružnog presjeka, a zaglavna pločica pravokutna sa zaobljenim gornjim krajevima. Nije sačuvana igla niti prednji dio fibule. Kod fibula s ovim pečatom osobito se dobro vidi da su pečati dodavana nakon što je fibula bila izrađena.
Objava: Marović 2006, 89; Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 53 (kat.94).
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 257, kat.17

N. U.

51. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7025

bronca

dimenzije: 1,7 x 1,4 cm

1. st.

Zaglavna pločica *Aucissa* fibule s natpisom DVRNACVS. Natpis je čitak. Ostatak fibule nije sačuvan. Ove se fibule mogu datirati u 1. st., a javljaju se i tijekom 2. st.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 181;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.95).

Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 259, kat. 20, kat. 21

N. U.

52. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*

nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?), MHAS 7026

bronca

dimenzije: 5,5 x 3,2 cm

1. st.

Aucissa fibula s natpisom REVETV na zaglavnoj pločici. Fibula je dobro sačuvana. Nedostaje dio igle. Luk je gotovo kružnog presjeka i dosta je visoko uzdignut. Zaglavna pločica pravokutnog je oblika, zaobljena na gornjim krajevima, a na kraju nožice nalazi se dugme.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 180;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.96).

Lit.: Marović 2006, 89; Ivčević, 2007,

257-258, kat.18

N. U.

53. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*

nepoznato nalazište (Burnum?), MHAS 7027

bronca

dimenzije: 4,5 x 2,4 cm

1. st.

Aucissa fibula s natpisom REVETV na zaglavnoj pločici. Fibula je cjelovita, djelomično je oštećen zglobni tuljac. Luk je polukružnog presjeka, a na kraju nožice nalazi se profilirano dugme.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.97).

Lit.: Marović 2006, 89; Ivčević 2007,

257-258, kat. 18

N. U.

51. *Aucissa*-type fibula

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 7025

Bronze

1,7 x 1,4 cm.

1st c.

A head plaque of an *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription DVRNACVS. The inscription is illegible. The rest of the fibula is missing. The fibulae could be dated to the 1st c. AD, but they also appear in the 2nd c.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 181;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.95).

Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 259, kat. 20, kat. 21

N. U.

52. *Aucissa*-type fibula

Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7026

Bronze

5,5 x 3,2 cm.

1st c.

An *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription REVETV on the head plaque. The fibula is well-preserved. A part of the needle is missing. The bow is almost circular in cross section and it is rather elevated. The head plaque is quadrangular, rounded at upper ends, with a moulded knob on the end of the leg.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 180;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 52 (kat.96).

Bibliography: Marović 2006, 89; Ivčević,

2007, 257-258, kat.18

N. U.

53. *Aucissa*-type fibula

Unknown site (Burnum?), MHAS 7027

Bronze

4,5 x 2,4 cm.

1st c.

An *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription REVETV on the head plaque. It is complete, with only the joint socket damaged. The bow is semicircular in cross section, with a moulded knob on the end of the leg.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.97).

Bibliography: Marović 2006, 89; Ivčević 2007, 257-258, kat. 18

N. U.



54. *Aucissa*-type fibula

Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7028

Bronze

5 x 3 cm.

1st c.

An *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription CARTILIVS on the head plaque. The bow is semicircular in cross section, and the head plaque is quadrangular. A moulded knob is on the end of the leg. The fibulae bearing this inscription are of a higher quality than other *Aucissa* fibulae.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.98).

Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 257-258, kat. 18

N. U.

55. *Aucissa*-type fibula

with an inscription CARTILIVS

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),

MHAS 7029

Bronze

5,2 x 2,8 cm.

1st c.

An *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription CARTILIVS on the head plaque. It is well-preserved and restored. The bow is semicircular in cross section, decorated in the beginning and in the middle with a row of parallel lines. The head plaque is quadrangular, with concave sides at the middle. The fibulae bearing this inscription are of a higher quality than other *Aucissa* fibulae.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.99).

Bibliography: Marović 2006, 85

N. U.

56. *Aucissa*-type fibula

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), MHAS 7030

Bronze

5,3 x 2,6 cm.

1st c.

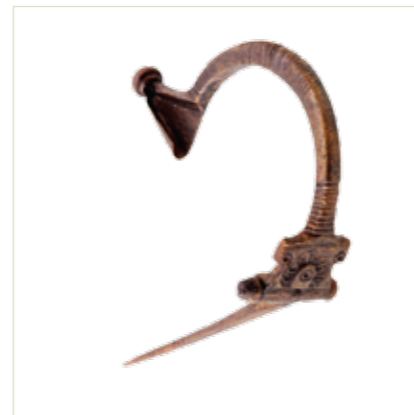
An *Aucissa* fibula with an inscription AVCISSA from right to left. The bow is strap, bifurcated with a longitudinal band decorated with a line of parallel lines. The head plaque is quadrangular, with a moulded knob on the end of the leg.

Published in: Šeparović 1998, 178;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.100).

Bibliography: Košćević 1980, 15, 45, T. 3, 21; Šeparović 2003, T. 1, 6

N. U.



54. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*

Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7028

bronca

dimenzije: 5 x 3 cm

1. st.

Aucissa fibula s natpisom CARTILIVS na zaglavnoj pločici. Luk je polukružnog oblika a zaglavna je pločica pravokutna. Na kraju nožice nalazi se dugme. Fibule s ovim natpisom bolje su izrade od ostalih *Aucissa* fibula.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.98).

Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 257-258, kat. 18

N. U.

**55. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
s natpisom CARTILIVS**

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7029

bronca

dimenzije: 5,2 x 2,8 cm

1. st.

Aucissa fibula s natpisom CARTILIVS na zaglavnoj pločici. Dobro je sačuvana i restaurirana. Luk je polukružnog presjeka, na početku i na sredini ukrašen nizom paralelnih linija. Zaglavna pločica pravokutnog je oblika, uvučениh stranica pri sredini. Fibule s ovim natpisom bolje su izrade od ostalih *Aucissa* fibula.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 179;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 54 (kat.99).

Lit.: Marović 2006, 85

N. U.

56. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7030

bronca

dimenzije: 5,3 x 2,6 cm

1. st.

Aucissa fibula s natpisom AVCISSA koji teče s desna na lijevo. Luk fibule je trkast, razdijeljen uzdužnom linijom koja je ukrašena nizom paralelnih crtica. Zaglavna je pločica pravokutnog oblika, na kraju nožice nalazi se profilirano dugme.

Objava: Šeparović 1998, 178;

Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.100).

Lit.: Košćević 1980, 15, 45, T. 3, 21;

Šeparović 2003, T. 1, 6

N. U.

57. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7031
srebro
dimenzije: 4,6 x 2 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula s lukom polukružnog presjeka koji je na početku i pri sredini ukrašen nizom paralelnih linija. Zaglavna pločica ima jedno naglašeno rebro i s vanjskih je strana pri sredini usječena. Nožica završava okruglim dugmetom. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.101).
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 273

N. U.

58. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
nepoznato nalazište (Burnum ?),
MHAS 7032
bronca
dimenzije: 3,2 x 1,7 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula trakastog luka sa zaglavnom pločicom koja je jednake širine kao i luk. Nedostaje joj dio igle te nožica. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.102).
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 275, kat. 47

N. U.

59. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7033
bronca
dimenzije: 5 x 2,8 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula širokog luka koji je u sredini udubljen. Pločica je pravokutna ali neukrašena, nožica završava okruglim dugmetom. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.103)

N. U.

60. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7034
bronca,
dimenzije: 5,3 x 2,9 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula širokog trakastog luka koji je u sredini ukrašen punciranim nizom točkica. Pločica je pravokutna, neukrašena. Zglobni tuljac nije cjelovit. Nožica završava kalotastim pucetom. Nedostaje igla. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.104)

N. U.

57. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 7031
Bronze
4,6 x 2 cm.
1st c.
An *Aucissa* fibula, bow is semicircular in cross section, decorated in the beginning and in the middle with a row of parallel lines. The head plaque has an emphasized rib and there is an incision on the middle of the external sides; a moulded knob is on the end of the leg.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.101).
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 273

N. U.

58. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Unknown site (Burnum ?), MHAS 7032
Bronze
3,2 x 1,7 cm.
1st c.
An *Aucissa* fibula with a strap bow with a head plaque as wide as the bow. A part of the needle and the leg are missing.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 55 (kat.102).
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 275, kat. 47

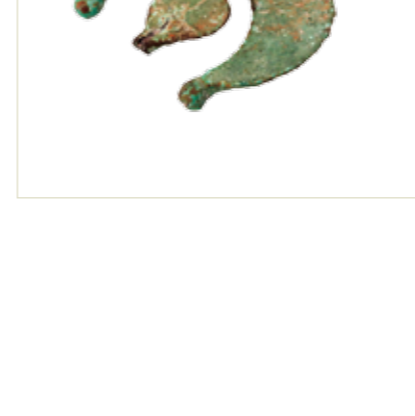
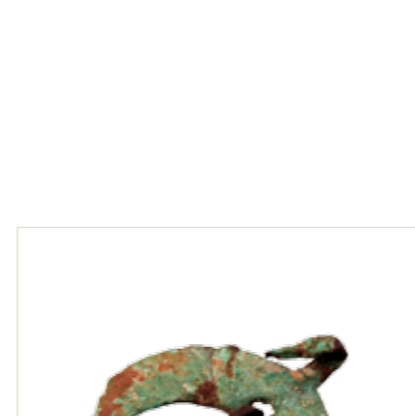
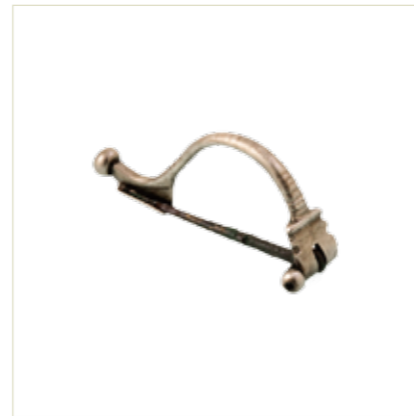
N. U.

59. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7033
Bronze
5 x 2,8 cm.
1st c.
An *Aucissa* fibula with a wide bow concave in the middle. The plaque is quadrangular but undecorated, the leg ends with a rounded knob.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.103)

N. U.

60. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7034
Bronze
5,3 x 2,9 cm.
1st c.
An *Aucissa* fibula with a wide strap bow decorated in the middle with a row of hall-marked dots. The plaque is quadrangular and undecorated. The joint socket is incomplete. The leg ends in calotte knob. The needle is missing.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.104)

N. U.



61. *Aucissa*-type fibula
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7035
Bronze
5,6 x 3 cm.
1st c.
An *Aucissa* fibula bow semicircular in cross section. The leg is incomplete. The head plaque is quadrangular and the upper end is widened.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.105).
Bibliography: Ivčević 2007, 263, kat. 26

N. U.

62. Harness pendant
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6998
Bronze
4,2 x 3,6 cm.
1st c.
Crescent-shaped harness pendant with a smaller pendant in the middle. The ends of the crescent end in knob-like appendages.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat. 68).
Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 43-44; Unz& Deschler Erb 1996, T 48, 1314, 1316

N. U.

63. Harness pendant
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 6999
Bronze
5 x 4,8 cm.
1st c.
Harness pendant with niello decoration. These pendants are characteristic for the Flavian period. They were attached to the straps by being suspended on a phalera attached to a leather strap. The pendant is in a form of a triple leaf and the decoration is rather stylized and reminds one on vine tresses. The middle branch is decorated with vertical canelures, while the lateral are curved towards the outside. All three shoots end in the form of an acorn.
Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.69).
Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 51, 102, sl.656, 657; Bishop 1988, fig. 43, 1p; Unz& Deschler Erb 1996, T. 51, 1386; Feugère 2002, 134-149, fig. 187; Ivčević 2004, 237, sl.9

N. U.

61. Fibula tipa *Aucissa*
Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7035
bronca
dimenzije: 5,6 x 3 cm
1. st.
Aucissa fibula polukružnog presjeka luka. Nožica nije sačuvana u cijelosti. Zaglavna pločica je pravokutnog oblika a gornji je kraj proširen. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 56 (kat.105).
Lit.: Ivčević 2007, 263, kat. 26

N. U.

62. Privjesak konjske orme
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6998
bronca
dimenzije: 4,2 x 3,6 cm
1. st.
Lunulasti privjesak konjske orme. U sredini se nalazi manji privjesak. Krajevi lunule završavaju dugmetastim nastavcima. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.68).
Lit.: Košćević 1991, 43-44; Unz& Deschler Erb 1996, T 48, 1314, 1316

N. U.

63. Privjesak konjske orme
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 6999
bronca
dimenzije: 5 x 4,8 cm
1. st.
Privjesak konjske orme ukrašen *niello* tehnikom. Ovakvi su privjesci tipični za flavijevsko razdoblje. Na remenje su se vezivali tako da su se ovjesili na falera koja je bila pričvršćena na kožni remen. Privjesak ima formu trokrakog lista a dekoracija je prilično stilizirana i podsjeća na vitice vinove loze. Središnji je krak ukrašen vertikalnim kanelurama, dok su bočni izvijeni prema van. Sva tri izdanka na krajevima završavaju u obliku žira. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.69).
Lit.: Košćević 1991, 51, 102, sl.656, 657; Bishop 1988, fig. 43, 1p; Unz& Deschler Erb 1996, T. 51, 1386; Feugère 2002, 134-149, fig. 187; Ivčević 2004, 237, sl.9

N. U.

64. Privjesak konjske orme

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7000
bronca

dimenzije: 2 x 4,8 cm
1. st.

Privjesak konjske orme rađen tehnikom *a-jour*, s centralnim kružnim motivom na kojem se obično nalazio neki prikaz. Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.70).

Lit.: Košćević 1991, 52, T. 15, 224-225; Buora, 1996, 164, T. 2, 3; Radman 2004a, T. 66, 480

N. U.

65. Privjesak konjske orme

Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7001
bronca

dimenzije: 4,2 x 3,9 cm
1. st.

Privjesak konjske orme s perforiranom pločicom (Bishop tip 3c). Kuka za ovjes prebačena je straga. Nedostaje donja završna pločica u formi pelte. Ovakvi su primjeri rijetki na području zapadne Europe, češći su na Balkanu a osobito u južnom dijelu Panonije.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 47 (kat.71).

Lit.: Bishop 1988, 96, 98; Košćević 1991, 50, sl. 288, 289; Deschler-Erb 1999, 169, T. 29, 578, 579

N. U.

66. Privjesak konjske orme

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum),
MHAS 7004
bronca

dimenzije: 6 x 2,1 cm
1. st.

Listoliki privjesak sa kukicom za ovjes i čepastim završetkom.

Objava: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 47 (kat.74).

Lit.: Košćević 1991, 52

N. U.

64. Harness pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 7000

Bronze
2 x 4,8 cm.
1st c.

Harness pendant produced with an *a-jour* technique, with a central circular motive usually containing some representation.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 46 (kat.70).

Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 52, T. 15, 224-225; Buora, 1996, 164, T. 2, 3; Radman 2004a, T. 66, 480

N. U.

65. Harness pendant

Bribir (Varvaria), MHAS 7001

Bronze
4,2 x 3,9 cm.
1st c.

Harness pendant with a perforated plaque (Type 3c after Bishop). The suspension hook is transposed to the back. The lower ending pelta-form plaque is missing. These specimens are rare in western Europe, but more frequent in the Balkans, especially in the southern Pannonia.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 47 (kat.71).

Bibliography: Bishop 1988, 96, 98; Košćević 1991, 50, sl. 288, 289; Deschler-Erb 1999, 169, T. 29, 578, 579

N. U.

66. Harness pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum),
MHAS 7004

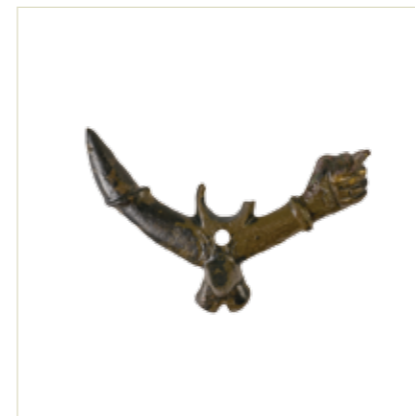
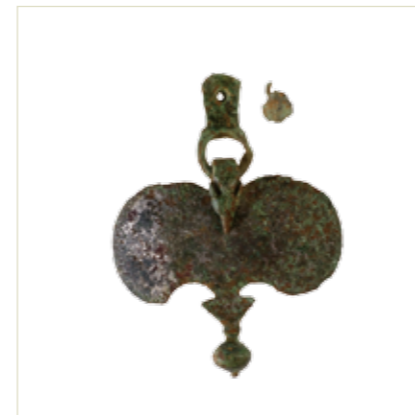
Bronze
6 x 2,1 cm.
1st c.

Leaf-shaped pendant with a suspension hook and a cork-shaped ending.

Published in: Šeparović&Uroda 2009, 47 (kat. 74).

Bibliography: Košćević 1991, 52

N. U.

**67. Harness pendant**

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007,
IDN 1416; PN 208/2007

Bronze
11 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Triple bronze harness pendant; first section is leaf-shaped, the second crescent-shaped, and the third leaf-shaped.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 48, 1316, T. 54, 1471; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 30

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

68. Harness pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007,
IDN 1366; PN 136/2007

Bronze
8,8 x 7,2 cm

First half of the 1st c.

Heart-shaped bronze harness pendant with a wolf protome and a spherical ending.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 23, 460, 476

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

69. Harness pendant

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2004,
IDN 1107

Bronze
8 x 1 cm

First half of the 1st c.

A cast pendant with a depiction of a phallus and a "figa" (crossed fingers) fist; in the middle, a suspension loop. Part of a horse gear.

Published in: Zaninović 2009, 287, sl. 8.

Bibliography: Bishop 1988, 154-156

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

67. Privjesak konjske orme

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1416; PN 208/2007.

bronca
dimenzije: 11 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Trostruki brončani privjesak konjske opreme, prvi dio je listoliki, drugi lunulasti, treći listoliki.

Neobjavljeno.

Lit.: Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 48, 1316, T. 54, 1471; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 30

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

68. Privjesak konjske orme

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1366; PN 136/2007.

bronca
dimenzije: 8,8 x 7,2 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Srcoliki brončani privjesak konjske opreme s vučjom protomom i kuglastim završetkom.

Neobjavljeno.

Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 23, 460, 476

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

69. Privjesak konjske orme

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2004.,
IDN 1107

bronca
dimenzije: 8 x 1 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Lijevani privjesak s prikazom falusa i fige, s prstenom za vješanja na sredini. Dio konjske opreme.

Objava: Zaninović 2009, 287, sl. 8.
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 154-156

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

70. Trostruki privjesak konjske orme
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2005.,
IDN 1152
bronca
dimenzije: 4,4 x 9,8 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Trostruki brončani privjesak konjske
opreme, prvi dio je listoliki, drugi lunu-
lasti, treći listoliki.
Neobjavljeno.
Lit.: Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 48,
1316, T. 54, 1471; Deschler-Erb 1999,
T. 30

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

**71. Lunulasti privjesak i komplet
aplika i ukrasnih čavlića
za konjsku ormu**
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2004.,
IDN 1147, 1208, 1231, 1200 - 1205,
1209 - 1212
bronca
dimenzije: 15 x 22,6 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Višedijelni privjesak koji se sastoji od
velikog lunulastog, manjeg lunulastog s
falusom i figom, te ostatka ušice za vješa-
nje trećeg dijela privjeska (nedostaje). Uz
veliki privjesak ide 10 kružnih brončanih
aplika promjera oko 5 cm, jedna aplika
sa sačuvanom ušicom dimenzija 2,8 x
3,8 cm, te 19 brončanih čavlića hemisfe-
rične glavice promjera od 1-1,6 cm.
Neobjavljeno

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

72. Dio dvodijelne zapinjače
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2008.,
IDN 1398; PN 127/2008.
srebro/pozlata/kositar/bronca
dimenzije: 9,5 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Pokositreni element dvodijelne zapinjače
ukrašen pozlatom i tauširan srebrom.
Neobjavljeno.
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 167, fig. 54, 5a;
Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 38, 717;
Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64, 1832-
1847

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

70. Triple harness pendant
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2005,
IDN 1152
Bronze
4,4 x 9,8 cm
First half of the 1st c.
A triple bronze harness pedant; first section is
leaf-shaped, the second crescent-shaped, and
the third leaf-shaped.
Unpublished.
Bibliography: Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T.
48, 1316, T. 54, 1471; Deschler-Erb 1999,
T. 30

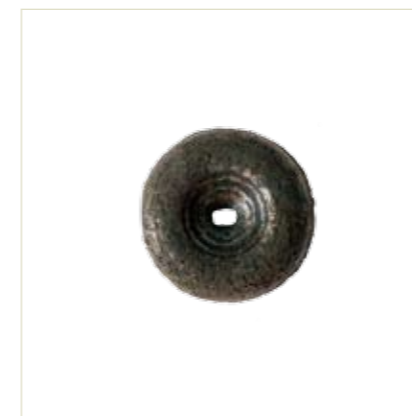
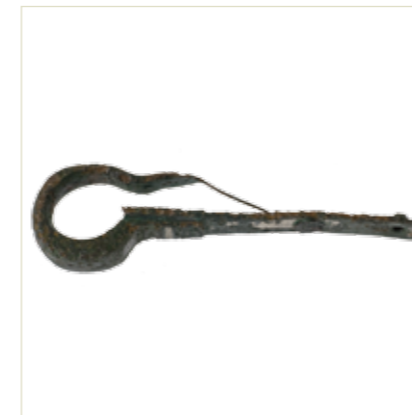
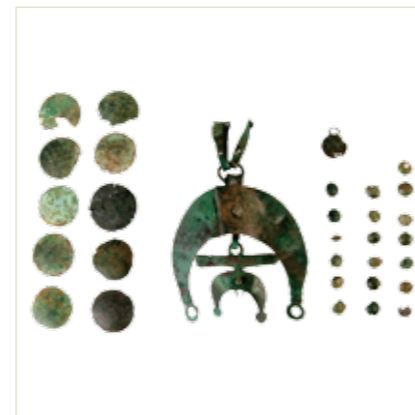
M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

**71. Crescent-shaped harness pendant
and a set of attachments
and decorative pins**
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2004,
IDN 1147, 1208, 1231, 1200 - 1205,
1209 - 1212
Bronze
15 x 22,6
First half of the 1st c.
A multi-part pendant consisting of a large
crescent-shaped part, a smaller crescent-
shaped part with a phallus and a “figa”
(crossed fingers) fist, and the remains of a
suspension loop of the missing third part of
the pendant. The large pendant is accom-
panied with 10 circular bronze attachments
c. 5 cm in diameter, one attachment with a
preserved loop (2,8 x 3,8 cm), and 19 bronze
pins with a hemispheric head, 1-1,6 cm in
diameter.
Unpublished

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

72. Two-piece “female” strap fastener
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2008,
IDN 1398; PN 127/2008
Silver/gilding/tin/bronze
9,5 cm
First half of the 1st c.
A tinned two-piece female strap-fastener,
gilded and inlayed with silver.
Unpublished.
Bibliography: Bishop 1988, 167, fig.
54, 5a; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 38, 717;
Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 64, 1832-1847

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.



73. Junction loop
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007,
IDN 1409; PN 11/2007
Bronze
7 cm
First half of the 1st c.
A bronze junction loop of a harness bit ring.
Unpublished
Bibliography: Bishop 1988, 161, 7a, 7b,
7c.; Radman-Livaja 2004, kat. br. 209;
Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 61, br. 1677-
1684; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 35

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

74. Junction loop
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006,
IDN 1090
Tinned bronze
9 cm
First half of the 1st c.
A bronze junction loop of a harness bit ring.
Unpublished
Bibliography: Bishop 1988, 161, fig. 51, 7a,
7b, 7c; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 103, fig. 63,
6; Radman-Livaja 2004a, T. 60, 430; Desch-
ler-Erb 1999, T. 35, 666; Unz&Deschler-
Erb 1997, T. 61

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

75. Horse gear phalera
Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007,
IDN 1536; PN 235/07
Tinned copper alloy
3,5 cm
First half of the 1st c.
A round phalera with a perforation in the
middle, fastened to strap harness.
Unpublished
Bibliography: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 33,
646-648; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 66,
1894

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

**73. Spojna kuka
razvodnika konjske opreme**
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1409; PN 11/2007.
bronca
dimenzije: 7 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Brončana spojnica razvodnika konjske
opreme.
Neobjavljeno
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 161, 7a, 7b, 7c.;
Radman-Livaja 2004, kat. br. 209;
Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 61, br.
1677-1684; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 35

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

**74. Spojna kuka
razvodnika konjske opreme**
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006.,
IDN 1090
pokositrena bronca
dimenzije: 9 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Brončana spojnica razvodnika konjske
opreme.
Neobjavljeno
Lit.: Bishop 1988, 161, fig. 51, 7a, 7b,
7c; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 103, fig.
63, 6; Radman-Livaja 2004a, T. 60,
430; Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 35, 666;
Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 61

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

75. Falera s konjske orme
Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007.,
IDN 1536; PN 235/07.
pokositrena bakrena slitina
dimenzije: 3,5 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Okrugla falera s rupicom u sredini,
koja se pričvršćivala na remenje konjske
orme.
Neobjavljeno
Lit.: Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 33, 646-
648; Unz&Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 66,
1894.

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

76. Kopča remena sedla

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2007., IDN 1091
željezo
dimenzije: 10 x 7,5 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Polukružna kovana kopča na remenu kojim se pričvršćivalo sedlo, odnosno osedlavao konj.
Neobjavljeno

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z

77. Klin za šator

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006., IDN 1048
kovano željezo
dimenzije: 15,9 x 1,3 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Šiljati klin s ušicom.
Neobjavljeno
Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, str. 63, fig. 32, 5-9; Radman-Livaja 2004, T. 32, 187, T. 33, 188-190

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z

78. Koštani legijski pečat

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), 2006., IDN 1199
kost
dimenzije: 8,13 x 0,84 cm
prva pol. 1. st.
Cilindrična obrađena kost sa zrcalno izrezbarenim *LEG* na jednom i *D* na drugom kružnom završetku.
Neobjavljeno

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.

76. Saddle belt buckle

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2007, IDN 1091
Iron
10 x 7,5 cm
First half of the 1st c.
Semicircular forged strap buckle for the fastening of the saddle, that is, for the saddling of the horse.
Unpublished

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z

77. Tent peg

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006, IDN 1048
Forged iron
15,9 x 1,3 cm
First half of the 1st c.
Pointed peg with a loop.
Unpublished
Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, str. 63, fig. 32, 5-9; Radman-Livaja 2004, T. 32, 187, T. 33, 188-190

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z

78. Bone legionary stamp

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), 2006, IDN 1199
Bone
8,13 x 0,84 cm
First half of the 1st c.
Cylindrical retouched bone with the letters *LEG* carved on the one and *D* on the other round ending.
Unpublished

M.G, Ž.M., J.Z.



79. Portrait medallion (*phalera*) with a bust of Emperor Tiberius

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), bought in 1968, Archaeological museum in Zadar, A3001
Dark-blue glass paste
Original diameter: 3,75 cm, present state width: 2,86 cm, total thickness: 0,88 cm
First quarter of the 1st c. (Augustan period)

A glass portrait mobile medallion with a relief of a male bust. The right third is missing, with the left shoulder of the figure and a part of the armor (left shoulder strap and shoulder pteryx). Beside the broken away nose, the portrait is almost complete. It is structured as a frontal shoulder bust dressed in a *lorica musculata* type of armor. Below the armor, on the right shoulder, the straps of wool or leather coating (pteryx) are seen. The anterior and posterior sides of the armor are joined by safety shoulder straps, that is, epaulettes (*epomydes*). A thin strap (*balteus*) is suspended over the bust starting from the right shoulder, symbolically indicating the scabbards on the left flank. The head is youthful, with a slight torsion towards the right.

The phalera is of a Type VI of Roman glass portrait bust phalerae, depicting, according to V. Poulsen, H. Jucker, W.-R. Megow and D. Boschung, a young Tiberius as a crown prince. Although we are dealing here with a significantly smaller scale of depiction, the forelock distribution above the forehead on the busts of the Type VI glass phalerae can be undoubtedly associated with marble replicas of the so-called Adoptive (or Copenhagen 623) type of Tiberius' portraits. They depict the emperor in his forties, with a short and less playful hair cut. The forelocks are combed almost in a flat line from the left towards the right corner of the forehead, above the right eye a motive of small closed tongs is formed, the forelocks above the right ear are thrown backwards, and the opposite ones are more plastic and turned towards the front. Some distinctively Tiberian physiognomic details support the identification: high and accentuated wide forehead, spaced eyes, angular skull structure, slightly bowed eyebrows, large irregular nose, shallow wrinkles around nose and mouths, and especially a lower lip indented between the nose and a small narrow chin, best observed from the profile.

79. Portretna medalja (falera) s bistom cara Tiberija

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), otkupljena 1968., Arheološki muzej Zadar, A3001
tamnoplava staklena pasta
izvorni promjer: 3,75 cm, sačuvana širina: 2,86 cm, ukupna debljina: 0,88 cm
prva četvrtina 1. st. (Augustovo doba)

Staklena portretna medalja s bistom muškarca u reljefu. Nedostaje joj desna trećina tijela s lijevim ramenom figure i dijelom oklopa (lijeva naramenica i ramene pterige). Osim odlomljenog nosa, portret je gotovo u cijelosti sačuvan. Koncipiran je kao frontalno okrenuta ramena bista odjevna u oklop tipa *lorica musculata*. Ispod oklopa na desnom ramenu proviruju trake vunene ili kožne podstave (pteryge). Prednji i stražnji dio oklopa povezani su sigurnosnim ramenim trakama tj. naramenicama ili epoletama (*epomydes*). Preko poprsja se s desnog ramena spušta tanji remen (*balteus*) simbolički naznačujući korice oružja na lijevom boku. Glava je prikazana mladolikih crta lica, s neznatnom torzijom glave nadesno.

Falera pripada VI. tipu rimskih staklenih falera s portretnim bistama, koji prema mišljenju V. Poulsena, H. Juckera, W.-R. Megow i D. Boschunga prikazuje mladoga Tiberija kao krunskog princa. Iako je riječ o kudikamo manjem formatu prikaza, raspored pramenova iznad čela na bistama sa VI. tipa staklenih falera nedvojbeno se može povezati s mramornim replikama tzv. Adoptivnog (ili Kopenhagenskog 623) tipa Tiberijevih portreta. Oni prikazuju cara u 40-im godinama života s frizurom koja je kratka i manje razigrana. Pramenovi su u gotovo ravnoj liniji iščešljani iz lijevog prema desnom uglu čela, iznad desnog oka formiran je motiv malih zatvorenih kliješta, pramenovi iznad desnoga uha bačeni su prema natrag, a oni na suprotnoj strani su plastičniji i okrenuti prema naprijed. U prilog identifikacije govore i za Tiberija karakteristični detalji fizionomije: visoko i naglašeno široko čelo, široko postavljene oči, koščata struktura lubanje, malo iskrivljene obrve, veliki i krivi nos, plitki nabori oko nosa i usta, i posebice donja usna podvučena između nosa i male i uske brade, koja se najbolje opaža pri pogledu iz profila.

Kako to pokazuju cjelovito sačuvani primjerci iz Vindonisse, Colchestera i Rheingönheima, medalja je izvorno morala biti montirana unutar brončanog okvira/okova izdignutih krajeva i udubljene sredine, čiji je vanjski promjer dosegao dimenzije oko 6-7 cm. Preko krajeva tog okova medaljon se s gornje strane često učvršćivao dodatnim okvirom da ne bi ispao iz svoga ležišta. Na stražnjoj strani okova nalazila se zalemljena kukica s jednom ili više ušica kroz koje se provlačio remen na kojemu je falera stajala.

S obzirom na tip portreta s kojim je Tiberije prikazan, nastanak falere mora se datirati u kasnije Augustovo doba. Adoptivni tip Tiberijeva portreta inauguriran je pred kraj Augustove vladavine, najvjerojatnije povodom adopcije 4. god. i u upotrebi je do pred sam kraj Augustova života kada se pojavljuje novi tip Tiberijeva portreta, nazvan Berlin-Napulj-Sorrento (još zvan i «glavni tip»), a koji poslije Augustove smrti 14. god. postaje i novi službeni tip portreta. Takva datacija, kao i spoznaja da su falere izrađivane u malim i kratkim serijama, znači i da je falera morala biti zaslužena držanjem u ratnim događanjima unutar spomenutoga vremenskog okvira. Čini se uputnim pretpostaviti da je to mogao biti samo veliki panonski ustanak iz 6-9. god., u kojemu je Tiberije imao ključnu ulogu.

Objava: Ilakovac 1976, 158 ff; T. I. Lit.: Nedved 1981, 182, br. 329, T. 25, sl. 2.; APJ 1987, 160-161, kat. br. 72 sa sl. (M. Kolega); Boschung 1987, 199 ff; fig. 5, 13, fig. 6-10, 234, cat. 4, fig. 48; Cambi 2000, 40, kat. br. 33, T. 35

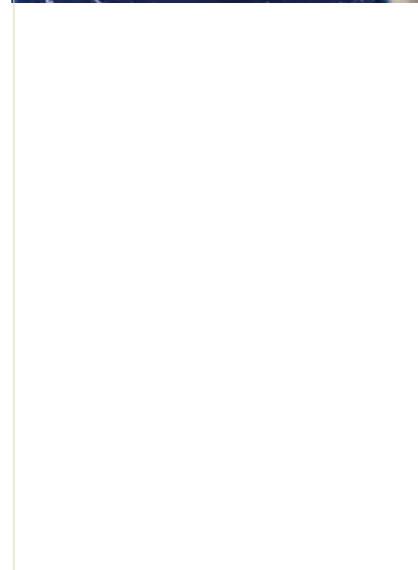
D. M.

As evidenced by the complete specimens from Vindonissa, Colchester and Rheingönheim, the medallion must have been fixed into a bronze frame/fitting with an elevated rim and concave centre, with an external diameter of some 6-7 cm. The medallion was often fastened on its upper side, above the rim of the fitting, with an additional fitting, so as not to fall out of its slot. On the back side of the fitting there was a soldered small hook with one or more loops through which a strap was drawn on which the phalera was suspended.

Considering the type of Tiberius' portrait, the creation of the phalera must be chronologically placed in the later Augustan period. The Adoptive type of Tiberius' portrait was inaugurated in the late part of Augustus' reign, most probably on the occasion of the adoption in AD 4, and was in use until the very end of Augustus' life when a new type of Tiberius' portrait appeared, the Berlin-Naples-Sorrento type (also called the "main type"), which became, after Augustus' death, the new official portrait type. This dating, as well as the fact that the phalerae were produced in small and short-lived series, means that the phalera must have been awarded for the conduct in one of the wars during the abovementioned time frame. It seems opportune to suppose that this could be only the great Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9, in which Tiberius played a decisive role.

Published in: Ilakovac 1976, 158 ff; T. I. Bibliography: Nedved 1981, 182, br. 329, T. 25, sl. 2.; APJ 1987, 160-161, kat. br. 72 sa sl. (M. Kolega); Boschung 1987, 199 ff; fig. 5, 13, fig. 6-10, 234, cat. 4, fig. 48; Cambi 2000, 40, kat. br. 33, T. 35

D. M.



80. Lower half of a sepulchral stele with centurion insignia

Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), date of the find unknown, Archaeological museum in Zadar, inv. no. A7529

White limestone with minor petrifications
Height: 1,30 m, width: 0,73 m, thickness: 0,23 m

First quarter of the 1st c.

The find site of the stele was not documented, but considering the environment in which it was kept until now (among the Burnum monuments), and the character of the depiction and the patina (thick layers of limestone and moss), it is certainly a very old discovery, almost certainly coming from the area of the Roman military camp at Burnum.

Only approximately the lower half of an original complex is now preserved. The inscription field and the top section are both missing, the former bordered by a moulding or architectural elements, and the latter almost certainly of the triangular pediment with acroteria type. The existence of the pediment is supported by the lack of a single monument ending in a semi-circular top (the so-called semi-circular pediment) or a simple flat top without any pediment produced in the stone-masons' workshops of the military camp at Burnum during the 1st c. AD.

The existing part of the stele represents a decorative base (sole), whose surface is filled with a representation of the equipment and decorations of a Roman centurion, depicted, it would seem, in a life-size scale. The central part of the representation is occupied by a set of nine portrait medallions or phalerae joined together with straps, above which there are two partially broken away bracelets (*armillae*), above which are the remains of two necklaces (*torques*) and a somewhat larger central wreath (*corona*); the depiction is framed with two greaves (lat. *ocreae*, gr. *knemides*), and between the left pad and the edge of the monument there is also a centurion staff (*vitis*). Thus, there is no doubt that this was a sepulchral monument of a lower rank Roman officer (a centurion), who had received a number of decorations (*dona militaria*).

Traces of tools are visible on the entire monument. Around and below the set of phalerae traces of toothed chisel are observable, on the bases we can see the traces of strikes of a pointed – occasionally also toothed – chisel, while the area within the phalerae set and the very relief were partly polished. At the beginning of the fixing cog there is a horizontal

80. Donja polovica nadgrobnje stele sa znamenjem centuriona

Bez podatka o mjestu i godini pronalaska, Lapidarij Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, inv. br. 10578

bijeli vapnenac s manjim okaminama
visina: 1,30 m, širina: 0,73 m, debljina: 0,23 m

prva četvrtina 1. st.

Mjesto nalaza stele u pisanoj formi nije zabilježeno, ali je s obzirom na okruženje u kojemu se do nedavno nalazila (među spomenicima iz Burnuma), te karakter prikaza i stupanj patine (debeli nanosi kamenca i mahovine) zasigurno riječ o jako starom nalazu, gotovo sigurno s prostora rimskoga logora Burnum.

Od stele je sačuvana otprilike donja polovica prvobitnog korpusa. Nedostaju joj natpisno polje i vršni dio, prvi uokviran ili profilom ili arhitektonskim elementima, a drugi gotovo sigurno tipa trokutnog zabata s akroterijima. Pretpostavku o postojanju zabata moguće je iznijeti temeljem spoznaje da u kamenoklesarskoj produkciji vojnoga logora Burnum nije zabilježen nijedan spomenik iz 1. st. s polukružnim završetkom (tzv. polukružnim zabatom) ili jednostavnoga ravnoga završetka bez zabata.

Sačuvani dio stele predstavlja nekadašnje podnožje (sokl) dekorativne namjene, čiju površinu ispunja prikaz opreme i odličja jednoga rimskog centuriona, izveden čini se u prirodnoj veličini. Središnji dio prikaza zauzima komplet od devet portretnih medalja ili falera (*phalerae*) povezanih remenjem, iznad njih su dvije djelomice otučene narukvice (*armillae*), povrh njih su ostatci dviju ogrlica (*torques*) i nešto većega središnjega vijenca (*corona*), prikaz uokviruju dva štitnika za noge (lat. *ocreae*, grč. *knemides*), a između lijevoga štitnika i ruba spomenika izrađen je još i centurionski štap *vitis*. Nema, dakle, nikakve sumnje da je riječ o nadgrobnom spomeniku jednoga nižeg rimskog časnika (centuriona), koji je primio cijeli niz odličja (*dona militaria*).

Na spomeniku su u cijelom opsegu vidljivi tragovi alata. Oko i ispod kompleta falera vidljivi su tragovi rada zubatim dljetom, na podnožju su tragovi udarača šiljatim dljetom i mjestimice zubače, a prostor unutar kompleta s falerama i sam reljef jednim je dijelom poliran. Na početku zuba za uglavljivanje sačuvana

je urezana horizontalna crta koja svjedoči o grafičkoj pripremi prije klesarskog zahvata. Promjer falera iznosi od 8,5 do 9 cm, a širina traka od 1,8 do 2 cm.

Ono što stelu iz Arheološkog muzeja Zadar čini jedinstvenim primjerkom u svijetu rimske nadgrobne plastike jest karakter prikaza u pojedinim falerama. Središnju faleru ispunja dobro poznati motiv glave Meduze (*gorgoneion*), ali se figuralni motivi pojavljuju na još tri falere. Na lijevoj faleri u gornjem redu prikazana je u profilu bista mlađega muškarca kratke kose, s plaštom zakopčanim na desnom ramenu i slabo vidljivim ramenim pterigama ispod oklopa. Površina reljefa je znatnim dijelom izlistana, ali se usprkos tome i malome formatu prikaza još uvijek u određenoj mjeri zamjećuju fizionomijske karakteristike i činjenica da je sigurno riječ o portretu. Njemu nasuprot, na krajnjoj desnoj faleri, prikazan je još jedan lik, u istom odsječku i zrcalno obrnutom stavu, slabije usčuvanosti reljefa, posebice u dijelu koji se nalazi iznad glave. Oba su lika neznatno nagnuta naprijed u odnosu na zamišljenu središnju os i pružanje okomitih traka. Između falera s bistama je falera koja nosi lik manje četveronožne životinje, a po kontekstu se može zaključiti da je riječ o lavu ili vučici. Preostale falere ne nose figuralnu dekoraciju. Dvije krajnje falere u srednjem redu ukrašene su s po dvije reljefne koncentrične kružnice i sa stožastim ispupčenjem po sredini, a one u donjem redu s jednostavnim rozetama, dok je središnja glatkoga tijela s ispupčenjem po sredini.

Više je nego evidentno da dio prikaza s kompletom falera, narukvicama, ogrlicama i vijencem prikazuje stvarna odlikovanja koje je pokojnik dobio za svoje zasluge. Falere s bistama, četveronožnom životinjom i Meduzom imitiraju stvarne falere kakve su se izradivale i od metala (bronce, srebra) i od stakla, a preostale obične metalne falere, kakvih se nekoliko primjeraka također čuva u Arheološkome muzeju Zadar. Razumno je pretpostaviti da je majstor prilikom izrade pred sobom imao originalan komplet falera. Je li kompletan repertoar izvorno bio izrađen od metala ili su gornje falere možda bile od stakla, ostaje nerješiva enigma.

Interpretacija prikazanih bista krajnje je nezahvalna, ali i intrigantna zadaća. Desna je zbog stupnja oštećenja gotovo

line testifying to the graphic preparation previous to the carving. The diameter of the phalerae is 8,5-9 cm, and the band width is 1,8-2 cm.

What makes the stele from the Archaeological museum in Zadar unique among the complex of Roman sepulchral sculpture is the character of depictions on certain of the phalerae. The central phalera is decorated with the well-known Medusa's head motive (*gorgoneion*), but figural motives appear on three more of the phalerae. On the left phalera in the upper row a bust of a young short-haired male is shown in profile, with a cape fastened on the right shoulder and poorly visible shoulder straps beneath the armor. The surface of the relief is heavily layered, but, nonetheless, disregarding also the small scale of the depiction, it is still possible to observe some physiognomic characteristics and the fact we are dealing with a portrait. Opposite to this portrait, on the extreme right phalera, another character is depicted, within the same segment and in a mirror-image; the relief is less well-preserved, especially the part above the head. Both figures are slightly bent forward in relation to the imaginary central axis and the course of vertical bands. Between the portrait phalerae is another phalera with a smaller four-legged animal, perhaps a lion or a she-wolf, judging by the context. The remaining phalerae do not possess any figural decoration. Two extreme phalerae in the central row are decorated with two concentric circles in a relief with a cone bulge in the center, and those in the lower row with simple rosettes, while the central has a smooth body with a bulge in the centre.

It is more that evident that the part of the depiction with a set of phalerae, bracelets, necklaces and a wreath represents real decorations received by the deceased for his conduct. The phalerae with busts, four-legged animal and Medusa imitate the real phalerae made of metal (bronze, silver) and glass, and the remaining represent the common metal phalerae, several specimens of which are kept in the Archaeological museum in Zadar. It is reasonable to presume that the craftsman had an original set of phalerae in front of him. Was the complete set originally made of metal or were the upper phalerae made of glass will remain an unsolved enigma.

The interpretation of these busts is rather unrewarding, but also an intriguing task. The right is badly damaged and therefore lost for any iconographic determination, and its attribution is dependable upon the left one. It seems that it depicted a figure with an



attribute on or above the head. This is evident from the fact that the volume of damaged relief on this place encompasses the area above the head. This detail might have represented a *corona* or a helmet. The surviving physiognomic details (Adam's apple, flat profile and strong forehead) speak for the male gender of the figure. The left bust is much better preserved. It depicts a young male with quadrangular head structure (wearing a wreath?), high forehead protruding in the upper part, elongated flat nose broken off at the tip, and a harmonious mouth profile with a slightly protruding upper lip. The chin is connected with the neck in a fine oval. The figure undoubtedly depicts an emperor or a prince of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Comparing the depiction with the profile of the emperor Tiberius from a glass phalera from the Archaeological museum in Zadar, certain similarities appear, but also some differences. On the other hand, it seems that the portrait bears some characteristics of Augustus' physiognomy. Unfortunately, the difficulties present with identification of the characters depicted on the phalerae also appear when discussing many other, much better preserved specimens made in metal or glass. The profile speaks for young Tiberius or Augustus – the frontal view is frequent in the series of Tiberius', Caligula's and Claudius' phalerae. The specimens with a profile depiction must be associated with the earlier phase of development of the phalerae, influenced by the glyptic art (especially the production of cameos), flourishing in the Augustan period. The Augustus-Tiberius dilemma does not exclude the possibility that one or the other were intended to be represented. If the left bust was intended to represent Tiberius, the right could have represented Augustus and vice versa. Of course, if we would to choose Augustus, the right bust could represent Caesar. If we were to choose Tiberius, the right bust could represent Germanicus or Drusus the Younger. The Augustus-Tiberius combination certainly seems the most likely.

According to the available data, the Burnum stele is the only Roman sepulchral monument that undoubtedly had a depiction of a phalera with an imperial or a princely portrait. The possibility of the existence of such representations was suggested for some other representations of phalerae with front-view busts of profile busts (list in D. Boschung). The only such monument from the eastern shore of the Adriatic is today kept in the Archaeological museum in Split, on which, according to B. Ilakovac, there is a pair of

izgubljena za svako ikonografsko razmatranje i interpretacija joj ponajprije ovisi o lijevoj. Čini se da je prikazivala figuru s nekim atributom iznad ili na glavi. To je razvidno iz činjenice da volumen uništenoga reljefa na tome mjestu obuhvaća i prostor iznad glave. Redoslijedom vjerojatnosti taj bi detalj mogla biti *corona* ili kaciga. Preživjeli elementi fizionomije (adamova jabučica, ravan profil i snažno čelo) govore ipak u prilog muškog spola prikazane figure. Lijeva je bista pak kudikamo bolje očuvana. Prikazuje muškarca mlađih crta lica, približno kvadratne strukture glave (također s vijencem?), visokog i u gornjem dijelu izbačenog čela, izduženoga ravnog nosa koji je na vrhu odlomljen i skladnog profila usta kod kojeg je gornja usna neznatno izbačena ispred donje. Brada se u finom ovalu spaja s vratom. Nesumnjivo je da lik prikazuje cara ili princa julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Usporedivši prikaz s profilom cara Tiberija na staklenoj faleri iz zadarskoga arheološkog muzeja, uočavaju se određene sličnosti, ali i razlike. S druge strane, čini se da prikaz ima neke odlike i Augustove fizionomije. Nažalost, poteškoće u identifikaciji likova prikazanih na falerama prisutne su i kod mnogih drugih, često i mnogo bolje sačuvanih primjeraka u staklu ili metalu. Da bi morala biti riječ o mladom Tiberiju ili Augustu govori i prikaz u profilu, a ne frontalno kao što je slučaj sa serijama falera Tiberijeva, Kaligulina i Klaudijeva razdoblja. Primjerci s portretima u profilu moraju se povezati s ranijom razvojnom fazom falera, pod utjecajem gliptike (posebice izrade kameja), čiji procvat pada upravo u Augustovo doba. Dilema August ili Tiberije ne isključuje mogućnost prisutnosti druge osobe iz para. Ako je lijeva bista Tiberijeva, desna bi lako mogla biti Augustova, i obratno. Naravno, u slučaju Augusta, desna bi bista možda mogla biti i Cezarova. Ako je pak u pitanju Tiberije, desno bi mogao biti i Germanik ili Druz Mlađi. Kombinacija August – Tiberije svakako se čini najvjerojatnijom.

Prema dostupnim podacima, stela iz Burnuma jedini je rimski kameni spomenik na kojemu je nedvojbeno potvrđen prikaz falere s carskim ili prinčevskim portretom. Sumnja u postojanje takvih sadržaja pretpostavljena je i za neke druge prikaze falera s frontalnim bistama ili bistama u profilu (popis kod

D. Boschung). Jedini takav spomenik na istočnoj obali Jadrana je fragment stele iz Burnuma koji se danas čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, na kojemu se prema B. Ilakovcu pojavljuje par «ljudskih» glava u profilu i poluprofilu. Komplet falera sa splitskog fragmenta brojem medalja i mrežom remenja direktna je i najbliža usporedba zadarskom fragmentu. Jedina se razlika očituje u tome što je na splitskome fragmentu prikazan i dio kožnatih traka koji je prelazio na leđa, a kojih na zadarskome fragmentu nema, zacijelo jer je to onemogućio prikaz štitnika nogu.

Uporište za dataciju stele je pretpostavljeni ikonografski sadržaj najinteresantijeg para falera, njihova veličina, prikaz biste u profilu i mogući povijesni kontekst u kojemu su odličja zaslužena (6. - 9. god. ?).

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Ilakovac, 1976, 159 ff; Boschung, 1987, 202, f. 48

D. M.

“human” heads in profile and semi-profile. The set of phalerae from the Split fragment, with its number of medallions and its strap grid, is a direct and closest analogy for the Zadar fragment. The only difference is in the fact that the Split fragment depicts also a segment of leather straps crossing over to the back, not present on the Zadar fragment, probably because the depiction of the greaves made it impossible.

The base for the chronological placing of the stele is the supposed iconographic contents of the most interesting pair of the phalerae, their size, the profile depiction of the busts, and the possible historical context for the acquiring of the decorations (AD 6-9?).

Unpublished

Bibliography: Ilakovac, 1976, 159 ff; Boschung, 1987, 202, f. 48

D. M.



81. Fragment of a sepulchral stele with a depiction of a military standard (*signum*)

No information on the place and date of the find available, Lapidarium of the Archaeological museum in Zadar, inv. no. 10578

White Fine-grained limestone

Height: 0,43 m, width: 0,36 m, thickness: 0,20 m

First half or the early second half of the 1st c.

A fragment of a central part of a sepulchral stele with a smaller part of the inscription field and the depiction of a military standard (*signum*). Only six lines of text were preserved, consisting of one or several letters. The height of the letters is gradually diminishing, from 5,5 cm in the first to 3,5 cm in the last row. It was carved in a fine, occasionally quadrate capitals. In the abbreviation STIP, in the fourth line, the letters T, I, and P are in ligature. The punctuation is made in triangle incisions, seven in total, four at line ends. The name of the deceased was, it seems, in the dative form, and of the name formula we have the suffix *-ius* (dat. *-io*) of the gentilicium, the first letter of filiation (a *P* or a *T*) and the ending of a cognomen *-sso* (probably from the nom. *Bassus*). The inscription tells us that the monument belonged to a Roman standard bearer, who has received 23 stipends or annual pays for his service. This suggests that he passed away in the early forties of his life.

Between the inscription and the right edge of the monument a *signum* is depicted, one of Roman military standards possessed by every centuria, cohort, and legion, including the auxiliary cohorts (other standards were the *aquila* – the eagle standard, *imago* – standard with an imperial metal portrait, *vexillum* – standard with a linen flag and the name of the unit, and *draco* – Late Antiquity flag of cavalry units in the form of a hollow metal dragon's or snake's head). A *signum* was decorated with, beside a crescent and occasionally zodiac signs, large medallions – phalerae, somewhat larger than those which functioned as decorations for deserving soldiers, with a depiction of an open hand (*manus*), most frequently, or a common wreathed spear head on the top. It is a general opinion that the number of phalerae during the imperial period reflected the number of centuria within the cohort (no more than six). Our depiction has preserved the grip, crescent part and three phalerae; one phalera is broken away, as well as the top of the standard, perhaps together with another phalera, so we cannot

81. Fragment nadgrobnje stele s prikazom stijega (*signum*)

Ivoševci kod Kistanja (Burnum), bez godine pronalaska, Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. A7529

bijeli sitno zrnati vapnenac

visina: 0,43 m, širina: 0,36 m, debljina: 0,20 m

prva pol. ili početak druge pol. 1. st.

Fragment središnjeg dijela nadgrobnje stele s manjim dijelom natpisnog polja i prikazom stijega (*signum*). Od natpisa je sačuvano šest redaka teksta, koji uključuju od svega jednog do nekoliko slova. Visina slova se postupno smanjuje, od 5,5 cm u prvom do 3,5 cm u posljednjem retku natpisa. Uklesan je finom, mjestimice kvadratnom kapitalom. U kratlici STIP, u 4. retku, slova T, I i P su u ligaturi. Interpunkcije su izvedene trokutastim urezima, ukupno ih je sedam, od čega su četiri na kraju redaka. Ime pokojnika stajalo je, čini se, u dativnom obliku, a od imenskih dijelova sačuvan je početak *-ius* (dat. *-io*) gentilnog imena, prvo slovo filijacije (*P* ili *T*) i završetak kognomena *-sso* (vjerojatno od nom. *Bassus*). S natpisa doznajemo da je spomenik pripadao rimskom signiferu, koji je za svoju službu primio 23 stipendije ili godišnje plaće. Iz toga slijedi zaključak da je preminuo u ranim 40-im godinama života.

Između natpisa i desnog ruba spomenika prikazan je *signum*, jedan od rimskih vojnih stijegova (*standard*) koji je imala svaka centurija, kohorta, odnosno legija, uključivši i pomoćne kohorte (ostali su *aquila* – standard s orlom, *imago* – standard s portretom cara od metala, *vexillum* – standard sa zastavom od tkanine i imenom jedinice, i *draco* – kasnoantička zastava konjaničkih jedinica oblika šuplje zmajevske ili zmijske glave od metala). *Signum* su osim polumjesečastog dijela i eventualno zodijskih znakova ukrašavale velike okrugle medalje-falere (*phalerae*), dimenzijama nešto veće od onih koje su bile u funkciji odličja zaslužnih vojnika, a na vrhu je najčešće stajao prikaz otvorene ruke (*manus*) ili običan šiljak koplja s vijencem. Uvriježeno je mišljenje da je u carsko doba broj falera odražavao broj centurija u kohorti (ne veći od šest). Na našem su prikazu sačuvani rukohvat, polumjesečasti dio i tri falere, jedna je falera odlomljena, a jednako tako i vrh stijega, moguće s još jednom falerom,

pa se ne može sa sigurnošću govoriti o karakteru, odnosno pripadnosti stijega. Budući da je na natpisu najvjerojatnije stajalo *signifer legionis*, a ne *miles legionis* i u nastavku *signifer*, moguće je da je riječ o nosaču legijskog signuma.

Na krajnjem desnom rubu spomenika uz veliki se napor primjećuju ostatci krajnjih rubova tordiranih kanelira koji mogu pripadati samo stupu, što dokazuje da je stela bila arhitektonske kompozicije, tj. tipa edikule. S obzirom na to da debljina fragmenta iznosi čak 20 cm, stela je morala biti monumentalnih razmjera, možda ipak nešto manjih dimenzija od one s falorama u kojima su carski portreti. U gornjem je dijelu zasigurno imala trokutni zabat (jer su ga podupirali tordirani stupovi), a nije nemoguće da je u donjem dijelu, koji je funkcionirao kao sokl, imala još neki, za signifere karakterističan prikaz (npr. lavlja ili medvjeda koža). Nije isključeno ni da je nekakav prikaz stajao i uz lijevi stup edikule, kao pandan stijegu. Uz jednu stelu koja se nekoć čuvala u Kistanjama (CIL III, 15001), čiji je sokl ukrašavo *signum* na lijevoj i koža na desnoj strani, ovo je drugi primjerak nadgrobne plastike Burnuma na kojoj je prikazan *signum*.

Transkripcija natpisa:

[----]IO . [.]
[----]SSO . DO
[----]IGNIF .
[----]STIP . XXIII .
[----]LA .
[----]O .

Restitucija: [...]io T(iti vel P(ubli?)) / [f(ilio?) ... Ba?]sso do/[mo ... s]ignif(eri) / leg(ionis) XI?, stip(endiorum) XXIII, / [ann(orum) ...]la / [....]io / [...]

Objava: ILJug 1986, 2817
Lit.: Maršić 2007, 216, sl. 13

D. M.

discuss the character, that is, the affiliation of the standard. Since the inscription probably had the words *signifer legionis*, and not *miles legionis* followed by *signifer*, it is possible that this was a bearer of a legionary *signum*.

On the extreme right edge of the monument the remains of extreme edges of spiral flutes are barely visible, that could have only belonged to a column, thus testifying that the stele had an architectural composition, that is, it was of the aedicule type. Since the thickness of the fragment is as much as 20 cm, the stele must have been of monumental dimensions, perhaps somewhat smaller than the one with phalerae with imperial portraits. It certainly had a triangle pediment on top (supported with spirally fluted columns), and it is not impossible that it contained, in the lower part, functioning as a sole of the monument, another representation characteristic for the standard bearers (for example, lion or bear skin). It is also not excluded that there was a representation along the left column of the aedicule, as a counterpart to the standard. Together with another stele once kept in Kistanje (CIL III, 15001), whose sole was decorated with a *signum* on the left and a skin on the right side, this is the second example of the sepulchral sculpture from Burnum depicting a *signum*.

Transcription:

[----]IO . [.]
[----]SSO . DO
[----]IGNIF .
[----]STIP . XXIII .
[----]LA .
[----]O .

Restitution: [...]io T(iti vel P(ubli?)) / [f(ilio?) ... Ba?]sso do/[mo ... s]ignif(eri) / leg(ionis) XI?, stip(endiorum) XXIII, / [ann(orum) ...]la / [....]io / [...]

Published in: ILJug 1986, 2817
Bibliography: Maršić 2007, 216, sl. 13

D. M.



IVAN RADMAN-LIVAJA

SISCIA KAO RIMSKO VOJNO UPORIŠTE

SISCIA AS A ROMAN MILITARY STRONGHOLD

Siscia, odnosno pretpovijesna Segestica, je izgleda već od svog prvog spomena u antičkim izvorima povezana s rimskom vojskom i njenim djelovanjem na ovom prostoru. Naime, već prilikom prvog pretpostavljenog rimskog prodora u Panoniju, 159. g. pr. Kr. ili 156. g. pr. Kr., rimska je vojska vjerojatno napala Segestiku.¹ Ta se hipoteza temelji na povezivanju jednog Polibijevog navoda o nekakvom rimsko-panonskom ratu, te Apijanovog spomena jednog neuspješnog pohoda protiv Panonaca pod vodstvom izvjesnog Kornelija i tvrdnje da su Rimljani u dva navrata prije Oktavijana napadali Segestiku.² Zbog Polibija taj se sukob naravno ne može smjestiti u vrijeme nakon 146. g. pr. Kr., ali po svemu sudeći ni prije 167. g. pr. Kr., jer bi ga u tom slučaju gotovo sigurno spomenuo Livije. Zippel je, usporedivši podatke o rimskim konzulima iz tog razdoblja s gentilicijem Kornelije, zaključio da su jedini koji dolaze u obzir kao vođe nekakvog pohoda protiv Panonaca Gnej Kornelije Dolabela (*Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella*), konzul 159. g. pr. Kr. i Lucije Kornelije Lentul Lup (*Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*), konzul 156. g. pr. Kr.. Ukoliko je bila riječ o vojnom pothvatu u sklopu širih vojnih operacija usmjerenih protiv Skordiska na sjeveru te Delmata na jugu, 156. g. se može smatrati vjerojatnijom datacijom.

Siscia, that is, prehistoric Segestica, appears to have been connected with the Roman army and its activities in this area from its very first mention in ancient sources. Already during the first presumed Roman incursion into Pannonia in 159 or 156 B.C. the Roman army probably attacked Segestica.¹ This hypothesis is based on the link established between Polybius' remark about a certain war waged between Rome and the Pannonians, a mention by Appian of an unsuccessful campaign against the Pannonians led by one Cornelius, and the claim that the Romans had attacked Segestica twice prior to Octavian's campaign.² On account of Polybius this confrontation obviously cannot be dated to the time after 146 B.C., but in all likelihood it cannot predate 167 B.C. either, otherwise Livy would have almost certainly mentioned it. By running the gentilicium Cornelius against the data on the Roman consuls from that time, Zippel concluded that the only ones eligible as leaders of a campaign against the Pannonians were *Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella*, a consul in 159 B.C., and *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, a consul in 156 B.C. If this was a military undertaking forming part of wider military operations directed against the Scordisci in the north and the Dalmatae in the south, the year 156 B.C. is the more plausible date.

1 Zippel 1877, 135; Mócsy 1962, 527-528; Mócsy 1974, 12, 22, 32; Šašel 1974, 731; Hoti 1992, 135

2 *Polibius*, fr. 122, ed. Hultsch; *Appianus*, *Ill.* 14, 22

1 Zippel 1877, 135; Mócsy 1962, 527-528; Mócsy 1974, 12, 22, 32; Šašel 1974, 731; Hoti 1992, 135

2 *Polibius*, fr. 122, ed. Hultsch; *Appianus*, *Ill.* 14 i 22

O eventualnom rimskom prodoru do Segestike tijekom operacija vođenih protiv Japoda 129. g. pr. Kr., pod vodstvom konzula Gaja Sempronija Tuditana (*Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus*),³ nema spomena u izvorima no neki autori misle da su i tom prilikom Rimljani prodrli sjevernije te došli do Segestike, naravno pod pretpostavkom da se već spomenuti Apijanov navod o dva rimska napada na Segestiku prije Oktavijana odnosi i na Tuditanov pohod.⁴ Ta se hipoteza ipak čini teže dokazivom od Zippelove pretpostavke.

Rimljani su 119. g., tijekom delmatskog rata, opet vojno intervenirali u dolini Save, vjerojatno ponukani na tu akciju savezništvom Skordiska s Delmatima. Iako se u literaturi uglavnom navodi da su tom prilikom oba konzula, Lucije Aurelije Kota (*Lucius Aurelius Cotta*) i Lucije Cecilije Metel (*Lucius Caecilius Metellus*), vodili vojsku koja je napala Segestiku, ta se tvrdnja mora uzeti s rezervom. Nema sumnje da je vojskom zapovijedao konzul Lucije Aurelije Kota, no malo je vjerojatno da je pohod smatran toliko važnim da bi u njemu sudjelovala oba konzula. U stvari je drugi zapovjednik vjerojatno bio Lucije Metel Dijademmat (*Lucius Metellus Diadematus*), u svojstvu propretora ili legata, inače rođak drugog konzula, Lucija Cecilija Metela, koji je u tom trenutku, po svemu sudeći, južnije vodio operacije protiv Delmata.⁵

Apijan nam nije ostavio iscrpan opis ove operacije ali je sasvim jasno da je taj napad jedan od ona dva koja su, po njegovim riječima, prethodila Oktavijanoj opsadi Segestike.⁶

Postoji i jedna malo vjerojatna pretpostavka o rimskom napadu na Segestiku 83. g. pr. Kr., tijekom rata protiv Skordiska.⁷ Rimljani su porazili Skordiske negdje u vremenu između 88. i 81. g. pr. Kr.,

The sources say nothing as to the possible Roman incursion into Segestica during the operations against the Japodes in 129 B.C., which were led by the consul *Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus*.³ However, in the opinion of certain authors the Romans also at that time penetrated north, reaching Segestica, assuming of course, that the already mentioned remark by Appian about two Roman attacks on Segestica before Octavian refers to Tuditanus' campaign as well.⁴ This hypothesis seems nevertheless more difficult to prove than Zippel's assumption.

In 119 B.C., during the Dalmatian war, the Romans mounted another military intervention in the Sava valley, probably spurred on by the alliance of the Scordisci with the Dalmatae. Even though it is generally mentioned in the literature that on that occasion the army that attacked Segestica was led by both consuls, *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* and *Lucius Caecilius Metellus*, this claim should not be taken at face value. There can be no doubt that the consul Lucius Aurelius Cotta commanded the army, but it is highly improbable that the campaign was deemed so important as to require the participation of both consuls. It is in fact more likely that the other commander was *Lucius Metellus Diadematus*, in his role as propraetor or legate. He was a relative of the other consul, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, who was at that time in all probability in command of the operations against the Dalmatae in the south.⁵

Appian did not leave us a detailed description of this operation, but it is entirely clear that this was one of the two attacks that, in his words, predated Octavian's siege of Segestica.⁶

There is also a rather implausible assumption about a Roman attack on Segestica in 83 B.C., during the war against the Scordisci.⁷ The Romans defeated the Scordisci sometime between 88 and 81 B.C., but as the operations were directed from Macedonia toward Moesia, Pannonia was almost certainly spared from the war, which renders Klemenc's theory unconvincing.⁸

3 Appianus, *Ill.* 10; Titus Livius, *periocha* LIX; Wilkes 1969, 32-33; Zaninović 1986, 60; Hoti 1992, 135; Wilkes 1992, 200

4 Appianus, *Ill.* 22; Klemenc 1963, 55; Zaninović 1986, 60

5 Wilkes 1969, 33; Morgan 1971, 271-301; Mócsy 1974, 13, 22; Zaninović 1986, 59-60; Hoti 1992, 135.

6 Appianus, *Ill.* 10, 22

7 Klemenc 1963, 55

3 Appianus, *Ill.* 10; Titus Livius, *periocha* LIX; Wilkes 1969, 32-33; Zaninović 1986, 60; Hoti 1992, 135; Wilkes 1992, 200

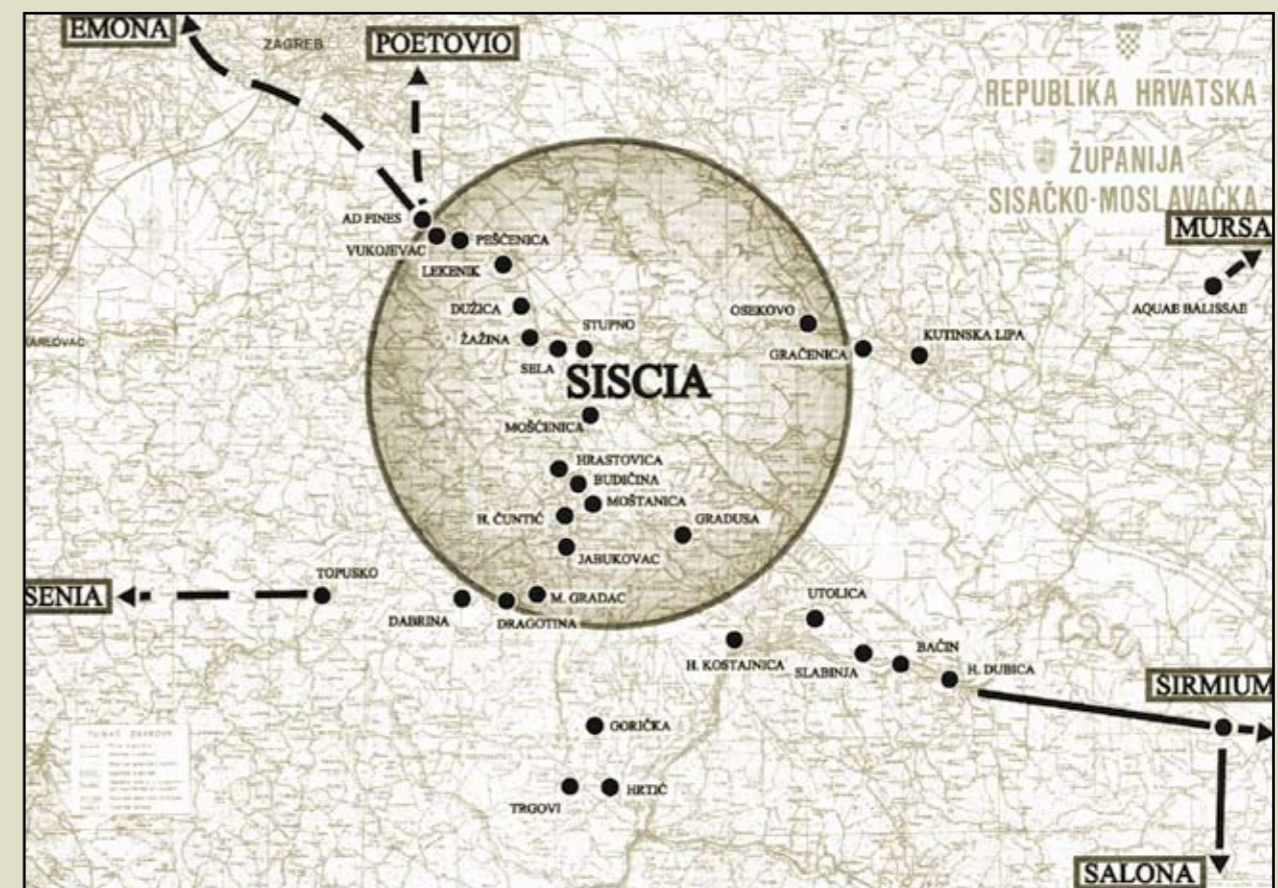
4 Appianus, *Ill.* 22; Klemenc 1963, 55; Zaninović 1986, 60

5 Wilkes 1969, 33; Morgan 1971, 271-301; Mócsy 1974, 13, 22; Zaninović 1986, 59-60; Hoti 1992, 135.

6 Appianus, *Ill.* 10, 22

7 Klemenc 1963: 55

8 Appianus, *Ill.* 5; Mócsy 1974, 15; Hoti 1992: 135



ali kako su operacije vođene iz Makedonije prema Meziji, Panonija je gotovo sigurno bila pošteđena rata te je Klemencova teorija slabo uvjerljiva.⁸

Nekoliko desetljeća kasnije uslijedio je još jedan rimski pohod na Segestiku, ujedno i zadnji. Oktavijan je 35. g. pr. Kr. sa značajnim vojnim snagama krenuo pokoriti unutrašnjost Ilirika. Iako se pisani izvori ne poklapaju u potpunosti navodeći njegove razloge za osvajanje Ilirika, više je nego vjerojatno da se Oktavijan upustio u taj rat pripremajući se za neminovni nadolazeći sukob s Markom Antonijem. Njegovi su razlozi bili kako strateške tako i propagandne naravi. Oktavijan je nesumnjivo bio željan dokazati da je dostojan svog poočima, Julija Cezara, i da kao vojskovođa ne zaostaje za Markom Antonijem, čija je vojnička slava bila neprikosnovena. S pravom je smatrao da bi mu pobjeda nad plemenima zapadnog Ilirika nedvojbeno učvrstila politički položaj i bitno povećala njegovu moć i popularnost u Rimu i cijeloj Italiji. Strateški gledano, kontrolom Panonije, odnosno doline Save, Oktavijan bi Marku Antoniju zatvorio najpogodniju kopnenu komunikaciju od Istoka k Italiji.

Nakon što je pokorio Japode,⁹ krenuo je na Segestiku, od čijih je stanovnika tražio taoce i prihvrat rimskoga garnizona. Nakon prvotnog kolebanja, u gradu je prevladala struja koja je bila za pružanje otpora. Po svemu sudeći, grad je bio dobro utvrđen a otpor žestok, budući da je Oktavijanu trebalo 30 dana da osvoji grad, iako je imao znatne snage na raspolaganju kao i riječne brodove. Ne znamo točan broj legija koje su pod Oktavijanovim zapovjedništvom sudjelovale u pohodu na Ilirik, a kako je tijekom pohoda nesumnjivo morao izdvojiti dio snaga za osiguranje zaposjednutog područja i opskrbenih komunikacija prije nego što je uopće stigao do Segestike, više je nego vjerojatno da tijekom opsade i nije mogao imati na raspolaganju sve trupe s kojima je krenuo iz Italije. Ipak, uzmemo li u obzir da je Oktavijan nakon osvajanja grada u njemu ostavio posadu od 25 kohorti pod zapovjedništvom Fufija Gemina (*Fufius Geminus*), što bi odgovaralo snazi dvije i po legije, možemo pretpostaviti kako je vojska kojoj je

Several decades later the Romans attacked Segestica once again, for the last time. In 35 B.C. Octavian set off at the head of a sizeable military force to conquer the interior of Illyricum. Even though the written sources do not concur perfectly in the description of the rationale for his conquest of Illyricum, it is more than likely that Octavian initiated that war in the preparation for the inevitable looming confrontation with Marc Anthony.

His reasons had to do with strategy as much as with propaganda. Octavian was undoubtedly eager to prove himself worthy of his stepfather, Julius Caesar, as well as that as a military leader he was a match for Marc Anthony, whose military glory was incontestable. He was right in believing that the victory over the tribes of western Illyricum would unquestionably strengthen his political position and considerably raise his power and popularity in Rome and all of Italy. From the strategic point of view, with control over Pannonia, that is the Sava valley, Octavian would block to Marc Anthony the most convenient land communication from the East to Italy.

Having conquered the Japodes,⁹ he marched on Segestica, whose inhabitants he forced to give him hostages and to accept a Roman garrison. After initial hesitation, a pro-resistance faction prevailed in the town. It seems likely that the town was strongly fortified and the resistance ardent, considering that it took Octavian 30 days to conquer the town, even though he commanded a considerable force, as well as a fleet of river ships. The precise number of the legions that took part in the Illyricum campaign under Octavian escapes us. Considering that he was certainly forced to leave a part of the troops to secure the occupied territory and the supply lines even before he ever reached Segestica, it is more than likely that during the siege he did not dispose with all the troops that he started with from Italy. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration that following the conquest of the town Octavian left there a garrison of 25 cohorts under the command of *Fufius Geminus*, which would be tantamount to two and a half legions, we can assume that the army he had headed during the siege was even bigger, which renders quite plausible the assessment that in the siege of Segestica Octavian had around 5 legions with accompanying auxiliary units and ship crews at his disposal.¹⁰

bio na čelu tijekom opsade bila i znatno veća te je procjena da je za opsadu Segestike Oktavijan mogao imati na raspolaganju oko 5 legija s pratećim auksilijarnim četama i posadama brodova dosta uvjerljiva.¹⁰

Zanimljivo je da se Oktavijan pokazao vrlo milostiv prema poraženim braniteljima, jer je preživjele ostavio na životu i na slobodi. Taj, za ono vrijeme rijedak čin milosrđa nije urodio plodom, jer je svega par mjeseci kasnije izbila pobuna koju je rimski garnizon ipak uspio ugušiti prije dolaska pojačanja predvođenih Oktavijanom. Iako nam izvori ne otkrivaju detalje, možemo pretpostaviti da im Oktavijan više nije bio sklon oprostiti te je vrlo vjerojatno malo stanovnika Segestike ostalo na životu i na slobodi nakon gušenja ustanka.¹¹

Kao što je već spomenuto, rimski garnizon koji je Oktavijan ostavio u Sisciji bio je vrlo snažan: mada je posada koja je ostala u Segestici 35. g. pr. Kr. mogla teoretski brojati više od 12.000 ljudi, možemo s dosta velikom sigurnošću pretpostaviti da tih 25 kohorti nisu bile u punom brojnom stanju. Stoga bi brojka od oko 10.000 vojnika možda bila bliža stvarnom stanju (i to zasigurno ne isključivo legionara jer su među njima vjerojatno bili i pripadnici pomoćnih trupa), što je i dalje dosta impresivna brojka. Nije samo njihov točan broj nepoznanica. Naime, ne znamo jesu li svi ti vojnici bili smješteni unutar bedema Segestike ili je barem dio ostao u privremenim taborima izgrađenima tijekom opsade. Postoji i hipoteza da je nakon osvajanja za potrebe garnizona od 25 kohorti izgrađen dvojni logor za smještaj dvije legije, no osim tog dobro poznatog podatka iz izvora nema nikakvih arheoloških dokaza o tome.¹²

Garnizon vjerojatno nije bio bitno smanjen ni nakon gušenja pobune 34. g. pr. Kr., jer je tijekom cijele Augustove vladavine to mjesto bilo jedno od

It is interesting that Octavian's treatment of the defeated defenders was very merciful, considering that he left them alive and free. This act of clemency – rare at that time – did not bear fruit, since merely a few months later a revolt broke out, which the Roman garrison succeeded in crushing even before the reinforcement led by Octavian arrived. Even though the sources do not reveal any details, we can suppose that Octavian was no longer inclined to forgive them, and that probably very few inhabitants of Segestica remained alive and free in the wake of the quelling of the rebellion.¹¹ As had already been mentioned, the Roman garrison Octavian left in Siscia was very strong: although the crew that remained in Segestica in 35 B.C. might have numbered more than 12,000 men in theory, we can be fairly certain that these 25 cohorts were not manned to the full. A figure of around 10,000 soldiers – an impressive number nonetheless – would therefore be a more likely guess (those were certainly not only legionaries, but also members of auxiliary troops). It is not only their precise number that is a secret to us. We do not know for instance whether all these soldiers resided within the walls of Segestica or at least part of them remained in the temporary camps built during the siege. There is also a hypothesis that once the town was occupied a double camp was built to accommodate the 25-cohort strong garrison. However, this well-known information from the sources has not been complemented with archaeological evidence of any kind.¹²

The garrison's strength was probably not considerably diminished even after the rebellion was suppressed in 34 B.C., as during the entire reign of Augustus that place remained one of the foremost Roman military strongholds in Illyricum.¹³ Still, in the lack of written sources and archaeological investigations, it is impossible to assess with precision the size and composition of the garrison between 34 B.C. and A.D. 6. We would probably not be wrong in saying that throughout that time the Romans

8 Appianus, *Ill.* 5; Mócsy 1974, 15; Hoti 1992, 135

9 Appianus, *Ill.* 16-21; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 35; Wilkes 1969, 50-51; Barkóczy 1980, 87-88; Hoti 1992, 136

9 Appianus, *Ill.* 16-21; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 35; Wilkes 1969, 50-51; Barkóczy 1980, 87-88; Hoti 1992, 136

10 Appianus, *Ill.* 22-24; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 36; Mócsy

10 Appianus, *Ill.* 22-24; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 36; Mócsy 1962, 538-539; Wilkes 1969, 52-53; Mócsy 1974, 22; Šašel 1974, 732; Barkóczy 1980, 90; Šašel-Kos 1986, 139-142; Zaninović 1986, 62-63; Nenadić 1987, 73; Hoti 1992, 137-138; Wilkes 1992, 206; Gruen 1996, 173; Wilkes 1996, 549-550; Domić-Kunić 2006, 92

11 Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-162

12 Schmid 1925, 213.

1962, 538-539; Wilkes 1969, 52-53; Mócsy 1974, 22; Šašel 1974, 732; Barkóczy 1980, 90; Šašel-Kos 1986, 139-142; Zaninović 1986, 62-63; Nenadić 1986-1987, 73; Hoti 1992, 137-138; Wilkes 1992, 206; Gruen 1996, 173; Wilkes 1996, 549-550; Domić-Kunić 2006, 92

11 Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-162

12 Schmid 1925, 213.

13 Schmid 1925, 213-214; Mócsy 1959, 25; Mócsy 1962, 612-613; Mócsy 1974, 23; Hoti 1992, 138; Zaninović 1993, 53-54; Domić-Kunić 2006, 104.



PUGIO (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004A, CAT. 57)

glavnih rimskih vojnih uporišta u Iliriku.¹³ Ipak, u nedostatku pisanih izvora i arheoloških istraživanja, nemoguće je točno procijeniti veličinu i sastav garnizona između 34. g. pr. Kr. i 6. god. Vjerojatno nećemo pogriješiti ako ustvrdimo da su Rimljani kroz cijelo to razdoblje u Sisciji morali držati dovoljno brojne snage kako bi brzo i učinkovito mogli ugušiti svaku pobunu domorodačkog stanovništva u zapadnoj Panoniji. Stoga nije neuvjerljivo pretpostaviti da se garnizon sastojao od barem jedne legije s pratećim auksilijarnim jedinicama. A. Domić-Kunić argumentirano obrazlaže da je veliki vojni logor u Sisciji morao biti izgrađen najkasnije tijekom Tiberijeva panonskog rata, odnosno 12. g. pr. Kr., ako ne već i ranije, no s obzirom na stratešku važnost tog mjesta, nema sumnje da rimska vojska nakon 35. g. nikad nije ni napustila grad, mada je veličina garnizona vjerojatno mogla varirati. Dodatni je problem što dosad nisu pronađeni arheološki tragovi nekog rimskog vojnog logora te je, stoga, zasad nemoguće sa sigurnošću odrediti gdje je mogao biti smješten rimski garnizon na prostoru Segestike, odnosno Siscije. S obzirom na ratna djelovanja od 35. g. pr. Kr. do 9. g. i na veliku koncentraciju rimskih trupa u tom razdoblju, vrlo je upitna pretpostavka o postojanju samo jednog rimskog vojnog logora na prostoru Segestike, odnosno Siscije. Tijekom opsade Segestike 35. g. pr. Kr., Rimljani su nesumnjivo izgradili cirkumvalaciju oko grada te barem nekoliko logora za smještaj trupa koje su opsjedale grad. Neki od tih logora su mogli biti korišteni i nakon osvajanja grada. Uostalom, u desetljećima koja su slijedila je vojni logor mogao i više puta mijenjati lokaciju, o čemu u nedostatku arheoloških istraživanja možemo samo nagađati. Stoga je zasad nemoguće procijeniti je li garnizon bio smješten na poluotoku Pogorelcu, odnosno na mjestu pretpovijesne Segestike ili se pak nalazio na mjestu budućeg rimskog grada Siscije, odnosno na lijevoj obali Kupe.¹⁴ Ipak, s obzirom na to da se civilno urbano naselje na lijevoj obali nesumnjivo počelo razvijati već u ranom 1. st., skloniji

¹³ Schmid 1925, 213-214; Mócsy 1959, 25; Mócsy 1962, 612-613; Mócsy 1974, 23; Hoti 1992, 138; Zaninović 1993, 53-54; Domić-Kunić 2006, 104.

¹⁴ Veith 1914, 51-58; Faber 1973, 153-154; Šašel 1974, 726, 732; Nenadić 1987, 72-73; Buzov 1993, 49; Zaninović 1993, 54; Burkowsky 1999, 30; Lolić 2003, 140; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-168

were compelled to keep in Siscia a force strong enough to crush swiftly and efficiently any insurrection of the indigenous populations in western Pannonia. It is therefore not implausible to assume that the garrison consisted of at least one legion with accompanying auxiliary units. A. Domić-Kunić explained on the strength of arguments that a large military camp in Siscia must have been built during Tiberius' Pannonian war at the latest, that is in 12 B.C., if not even earlier, but that there is no doubt, in view of the strategic importance of the place, that after 35. B.C. the Roman army never left the town, although the size of the garrison may have varied. An additional problem is posed by the fact that no traces of any Roman military camp have been found so far, making it impossible at present to ascertain where the Roman garrison in Segestica, that is Siscia, may have been located. Taking into consideration the military actions between 35 B.C. and A.D. 9 and the great concentration of Roman troops in that period, it is highly improbable that there was only one Roman military camp in the territory of Segestica, that is Siscia. During the siege of Segestica in 35 B.C. the Romans undoubtedly built a circumvallation around the town, as well as at least a few camps to accommodate the troops besieging the town. Some of those camps may have been used even after the town was conquered. Besides, in the decades that followed, the military camp may have shifted its position in a number of instances, but in the lack of archaeological investigations we can only speculate about this. It is therefore presently impossible to assess whether the garrison was situated on the Pogorelec peninsula, that is at the site of prehistoric Segestica, or on the position of the future Roman city of Siscia, that is, on the left bank of the Kupa river.¹⁴ However, in view of the fact that the civilian urban settlement on the left bank undoubtedly started developing already in the early 1st cent. A.D., I am more inclined to believe, at least until the research has shed new light on these issues, that probably already by Tiberius' stay in A.D. 12, and by the crushing of the revolt in A.D. 9 at the latest, Pogorelec was chosen as the definite position for a legionary camp, even though it is not improbable in the least that between 34 B.C. and A.D. 9 one or several military camps may have been situated on the left bank of the Kupa as well.

¹⁴ Veith 1914, 51-58; Faber 1973, 153-154; Šašel 1974, 726, 732; Nenadić 1987, 72-73; Buzov 1993, 49; Zaninović 1993, 54; Burkowsky 1999, 30; Lolić 2003, 140; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 161-168

sam vjerovati, barem dok istraživanja ne bace novo svjetlo na tu problematiku, da je vjerojatno već za Tiberijeva boravka 12. g. pr. Kr., a najkasnije nakon slamanja pobune 9. g., kao konačna lokacija za legijski logor izabran Pogorelec, mada nije uopće nevjerovatno da se između 34. g. pr. Kr. i 9. g. jedan, pa i više vojnih logora u nekom trenutku mogao nalaziti i na lijevoj obali Kupe.

Vjerojatno je već u tom razdoblju toponim Siscia postupno zamijenio i istisnuo ime Segestika jer se nakon augustejskog razdoblja, kada se u pisanim izvorima paralelno koriste oba imena, grad isključivo naziva Siscia (s izuzetkom Apijana koji koristi ime Segestika kada opisuje povijesne događaje prije rimskog osvajanja kao i Oktavijanovu opsadu grada).¹⁵

Iako je Oktavijanov pohod bio uspješan, osvajanje Ilirika i učvršćivanje rimske vlasti je potrajalo još niz godina, a sljedeća četiri desetljeća rimske okupacije bila su obilježena čestim pobunama lokalnog stanovništva.¹⁶ Nezadovoljstvo je kulminiralo u velikom ratu, tzv. Batonovom ustanku, od 6. do 9. godine. Čini se da je masovni ustanak bio prouzročen skupljanjem danka i novačenjem mladića u auxilijarne postrojbe zbog rata s markomanskim kraljem Maroboduom. Po svemu sudeći, glavni inicijatori ustanka su bili Dezitijati na čelu s vladarom Batonom, koji je saveznike našao u vladarima Breuka, Batonu i Pinnesu. Udružena plemena Panonije i Dalmacije ozbiljno su zaprijetila rimskoj vlasti, koja se našla prisiljena provesti mobilizaciju velikih razmjera u Italiji kako bi odgovorila na prijetnju. Siscija je u tom ratu, zajedno sa Sirmijem, igrala iznimno važnu ulogu. Već na samom početku rata, Tiberije, koji se u tom trenutku nalazio na markomanskom teritoriju, hitno šalje XX legiju na čelu s Markom Valerijem Mesalinom (*M. Valerius Messalinus*) kao pojačanje u Sisciju kako bi sačuvao grad od pobunjenika, dobro znajući koliko će mu položaj u Iliriku biti otežan ukoliko izgubi tu iznimno važnu stratešku točku. Istovremeno su Rimljani uspjeli obraniti Sirmij te su se pobunjenici našli u nepovoljnoj strateškoj situaciji, iako su držali gotovo cijeli Ilirik. Dok su Rimljani užurbano pojačavali posadu Siscije, pobunjenici su gubili vri-

15 cf Šašel 1974, 705-714; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 159-160

16 Mócsy 1962, 539-541; Mócsy 1974, 34; Barkóczy 1980, 90-91; Hoti 1992, 138-140; Gruen 1996, 174-175; Wilkes 1996, 551-552; Domić-Kunić 2006, 59-118

It was probably already at that time that the toponym Siscia gradually supplanted and ousted the name Segestica, because after the Augustan period, when both names are used concurrently in the written sources, the city is invariably called Siscia (with the sole exception of Appian, who uses the name Segestica in his descriptions of the historical events prior to the Roman conquest as well as of Octavian's siege of the town).¹⁵

Even though Octavian's campaign was successful, the conquest of Illyricum and the strengthening of the Roman authority took many more years, and the following four decades of Roman occupation were marked by frequent revolts of the local population.¹⁶ The discontent culminated in the great war, the so-called Bato's insurrection between A.D. 6 and 9. It seems that the massive uprising was caused by the levying of the tribute and recruitment of youths into the auxiliary units for the war with Maroboduus, the king of the Marcomanni. In all likelihood, the insurrection was instigated by the Daesititates under the command of their ruler Bato, who found allies in the rulers of the Breuci, Bato and Pinnes. The united tribes of Pannonia and Dalmatia posed a serious threat to the authority of Rome, compelling her to carry out a large-scale mobilization in Italy in order to answer this threat. Together with Sirmium, Siscia played an exceptionally important role in this war. Already at the very onset of the war, Tiberius, located at that time in the territory of the Marcomanni, urgently dispatched the XX legion under the command of *M. Valerius Messalinus* as a reinforcement to Siscia so as to keep the city from the rebels, realizing very well the extent of the danger to his position in Illyricum in case this extremely important strategic point be lost. At the same time the Romans succeeded in defending Sirmium, which put the insurgents into an unfavourable strategic situation, in spite of the fact that they controlled almost all of Illyricum. While the Romans were speedily reinforcing the garrison in Siscia, the rebels were losing time in fruitless raids on coastal towns. Tiberius was able to bring a considerable force into Siscia in a very short time, perhaps as much as five legions strong, whereby he blocked the way toward Italy to the Illyrians. Be as it may, these forces were still not sufficient for a final showdown with the rebel forces, so Tiberius

15 cf Šašel 1974, 705-714; Radman-Livaja 2007a, 159-160

16 Mócsy 1962, 539-541; Mócsy 1974, 34; Barkóczy 1980, 90-91; Hoti 1992, 138-140; Gruen 1996, 174-175; Wilkes 1996, 551-552; Domić-Kunić 2006, 59-118





KACIGA / HELMET (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004A, CAT. 128)

jeme na neuspješne pohode prema obalnim gradovima. Tiberije je u kratkom roku uspio u Sisciju dovesti znatne snage, možda kojih pet legija i time zatvorio Ilirima put prema Italiji. U svakom slučaju, te snage još nisu bile dovoljne za konačni obračun s pobunjeničkim snagama, pa je Tiberije odlučio čekati dodatna pojačanja i postupno iscrpljivati pobunjenike manjim akcijama. U ofenzivu ograničenih razmjera krenuo je tek u ljeto 7. g., uputivši se prema istoku, u susret snagama koja su se kretala iz pravca Sirmija, dvije legije iz Azije pod Plautijem Silvanom (*M. Plautius Silvanus*), pet mezijskih legija pod Cecinom Severom (*Caecina Severus*) te tračka konjica pod vodstvom kralja Remetalka (*Rhoemetalces*). Te su se trupe kod Volcejskih močvara sukobile s pobunjeničkim snagama, a nakon bitke, s izgleda neodlučnim ishodom, povukle su se prema Sisciji gdje se u tom trenutku sakupila najveća rimska vojska još od Građanskih ratova. Po riječima svjedoka Velleja Paterkula u Sisciji je u tom trenutku bilo 10 legija, više od 70 auzilijarnih kohorti, 10 ala (ili možda 14, sačuvani manuskripti unose neke dvojbe u ovu brojku), preko 10.000 mobiliziranih veterana zajedno s brojnim dobrovoljcima te kontingent savezničke konjice kralja Remetalka (*Velleius Paterculus*, 2.113.1-2). U brojkama bi to bilo u najmanju ruku između 80.000 i 100.000 ljudi, pa možda čak i nešto više. Tolika je koncentracija trupa nesumnjivo predstavljala velik logistički problem pa je dio jedinica uskoro opet upućen prema Meziji. Čini se da su se tijekom jeseni 7. g. Rimljani usredotočili na uništavanje poljoprivrednih resursa pobunjenih plemena, a ta je strategija dogodine urodila plodom jer se Breuci na čelu s Batonom, koji je prethodno utamničio svog kolegu Pinnesa, predaju u kolovozu 8. godine. Dezitijački Baton je odgovorio pokretanjem ofenzive prema Panoniji, gdje je uspio zarobiti i ubiti Batona Breučkog. Rimski protunapad kojeg je predvodio Plautije Silvan s trupama iz Sirmija ga je prisilio na povlačenje, definitivno time skršivši pobunu u Panoniji. Nakon zime, Rimljani pokreću završnu ofenzivu kako bi konačno dokrajčili pobunjenike koji su još držali Dalmaciju. Napad je pokrenut iz tri pravca, odnosno iz Siscije, Sirmija i s Jadranske obale. Operacija nije polučila željeni uspjeh te je August ponovno poslao Tiberija da preuzme zapovjedništvo nad rimskim trupama, koji konačno okončava rat pobjedom nad opkoljenim Batonovim snagama u Andetriju.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cassius Dio, LV, 28-34; Velleius Paterculus, II 110-116; Suetonius, *Aug.* 16, 25, *Tib.* 16, 20; Mócsy 1962, 544-548; Mócsy 1974, 37-39; Šašel 1974, 733-734; Šašel-Kos 1986, 182-191; Zaninović 1986, 63

decided to wait for additional reinforcements and to gradually exhaust the insurgents by minor actions. It was only in the summer of A.D. 7 that he mounted an offensive of a limited scope, heading towards the east to meet the forces coming from Sirmium, i.e. two legions from Asia under the command of *M. Plautius Silvanus*, five Moesian legions under *Caecina Severus* and the Thracian cavalry under the command of king *Rhoemetalces*. These troops engaged the rebel forces at the Volcaean Marshes and, after the battle, which appears to have ended in a draw, withdrew toward Siscia, where at that moment the largest Roman army since the time of the Civil wars was gathering. In the words of Velleius Paterculus, who was in Siscia at the time, there were 10 legions, more than 70 auxiliary cohorts, 10 alae (or perhaps 14 – the preserved manuscripts cast certain doubts on this figure), more than 10,000 mobilized veterans together with numerous volunteers, as well as a contingent of the allied cavalry of king Rhoemetalces (*Velleius Paterculus*, 2.113.1-2). Translated into numbers this would amount to at least between 80,000 and 100,000 men, perhaps even a bit more. Such a concentration of troops undoubtedly presented a serious logistical problem, so a part of the units were soon dispatched towards Moesia. It seems that during the autumn of A.D. 7 the Romans focused on annihilating the agricultural resources of the rebel tribes, a strategy that bore fruit the following year, because the Breuci, headed by Bato, who had imprisoned his colleague Pinnes before that, surrendered in August of A.D. 8. Bato of the Daesitiates countered by mounting an offensive towards Pannonia, where he managed to capture and slay Bato of the Breuci. The Roman counteroffensive led by Plautius Silvanus with the troops from Sirmium compelled him to retreat, which effectively put an end to the rebellion in Pannonia. The winter gone, the Romans started a final offensive in order to finish off the rebels who still held Dalmatia under their sway. The attack was mounted from three directions, that is, from Siscia, Sirmium and the Adriatic coast. The operation did not succeed as planned, so Augustus again sent Tiberius to assume the command over the Roman troops. Upon doing so, the latter ended the war with a victory over Bato's surrounded forces in Andetrium.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cassius Dio, LV, 28-34; Velleius Paterculus, II 110-116; Suetonius, *Aug.* 16, 25, *Tib.* 16, 20; Mócsy 1962, 544-548; Mócsy 1974, 37-39; Šašel 1974, 733-734; Šašel-Kos 1986, 182-191; Zaninović 1986, 63

Tek nakon što je s velikom mukom skršena ta zadnja pobuna počinje stvarni proces romanizacije panonskog prostora. U tom je vremenu Panonija, 8. ili 10. g., postala zasebna provincija, dijeljenjem Ilirika na dva dijela, prvotno nazvanima *Illyricum Superius*, buduća provincija Dalmacija i *Illyricum Inferius*, odnosno Panonija.¹⁸

Postupno će rimska vojska prebacivati svoje snage iz unutrašnjosti provincije na dunavsku granicu, te se od okupacijske sile pretvoriti u obrambenu vojsku i jamca mirnog razvoja romanizirane Panonije. Taj je proces trajao razmjerno dugo, tako da Rimljani nisu odmah po osvajanju Panonije pristupili izgradnji lanca utvrda i vojnih postaja na granici s barbarskim svijetom. August je za osiguranje granica Panonije bio skloniji sklapanju saveza sa susjednim barbarskim narodima, jamčeći tako mir unutrašnjosti provincije, ujedno štedeći vojne resurse, pa je u njegovo vrijeme, kao i za njegovih neposrednih nasljednika, vojska bila koncentrirana u unutrašnjosti provincije.¹⁹ Siscija je gotovo sigurno zadržala garnizon i nakon što je skršen Batonov ustanak, a glavni nu posade je vjerojatno činila IX legija *Hispana*. O njenom boravku u gradu postoje samo pretpostavke, no može se ustvrditi da je Sisciju definitivno napustila najkasnije između 42. i 45. g., ako ne i prije.²⁰ Siscija vjerojatno zadržava vojnički garnizon i nakon odlaska legionara, ali nesumnjivo bitno smanjen.²¹ Sigurno su to bile auzilijarne postrojbe, no za duže vremensko razdoblje nije točno poznato o kojim je jedinicama riječ. Pretpostavlja se da je tijekom dijela 1. st. u gradu bila stacionirana *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Možda se nalazila u Sisciji već za boravka IX legije, a u gradu je, čini se, ostala do Vespazijanova vremena, kada biva premještena u Gornju Germaniju.²² Pretpostavka se temelji na dva nadgrobna natpisa. Jedna stela potječe iz Siska, i pripadala je Muciju Hegetoru (*Mucius Hege-*

18 Klemenc 1961, 6; Mócsy 1962, 583; Mócsy 1974, 39; Barkóczy 1980, 89

19 Klemenc 1961, 7-8; Mócsy 1974, 39-41; Barkóczy 1980, 91-92

20 Mócsy 1959, 25; Klemenc 1961, 8, 10; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel 1974, 734; Fitz 1980, 131; Hoti 1992, 142

21 Šašel 1974, 735; Zaninović 1993, 54

22 Mócsy 1974, 81; Lőrincz 2001, 44

Only after that last revolt had been quashed, with great difficulty, did the real process of the romanization of the Pannonian area begin. About that time, in A.D. 8 or 10, Pannonia became a separate province after Illyricum was divided into two parts, at first called *Illyricum Superius* – the future province of Dalmatia – and *Illyricum Inferius*, that is, Pannonia.¹⁸

The Roman army would gradually shift their forces from the interior of the province to the Danubian frontier, transforming in the process from an occupying force to a defensive army and a guarantee of peaceful development of romanized Pannonia. This process took a relatively long time, so the Romans did not embark on the construction of a chain of forts and military stations on the border with the barbarian world immediately after they conquered Pannonia. To secure the Pannonian frontiers Augustus was more inclined to forge an alliance with the neighbouring barbarian peoples, thereby guaranteeing peace to the province's interior and at the same time saving military resources, so that during his time, as well as that of his immediate successors, the army was concentrated in the interior of the province.¹⁹ Siscia almost certainly kept its garrison even after Bato's insurrection was suppressed, and the IX legion *Hispana* probably formed the mainstay of the crew. Although we can count only on assumptions as regards its stay in the city, it can nevertheless be ascertained that it definitely left Siscia between A.D. 42 and 45 at the latest, and possibly even before that.²⁰ Siscia presumably preserved a military garrison even after the departure of the legionaries, but without doubt considerably diminished.²¹ The garrison almost certainly consisted of auxiliary units, but for quite a long time we do not know precisely which units those were. It is supposed that during a part of the 1st cent. the *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was stationed in the city. Perhaps it was present in Siscia already during the stay of the IX legion, and it appears that it remained in the city until Vespasian's time, when it was transferred to Upper Germania.²² The assumption is based on two tombstone

18 Klemenc 1961, 6; Mócsy 1962, 583; Mócsy 1974, 39; Barkóczy 1980, 89

19 Klemenc 1961, 7-8; Mócsy 1974, 39-41; Barkóczy 1980, 91-92

20 Mócsy 1959, 25; Klemenc 1961, 8, 10; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel 1974, 734; Fitz 1980, 131; Hoti 1992, 142

21 Šašel 1974, 735; Zaninović 1993, 54

22 Mócsy 1974, 81; Lőrincz 2001, 44



KACIGA / HELMET (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004A, CAT. 125)



GLADIUS (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004A, CAT. 36)

tor), liječniku XXXII kohorte,²³ a druga, podignuta veteranu iste postrojbe Nunidiju Sukcesu (*Nunnidius Successus*), pronađena je u Orešcu.²⁴ U potonjem slučaju treba biti vrlo oprezan jer Orešac baš i nije blizu Siscije te mjesto gdje je sahranjen Nunidije Sukces teško može biti čvrst argument za ubiciranje garnizona XXXII kohorte. Možemo jedino zaključiti da bi taj nadgrobni spomenik ukazivao da je XXXII kohorta tada mogla biti stacionirana u Panoniji.

Uostalom, hipoteza o boravku te kohorte u Sisciji nije općeprihvaćena, tim više što postoji mišljenje da je ta jedinica osnovana tek za Komodove vladavine te se rana datacija ova dva spomenuta spomenika dovodi u pitanje.²⁵ U svakom slučaju, neovisno o prihvaćenoj dataciji, nadgrobni spomenik jednog veterana ne može se smatrati sigurnim dokazom prisustva njegove negdašnje postrojbe u blizini njegovog posljednjeg prebivališta (tim više što je u slučaju Nunidija Sukcesa ta blizina dosta relativna s obzirom na to da je Orešac ipak udaljen gotovo 100 km od Siscije). Isto tako, nije isključeno da je liječnik Mucije Hegetor boravio u Sisciji po posebnom zadatku, izdvojen iz svoje matične postrojbe.

Flavijevsko razdoblje, odnosno Vespazijanova vladavina za Sisciju ima posebno značenje jer tada grad, istovremeno kad i Sirmij, biva uzdignut na rang kolonije, *colonia Flavia Siscia*, vjerojatno kao nagrada za podršku Vespazijanu u građanskom ratu. Po svemu sudeći grad je postao kolonijom 71. g., a u njemu su tada naseljavani veterani ravske flote.²⁶

Značajnije premještanje trupa na dunavsku granicu počinje tek u Vespazijanovo vrijeme, a taj se proces odvijao tijekom sljedećih nekoliko desetljeća, dobivši više-manje konačne obrise za Trajana i Hadrijana.²⁷ Upravo je u Trajanovo vrijeme, između 103. i 107. g., izvršena podjela Panonije na dvije provincije, *Pannonia Superior* sa sjedištem u Karnuntumu i *Pannonia Inferior* sa sjedištem u Akvinkumu. Ta je podjela nesumnjivo po-

inscriptions. One stele comes from Sisak, and it belonged to *Mucius Hegetor*, a physician of the XXXII cohort,²³ while the other, erected to *Nunnidius Successus*, a veteran of the same unit, was found in Orešac.²⁴ Considering that Orešac is not exactly very near Siscia, caution is advisable in the latter case, so that the place where Nunnidius was buried can hardly be taken as a sound argument for determining the precise position of the garrison of the XXXII cohort. We can only conclude that this tombstone would point to the fact that the XXXII cohort might have been stationed in Pannonia at that time.

Furthermore, the hypothesis about the sojourn of that cohort in Siscia is not widely accepted, all the more so as another opinion holds that this unit was established only during the reign of Commodus, which casts doubts on such an early date for the two mentioned monuments.²⁵ Be as it may, irrespective of the date one accepts, a veteran's tombstone cannot be considered as reliable evidence of the presence of his former unit in the vicinity of his last residence (all the more so as in the case of Nunnidius Successus that proximity is fairly arbitrary since Orešac is, after all, more than 100 km away from Siscia). It is likewise not excluded that the physician Mucius Hegetor resided in Siscia on a special mission, detached from his core unit.

The Flavian period, that is Vespasian's reign, is particularly important for Siscia, because at that time the city, simultaneously with Sirmium, was raised to the status of a colony – *colonia Flavia Siscia*, probably as a reward for backing Vespasian in the civil war. The city almost certainly became a colony in A.D. 71. About that time, the veterans of the Ravenna fleet were settling in the city.²⁶

It was only in the time of Vespasian that a substantial transfer of troops to the Danubian frontier started. This process unfolded over a couple of following decades, acquiring more or less final outlines during Trajan and Hadrian.²⁷ It was precisely during Trajan, between 103

23 CIL III 10854; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Kat. 479; datirana je u sredinu 1. st.

24 CIL III 4006; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Kat. 480.; datirana je u flavijevsko razdoblje.

25 Spaul 2000, 47-48

26 Mócsy 1962, 597; Mócsy 1974, 112-113; Šašel 1974, 734-736; Hoti 1992, 143

27 Mócsy 1974, 80; Barkóczi 1980, 93-95

23 CIL III 10854; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Kat. 479; dated to the mid-1st cent.

24 CIL III 4006; Lőrincz 2001, 297, Kat. 480.; dated to the Flavian period.

25 Spaul 2000, 47-48

26 Mócsy 1962, 597; Mócsy 1974, 112-113; Šašel 1974, 734-736; Hoti 1992, 143

27 Mócsy 1974, 80; Barkóczi 1980, 93-95

sljedica preustroja rimskih obrambenih potencijala na dunavskoj granici, s Gornjom Panonijom suprostavljenom Kvadima a Donjom Panonijom Sarmatima.²⁸

U tom je razdoblju Siscija u vojnom pogledu nesumnjivo izgubila na važnosti, pa se čini da otprilike od kraja 1. st. u gradu kroz dulje vrijeme nema veće stalne vojne posade. U nedostatku dokaza o postojanju garnizona nakon flavijevskog razdoblja, čini se da je prisutnost vojske bila ograničena na beneficijare te na odred riječne ratne mornarice, koji je, po svemu sudeći, u gradu bio stacioniran kroz dulje razdoblje, iako je Siscija kao mornarička baza sasvim sigurno puno izgubila na važnosti od trenutka kad je težište operacija prebačeno na Dunav.²⁹

Ipak, nije isključeno da su povremeno u gradu boravile i pojedine legijske veksilacije. Tako se, primjerice, pretpostavlja da je u Sisciji neko vrijeme boravila veksilacija legije XIV *Gemina* tijekom Domicijanovih ratova na Dunavu.³⁰

Tijekom Trajanovih pohoda protiv Dačana Siscija je sasvim vjerojatno mogla igrati određenu ulogu kao pozadinska logistička baza, a postoji čak i pretpostavka da je gradska luka prikazana na Trajanovom stupu.³¹

Tijekom većeg dijela 2. st. život u Sisciji protječe mirno, a grad se nastavlja razvijati kao važno gospodarsko središte.³² To je razdoblje blagostanja obilježeno izgradnjom reprezentativnih građevina,³³ a epigrafički nam izvori potvrđuju da Siscija, osim što posjeduje velik ekonomski značaj, predstavlja i važan administrativni centar. U gradu se tako nalazi uprava za rudnike (*praepositus splendidissimi vectigalis ferrarium*),³⁴ *collegium centonariorum*,³⁵ postaja za *publicum portorium Illyrici*,³⁶ a po svemu sudeći u gradu sjedište imaju i *beneficarii procuratoris*.³⁷

28 Mócsy 1962, 586-587; Mócsy 1974, 92-94; Barkóczi 1980, 93-94

29 *Notitia Dignitatum*, OC. XXXII 56; Klemenc 1961, 9; Mócsy 1962, 625; Šašel 1974, 734; Reddé 1986, 298-299; Hoti 1992, 143; Zaninović 1993, 56; Domić Kunić 1995, 87-91

30 Dušanić 1983, 20-21; Hoti 1992, 143

31 Rostovtzeff 1957, 236; Hoti 1992, 143-144

32 Zaninović 1981, 202; Hoti 1992, 144

33 Póczy 1980, 268; Hoti 1992, 144

and 107, that Pannonia was divided into two provinces, *Pannonia Superior*, with a seat in Carnuntum and *Pannonia Inferior*, with a seat in Aquincum. This division was undoubtedly a consequence of the reorganization of Rome's defensive forces on the Danubian frontier, with Upper Pannonia facing the Quadi and Lower Pannonia pitted against the Sarmatians.²⁸

In military terms, this was undoubtedly a time of decline for Siscia, and it seems that from approximately the end of the 1st cent. no permanent garrison of any substance was stationed in the city for quite a long time. In the lack of evidence on the existence of a garrison in the post-Flavian period, it seems that the military presence was limited to the *beneficarii* and a squadron of a riverine navy, which was in all likelihood stationed in the city over a longer period of time, even though Siscia's importance as a navy base was considerably diminished from the moment the centre of gravity of the operations shifted to the Danube.²⁹

Nevertheless, it is not excluded that occasional legionary vexillations were also sometimes accommodated in the city. For instance, it is supposed that during Domitian's wars on the Danube a vexillation of the XIV legion *Gemina* spent some time in Siscia.³⁰

In the course of Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians Siscia most certainly may have played a certain role as a logistics base in the rear, and what is more, some even think that the city harbour of Siscia is depicted on Trajan's column.³¹

During most of the 2nd cent. life in Siscia was peaceful, and the city continued to develop as an important economic centre.³² This period of prosperity was marked by the construction of representative buildings,³³ and the epigraphic sources bear witness that, in addition to its considerable economic importance, the city was also an

28 Mócsy 1962, 586-587; Mócsy 1974, 92-94; Barkóczi 1980, 93-94

29 *Notitia Dignitatum*, OC. XXXII 56; Klemenc 1961, 9; Mócsy 1962, 625; Šašel 1974, 734; Reddé 1986, 298-299; Hoti 1992, 143; Zaninović 1993, 56; Domić Kunić 1995, 87-91

30 Dušanić 1983, 20-21; Hoti 1992, 143

31 Rostovtzeff 1957, 236; Hoti 1992, 143-144

32 Zaninović 1981, 202; Hoti 1992, 144

33 Póczy 1980, 268; Hoti 1992, 144

important administrative centre. Siscia was thus the seat of the mining authority (*praepositus splendidissimi vectigalis ferrarium*),³⁴ *collegium centonariorum*,³⁵ the station for a *publicum portorium Illyrici*,³⁶ and it is also very likely that *beneficarii procuratoris* also had a base there.³⁷

Najveće iskušenje koje je zadesilo Panoniju tijekom 2. st. su bili Markomanski ratovi. Iako se većina borbi odvijala u sjevernom dijelu Gornje Panonije, barbari su 170. g., prešavši Panoniju, izvršili pljačkaški prodor sve do Akvileje. Istovremeno su Sarmati krenuli u napad pa ni Donja Panonija, Gornja Mezija i Dacija nisu bili pošteđeni razaranja. Borbe su s kraćim prekidima i promjenljivom ratnom srećom potrajale sve do smrti Marka Aurelija, 180. g., kada se stanje nakratko stabiliziralo.³⁸ Nema dokaza da je Siscija bila neposredno izložena ratnoj opasnosti, no grad je zbog svoje strateške važnosti, kao značajno prometno čvorište, više nego vjerojatno opet bio važno logističko središte za rimsku vojsku. Kroz Sisciju su, sasvim sigurno, prolazile trupe i opskrba na putu prema frontu, a nije možda isključeno ni da je u gradu tijekom tog kriznog razdoblja boravila i stalna vojna posada.

Tijekom Komodove vladavine nastavljaju se povremene borbe sa Sarmatima (185. i 186. g.) te Markomanima i Kvadima (188. i 189. g.),³⁹ no nakon njegovog ubojstva 193. g., Rimsko je Carstvo, nakon dugo vremena, opet ugroženo iznutra. Komodov nasljednik Pertinaks biva ubijen nakon manje od tri mjeseca vlasti, a kandidati za carsku titulu su ubrzano počeli prikupljati snage za međusobni obračun. Didije Julijan, koji je potkupio pretorijansku gardu kako bi stekao carsku titulu, bio je uvjerljivo najslabiji među njima. Drugi pretendenti su bili daleko ozbiljniji suparnici, jer su na raspolaganju imali jače vojne snage, a ujedno su i sami biliiskusni vojnici. Pescenije Niger je na svojoj strani imao istočne provincije, dok su Septimija Severa podržavale podunavske provincije kao i dobar dio senatora u Rimu. Klodije Albin, koji se nešto kasnije uključio u borbu za vlast, je pak raspolagao sna-

34 CIL III 3953; Bojanovski 1984, 156

35 CIL 10836; Mócsy 1962, 603

36 Šašel 1974, 736; Fitz 1980, 130; Bojanovski 1984, 156

37 Šašel 1974, 736; Fitz 1980, 129; Hoti 1992, 144; Nelis-Clément 2000, 184-185, 194-195

38 Mócsy 1962, 555-562; Mócsy 1974, 183-194; Barkóczi 1980, 96-99

39 Fitz 1962, 83-89

important administrative centre. Siscia was thus the seat of the mining authority (*praepositus splendidissimi vectigalis ferrarium*),³⁴ *collegium centonariorum*,³⁵ the station for a *publicum portorium Illyrici*,³⁶ and it is also very likely that *beneficarii procuratoris* also had a base there.³⁷

The greatest challenge that Pannonia faced during the 2nd cent. were the Marcomannic wars. Even though the bulk of the battles took place in the northern part of Upper Pannonia, in 170, having crossed Pannonia, the barbarians mounted a raid that took them all the way to Aquileia. The Sarmatians simultaneously launched their attack, so that Lower Pannonia, Upper Moesia and Dacia could not escape destruction either. The battles continued on and off with changing military fortunes until the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, when the situation became stable for a brief period.³⁸ There is no evidence that Siscia was directly exposed to the danger of war, but due to her strategic importance, as a major traffic junction, the city more than likely once again assumed the role of a key logistics centre for the Roman army. Troops and supplies most certainly passed through Siscia on the way to the front, and it is perhaps not excluded that a military garrison was present there on a permanent basis during that crisis period.

Intermittent battles with the Sarmatians continued during Commodus' reign (in 185 and 186), as did those with the Marcomanni and the Quadi (in 188 and 189).³⁹ However, after his assassination in 193, after a long time the Roman Empire was once again threatened from within. Commodus' successor Pertinax was murdered after less than three months on the throne, and the candidates for the title of emperor started gathering forces for a showdown at increased speed. Didius Julianus, who bribed the Praetorian Guard to back him in his bid for the crown, was by far the weakest among them. The other pretenders were far more serious contenders because not only did they command stronger military forces, but they were also experienced soldiers themselves. Pescennius Niger

34 CIL III 3953; Bojanovski 1984, 156

35 CIL 10836; Mócsy 1962, 603

36 Šašel 1974, 736; Fitz 1980, 130; Bojanovski 1984, 156

37 Šašel 1974, 736; Fitz 1980, 129; Hoti 1992, 144; Nelis-Clément 2000, 184-185, 194-195

38 Mócsy 1962, 555-562; Mócsy 1974, 183-194; Barkóczi 1980, 96-99

39 Fitz 1962, 83-89



gama iz zapadnog dijela carstva. Među njima se najodlučniji pokazao Septimije Sever: prvo je krenuo protiv Didija Julijana, kojeg je likvidirao nakon munjevitog prodora u Italiju na čelu svojih panonskih trupa. Zatim je 196. g. porazio Pescenija Nigera u Maloj Aziji, a potom se obračunao s Klodijem Albinom i tako definitivno učvrstio svoju vlast.

Uspon Septimija Severa je označio gospodarski oporavak opustošene Panonije. Novi car nije zaboravio nagraditi vjernost i podršku koju su mu pružili panonski gradovi te neke uzdiže na rang kolonije dok Sisciju, koja je bila kolonija još od Vespazijana, počašćuje novim imenom *Colonia Septimia Siscia Augusta*.⁴⁰ U gradu je opet vidljiv zamah izgradnje te za Sisciju počinje novo razdoblje blagostanja.⁴¹

Nakon relativnog zatišja u doba dinastije Severa, narušavanog povremenim sukobima s barbarima na dunavskom limesu,⁴² nastupaju krizna vremena u kojima je Panonija opet jako stradala. Veći dio 3. st. je u Panoniji obilježen barbarskim provalama i građanskim ratovima zbog čega je provincija višekratno bila poprištem vojnih operacija velikih razmjera. Posebno su velika razaranja nanijeli Karpi od 242. do 247. g. te velika sarmatska provala 260. godine. Iako Siscija vjerojatno nije bila neposredno ugrožena tim napadima, može se pretpostaviti da je grad opet služio kao logistička baza i privremena postaja jedinica koje su se kretale prema ugroženim područjima. Tek što su barbari odbijeni došlo je do građanskog rata između uzurpatora Ingenua (*Ingenuus*), guvernera Donje Panonije i cara Galijena. Ingenuo je poražen u bitki kod Murse 261. g., no borbe su se nakratko nastavile jer su gornjopanonske i mezijske trupe za cara proglasile svoga kandidata Regalijana (*Regalianus*), koji na kraju također biva poražen. Usprkos međurimskim sukobima, čini se da od Galijenovog vremena donekle popušta pritisak na Panoniju, jer do Dioklecijanovog vremena nema puno spomena o jačim barbarskim napadima na taj dio carstva, s izuzetkom uspješno suzbijene gotske provale tijekom vladavine Klaudija II.⁴³

40 CIL III 4193; Mócsy 1962, 602; Fitz 1980, 152; Hoti 1992, 145

41 Hoti 1992, 145-146

42 Barkóczy 1980, 101-103; Možda je za vladavine Aleksandra Severa do Siscije došla i koja barbarska pljačkaška skupina, cf. Mócsy 1962, 563; Šašel Kos 1986, 400; Hoti 1992, 146-147

43 Mócsy 1962, 565-570; Mócsy 1974, 202-211; Barkóczy 1980, 103-106; Hoti 1992, 146-148

had the eastern provinces on his side, while Septimius Severus was backed by the Danubian provinces as well as by a good part of the senators in Rome. Clodius Albinus, who joined the struggle for power at a later date, counted on the forces from the western part of the Empire. Septimius Severus cast himself as the most decisive among them: he first set off against Didius Julianus, whom he eliminated after a lightning raid into Italy on the head of his Pannonian troops. He then defeated Pescennius Niger in Asia Minor in 196, and then dealt with Clodius Albinus, thereby definitely cementing his authority.

The rise of Septimius Severus marked the economic revitalization of war-ravaged Pannonia. The new emperor did not forget to reward the fidelity and support given to him by the Pannonian towns, and he raised some of them to the colonial rank, while he honoured Siscia – a colony already since Vespasian's reign – with the new name *Colonia Septimia Siscia Augusta*.⁴⁰ A surge of construction is again visible in the city, marking a new period of prosperity for Siscia.⁴¹

Following a relatively quiet period during the Severan dynasty, disturbed by occasional fights with the barbarians on the Danubian limes,⁴² times of crisis ensued in which Pannonia again suffered severe destruction. Most of the 3rd cent. in Pannonia passed in the climate of barbarian raids and civil wars that turned the province into a stage for large-scale military operations on several occasions. Destruction wreaked by the Carpi between 242 and 247 was particularly severe, as well as that inflicted by the great Sarmatian raid in 260. Even though Siscia was not directly threatened by these attacks, it can be supposed that the city reassumed its role of a logistics base and a temporary station for the units marching towards the areas under threat. The moment the barbarians were repelled a civil war broke out between the usurper Ingenuus, the governor of Lower Pannonia, and emperor Gallienus. Ingenuus was defeated in the battle of Mursa in 261, but the battles continued for a brief period because the Upper Pannonian and Moesian troops proclaimed their candidate *Regalianus* as the emperor, but eventually he too was defeated. In spite of the intra-Roman conflicts, it seems that from Gallienus' time on the pressure on Pannonia

40 CIL III 4193; Mócsy 1962, 602; Fitz 1980, 152; Hoti 1992, 145

41 Hoti 1992, 145-146

42 Barkóczy 1980, 101-103; Perhaps an occasional group of barbarian plunderers may have reached Siscia during the reign of Alexander Severus, cf. Mócsy 1962, 563; Šašel Kos 1986, 400; Hoti 1992, 146-147

Siscija u tom vremenu dobiva posebno na značaju, nakon što je Galijen otvorio kovnicu u gradu, vjerojatno 262. godine.⁴⁴ Tada se sigurno nametnula potreba za stacioniranjem trupa u Sisciji, ukoliko već nisu bile prisutne u gradu. S obzirom na to da *Notitia Dignitatum* spominje *cohors III Alpinorum* u sastavu gradskog garnizona,⁴⁵ nema sumnje da je Siscija u 4. st. imala stalnu vojnu posadu te se može pretpostaviti da je u gradu vojska bila stalno smještena još od vremena osnivanja kovnice, kako bi se osigurala zaštita tog strateški iznimno važnog objekta. U Sisciji nakon Galijena novce kuju i ostali carevi, Klaudije II., njegov brat i kratkotrajni car Kvintil, Aurelijan, Tacit, Florijan, Prob, Kar, koji je čak i neko vrijeme boravio u Sisciji zajedno sa sinom i nasljednikom Numerijanom. Nakon Karove smrti, vlast su 283. g. podijelili njegovi sinovi Numerijan i Karin. Već 284. g. Numerijan biva ubijen, vjerojatno od strane pretorijanskog prefekta Apera, no vojska uzurpatoru pretpostavlja Diokla (Diocles). Na drugoj strani carstva Karin uspijeva poraziti uzurpatora Julijana, no biva pobijeđen i ubijen u konačnom srazu s Dioklom. Novi vladar postaje poznat kao *C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus*, i u povijest ulazi zabilježen kao preporoditelj Rimskog Carstva.

Dioklecijanove reforme su na neko vrijeme osigurale mir i stabilnost panonskih prostora. Došlo je do nove administrativne podjele Panonije, koja se tad dijeli na četiri provincije. Područje Gornje Panonije sjeverno od rijeke Drave postaje provincija *Pannonia Prima*, a južno *Pannonia Savia*. Južni dio Donje Panonije je nazvan *Pannonia Secunda*, a sjeverni *Valeria*. Limes je obnovljen i ojačan, a barbarske su provale učinkovito suzbijane.⁴⁶

Ipak, Panonija nije ostala pošteđena ratnih zbivanja ni u 4. st.: prva ratna razaranja nisu donijeli barbari već sami Rimljani, opet međusobno suprostavljeni u novom građanskom ratu.

subsided, because until the time of Diocletian there is no mention of any stronger barbarian attack on that part of the empire, with the exception of the successfully repelled incursion of the Goths during the reign of Claudius II.⁴³

Siscia gained considerably in importance during that time, after Gallienus established a mint in the city, probably in 262.⁴⁴ A need certainly arose then for stationing troops in Siscia, unless they had already been present in the city in the first place. Taking into consideration that *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions *cohors III Alpinorum* as part of the city garrison,⁴⁵ there is no doubt that Siscia had a permanent military crew in the 4th cent., and it can be assumed that the army was present there permanently from the time the mint was established, to provide security to this institution of exceptional strategic importance. Other emperors after Gallienus also minted their currency in Siscia – Claudius II, his brother and short-term emperor Quintillus, Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, and Carus, who even spent some time in Siscia together with his son and successor Numerian. After Carus' death in 283 the authority was divided between his sons Numerian and Carinus. Already in 284 Numerian was killed, probably by the praetorian prefect Apera, but the army preferred Diocles to the usurper. On the other side of the empire Carinus succeeded in defeating the usurper Iulianus, but he himself was overpowered and killed in the final clash with Diocles. The new ruler became known as *C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus* and entered history as the restorer of the Roman Empire.

Diocletian's reforms secured peace and stability to the Pannonian areas for some time. A new administrative division of Pannonia ensued, which left it divided into four provinces. The area of Upper Pannonia north of the Drava river became the province *Pannonia Prima*, while south was *Pannonia Savia*. The southern part of Lower Pannonia was named *Pannonia Secunda*, and the northern *Valeria*. The limes was renovated and reinforced, and the barbarian raids were efficiently repelled.⁴⁶

44 Mócsy 1962, 566, 693; Šašel 1974, 719-721; Barkóczi 1980, 105; Póczy 1980, 268; Christol 1997, 143; Lolić 2003, 134

45 *Notitia Dignitatum*, OC. XXXII 57; Šašel 1974, 734; Zaninović 1993, 54

46 Mócsy 1962, 570-571, 588; Mócsy 1974, 273-274; Barkóczi 1980, 109-110

43 Mócsy 1962, 565-570; Mócsy 1974, 202-211; Barkóczi 1980, 103-106; Hoti 1992, 146-148

44 Mócsy 1962, 566, 693; Šašel 1974, 719-721; Barkóczi 1980, 105; Póczy 1980, 268; Christol 1997, 143; Lolić 2003, 134

45 *Notitia Dignitatum*, OC. XXXII 57; Šašel 1974, 734; Zaninović 1993, 54

46 Mócsy 1962, 570-571, 588; Mócsy 1974, 273-274;

Konstantin, s trupama iz Galije, sukobio se s Licinijem, na čelu trupa iz Panonije i Mezije. Presudna bitka odigrala se kod Cibala 314. ili možda 316. godine. Iste je godine Konstantin preuzeo kontrolu nad Siscijom, a poraženi Licinije je morao pobjeći dalje na istok. Povezao se s Gotima i nastavio rat s Konstantinom, ali je konačno bio poražen 325. godine. Konstantin je, osiguravši apsolutnu vlast, opet ojačao obrambene kapacitete carstva, omogućivši time Panoniji nekoliko desetljeća relativnog mira.⁴⁷

Prilike se opet pogoršavaju sredinom stoljeća kada Panoniju zahvaća građanski rat između Konstancija II. i Magnencija.⁴⁸ Taj je rat opustošio Sisciju: 351. g. Magnencije je iznenada napao i osvojio grad u kojem je napljačkao velik ratni plijen.⁴⁹ Nešto kasnije, 28.09. 351. g. Konstancije uspijeva poraziti Magnencija kod Murse u vjerojatno najvećoj bitki kasnoantičkog vremena. Navodno je u bitki sveukupno poginulo 54000 vojnika, što je bitno utjecalo na obrambene potencijale carstva. Nakon toga rata započinje nezaustavljivo postupno propadanje panonskih gradova, pa tako i Siscije, koja se, po svemu sudeći, nikad nije uspjela oporaviti od pustošenja Magnencijevih trupa.

Ubrzo nakon toga, od 356. do 358. g., došlo je do velikih barbarskih provala, kada su Sarmati u savezu s Kvadima opustošili dobar dio Panonije i Mezije.⁵⁰ Nove provale slijede 365. i 374. godine.⁵¹ Koju godinu kasnije na granicama Panonije pojavljuje se još veća opasnost: Ostrogoti, Alani i Huni. Rimljani ih nisu uspjeli odbaciti pa su im dopustili naseljavanje unutar Panonije Sekunde. Nezadovoljni uvjetima došljaci su počeli pljačkati, pri čemu je stradala Mursa.⁵² Usto je uslijedio građanski rat između Maksima i Teodozija, u kojem jedna i druga strana unajmljuje

47 Mócsy 1962, 571-572; Mócsy 1974, 277; Barkóczi 1980, 110-112; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 114-115

48 Mócsy 1962, 575; Mócsy 1974, 286; Hoti 1992, 150-151; Hunt 1998, 20-21; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 115

49 Zosimus II, 49; Šašel 1974, 711, 737

50 Barkóczi 1980, 112-113

51 Mócsy 1962, 576; Barkóczi 1980, 115-116

52 Mócsy 1962, 577-578; Mócsy 1974, 339-341; Barkóczi 1980, 117

Still, even in the 4th cent. Pannonia was not spared from wars: the first destructions of war were not brought about by the barbarians but by the Romans themselves, once again pitted against each other in a new civil war.

Constantine, with the troops from Gaul, confronted Licinius, who commanded the troops from Pannonia and Moesia. The decisive battle took place near Cibalae in 314 or perhaps in 316. That same year Constantine assumed control over Siscia, and the defeated Licinius was forced to flee further to the east. He forged an alliance with the Goths and continued to wage war on Constantine until his final defeat in 325. Having secured absolute authority, Constantine once again strengthened the defensive capacity of the Empire, bestowing a couple of relatively peaceful decades on Pannonia.⁴⁷

The conditions deteriorated again toward the middle of the century when Pannonia was engulfed in a civil war between Constantius II and Magnentius.⁴⁸ That war laid waste to Siscia: in 351 Magnentius suddenly stormed and conquered the city, from which he looted a vast war booty.⁴⁹ Somewhat later, on 28th September 351, Constantius succeeded in defeating Magnentius near Mursa in what was probably the biggest battle of late antiquity. The total number of deaths was allegedly 54000 soldiers, which had a significant impact on the defensive potential of the Empire. In the wake of that war ensued the unstoppable gradual decline of the Pannonian towns, including Siscia, which in all likelihood never recovered from the mayhem inflicted by Magnentius' troops.

Soon after this, between 356 and 358, big barbarian incursions took place, when the Sarmatians allied with the Quadi laid waste to a good part of Pannonia and Moesia.⁵⁰ New raids followed in 365 and 374.⁵¹ A few years later an even bigger danger appeared on the Pannonian frontier: the Ostrogoths, Alans and the Huns. Failing to push them back, the Romans allowed them to settle within Pannonia Secunda. Discontent with the conditions, the

Barkóczi 1980, 109-110

47 Mócsy 1962, 571-572; Mócsy 1974, 277; Barkóczi 1980, 110-112; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 114-115

48 Mócsy 1962, 575; Mócsy 1974, 286; Hoti 1992, 150-151; Hunt 1998, 20-21; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 115

49 Zosimus II, 49; Šašel 1974, 711, 737

50 Barkóczi 1980, 112-113

51 Mócsy 1962, 576; Barkóczi 1980, 115-116

u velikom broju barbare. Vojske harače Savijom i Sekundom, a Siscija je 388. g. poprište velike bitke u kojoj Teodozije uspjeva poraziti Maksimove trupe.⁵³

Nakon tog vremena sve je manje spomena o Sisciji u izvorima. Kovnica na prekiđe kuje novce još za Honorija i Teodozija II., a nakon 423. g. izgleda prestaje njezin rad.⁵⁴ Početkom 5. st. Panonija je opustošena, domicilno stanovništvo masovno bježi u druge krajeve, a rimska je vlast nad tim prostorom uglavnom nominalna.⁵⁵ Po svemu sudeći, u Sisciji je još postojao nekakav oblik gradskog života za Teodorika, a prisustvo biskupa Siscije Ivana i Konstancija na crkvenim koncilima u Saloni 530. i 533. g. također potvrđuje postojanje kakve-takve urbane sredine.⁵⁶ Ipak, Siscija se u tom vremenu sigurno više ne može smatrati pravim rimskim gradom, već samo jezgrom naselja koje će u srednjem vijeku dobiti novo slavensko ime Sisak.

Tijekom svog više nego četiristoljetnog postojanja Siscia zasigurno nije cijelo vrijeme bila garnizonski grad. To se može sa sigurnošću tvrditi samo za razdoblje julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije kao i za kasnoantičko razdoblje, odnosno vrlo vjerojatno od Galijenove vladavine pa možda gotovo do samog kraja rimske nazočnosti na ovom prostoru. Ipak, više je nego vjerojatno da vojna nazočnost u gradu nikad nije sasvim prestala, barem ne na neko duže razdoblje. Iako je grad IX legija napustila još za Klaudija, dosta je vjerojatno da se neka auxilijarna postrojba (možda *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) zadržala barem do ranog flavijevskog razdoblja. Mornarička baza sa stalnom posadom, iako nesumnjivo nevelika, je možda neprekinuto bila u funkciji sve do kraja 4. stoljeća. Dok se o dugotrajnoj nazočnosti mornara u Sisciji može raspravljati, grad gotovo sigurno nikad nije ostao bez beneficijara, pa možemo pretpostaviti da stanovnicima Siscije ni tijekom 2. ni kroz veći dio 3. st. vojnici nisu bili nimalo neuobičajena pojava, čak i ako ne računamo na povremeni prolazak trupa kroz grad, primjerice

53 Mócsy 1962, 578; Mócsy 1974, 342-343; Šašel 1974, 737-738; Barkóczy 1980, 117-118; Hoti 1992, 152-153

54 Hoti 1992, 153

55 Mócsy 1962, 580-582; Mócsy 1974, 346-351; Barkóczy 1980, 118-120

56 Zeiller 1918, 139-140

newcomers started plundering, wherein Mursa incurred damage.⁵² In addition to this a civil war erupted between Maximus and Theodosius, in which both sides hired the barbarians as mercenaries in large numbers. The armies rampaged through Savia and Secunda, and in 388 Siscia was the scene of a big battle in which Theodosius defeated Maximus' troops.⁵³

After that period Siscia is mentioned in the sources with decreasing frequency. The mint issued coinage intermittently during Honorius and Theodosius II, and after 423 its activity appears to have ceased.⁵⁴ At the beginning of the 5th cent. Pannonia lay in ruins, the local population was fleeing in masses to other lands, and Rome's authority over that territory was mostly only nominal.⁵⁵ Urban life in Siscia appears to still have existed during Theodoric, and the fact that the bishops of Siscia John and Constantius attended the church councils in Salona in 530 and 533 are further proof of the existence of at least a sort of an urban milieu.⁵⁶ In spite of all that, Siscia can no longer be considered a true Roman city at that time, but merely a core of a settlement that would receive in the Middle Ages a new Slavonic name – Sisak.

Siscia was certainly not a garrison city through its entire, four-century-long existence. That can be positively asserted only for the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and for late antiquity, that is, most likely from the reign of Gallienus until perhaps the very end of the Roman presence in this area. Nevertheless, it is more than likely that the military presence in the city never entirely ceased, at least not for any extended period of time. Although the IX legion left the city already during Claudius, it is quite likely that an auxiliary unit (perhaps *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) remained there at least until the early Flavian period. The navy base with a permanent crew, albeit undoubtedly not very large, perhaps remained functional uninterruptedly until the end of the 4th century. While the issue of the lengthy presence of sailors in Siscia is open to discussion, the city was certainly

52 Mócsy 1962, 577-578; Mócsy 1974, 339-341; Barkóczy 1980, 117

53 Mócsy 1962, 578; Mócsy 1974, 342-343; Šašel 1974, 737-738; Barkóczy 1980, 117-118; Hoti 1992, 152-153

54 Hoti 1992, 153

55 Mócsy 1962, 580-582; Mócsy 1974, 346-351; Barkóczy 1980, 118-120

56 Zeiller 1918, 139-140

tijekom priprema za Trajanov dački pohod ili pak tijekom markomanskih ratova. Paradoksalno je da je Siscia arheološki lokalitet na kojem je do sada otkriven vjerojatno najveći broj komada rimske vojne opreme na prostoru Hrvatske,⁵⁷ i to datiranih od kasnorepublikanskog vremena sve do kasne antike – iako bi se to uskoro moglo i promijeniti s obzirom na rezultate istraživanja u Burnumu i Tiluriju – mada nikad nije otkriven ni najmanji pouzdani trag nekog rimskog vojnog logora. Pronalazak tolike količine nalaza prvenstveno je posljedica sustavnog jaružanja rijeke Kupe prije Prvog svjetskog rata, no u nedostatku sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja teško je s većom sigurnošću išta reći o točnom smještaju rimskih trupa u Sisciji. Stoga nam ostaje nada da će buduća istraživanja u Sisku i bližoj okolini rasvijetliti brojne nedoumice vezane uz rimsku vojnu povijest tog iznimnog arheološkog lokaliteta.

57 cf. Radman-Livaja 2004a

never without *beneficarii*, which allows us to assume that during the 2nd as well as during the better part of the 3rd century the inhabitants of Siscia certainly did not regard soldiers as anything out of the ordinary, even if we discount the occasional passage of troops through the city, as for instance during the preparations for Trajan's Dacian campaign, or during the Marcomannic wars. It is quite a paradox that although Siscia is the archaeological site that so far yielded the greatest number of pieces of Roman military equipment in Croatia⁵⁷ – although taking into consideration the results of the excavations in Burnum and Tilurium this might soon change – and spanning the time from the late Republic until late antiquity, not a single reliable trace of any Roman military camp has ever been found there. The discovery of such a large quantity of finds is above all a consequence of the systematic dredging of the Kupa river before World War I, but in the lack of systematic archaeological excavations it is difficult to say anything more to the point about the precise location of the Roman troops in Siscia. We are therefore left with the hope that future research in Sisak and its vicinity will shed light on the many doubts pertaining to the Roman military history of that exceptional archaeological site.

57 cf. Radman-Livaja 2004a



KATALOG NALAZA
THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

SISCIA KAO RIMSKO VOJNO UPORIŠTE
SISCIA AS A ROMAN MILITARY STRONGHOLD

1. Rimska pješачka kaciga

Sisak – Kupa, GMS 510:SIK 289 AZA
bakrena slitina
visina 21,5 cm, dužina 25,5 cm, opseg kalote 49 cm

druga pol. 1.st. pr. Kr.

Kaciga tipa „Buggenum“ pronađena je u koritu rijeke Kupe. U dobrom je stanju iako nije cjelovito očuvana. Kaciga je ušiljene kuglaste kalote površ koje je istaknut profilirani čunjasti trn. Vratobran se razvija iz ojačanog ruba kalote, a proteže se do proboja za obrazine, koje nedostaju. Kalota i trn su zajedno lijevani, što je uobičajeno kod ovog tipa kaciga. Tip kaciga „Buggenum“, kronološki gledano, pri kraju je razvojnog niza modela brončanih kaciga koje su se proizvodile u italjskim radionicama u posljednjim stoljećima prije Krista. Iako je na kacigama ovog tipa čest natpis s imenom vojnika kojem je pripadala, na ovoj ga nema. Ipak, datacija u drugu polovinu 1. st. pr. Kr, točnije u period između 49. i 48. g. pr. Kr., moguća je zahvaljujući nalazu još jedne kacige ovog tipa u koritu Kupe, a koja nosi natpis s imenom vojskovođe P. Kornelija Scipiona Nazike (49. – 48. g. pr. Kr.). Time se i ova kaciga može vezati uz vrijeme Oktavijanova pohoda na Segestiku.

Objava: Burkowsky 2001a, 44-45.

Lit.: Schaaff 1988, 325-326; Waurick 1990, 18-31; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 38

I. B.

1. Roman infantry helmet

Sisak – Kupa, GMS 510:SIK 289 AZA

Copper alloy

Height 21,5 cm, length 25,5 cm, calotte circumference 49 cm

Second half of the 1st c. BC

This helmet of the Buggenum type was found in the bed of the Kupa River. It is well-preserved, although not wholesome. The helmet has a pointed spherical calotte above which is a pronounced moulded cone knob. The neck guard develops out of reinforced calotte edge, and it stretches to the perforations for (missing) cheek pieces. The calotte and knob were cast together, which is usual for this type of helmets. The Buggenum-type helmets are chronologically at the end of the line of development of models of bronze helmets made in Italic workshops during the last few centuries BC. Although a signature of the owner is often found on this type of helmets, this specimen has none. Nevertheless, it is possible to adduce the second half of the 1st c. BC, more precisely between the year 49 and 48, as the date for this helmet, because another helmet of the same type was found in the bed of the Kupa, bearing an inscription of the military leader P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (49-48 BC). This allows us to associate this helmet with Octavian's attack on Segestica.

Published in Burkowsky 2001a, 44-45

Bibliography: Schaaff 1988, 325-326; Waurick 1990, 18-31; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 38

I. B.



2. Roman short sword (*gladius*)

Sisak, Kupa – Pogorelac, 1992.,

GMS 510:SIK 3145 AZA

Iron, wood, copper alloy

Length: 72,5 cm,

maximum width: 5,8 cm

End of the 1st c. BC – first half of the 1st c. AD

A gladius dredged out of the Kupa at Pogorelec is a rare example of a Roman short sword with preserved scabbard. Although already in the moment of discovery in a rather bad shape, a section of the scabbard was partially preserved through conservation. The sword is of the Mainz type, made of iron, with a long tang for the attachment of the handle. Although the blade is inside a wooden scabbard, thus incompletely visible, we can attribute it to this type, first of all because of its dimensions, as well as the blade tip followed by the form of the scabbard. The wooden scabbard has also preserved parts of a bronze sheet coating. Their lower part has a partially preserved fitting, ending in the bottom in a hemispherical ornament with ribbed neck. These metallic elements also help to attribute the sword to the Mainz type.

Published in Burkowsky 2001b, 31, kat. 42.

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 69-71; Hoffiller 1912, 103-105; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 32-40

I. B.

2. Rimski kratki mač (*gladius*)

Sisak, Kupa – Pogorelac, 1992., GMS

510:SIK 3145 AZA

željezo, drvo, bakrena slitina

dužina: 72,5 cm, najveća širina: 5,8 cm

kraj 1. st. pr.Kr. – prva polovina 1. st.

Gladij izjaružan 1992. g. u Kupi kod Pogorelca, rijedak je primjer rimskog kratkog mača kojem su očuvane i drvene korice. Iako je već prilikom pronalaska bio u dosta lošem stanju, dio se korica ipak konzervacijom barem djelomično očuvao. Mač je željezni, tipa „Mainz“, s dugačkim trnom za nasad drške. Iako je sječivo u drvenim koricama, te time nepotpuno vidljivo, možemo ga pripisati ovom tipu, prije svega dimenzijama, kao i oblikom vrha sječiva kojeg prati oblik korica. Drvene korice sadrže dijelove brončane limene oplata. Donji im dio ima djelomično očuvan okov, koji na dnu završava polukuglastim ukrasom narebrenog vrata. Ti ga metalni elementi također svrstavaju u mačeve ovog tipa. Objava: Burkowsky 2001b, 31, kat. 42. Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 1993, 69-71; Hoffiller 1912, 103-105; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 32-40

I. B.

3. Rimski pješaka kaciga

Martinska ves pored Siska, 1934, AMZ, inv. 8143

bakrena slitina

visina (bez ukrasnog nastavka) 19,5 cm, dužina otvora 21,8 cm, širina otvora 18,5 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Ova kaciga tipa Hagenau pronađena je 1934. godine prilikom jaružanja korita Save kod Martinske vesi blizu Siska. Napravljena je od kvalitetnog brončanog lima, a na vrhu kalote ima čunjoliki ukrasni nastavak, rascijepljen po sredini kako bi se u njega mogla umetnuti ukrasna perjanica. Na stražnjoj su joj strani, oprilike po sredini i neposredno pred vratobran pritaljene po dvije letvice za učvršćivanje perjanice.

Nisu joj sačuvane obrazine ali ima sačuvan čeonu obruč. Na vratobranu je još vidljiva rupa za čavao na koji je bila pričakana karika za vješanje kacige. Na vratobranu je sačuvan natpis (*CENTURIA LUCCI(I), VARRONIS*), a vide se i tragovi starijeg natpisa *VAR*, koji se možda odnosi na istog Varona. Ispod natpisa je puncirano pet točaka u obliku petice s igraće kocke. Hoffiller je bio mišljenja da je možda riječ o oznaci radionice, no u nedostatku analogija teško je potvrditi to mišljenje. Okvirno se može datirati u prvu polovinu 1. st., mada se vjerojatno može datirati u prva desetljeća tog stoljeća s obzirom na vratobran ne naročito izraženih dimenzija.

Objava: Hoffiller 1937, 30-31.

Lit.: Waurick 1988, 327-333, 354-359; Feugère 1993, 117-119; Feugère 1994, 81-8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 68, kat. 126

I. R.-L.

3. Roman infantry helmet

Martinska ves near Sisak, 1934, AMZ, inv. no. 8143

Copper alloy

Height (excluding the ornamental knob) 19,5 cm, length of the mouth 21,8 cm, width of the opening 18,5 cm

First half of the 1st c. AD

This Hagenau-type helmet was found in 1934 during the dredging of the Sava river bed at Martinska ves near Sisak. It was made out of high quality bronze sheets, with a cone decorative extension on the top of the calotte, cleaved in the middle so as to enable the insertion of a decorative crest. Four bars were melted onto the back side, approximately at its centre, immediately before the neck guard, for the attachment of the crest.

Cheek pieces were not preserved, as opposed to the browguard. On the neck guard a nail perforation is still visible; a loop for the hanging up of the helmet was appended on the nail. An inscription (*CENTURIA LUCCI(I), VARRONIS*) is preserved on the neck guard, but traces of an earlier inscription *VAR* are also visible, perhaps referring to the same Varro. Below the inscription five dots were punctuated in the dice pattern of five. Hoffiller believed that this is possibly a workshop sign, but his opinion is hard to evaluate because of the lack of any analogies. The helmet can be approximately dated to the first half of the 1st c., perhaps to the first few decades of that century because of a rather small neck guard.

Published in Hoffiller 1937, 30-31

Bibliography: Waurick 1988, 327-333, 354-359; Feugère 1993, 117-119; Feugère 1994, 81-8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 68, kat. 126

I. R.-L.



4. Roman infantry helmet

Sisak, the Kupa, AMZ, inv. no. 17951

Iron, silver

Height 12,5 cm, length of the opening 23 cm, width of the opening 15 cm

First half of the 1st c. AD

Traces of rich decoration are clearly visible on this Weisenau-type helmet, despite the damages. On the lower edge of the frontal half of the calotte a silver band is still well-preserved, while two silver rosettes ornamented with enamel are on each side. During the conservation of the helmet traces of thin silver sheet layers were observed on several places, gilded in some places, and it would seem that the entire helmet was covered in silver sheets. Three different layers of decorative sheets were recognized during conservation process. The first was of silver, decorated in punctuated floral pattern. The second layer was made out of gilded sheets and it is recognizable on few places only, subsequently overlaid with the third silver-sheet layer, also punctuated. It is most likely that the owner(s) of the helmet had it re-decorated on at least three occasions. The silver band on frontal edge partially covers the decorative rosettes, which suggests that this is not an original ornament, but a subsequent addition or repair. On the right side of the helmet a loop is preserved, while a perforation is visible on the left, surely once intended to carry the same loop. They were both intended to hold a decorative crest. Precisely this detail, together with the rich decoration, suggests that this helmet from Sisak might have belonged to a soldier of some prominence. The lateral loops clearly suggest that the crest was to be worn transversally, and such a helmet crest, *crista transversa*, was a mark of the centurional rank. According to its typological characteristics, it probably belonged to the first half of the 1st c. AD.

Published in Hoffiller 1911: 177, sl. 19

Bibliography: Robinson 1976: 52-53, 56, Plate 121; Waurick 1988, 333-338, 354-359; Feugère 1994, 86-97; Radman-Livaja 2004a: 71-75, kat. 127

I. R.-L.

4. Rimski pješaka kaciga

Sisak, Kupa, AMZ, inv. 17951

željezo, srebro

visina 12,5 cm, dužina otvora 23 cm, širina otvora 15 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Na ovoj kacigi tipa Weisenau su usprkos oštećenjima jasno vidljivi tragovi raskošnog ukrašavanja. Na donjem rubu prednje polovice kalote je još dobro sačuvana srebrna traka, a sa svake strane nalaze se i po dvije srebrne rozete ukrašene emajlom. Tijekom restauracije kacige utvrđeno je na više mjesta na kaloti postojanje tragova tankog sloja srebrnog lima, mjestimice i pozlaćenog te se čini se da je cijela kaciga bila prekrivena srebrnim limom. Konzervatorskim su zahvatom uočena tri različita sloja ukrasnog lima. Prvi je bio srebren i ukrašen punciranim vegetabilnim ukrasom. Drugi sloj je bio od pozlaćenog lima i vidljiv je na svega par mjesta, naknadno prekrivenih trećim slojem srebnog lima, također ukrašenog punciranjem. Po svemu sudeći, ova je kaciga bila obnavljana i ukrašavana od strane svog ili svojih vlasnika u barem tri navrata. Činjenica da srebrna traka na čeonom rubu djelomično prekriva ukrasne rozete također navodi na vjerovanje da nije riječ o izvornom ukrasu već o naknadnom dodatku ili reparaturi. S desne strane kacige je sačuvana jedna karičica, dok je s lijeve još vidljiva rupica u kojoj se nesumnjivo nalazila ista takva karičica. Po svemu sudeći te su karičice bile namijenjene za držanje ukrasne perjanice. Upravo taj detalj, uz bogatu dekoraciju, ukazuje da je ova sisačka kaciga mogla pripadati čovjeku koji nije bio običan vojnik. Takve bočno postavljene karičice jasno upućuju da je ova kaciga bila namijenjena za postranično nošenje perjanice, a takva perjanica na kacigi, *crista transversa*, je bila oznaka čina za centurione. Po svojim tipološkim karakteristikama se ova kaciga može datirati u prvu polovinu 1. st. pos. Kr. Objava: Hoffiller 1911: 177, sl. 19. Lit.: Robinson 1976: 52-53, 56, Plate 121; Waurick 1988, 333-338, 354-359; Feugère 1994, 86-97; Radman-Livaja 2004a: 71-75, kat. 127

I. R.-L.

5. Rimski pješaka kaciga
Sisak, jaružanja Kupe kod Siska 1901. godine, AMZ, inv. 8144
željezo
visina 12 cm, dužina otvora 21,2 cm, širina otvora 17 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Ova je kaciga pronađena gotovo cjelovita (nedostaje joj samo čeonu obruč). Sačuvane su joj obje obrazine, iznutra predstavljene tankim brončanim limom a na tjemenu joj se nalazi ukrasna brončana pločica namijenjena učvršćivanju perjanice. Tipološki pripada ranijim modelima tipa Weisenau i može se datirati u prvu polovinu 1. st. po Kr., a možda čak i u prvu četvrtinu istog stoljeća.

Objava: Hoffiller 1911, 179.

Lit: Robinson 1975, 52-53; Waurick 1988, 333-338, 354-359; Feugère 1994, 86-97; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 52-53; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 75, kat. 128

I. R.-L.

6. Rimski bodež

Sisak, Kupa, AMZ, inv. 3097
željezo, mjed, email, drvo, kost
dužina 33 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Konstrukcijom drške, oblikom sječiva i ukrasom korica, ovaj je bodež tipičan za prvu polovinu 1. st. pos. Kr. Korice po svojoj konstrukciji pripadaju Scottovom tipu A, a na temelju dekoracije svrstavaju se u tip Dunaföldvár. Po Obmannovoj tipologiji, konstrukcijski se svrstavaju u tip Mainz, a ukrasom pripadaju grupi 1. Dekoracija prednje strane dijeli se na 4 polja., Motivi su prvo ugravirani a potom se pristupilo tauširanju i emailiranju, pri čemu su rabljeni mjed i crveni email. Prvo polje sadržava rozetu smještenu unutar lovorovog vijenca, a rubovi polja su ukrašeni motivima u obliku slova L. U drugom polju nalazi se mali pravokutnik obrubljen s lijeve i desne strane vegetabilnim motivom u obliku stilizirane lovorove grančice. Unutar pravokutnika nalazi se motiv križa s isprepletenim lišćem. Treće polje sadrži istovjetan ukras kao i prvo polje. U zadnjem, izduženom polju trokutastog oblika je mali trokut obrubljen lovorovim vijencem. Unutar trokuta smještena je stilizirana grana. Na koricama se sačuvala samo jedna karika, i to gornja lijeva. Glavice čavala na koricama su dobrim dijelom sačuvane i na većini je još vidljiv emailirani ukras.

Objava: Hoffiller 1912, 118, sl. 48.

Lit.: Thomas 1971, 48-49; Scott 1985, 197-198; Obmann 2000: 8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 53-54, kat. 60

I. R.-L.

5. Roman infantry helmet

Sisak, dredging of the Kupa near Sisk in 1901, AMZ, inv. no. 8144
Iron
Height 12 cm, length of the opening 21,2 cm, width of the opening 17 cm
First half of the 1st c. AD

The helmet was found almost intact (missing only the browguard). Both cheek pieces are preserved, with an inside coating of thin bronze sheets, and a bronze tablet for the attachment of the crest onto the vertex. Typologically, it belongs to the early Weisenau-type models and can be dated into the first half of the 1st c. AD, perhaps, more precisely, to the first quarter of that century.

Published in Hoffiller 1911, 179

Bibliography: Robinson 1975, 52-53; Waurick 1988, 333-338, 354-359; Feugère 1994, 86-97; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 52-53; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 75, kat. 128

I. R.-L.



6. Roman dagger

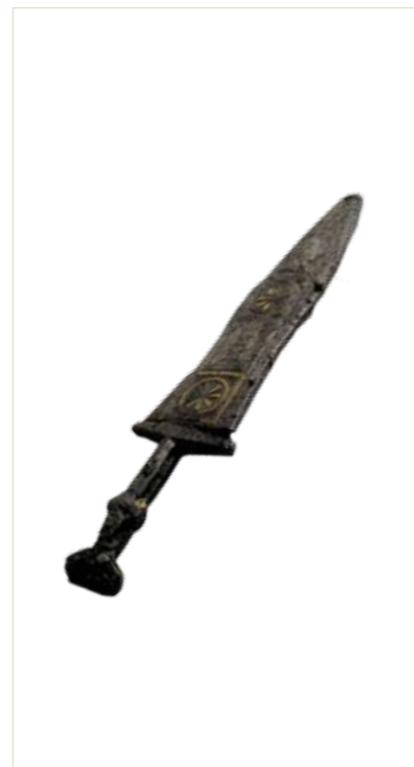
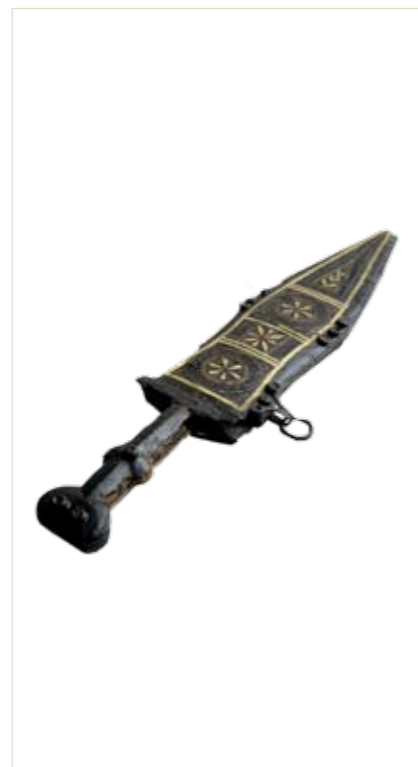
Sisak, the Kupa, AMZ, inv. no. 3097
Iron, brass, enamel, wood, bone
Length 33 cm
First half of the 1st c. AD

This dagger is typical for the first half of the 1st c. AD by its handle construction, blade form, and scabbard decoration. The scabbard belongs to Scott's type A, judging by their construction, and on the basis of their decoration to the Dunaföldvár-type. According to Obmann's typology, they belong to the Mainz type (on the basis of construction), group 1 (on the basis of decoration). The decoration on the frontal side is divided into four fields. The motifs are firstly engraved and then damascened and enameled, using brass and red enamel. The fist field consists of a rosette within a laurel wreath, with edges decorated in L-form motifs. The second field consists of a small rectangle bordered on left and right with a floral motif in the form of a stylized laurel branch. Within the rectangle is a cross with entwined leaves. The third field consists of an identical decoration as the first. The final, elongated triangle field consists of a small triangle bordered with a laurel wreath. Within the triangle there is a stylized branch. Only a single loop is still preserved on the scabbard, the upper left one. The nail heads on the scabbard are mostly well-preserved, and an enameled ornament is still visible on most of them.

Published in Hoffiller 1912, 118, sl. 48

Bibliography: Thomas 1971, 48-49; Scott 1985, 197-198; Obmann 2000: 8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 53-54, kat. 60

I. R.-L.



7. Roman dagger

Sisak, the Kupa, AMZ, inv. no. 3097
Iron, brass, enamel, wood, bone
Length 33 cm
First half of the 1st c. AD

This dagger is typologically analogous to another dagger, found at the same time in the river Kupa at Sisak, but it is not so well preserved. According to Obmann's typology, the scabbard also belongs to the Mainz-type group 1. The fist field consists of a medallion with a rosette, while the second consists of a rectangle with two crosses formed of entwined leaves, one above the other, within it. The rosette within the third field, like the one in the first, is not bordered with a laurel wreath, but with a simple circle. The fourth triangle field is also decorated with a stylized branch bordered with a laurel wreath. It is interesting that this dagger was inserted into the scabbard back to front.

Published in Hoffiller 1912, 118, sl. 48.

Bibliography: Thomas 1971, 48-49; Scott 1985, 197-198; Obmann 2000: 8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 53-54, kat. 59

I. R.-L.

8. Roman long sword, (*spatha*)

Sisak, the Kupa, AMZ, inv. no. 17948
Iron, brass
Total length 80,5 cm, blade length 68 cm, blade width 5,5 cm
3rd c. AD

This *spatha* undoubtedly belongs to the Lauriacum-Hromówka-type, its blade is channeled, as usual with this type of *spatha*, and the damascening procedure is well recognizable on the blade. The blade is damascened on both sides: on the one side a stylized warrior figure is clearly seen, probably a schematic representation of Mars, while the representation on the other side is, unfortunately, severely damaged and only visible in traces; yet we can presume it represented an eagle flanked with military insignia.

Published in Radman-Livaja 2004a, 43-45, kat. 53.

Bibliography: Ulbert 1974, 197-216; Biborski 1994, 109-135; Biborski 1994b, 169-197; Horbacz& Olędzki 1998: 19-30; Mijs 2007, 92-94

I. R.-L.



7. Rimski bodež

Sisak, Kupa, AMZ, inv. 3097
željezo, mjed, email, drvo, kost
dužina 33 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Ovaj bodež tipološki odgovara drugom istovremeno pronađenom bodežu u rijeci Kupi kod Siska no nešto je lošije očuvan. Korice bodeža po Obmannovoj tipologiji također pripadaju tipu Mainz i grupi 1. Prvo polje sadrži medaljon s rozetom dok je u drugom polju pravokutnik u kojemu se nalaze dva križa od isprepletenog lišća, postavljena jedan iznad drugoga. Rozeta u trećem polju, jednako kao i u prvom, nije obrubljena lovorovim vijencem, već običnim krugom. Zadnje trokutasto polje je također ukrašeno stiliziranom granom obrubljenom lovorovim vijencem. Zanimljivo je da je ovaj bodež naopako umetnut u korice.

Objava: Hoffiller 1912, 118, sl. 48.

Lit.: Thomas 1971, 48-49; Scott 1985, 197-198; Obmann 2000: 8; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 53-54, kat. 59

I. R.-L.

8. Rimski dugi mač (*spatha*)

Sisak, Kupa, AMZ, inv. 17948
željezo, mjed
ukupna dužina 80,5 cm, dužina sječiva 68 cm, širina sječiva 5,5 cm
3. st.

Ova *spatha* neosporno pripada tipu Lauriacum-Hromówka, Sječivo joj je kanelirano, kao što je i uobičajeno za taj tip spata, a na sječivu se dobro razaznaje postupak damasciranja.

Sječivo je s obe strane ukrašeno tauširanjem: s jedne strane je jasno vidljiv stilizirani lik ratnika, vjerojatno shematiziran prikaz boga Marsa, dok je prikaz s druge strane, na žalost, jako oštećen i prisutan samo u tragovima no može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o motivu orla okruženog bojnim znakovljem.

Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 43-45, kat. 53.

Lit.: Ulbert 1974, 197-216; Biborski 1994, 109-135; Biborski 1994b, 169-197; Horbacz& Olędzki 1998: 19-30; Mijs 2007, 92-94

I. R.-L.

9. Koštani vrh korica

Sisak, Kupa, AMZ, inv. 8142
kost
dužina 19,2 cm, širina 5 cm
3. st.

Ove koštane korice podsjećaju na drvene korice pronađenima zajedno s rimskim spatama u danskim tresetištima. Iako nema identičnih analogija, oblikom koji odgovara spomenutim drvenim primjercima te ukrasnim motivima u obliku are i stiliziranog tirsosa, ovaj se sisački nalaz nedvojbeno može pripisati Rimljanima. Iako je oštećen, nedvojbeno je sačuvan u cijeloj svojoj dužini. Ukoliko su cijele korice bile koštane, morale su se sastojati od nekoliko međusobno spojenih segmenata, a u tom bi slučaju ovaj komad predstavljao prvi, gonji segment. Isto tako je moguće da je ovaj sisački primjerak izvorno služio kao vrh korica, odnosno da je bio namijenjen povezivanju i učvršćivanju prednje i stražnje strane korica, vjerojatno napravljenih od drvenih ploča omotanih kožom, tako što bi ga se navuklo na gornji dio korica, dok bi se okrajkom fiksiralo dno. S obzirom na promjer, može se pretpostaviti da je pripadao koricama spate uskog sječiva, odnosno tipa Straubing-Nydam.
Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 45-47, kat. 56.
Lit.: Feugère 1993: 154; Rald 1994, 228, fig. 1; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 154-161; Miks 2007, 283, 870

I. R.-L.

9. Bone scabbard tip

Sisak, the Kupa, AMZ, inv. no. 8142
Bone
Length 19,2 cm, width 5 cm
3rd c. AD

These scabbards remind us of wooden scabbards found together with Roman *spathae* in Danish bogs. Although there are no identical analogies, by its form, identical to these wooden specimens, and decorative motifs in forms of an *ara* and a stylized *thyrsus*, this specimen from Sisak is undoubtedly of Roman provenance.

Although damaged, it is undoubtedly preserved in its entire length. Although the entire scabbards were made of bone, they had to consist of several connected segments, which would make our piece the first upper segment. It is also possible that this specimen from Sisak was initially a scabbard tip, that is, it was meant to join and tighten the frontal and dorsal parts of the scabbard, probably made out of wooden panels covered in skin, by being drawn over the upper part of the scabbard, while the stub would fixate the bottom. Considering its diameter, we can suppose that it belonged to a thin blade *spatha*, that is, of the Straubing-Nydam type.

Published in Radman-Livaja 2004a, 45-47, kat. 56

Bibliography: Feugère 1993: 154; Rald 1994, 228, fig. 1; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 154-161; ; Miks 2007, 283, 870

I. R.-L.



10. Roman cavalry helmet mask

Sisak, the Kupa, 1982.,
GMS 510:SIK 2686 AZA
Copper alloy
Height 19,2 cm, width 13,5 cm, sheet thickness 2-3 mm
4th c. AD?

An iron mask showing a male face is most probably a part of a Roman cavalry helmet. It was made out of 2-3 mm thick iron, with perforations for eyes, nostrils and mouth. The entire right half of the face and a part of the left cheek is missing. On the upper preserved half, along the very edge, a small perforation is visible, most probably a part of the rivet attaching it to the rest of the helmet. A line of small perforations, some 2 to 3 mm in diameter, lined along the preserved edges in 1 cm intervals, makes it rather different from the rest of the preserved similar masks. Perhaps they were meant to serve as an additional attaching device on the helmet or for attaching of skin or linen inside coating. It was made realistically, with emphasized nose and eyebrows. There are no certain analogies among the preserved Roman masks dated to the first three centuries AD and it is thus questionable whether we can date this specimen to that period. It is not impossible that this mask belongs to a somewhat later age, because literary sources unquestionably affirm their use by Roman cavalry in the 4th c. (*Ammianus Marcellinus*, 16.10.8, 25. 1. 12; *Iulianus, Or.* 1, 37 D), the more so because the appearance of the Sisak specimen reminds us of the helmet visors found in the Grand Palace in Istanbul, today in the Istanbul Archaeological museum, supposedly belonging to the Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Robinson 1975, 112-127; Kohlert 1978, 19-28; Nicolle 1992, 11; Mielczarek 1993, 82-83; Junkelmann 1996, 18-56

I. B.



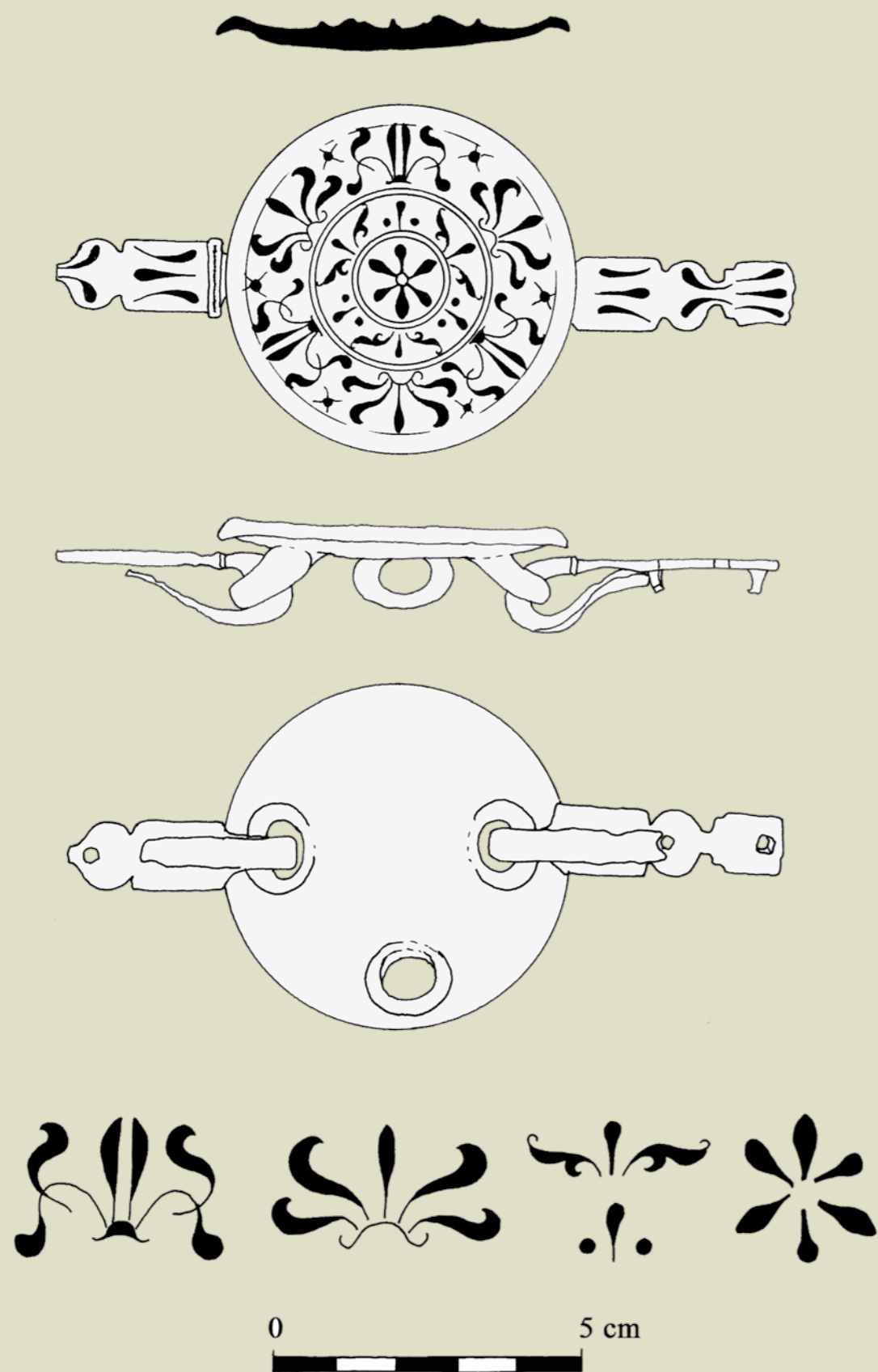
10. Rimaska konjanička maska

Sisak, Kupa, 1982.,
GMS 510:SIK 2686 AZA
bakrena slitina
visina 19,2 cm, širina 13,5 cm, debljina lima 2-3 mm
4. st.?

Željezna maska koja prikazuje muško lice najvjerojatnije je dio rimske konjaničke kacige. Izrađena je od željeza debljine 2-3 mm, s otvorima za oči, nosnice i usta. Nedostaje joj čitava desna polovica lica te dio lijevog obraza. Na gornjoj očuvanoj polovici, uz sam rub, vidljiva je rupica, najvjerojatnije od zakovice kojom je bila pričvršćena za ostatak kacige. Ono što je razlikuje od ostalih očuvanih sličnih maski je svakako niz sitnih rupica, promjera 2 do 3 mm, koje se, s razmakom od 1 cm, redaju uz očuvane rubove. Možda su služile za dodatno učvršćivanje na kacigu ili pak za pričvršćivanje kožne ili platnene podloge s unutrašnje strane. Maska je izrađena realistično, s naglašenim nosom i obrvama. Nema sigurnih analogija među poznatim sačuvanim rimskim maskama datiranim unutar prva 3 stoljeća nakon Krista te je stoga upitno može li se ovaj primjerak datirati u to vremensko razdoblje. Nije isključeno da bi ova maska pripadala nešto kasnijem vremenu jer nam pisani izvori nedvojbeno potvrđuju njihovu uporabu od strane rimskih konjanika i u 4. stoljeću (*Ammianus Marcellinus*, 16.10.8, 25. 1. 12; *Iulianus, Or.* 1, 37 D), tim više što sisački primjerak izgledom dosta podsjeća na vizire kaciga pronađene u Velikoj palači u Carigradu, danas u Arheološkom muzeju u Istanbulu, za koje se pretpostavlja da potječu iz kasnoantičkog odnosno ranobizantskog razdoblja.

neobjavljena
Lit.: Robinson 1975, 112-127; Kohlert 1978, 19-28; Nicolle 1992, 11; Mielczarek 1993, 82-83; Junkelmann 1996, 18-56

I. B.



sl. 1 / fig. 1

ZSOLT MRÁV

RIMSKA VOJNA OPREMA IZ HRVATSKE U MAĐARSKOM NARODNOM MUZEJU U BUDIMPEŠTI

ROMAN MILITARIA FROM CROATIA IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM, BUDAPEST

U vrijeme Austro-Ugarske monarhije određeni broj primjeraka rimskog oružja i vojne opreme s područja hrvatskog dijela panonskih provincija bio je otkupljen od strane Mađarskog narodnog muzeja ili je doniran Muzeju.

Prvi su nalazi otkriveni u blizini Siscije (Siska) 1875. g. tijekom jaružanja Save te su u Mađarski Narodni muzej dospjeli kao poklon Gyule Stellyja, starijeg inženjera (kat. 1-2). Tom prilikom nađeni su – pored kasnosrednjovjekovnog oružja i rimske votivne kamene ploče – kasnorepublikanski ili ranocarski pilum s usadom na tuljac (kat. 1) i vršak koplja (kat. 2). Vezano uz drugo oružje za bacanje nalik pilumu iz ovog nalaza – u nedostatku analogija i samog konteksta – ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je ono rimskog podrijetla (sl. 2/2). Željezni dio najvjerojatnije augustovskog piluma s piramidalnim vršcima i gotovo 1 m duge tanke šipke, također je izvorno bio dio ovog nalaza (sl. 2/1). Nemoguće je sa sigurnošću odrediti tip trna ovog piluma jer je odlomljen i izgubljen. Na crtežu kojeg je 1878. g. objavio J. Hampel jasno je vidljivo da je donji dio šipke pra-

During the Austro-Hungarian Empire a number of Roman weapons and pieces of military equipment were purchased by or donated to the Hungarian National Museum from the Croatian part of the Pannonian provinces.

The first assemblage came to light in 1875 near *Siscia* (Sisak) during the dredging of the Sava river and arrived in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum as a gift of Gyula Stelly, a senior engineer (cat. 1-2). The assemblage – besides late medieval weapons and a Roman marble votive slab – contained a late-Republican or early imperial socketed pilum (cat. 1) and a spearhead (cat. 2). Concerning another socketed pilum-like throwing weapon from this assemblage – for want of any analogies and context – we cannot claim with certainty that it is Roman (fig. 2/2). The iron part of what is most probably an Augustan pilum with a pyramidal head and a thin shank almost 1 m long, originally also formed part of this assemblage (fig. 2/1). It is impossible to determine the exact type of the tang of this pilum because it broke off. On a drawing published by J. Hampel in 1878 it is clearly visible that the lower section of the shank had a rectangular

KATALOG NALAZA

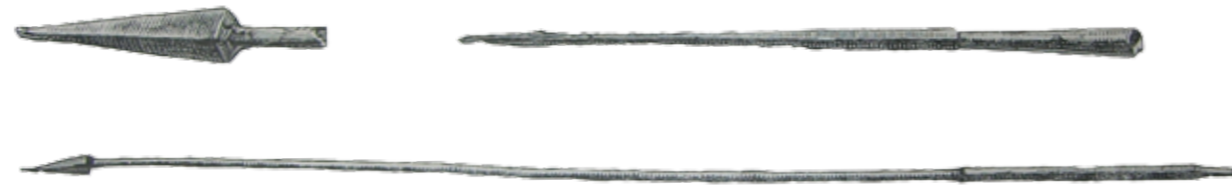
THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

vokutnog presjeka, dok je preostali, mnogo veći dio, kružnog presjeka (ovaj je pilum prebačen u Jugoslaviju 1958. godine i danas je dio nepoznate kolekcije u Beogradu; vjerojatnije je to pilum koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu: Radman-Livaja 2004, 127 Kat. br. 5 T. 1. Ako tomu nije tako, onda je taj primjerak najbolja analogija prethodnome). U Kupi kod Siska je 1903. g. nađena *sica* (kat. 6.), prema informaciji s cedulje pričvršćene na oštricu. Tzv. oružja tipa *sica*, jednostruke i zakrivljene oštrice, bila su karakteristična za tračke i ilirske željeznodobne ratnike te su ih sve do 2. st. koristili vojnici (ili njihove sluge?) pomoćnih postrojbi koje potječu s ovog područja, čemu svjedoči grob s oružjem iz Káloza (županija Fejér, Mađarska). Gore spomenuta oružja dobro se uklapaju u raspon vojne opreme datirane u razdoblje rimskog osvajanja Panonije pronađene tijekom jaružanja Kupe i Save kod Siska u godinama prije Prvog Svjetskog rata.

Sljedeći nalaz potječe iz kasnoflavijevske utvrde s pomoćnim postrojbama i civilnog naselja smještenog uz Dunav imena *Ad Militare* (danas Batina Skela/ Kiskőszeg u Hrvatskoj). Nalaz se sastoji od dvaju rondela, bogato ukrašenih umetnutim metalnim motivima (kat. 3-4). Točan kontekst i okolnosti nalaza dvaju falera koje su 1904. g. otkupljene od Henrika Bátora nisu poznati. Ovi nalazi konjske vojne opreme izuzetan su dio baštine konjanika ili konjaničkih časnika koji su bili smješteni uzduž južnapanonskog dijela obale Dunava ili veterana koji su naseljeni u ovo područje tijekom vladavine Flavijevaca. Ažurirani okov *balteus*-remena datiran u 3. st. također potječe iz Batine/Kiskőszega.

cross-section, while the much longer remaining part had a circular cross-section. (This pilum was transmitted to Yugoslavia in 1958 and it is now either in an unknown collection in Beograd, or more probably it is identical with a pilum that is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb: Radman-Livaja 2004, 127 Cat. No. 5 Pl. 1. If this is not true, this is the best known analogy for the former piece.) The „sica” (cat. 6.) comes from the Kupa river near Sisak in 1903 according to a slip stuck on the blade. The one-edged so-called „sica”-type weapons with curved blade were characteristic weapons of the Thracian and Illyrian warriors in the Iron Age and were still in use among certain auxiliary soldiers (or their servants?) from this region until the 2nd century, which was well demonstrated by the weapon grave from Káloz (County Fejér, Hungary). These above mentioned weapons fit well into the range of the several militaria finds dated to the time of the Roman conquest of Pannonia which were found during the dredging of the Kupa and Sava rivers near Siscia in the years preceding the World War I.

The provenance of the next open assemblage, which contained two roundels richly decorated with metal inlaid motifs, is *Ad Militare*, a late Flavian auxiliary fort and vicus situated by the river Danube (today Batina Skela/ Kiskőszeg in Croatia) (cat. 3-4). The exact context and circumstances of the discovery of the two phaleras bought in 1904 from Henrik Bátor are unknown. This horse gear finds are outstanding pieces of the heritage of the cavalry soldiers or officers stationed along the South-Pannonian section of ripa Danuvii or veterans settled down in this region during the Flavian period. A copper alloy openwork *balteus* or belt mount dated to the 3rd century AD also comes from Batina/Kiskőszeg.



sl. 2 / fig. 2

RIMSKA VOJNA OPREMA IZ HRVATSKE
U MAĐARSKOM NARODNOM MUZEJU U BUDIMPEŠTI
ROMAN MILITARIA FROM CROATIA
IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM, BUDAPEST

1. Pilum s usadom na tuljac

inv. br.: RR 94.1875.3

Blizina Siscije (Siska), nađen 1875. godine prilikom jaružanja Save
Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Duljina 39,8 cm; promjer tuljca 1,9 cm
Kasnorepublikanski-ranoaugustovski

Pilum s usadom na tuljac srednje duljine; predstavlja tzv. lagani model. Šipka pravokutnog presjeka, tuljac kružnog presjeka. Listoliki vrh usko izdužen. Na kraju tuljca dvije male rupe za zakovice koje su povezivale željezni dio s drškom. Šipka je bila lagano povijena. Najraniji primjer listolikog vrha – ako je ovaj primjer relevantan – potječe iz grobnice iz Vulcija, 5. st. (Connolly 1999, 44 fig. 1/A). Analogna *pila* s usadom na tuljac sličnog, ali užeg listolikog vrha, poznata su iz Alesije (Alise-Sainte-Reine, Cote-d'Or, Francuska) (Sievers 2001, 227 n. 359, Pl. 69, duljina 47 cm), a oni šireg vrha pronađeni su u rijeci Savi kod Kupinova (Milošević 1987, 68 Cat. No. 32, T. IV/2, duljina 44 cm).

Lit.: Hampel 1878, 136, kat. b.

2. Željezni vrh koplja

inv. br. 94.1875.2

Blizina Siscije (Siska), nađen 1875. godine prilikom jaružanja Save
Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Duljina 33,1 cm, širina 4,4 cm
Vjerojatno 1. st. n. e.

Uski izduženi vrh koplja lagano ispupčene oštrice. Tuljac djelomično razbijen. Slični primjerci nađeni su u Sisciji: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 28, kat. 11-14.

Lit.: Hampel 1878, 136, kat. c.

1. Socketed pilum

inv. n.: RR 94.1875.3

Near Siscia (Sisak), in 1875 during the dredging of the Sava river
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
length 39,8 cm; socket diameter 1,9 cm
Late-Republican/early Augustan

The medium length socketed pilum representing the so-called light model has a shank of a rectangular cross-section with a circular-sectioned socket. The leaf-shaped head is narrow and elongated. At the end of the socket there are two small perforations for rivets which joint the iron part to the shaft. The shank is slightly bent. The earliest example for a leaf-shaped head might be from a 5th century BC tomb at Vulci (Connolly 1999, 44 fig. 1/A). Analogous socketed pilums with a similar but narrower leaf-shaped head are documented from Alésia (Alise-Sainte-Reine, Cote-d'Or, France) (Sievers 2001, 227 n. 359, Pl. 69, length 47 cm) and with a wider head from the river Sava at Kupinovo (Milošević 1987, 68 Cat. No. 32, T. IV/2, length 44 cm).

Lit. Hampel 1878, 136, kat. b.

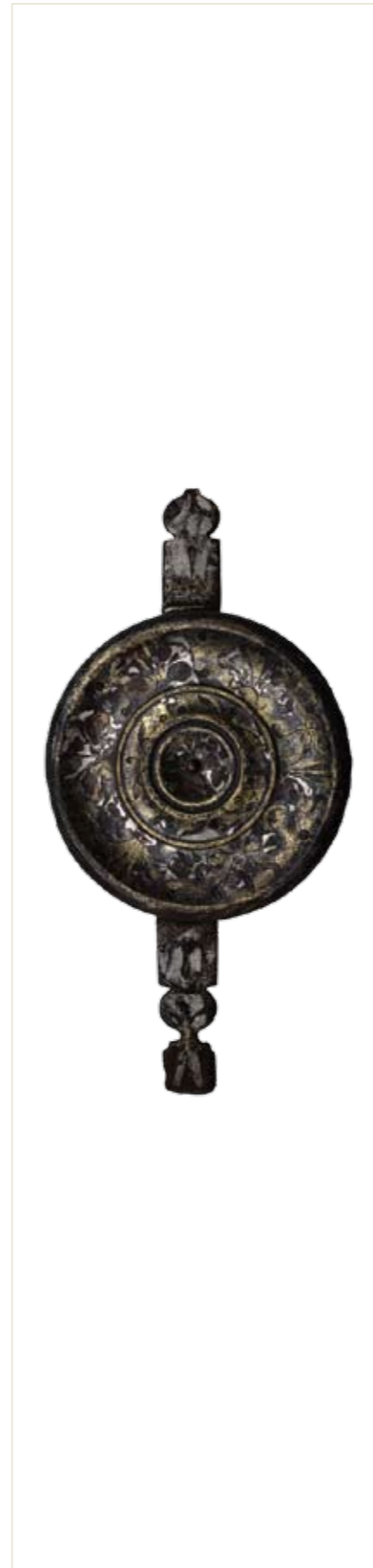
2. Iron spearhead

inv. n. 94.1875.2

Near Siscia (Sisak), in 1875 during the dredging of the Sava river
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
length 33,1 cm; width 4,4 cm.
Probably 1st century AD

Narrow elongated spearhead with a slightly pronounced rib. The socket is partly damaged. Similar examples have been found in Siscia: Radman-Livaja 2004a, 28, cat. 11-14.

Lit.: Hampel 1878, 136, kat. c.



3. Copper inlaid and silvered bronze phalera with two junction loops of an original set of three

inv. n.: RR 50.1904

Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kiskőszeg)
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
phalera: diameter 5,7 cm; thickness 1,2 cm (with ring); the intact junction loop: length 4,65 cm; width 1,15 cm; thickness 1,25 cm.
Flavian

Type: Phalera: front Bishop 1988, type 3c; back Bishop 1988, type 4a; junction loops: Bishop 1988, type 6a.

The roundel with a slightly raised and convex rim has been cast in bronze and turned on a lathe. The decoration of the silvered front is based on the polychrome effect of the contrast of the silver background and red copper inlay. The circular field in the middle without central perforation was filled out by a petal design composed of six narrow elongated petals. The decoration of the middle narrow annulus includes two different motifs. One of them formed by a smaller central leaflet which is flanked by two stylized oak leaves, shown in profile with the ends curling back on themselves. The second one is a small vertical petal with two dots at either side. The outer annulus is decorated with rows of two different types of alternating palmettes separated by a dot. The front surface of the two remained junction loops is also inlaid.

The exact analogy of its form and decoration pattern cannot be found among the known phaleras. The red copper inlay is also especially rare, I have only observed similar technique in the case of the phalera pendant from Biatorbágy, Hungary (Mráv in press).

Lit.: Sellye 1939, 52 cat. n. pl. IV/7a-b

3. Posrebrna brončana falera s bakrenim intarzijama i dvije od izvorno tri spojne petlje

inv. br.: RR 50.1904

Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kiskőszeg)
Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Falera: promjer 5,7 cm; debljina 1,2 cm (s obručem); intaktna spojna petlja: duljina 4,65 cm; širina 1,15 cm; debljina 1,25 cm.

Flavijevsko razdoblje

Tip: Falera: avers Bishop 1988, tip 3c; revers Bishop 1988, tip 4a; spojne petlje: Bishop 1988, tip 6a.

Rondela s blago uzdignutim i konveksnim rubom izlivena je u bronci i tokarena. Ukrašen posrebrneno prednje strane osniva se na višebojnom efektu kontrasta srebrne pozadine i crvene bakrene intarzije. Kružno polje u sredini ukoliko središnje perforacije ispunjeno je cvjetnim motivom sastavljenim od šest uskih izduženih latica. Dekoracija središnjeg uskog prstena sastoji se od dva različita motiva: jedan tvori manji središnji listić između dva stilizirana hrastova lista prikazana u profilu, čiji se krajevi povijaju unatrag. Drugi je predstavljen malenom vertikalnom laticom i dvije točke sa svake strane laticе. Vanjski prsten je ukrašen redovima dvaju različitih tipova palmeta koji se izmjenjuju i između kojih se nalazi točka. Prednja površina dvaju preostalih petlji također je ukrašena intarzijama. Potpuna analogija oblika i obrasca dekoracije ne može se pronaći među poznatim falerama. Crvena bakrena intarzija je također osobito rijetka; sličnu tehniku sam pronašao samo u slučaju privjeska falere iz Biatorbágyja, Mađarska (Mráv, u tisku).

Lit.: Sellye 1939, 52 kat. br. T. IV/7a-b

4. Posrebrna falera s nielo intarzijama i trakastim okovima remena

inv. br. RR 59.1904.1

Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kisköszeg)

Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Središnja falera: promjer 3,6 cm; duljina 6,85 cm; širina 7,55 cm; debljina 0,95 cm; debljina pločice 0,25 cm

Flavijevsko razdoblje

Posrebrni okov konjske opreme od bakrene slitine, koji se sastoji od središnje rondele, izliven je zajedno s tri spojna trakasta okova remena u obliku obruča i dijelom šarke. Izgubljeni privjesak bio je izvorno pričvršćen za okov pomoću te šarke (sačuvano je okno s hemisferičnom glavicom, koje je pripadalo šarki). Oko sredine rondele na reversu i na kraju okova korica vidljive su zakovice. Središnja nielo intarzija u obliku rozete oblikovana je kroz osam radijalno smještenih listića ili latica s krajevima u obliku srca ili točke. Cirkularni žljeb oko središnjeg motiva također je ispunjen nielom. Četiri simetrična cvijetna motiva sastoje se od tri trokuta i pričvršćeni su na ovaj koncept. Vanjski širi prsten rondele ukrašen je četirima jednakima cvjetnim motivima. Manji središnji list na ovom motivu nalazi se između dva snažno artikulirana i stilizirana hrastova (?) lista, prikazana u profilu s unatrag povijenim krajevima. Površina trakastih okova korica ukrašena je intarzijama u obliku cvijeća, a također uključuje kapljičasto lišće i lišće prikazano u profilu.

Lit.: Sellye 1939, 53 kat. br. T. IV/8a-b

4. Niello inlaid and silvered bronze phalera with strap chapes

inv. n.: RR 59.1904.1

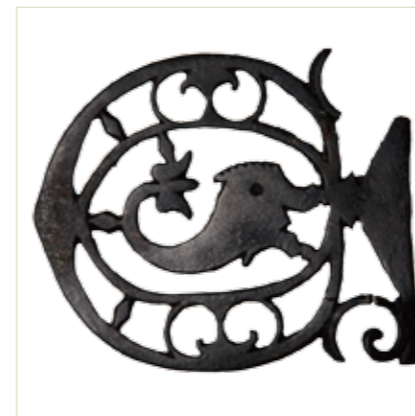
Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kisköszeg)

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
central phalera: diameter 3,6 cm; length 6,85 cm; width 7,55 cm; thickness 0,95 cm; sheet thickness 0,25 cm

Flavian

Silvered copper alloy horse gear mount which includes a central roundel was cast together with three junction loop-like strap chapes and a hinge part. The lost pendant was attached originally to the mount by this hinge. Rivets are visible on the reverse around the middle of the roundel and at the end of chapes. The front was decorated with niello inlay work to achieve a contrast against the silvering. The central niello inlaid rosette design is formed by eight radially placed leaflets or petals with a heart-shaped or dot ending. A circular groove around this central motif was likewise filled with niello. Four symmetrically placed floral motifs, composed of three triangles, are attached to this outline. The outer wider annulus of the roundel is decorated by four identical floral motifs. The smaller central leaf of this motif is flanked by two strongly articulated and stylized oak leaves, shown in profile with the ends curling back on themselves. The surface of the strap chapes is also inlaid with floral decoration and includes drop-shaped leaves and leaves depicted in profile.

Lit.: Sellye 1939, 53 cat. n. pl. IV/8a-b



5. Bronze openwork balteus or belt mount

inv. n. RR 86.1907.16

Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kisköszeg)

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
length 6,1 cm; width 5,1 cm;
thickness 0,4 cm

3rd century AD

The copper alloy openwork mount can be divided into two decorative parts. On the right side the decoration includes a triangular surface which ends in two tendril scrolls. These are partly broken off. The main decorative part on the left is irregular oval- or onion-shaped. Its oval central field is filled with a stylized openwork dolphin. Along the upper and lower side of this central motif there are two crescent-shaped openwork fields with a rhombus and a trumpet motifs. Traces of two rivets are visible on the rear side. The whole surface is covered by dark brown patina. An almost identical mount is documented from Weissenburg, Germany (Oldenstein 1976, 238, 283 Kat. Nr. 1156, Taf. 89).
Unpublished

6. Sica

inv. n. RR 62.11.1

Near Siscia (Sisak), from the bed of the river Kupa

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
length 43 cm; blade width 3,1 cm; thickness 0,5 cm at the end of the handle 1,45 cm.

It is impossible to date accurately, most probably from the late Iron Age or early Roman period. Sica with a single-edged curved blade. On the tang there are probably two perforations. The wooden handle attached to the tang is from the 20th century. An analogous find is known from Jezerine near Bihać (Schnurbein 1979, 128 Abb. 9/4).
Unpublished

7. Left cheek-piece of a helmet

inv. n. RR D 2361

Unknown

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Delhaes collection
high 1,3 cm; width 13,3 cm, thickness of the plate 0,18-0,35 cm

Most probably 3rd century BC

A single bronze cheek-piece of a helmet of Montefortino type with a strongly articulated rim and a stud attached on the inside of the plate. Traces of embossing can be seen on the inner surface. An analogous piece is kept in Museo Stibbert, Florence (Robinson 1975, 17 Fig. 19).
Unpublished

5. Brončani ažurirani pojasni okov

inv. br. RR 86.1907.16

Ad Militare (Batina Skela/Kisköszeg)

Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Duljina 6,1 cm; širina 5,1 cm;
debljina 0,4 cm

3. st.

Ažurirani okov od bakrene slitine može se podijeliti u dva ukrasna dijela. Na desnoj strani dekoracija se sastoji od trokutne površine koja završava dvama vitičastim svicima. Oni su djelomično odlomljeni. Glavni dekorativni dio s lijeve strane je nepravilnog ovalnog oblika ili nalik luku. Ovalno središnje polje ispunjeno je stiliziranim delfinom kao unutrašnjim uzorkom ažuriranja. Uzduž gornje i donje strane ovog središnjeg motiva nalaze se dva ažurirana polumjesečasta polja s motivima romba i trublje. Prisustvo dvaju zakovica vidljivo je na stražnjoj strani. Čitava je površina prekrivena tamnosmeđom patinom. Gotovo identičan okov pronađen je u Weissenburgu, Njemačka (Oldenstein 1976, 238, 283 Kat. Nr. 1156, Taf. 89).
Neobjavljeno

6. Sica

inv. br. RR 62.11.1

Blizina Siscije (Siska), dno Kupe

Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta
Duljina 43 cm; širina oštrice 3,1 cm; debljina 0,5 cm, na kraju drške 1,45 cm.

Nemoguće je precizno datirati ovo oružje povinute jednostruke oštrice; najvjerojatnije potječe iz kasnog željeznog doba ili ranog rimskog razdoblja. Na jezičcu su vjerojatno bile dvije perforacije. Drvena drška pričvršćena na jezičac potječe iz 20. st. Analogni primjerak potječe iz Jezerina kod Bihaća (Schnurbein 1979, 128 Abb. 9/4).
Neobjavljeno

7. Lijeva obrazina kacige

inv. br. RR D 2361

Nepoznato

Mađarski Narodni muzej, Budimpešta, zbirka Delhaes
Visina 1,3 cm; širina 13,3 cm; debljina pločice 0,18-0,35 cm

Najvjerojatnije potječe iz 3. st.

Jedna brončana obrazina kacige tipa Montefortino sa snažno naglašenim rubom i dugmetom pričvršćenim na unutrašnjoj strani pločice. Završetak obrazine je prenaplašen. Tragovi iskucavanja vidljivi su na unutrašnjoj površini. Analogni primjerak čuva se u Museo Stibbert, Firenca (Robinson 1975, 17 Fig. 19).
Neobjavljeno



MIRJANA SANADER
 O PROBLEMIMA TOPOGRAFIJE
 HRVATSKOG DIJELA DUNAVSKOG LIMESA
 NA TEMELJU NOVIJIH ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA
 ON THE PROBLEM OF TOPOGRAPHY
 OF THE CROATIAN PART OF THE DANUBE LIMES
 BASED ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

U okviru važnog događaja za hrvatsku arheološku struku i njezinih napora oko snažnije afirmacije u Europi i svijetu, kao što je i organizacija međunarodnog kongresa *Roman military equipment* (Zagreb, svibanj 2010.), postavlja se u zagrebačkom Arheološkom muzeju i iznimno efektna izložba o rimskoj vojnoj opremi s područja Hrvatske. To je nedvojbeno dobra prigoda da se sudionicima manifestacije, ali i našoj javnosti predstavi tema, ne tako česta u javnom pa i užem, stručnom diskursu. Stoga nam se čini uputnim još jednom progovoriti o tematici rimskih ratnih osvajanja, njihovu dolasku na današnji hrvatski teritorij, i u sklopu toga o hrvatskom dijelu dunavskog limesa, dakle, vojno čuvanog ruba osvojenih prostora, odnosno o problemima njegove topografije. Naime, u više smo navrata o tome već pisali, odali smo dužno priznanje kolegama koje su u ranijim desetljećima udarili temelje istraživanju limesa, skrenuli pozornost na otvorene probleme koje struka mora još riješiti te poticali mjerodavne institucije na mukotrpan, ali neizbježan napor oko međunarodne afirmacije hrvatskog dijela dunavskog limesa. Pritom smo pred očima imali primjere nekih zapadnih zemalja koje su svoje dijelove rimskog limesa uspjeli postaviti na svjetski popis najvažnijih kulturnih baštinskih dobara.

Accompanying the important event for Croatian archaeology and its efforts towards a stronger European and world-wide affirmation – such as the organization of the international conference on *Roman military equipment* (Zagreb, May 2010), the Archaeological museum in Zagreb organizes an exceptionally attractive exhibition of Roman military equipment from the territory of Croatia. This is, undoubtedly, an appropriate occasion to introduce both the conference participants and our wider public to a subject not often present neither in public nor in narrower, professional discussions. Thus, it would seem opportune to discuss once again the subject of Roman military conquests, their presence on the territory of modern Croatia, and, within that subject, the Croatian part of the Danube limes, that is, defended border of the conquered territories and the problems of its topography. We have already discussed the matter on various occasions, with due acknowledgement of the work of the colleagues who have erected the foundations of the limes research through the past decades, and we have drawn the attention on certain unsettled problems that have to be solved and tried to stimulate the responsible institutions to the toilsome but inevitable effort on the international affirmation of the Croatian part of the Danube limes. While conducting these efforts we had as a model the examples of certain western European countries that have succeeded in placing their respective parts of the Roman limes on the world register of most important cultural heritage sites.

Sa zadovoljstvom valja zato odmah na početku napomenuti da se posljednjih godina kod nas na području limesa poduzelo nekoliko arheoloških istraživanja te je objavljeno i više radova, koji su predstavili pokretni materijal porijeklom s tog područja. U ovom ćemo tekstu pokušati ispitati jesu li i koliko ta istraživanja donijela (ili bi uskoro mogla donijeti) nove spoznaje i koliko one, ako ih ima, nadopunjuju naše znanje o hrvatskom dijelu dunavskog limesa.

Podsjetimo na početku da su Rimljani znali mudrim odlukama i uspješnim ratnim operacijama, kadšto koristeći i povoljne okolnosti, postupno, ali ustrajno širiti svoju vlast na područja izvan Rima. Najprije na italskom poluotoku, pa na susjednim otocima, da bi nedugo zatim već osvajali posjede u Africi, Hispaniji, Galiji i na istoku. Za te su teritorije vodili i ratove, ali su ih znali osvajati i vladati njima pregovorima i diplomatskom vještinom, dakle, bez borbe. Na europskom su tlu proširili svoju vladavinu do rijeka Rajne i Dunava, uključujući, dakako, prije svega i područje istočnog Jadrana, dakle ono „preko puta“ italskog poluotoka. Međutim, sjevernjačka su se plemena znala pokazati neukrotivima pa su povremena rimska zauzimanja nekih od prostora između Rajne i Dunava znala biti kratkoga vijeka. Stoga su Rimljani na sjevernim i sjeveroistočnim rubovima europskog dijela Carstva za vladavine Domicijana (81.–96. g.) počeli graditi obrambeni sustav, koji je velikim dijelom slijedio tokove rijeka Rajne i Dunava, ali je imao i dio koji se nalazio na prostoru između tih dviju rijeka. Taj je dio bio pomno utvrđen sustavom jaraka, nasipa, palisada, promatračnica i kastela, a takav je - tehnički domišljat - sustav obrane imao dvojaku svrhu. Trebao ih je s jedne strane štititi od ratobornih i plijena gladnih plemena i istovremeno izazivati kod tih istih i strah i divljenje, dok je s druge strane takav sustav zaštite omogućavao ekonomsku stabilnost područja osiguravajući mirnodopske uvjete, poticajne za trgovinu i svekoliki gospodarski razvoj. Kako je neprijatelj bio hrabriji i domišljatiji, tako su se i Rimljani u kasnijim vremenima prilagođavali različitim napadima te obnavljali sustav koji je izdržao do otprilike sredine 3. stoljeća. Taj se obrambeni sustav od 19. stoljeća naovamo u znanosti naziva limes.

We are pleased that we are able to inform about a few archaeological excavations on the area of limes together with a number of publications presenting the material originating in the same area. In this paper we will try to analyze whether these excavations produced – or could produce in the future – certain new insights – and if they did, what kind of insights – and how these new information – if any – complement our knowledge of the Croatian part of the Danube limes.

Let us be reminded how the Romans managed to spread their authority, gradually yet perseveringly, on the areas outside Rome through wise decisions, successful military operations, but also sometimes utilizing favorable circumstances. This they initially performed on the Apennine peninsula, than the neighboring islands, but soon they conquered territories in Africa, Hispania, Gallia, and the East. Sometimes they engaged in wars for these territories, but they were able to conquer and rule them through negotiations and diplomacy, that is, peacefully. They have extended their rule over Europe as far as the Rhine and Danube, including, of course, the Eastern Adriatic area, that is, the area right across the Apennine peninsula. But certain northern tribes were sometimes irrepressible, so that occasional conquests of the territories between the Rhine and the Danube showed to be short-termed. Thus the Romans started erecting a defensive system mainly following the flows of the Rhine and the Danube – but also covering the area between these two rivers – during the reign of Domitianus (AD 81-96) on northern and north-eastern borders of the European part of the Empire. The overland part of the system was meticulously fortified with a system of ditches, banks, palisades, observation posts, and castles and its technical ingenuity had a double purpose. It should have protected them from warlike and looting tribes and in the same time it was supposed to arouse the fear and admiration of the latter, but it also enabled the economic stability of the area by securing peace, thus encouraging trade and economic development on the whole. As the enemy became more brave and resourceful, the Romans had to adopt in later periods to different attacks and to repair the system that lasted to c. mid-3rd c. AD. This defensive system was called, from the 19th c. on, the limes.

KAT. / CAT. 1 - LIMES..



Koliki je značaj limesa i koliko su za svjetsko kulturno nasljeđe važni njegovi ostaci pokazalo se 2005. g. kad je Gornjogermsko-retijski limes uvršten u svjetsku listu kulturne baštine (World Heritage List - WHL). Taj se Gornjogermsko-retijski limes proteže u dužini od 550 km i sačinjava ga 100 kastela, najmanje 900 osmatračnica i brojne manje utvrde, a u WHL klasificiran je kao sastavni dio većeg kulturnog dobra koji se u UNESCO-u vodi pod imenom *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Granice Rimskog Carstva). Na tom se popisu od 1987. godine nalazio Hadrijanov zid, a 2008. g. im je pridružen i Antoninov zid. Nema dvojbe da se i ostali dijelovi rimskog limesa koji se danas nalaze u različitim državama trebaju uključiti u WHL. S tom su svrhom pokrenuti i projekti koji okupljaju potencijalne kandidate, te je utvrđen put kojim bi se trebalo ići prilikom priprema za ulazak na WHL.¹

Podsjetimo se da je o dunavskom limesu u Hrvatskoj, ali i o limesu općenito, objavljeno više radova u hrvatskoj stručnoj i znanstvenoj periodici.² Već smo jednom prilikom konstatirali da se čitanjem objavljenih radova daje ustanoviti kako je većina saznanja o hrvatskom dijelu dunavskog limesa dobivena istraživanjem limesa u susjednim državama, proučavanjem antičkih izvora - putnih vodiča, priručnika i karata (*Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti, Notitia dignitatum, Ptolemaios geographike, Tabula Peutingeriana i Geographus Ravennas*), kao i slučajnim nalazima. Međutim, upravo su ti slučajni nalazi bili pokretačem nekoliko provedenih pregleda terena ili zaštitnih iskopavanja.³

The importance of limes and its remains for global cultural heritage was shown in 2005 when the Upper Germanian-Rhaetian limes was placed on the World (cultural) Heritage List (WHL). This Upper Germanian-Rhaetian limes stretches for some 550 km and consists of 100 castles, at least 900 observation posts and numerous lesser fortifications, and it is classed in the WHL as a part of a larger cultural property classified as the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* at the UNESCO. Since 1987 the Hadrian Wall joined the list, and the Antonine Wall joined it in 2008. There is no doubt that other parts of Roman limes in different countries should be included into the WHL. This is precisely the purpose of projects that gather potential candidates, and the procedure that should be followed when preparing for the WHL entrance is now determined.¹

Let us remember that numerous papers were published in Croatian professional and scientific periodicals on the subject of the Danube limes.² We have concluded earlier that these papers suggest that the majority of insights on Croatian part of the Danube limes were gathered through the results of the excavations on the limes in neighboring countries, discussion on literary sources – travel guides, manuals, and maps (*Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti, Notitia dignitatum, Ptolemaios geographike, Tabula Peutingeriana, and Geographus Ravennas*), as well as stray finds. Specifically stray finds were the instigators for several surveys and rescue excavations.³

Before we discuss the latest excavations pertaining to the Croatian part of the Danube limes, we should be reminded that the Croatian part of the Danube is 188 km long (137.5 km of navigable length), and this is precisely the length of our part of the limes. It was organized in this

1 O toj sam problematici, kao i o budućim zadaćama koje hrvatska arheološka struka treba odraditi za ulazak u WHL, izvijestila prije nekog vremena (Sanader, 2009b, 497 – 512).

2 Klemenc, 1960, 5 - 34; Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1968, 5 - 82; 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1969, 39 - 52; Bulat 1970a, 42 - 43; Pinterović 1971, 55 - 58; Bulat 1974, 85 - 86; Šašel 1974, 193 - 199; Bulat 1977b, 63 - 87; Bulat 1977a, 93 - 95; Pinterović 1978; Sanader 2003c, 135 - 143, 161 - 163; Sanader 2003d, 463 - 467; Perinić-Muratović 2004, 97-112; Radman-Livaja, 2004b, 113-133; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 59-75; Radman-Livaja 2005, 939-952; Sanader 2006b, 153 - 157; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 105-124; Sanader 2009b, 497 - 512; Sanader 2009c, 103 - 108.

3 Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1970, 42 - 43; Bulat 1977a, 93 - 95.

1 I have discussed this subject – as well as future tasks of Croatian archaeology for the purpose of joining the WHL – in Sanader, 2009b, 497 – 512.

2 Klemenc, 1960, 5 - 34; Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1968, 5 - 82; 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1969, 39 - 52; Bulat 1970a, 42 - 43; Pinterović 1971, 55 - 58; Bulat 1974, 85 - 86; Šašel 1974, 193 - 199; Bulat 1977b, 63 - 87; Bulat 1977a, 93 - 95; Pinterović 1978; Sanader 2003c, 135 - 143, 161 - 163; Sanader 2003d, 463 - 467; Perinić-Muratović 2004, 97-112; Radman-Livaja, 2004b, 113-133; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 59-75; Radman-Livaja 2005, 939-952; Sanader 2006b, 153 - 157; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 105-124; Sanader 2009b, 497 - 512; Sanader 2009c, 103 - 108.

3 Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1970, 42 - 43; Bulat 1977a, 93 - 95.

Prije nego se okrenemo najnovijim istraživanjima koja se tiču dunavskog limesa u Hrvatskoj, valja podsjetiti još jednom da je tok Dunava u Hrvatskoj dug 188 km (137,5 km plovnog puta) pa se po toj dužini prostire i naš dio limesa. On je na tom području bio organiziran upravo onako kako je bio organiziran i na drugim dijelovima koji se danas nalaze u Austriji, Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj, Srbiji, Bugarskoj i Rumunjskoj. To znači da su se uz rijeku (ako je to bilo moguće i ako su uvjeti bili povoljni i na drugoj obali) u određenim razmacima gradili kasteli - utvrde za manje vojničke čete, kohorte i ale. Osim toga podizane su promatračnice, a svi su ti objekti bili povezani cestom, koja je uglavnom pratila tok rijeke Dunava. Isto su se tako, ali na većoj udaljenosti gradili i legijski logori, pa ih je na Dunavu bilo raspoređeno devet: *Vindobona, Carnuntum, Brigetio, Aquincum, Singidunum, Viminacium, Novae, Durostorum i Troesmis*.

Dunavski se limes u Hrvatskoj, kako se za sada čini, sastojao od 5 kastela (*Ad Militare, Ad Novas, Teutoburgium, Cornacum i Cuccium*) te više manjih utvrda koje uglavnom nisu sa sigurnošću potvrđene: *Aureus mons*, Dragojlov Brijeg, *Albanum* (Lug ?), *Donatiana* (Vardarac ?), Kopačevo, *Ad Labores* (Nemetin ?), Sarvaš, Bijelo Brdo i Aljmaš. Ostaci rimske ceste zabilježeni su na lokalitetima Mitrovac i Grabovac te kod Nemetina gdje je vjerojatno bio i prijelaz preko Drave.⁴

Posljednjih su godina u svim krajevima Hrvatske, na veliko zadovoljstvo struke, učestala arheološka iskopavanja slijedom čega je objavljeno i znatno više radova, članaka i knjiga. Kako se poneki od njih dotiču i hrvatskog dijela dunavskog limesa valja ih, kao što smo već spomenuli, u ovom tekstu pobliže razmotriti.

Ad Militare (Batina)

Na prostoru kastela *Ad Militare* (Batina) i u njegovoj neposrednoj okolici u nekoliko je navrata vršen pregled terena, a 1970. i 1971. g. su bila poduzeta i arheološka iskopavanja te kasnije i poneka zaštitna istraživanja.⁵

4 Sanader 2003c, 135 - 143, 161 - 163.

5 Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1970a, 42 - 43; Bulat

area precisely the same as in other areas now in Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania. That means that castles were erected along the river (if it was possible, and with the right circumstances, also on the other shore) at certain intervals – fortifications holding smaller military units, cohorts and alae. Besides that, observation posts were also erected, and all these structures were connected with a road mostly following the Danube. The legionary camps were erected on the same principle, but at larger intervals; thus, there were nine of them on the Danube: *Vindobona, Carnuntum, Brigetio, Aquincum, Singidunum, Viminacium, Novae, Durostorum, and Troesmis*.

The Croatian part of the Danube limes – at the present state of research – consisted of five castles (*Ad Militare, Ad Novas, Teutoburgium, Cornacum, and Cuccium*), several smaller strongholds whose positions are not securely determined: *Aureus mons*?, Dragojlov Brijeg? *Albanum* (Lug)? *Donatiana* (Vardarac)? Kopačevo? *Ad Labores* (Nemetin)?, Sarvaš?, Bijelo Brdo? and Aljmaš? The remains of a Roman road were spotted on the sites of Mitrovac and Grabovac, and also at Nemetin, where a crossing over the Drava was probably situated.⁴

During the last few years there were numerous archaeological excavations in every part of Croatia – Croatian archaeology is certainly delighted with this fact – which will be followed with more publications, articles and books. Since some of these excavations pertain to the Croatian part of the Danube limes they should be analyzed more carefully in this paper, as we have already announced.

Ad Militare (Batina)

The perimeter of the fortress *Ad Militare* (Batina) and its immediate vicinity was surveyed on several occasions, with archaeological excavations in 1970 and 1971 and later occasional rescue excavations.⁵ Due to both archaeological excavations and certain stray finds it was possible to ascertain that the area was inhabited also in Prehistory, and not only during the existence of the Roman limes.⁶ The site is

4 Sanader 2003c, 135 - 143, 161 - 163.

5 Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat 1970a, 42 - 43; Bulat 1970b, 17 - 18; Pinterović 1971, 55 - 58; Minichreiter 1976, 37 - 40; Minichreiter 1977, 20 - 24; Bojčić 1978, 41 - 43.

6 Vinski-Gasparini 1959, 281 - 297; Pinterović 1971, 55



KAT. / CAT. 12 - LIMES..

Zahvaljujući dakle arheološkim iskopavanjima, ali i nekim slučajnim nalazima, pouzdano se moglo ustvrditi da se na tom prostoru živjelo ne samo u vremenu funkcioniranja rimskog limesa nego još od prapovijesti.⁶ Lokalitet se, naime, ističe izvanrednim strateškim položajem te obiljem vode i plodne zemlje. Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Gradac potvrdila su tragove nekadašnjeg rimskog kastela i civilnog naselja. Rezultati tih istraživanja, međutim, vrlo su škrto objavljeni te danas ne posjedujemo dokumentaciju o ostacima rimske arhitekture. Ipak recentna potraga za dokumentacijom u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Osijeku urodila je nalazom nekoliko fotografija iz nekadašnjih istraživanja.⁷ Osim toga nedavno je, točnije 2008. g., na području između Batine i Zmajevca poduzet opsežan arheološki pregled terena. Tom je prilikom, između ostaloga, potvrđeno, da još uvijek postoje tragovi rimskog civilnog naselja na lokalitetu Gradac, kao i tragovi rimske utvrde na njegovom sjeveroistočnom dijelu, o čemu su govorila i ranija istraživanja.⁸ Podsjetimo da je to područje danas naseljeno i agrikulturno iskorišteno što s jedne strane onemogućava arheološka iskopavanja, a s druge strane takvo stanje ugrožava arheološke ostatke kojih još uvijek ima. Stoga se nameće zaključak da je krajnje vrijeme da se usprkos nepovoljnoj situaciji nađe načina, kako bi se u kohabitaciji s aktualnom situacijom i životnim potrebama toga kraja, istražilo pa potom zaštitilo ostatke rimskog kastela i civilnih objekata na tom prostoru.

Ad Novas (Zmajevac)

Na visoravni iznad sela Zmajevac, kako navodi arheološka literatura, nalazio se kasteo *Ad Novas* čiji arhitektonski ostaci više nisu vidljivi.⁹ U neposrednoj blizini na položaju Varhegy – Mocsolas je 1999. g.

1970b, 17 - 18; Pinterović 1971, 55 - 58; Minichreiter 1976, 37 - 40; Minichreiter 1977, 20 - 24; Bojčić 1978, 41 - 43.

6 Vinski-Gasparini 1959, 281 - 297; Pinterović 1971, 55 - 58; Minichreiter 1976, 37 - 40; Minichreiter 1977, 20 - 24; Bojčić, Gradac 1978, 41 - 43.

7 Zahvaljujem I. Vukmaniću na ustupljenim fotografijama.

8 Bojčić et alii 2009, 125 - 129.

9 Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat, 1969, 39 - 52; Šimić 1998, 55.

exceptional for its extraordinary strategic position and the plentitude of water and fertile soil. Archaeological excavations on the site of Gradac have revealed certain traces of a Roman fortress and a civil settlement. The results of these excavations, however, were published rather modestly and we still do not possess any documentation on the remains of Roman architecture. Nevertheless, a recent search for this documentation in the Conservation department in Osijek has made available several photographs of earlier excavations.⁷ Besides, a thorough archaeological survey of the area between Batina and Zmajevac was conducted recently (in 2008). During the survey, among other things, the existence of traces of Roman civil settlement on the Gradac site was affirmed, as well as the remains of Roman fortifications on its north-eastern part, precisely as was known from earlier research.⁸ Let us be reminded that this area is today settled and used for agriculture, which, on the one hand, prevents archaeological excavations, and on the other endangers the still existing archaeological remains. Thus a conclusion is reached that the moment has come when we must find a way, regardless of the unfavorable situation, to excavate and protect – in cohabitation with present situation and needs of the area – the remains of the Roman fortress and civilian structures on this site.

Ad Novas (Zmajevac)

On a plateau above the village of Zmajevac, according to archaeological references, there was a fortress *Ad Novas*, but its architectural remains are no longer visible.⁹ In the immediate vicinity, on the Varhegy – Mocsolas locality, the excavation of a Roman necropolis was initiated in 1999. According to the latest preliminary report of 2006 more than 150 Late Antiquity graves were found.¹⁰ Numerous goods were found inside the graves, such as glass and ceramic vessels, metal, bone, and glass paste jewelry, iron axes, and coinage. Although the excavations were carried

– 58; Minichreiter 1976, 37 - 40; Minichreiter 1977, 20 - 24; Bojčić, Gradac 1978, 41 - 43.

7 I would like to thank I. Vukmanić for allowing me to use these photographs.

8 Bojčić et alii 2009, 125 - 129.

9 Pinterović 1969, 53 - 69; Bulat, 1969, 39 - 52; Šimić 1998, 55.

10 Filipović 2006, 30 - 31.

započelo istraživanje rimske nekropole. Po posljednjem preliminarnom izvještaju iz 2006. g. otkriveno je više od 150 kasnoantičkih grobova.¹⁰ U grobovima su bili brojni prilozi kao što su staklene i keramičke posude, nakit od metala, kosti i staklene paste, željezne sjekire te novac. Premda su se, sudeći po izvješćima, arheološka iskopavanja obavila po svim suvremenim arheološkim standardima, još uvijek nažalost, - a prošlo je više od 10 godina od početka istraživanja - nalazi nisu analizirani niti predstavljeni javnosti. Ono malo podataka o lokalitetu i grobnim priložima koje se dalo sakupiti iz tiska i s interneta ukazuju na izvanredno plodno nalazište. Stoga nam se čini da bi njegova prezentacija u javnosti mogla jamačno obogatiti volumen naše arheološke baštine, ali bi mogla i donijeti nove spoznaje i to ne samo o etničkom sastavu tih kasnoantičkih stanovnika Zmajevca nego i načinu njihovog života – društvenim i socijalnim prilikama, gospodarskoj razini i duhovnom životu, pa i njihovim vezama s okolnim područjima u Carstvu.

Aureus Mons

Vrlo je zanimljiv slučaj s lokalitetom *Aureus Mons* (*It. Ant. 243; ND occ. 32, 92, 45*); o njemu se u struci uvelike raspravljalo.¹¹ Postavljalo se, naime, pitanje je li *Aureus Mons* antičko ime za Baranjsku planinu ili je riječ o nekoj vojnoj postaji. Naime, iako se u izvoru *Notitia dignitatum*, 32, 92, 45 govori o *praefectus legionis sextae Herculeae cohortis quintae partis superioris Aurea Monte*, taj podatak do danas nije bilo moguće arheološki potvrditi. Međutim, pojavile su se teze utemeljene na zračnoj snimci Popovca, preciznije: lokaliteta *Tuneli*, kao i na jednoj karti iz 19. st. (Državni arhiv Osijek inv. br. HR-DAOS-470/C/27/34), da bi se ovdje ipak moglo raditi o jednoj od tri, u tom području, moguće, vojne postaje: *Quadriburgum*, *Antiana* ili *Aureus Mons*.¹²

10 Filipović 2006, 30 – 31.

11 Klemenc, 1960, 5 - 34; Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1968, 5 - 82; 1969, 53 – 69; Bulat 1969, 39 – 52; Sanader 2003c, 135 – 143, 161 – 163.

12 Ilkić 2008b, 199 – 208.

out, judging by the reports, in accordance with modern archaeological standards, the finds, unfortunately, more than ten years after the start of the excavations, were not analyzed and presented to the public. The meager information on the site and grave goods released in the press and placed online suggest a very rich site. Thus it would seem that the public presentation of the site would certainly enrich the volume of our archaeological heritage, but also provide some new insights, not only on the ethnic structure of these Late Antiquity inhabitants of Zmajevac, but also on their way of life – social and economical circumstances, spiritual life, and their connections with neighboring areas of the Empire.

Aureus Mons

The site of *Aureus Mons* is very interesting (*It. Ant. 243; ND occ. 32, 92, 45*); it was often discussed.¹¹ The problem is whether the name of *Aureus Mons* refers to the Baranja Mountain or a military post. Although the *Notitia dignitatum*, 32, 92, 45 speaks of a *praefectus legionis sextae Herculeae cohortis quintae partis superioris Aurea Monte*, it was not possible to verify this information archaeologically. But recently a theory appeared, based on aerial photography of Popovac, more precisely, the site of *Tuneli*, as well as a 19th-c. map (State archives in Osijek, inv. no. HR-DAOS-470/C/27/34), of this being one of three possible military outposts in the area: *Quadriburgum*, *Antiana* or *Aureus Mons*.¹²

Cornacum (Sotin)

A field survey of the site of Sotin, Roman fortress and a civil settlement, north of the modern Vukovar – Ilok road was conducted in 2008, during which a high population density from the Prehistory to mediaeval period was noticed.¹³

11 Klemenc, 1960, 5 - 34; Pinterović 1961, 44; Pinterović 1968, 5 - 82; 1969, 53 – 69; Bulat 1969, 39 – 52; Sanader 2003c, 135 – 143, 161 – 163.

12 Ilkić 2008b, 199 – 208.

13 Dizdar et alii 2009, 122 – 12.



VOTIVNA PLOČICA / VOTIVE PLAQUE (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004B)

Cornacum (Sotin)

Tijekom 2008. g. na području sjeverno od današnje ceste Vukovar – Ilok izvršen je terenski pregled lokaliteta Sotin, nekadašnjeg rimskog kastela i civilnog naselja, pri čemu je uočena gusta naseljenost od prapovijesnog do srednjovjekovnog razdoblja.¹³

Osim toga objavljeno je više članaka u kojima su predstavljeni pojedinačni nalazi iz rimskog razdoblja, kad su u Sotinu (*Cornacum*) boravile vojne jedinice i kad je funkcioniralo civilno naselje u blizini kastela. Ovi nalazi potječu iz jedne privatne zbirke te ih se, nažalost, ne može bez rizika smjestiti u pravi arheološki kontekst.¹⁴

Teutoburgium (Dalj)

U naselju Dalj je od 1. st. bio smješten rimski kastel *Teutoburgium*.¹⁵ Budući da je upravo na mjestu toga kastela u modernim vremenima izgrađena ciglana, ona je gotovo sasvim uništila tragove nekadašnje vojne utvrde, koju je dodatno podlokavala i rijeka Dunav. Izvjesne su se nade u pogledu nekih novih saznanja o tom lokalitetu polagale u hvalevrijednu objavu dnevnika Josipa Brunšmida, s opisima njegovih putovanja po Slavoniji i Baranji. Međutim, kako se čini, ni u vrijeme kad je on dolazio u Dalj – dakle krajem 19. st. -, tamo više nije bilo ostataka kastela, jer je već na sjevernom dijelu naselja bila podignuta ciglana. Stoga je i ovaj veliki hrvatski arheolog nažalost mogao pisati isključivo o pokretnim nalazima (različitih vremenskih epoha) iz Dalja i njihovim vlasnicima.¹⁶

13 Dizdar et alii 2009, 122 – 12.

14 Ilkić 2005, 19 - 54; Ilkić 2006, 57 - 80; Ilkić 2008a, 137 - 144; Ilkić 2009b, 143 - 164; Ilkić 2009c, 439 - 443.

15 Sanader 2003b, 141; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 59-75; Radman-Livaja 2005, 939-952.

16 Balen Letunić – Radman-Livaja 2008, 417 – 438.

In addition to the survey, a number of papers were published presenting individual Roman-period finds, when military units were stationed in Sotin (*Cornacum*) and when a civil settlement in the vicinity of the fortress existed. These finds belong to a private collection and therefore, unfortunately, cannot be placed without risk in a real archaeological context.¹⁴

Teutoburgium (Dalj)

The Roman fortress of *Teutoburgium* was situated in Dalj from the 1st c. onwards.¹⁵ Since a brickyard was built in modern times precisely on the site of the fortress, it almost completely destroyed the remains of the military fort, additionally eroded by the Danube. The recommendable publication of Josip Brunšmid's diaries, with his descriptions of travels through Slavonija and Baranja, had given a certain hope for some new insights concerning the site. However, it seems that there were no remains of the fortress already in the time he visited Dalj, in late 19th century, because the brickyard was erected in the northern part of the settlement. Thus even this great Croatian archaeologist could only discuss movable finds (of different epochs) from Dalj and their owners.¹⁶

Cuccium (Ilok)

The Roman fortress of *Cuccium* was located on the area covered by the modern city of Ilok, on the position of the Upper town. The fortress was supposedly built in the late 1st or early 2nd c., and the site is characterized by an extraordinary strategic position. However, until recently no systematic archaeological excavations were conducted in Ilok, and the finds were gathered through rescue excavations or pure chance. But in the 2006 archaeological excavations, conducted as a part of the renovation of the Odescalchi Castle, among other things, Early Roman

14 Ilkić 2005, 19 - 54; Ilkić 2006, 57 - 80; Ilkić 2008a, 137 - 144; Ilkić 2009b, 143 - 164; Ilkić 2009c, 439 - 443.

15 Sanader 2003b, 141; Radman-Livaja 2004c, 59-75; Radman-Livaja 2005, 939-952;

16 Balen Letunić – Radman Livaja 2008, 417 – 438.

Cuccium (Ilok)

Nekadašnji rimski kastel *Cuccium* bio je smješten na mjestu današnjega grada Iloka, na lokalitetu Gornji grad. Pretpostavljeno vrijeme gradnje kastela je kraj 1., odnosno početak 2. st., a sam lokalitet karakterizira izvanredan strateški položaj. U Iloku, međutim, sve do nedavno nikad nisu poduzimana sustavna arheološka istraživanja, tako da se do nalaza dolazilo zaštitnim iskopavanjima ili pukim slučajem. Ipak zahvaljujući arheološkim istraživanjima iz 2006. g. koja su provedena u sklopu obnove dvorca Odescalchi, došlo je, između ostaloga, do vrlo zanimljivih otkrića ranorimskih paljevinskih grobova s grobnim prilozima. Objavljena analiza jednog dijela grobnih priloga upućuje na zaključak da u tom ranom razdoblju romaniziranja starosjedilačko stanovništvo, iako prihvaća nove, rimske, ipak zadržava i autohtone grobne rituale.¹⁷

Zaključno: Ured za limes!

Iako ni posljednjih godina nije započeto sustavno istraživanje limesa, rezultati koji su dobiveni zaštitnim istraživanjima, pregledima terena i objavom različitih pokretnih nalaza, ukazuju da se za vrijeme funkcioniranja rimskog dunavskog limesa (a na današnjem hrvatskom teritoriju) odvijao intenzivan život, baš kao i na drugim lokalitetima na granicama Carstva. Stoga, da bi postavljeni cilj ulaska u WHL hrvatskog dijela dunavskog limesa bio što prije postignut nužna su sustavna istraživanja do kojih će, kako se nadamo, uskoro i doći. Naš optimizam potkrepljuje činjenica da je u Osijeku 2005. g. osnovan Arheološki muzej koji je, inter alia, postao i referentnom točkom za proučavanje dunavskog limesa u Hrvatskoj. Arheolog Igor Vukmanić se, u suradnji s kolegama iz svog muzeja, drugih arheoloških ustanova te Ministarstva kulture, poduhvatio zadaće sakupljanja relevantnih podataka o limesu u svrhu priprema za uključivanje na UNESCO-ovu listu (*Ured za limes*).¹⁸

17 Dizdar et alii 2003, 57 – 77; Tomičić et alii 2007, 7 – 16.

18 Nedavno je postala dostupnom i internetska stranica sa svim relevantnim podacima o dunavskom limesu u Hrvatskoj: <http://www.dunavskilimes-amo.com.hr/unesco.html>

cremation graves with grave goods were found. The analysis of a part of these grave goods points to the conclusion that the autochthon population in this early period of Romanization, although accepting new, Roman, also kept its native grave rituals.¹⁷

Conclusion: A Limes Office!

Although a systematic limes research is still lacking, the results obtained through rescue excavations, surveys and publishing of various movable finds, suggest that an intensive settlement activity functioned during the existence of the Roman Danube limes on the modern Croatian territory, similar to other sites on the frontiers of the Empire. Thus, in order that the planned goal – the joining of the WHL of the Croatian part of the Danube limes – might be accomplished as soon as possible, it is necessary to conduct systematic excavations that are, we hope, soon to follow. Our optimism is supported by the fact that the Archaeological museum was founded in Osijek in 2005, which, inter alia, became a point of reference for the Danube limes research in Croatia. The archaeologist Igor Vukmanić, in cooperation with his Museum colleagues, as well as colleagues from other archaeological institutions and Ministry of Culture, took to himself the task of gathering relevant data on the limes for the inclusion on the UNESCO list (*The Limes Office*).¹⁸

17 Dizdar et alii 2003, 57 – 77; Tomičić et alii 2007, 7 – 16.

18 A web-page with all the relevant data on the Danube limes in Croatia became available recently: <http://www.dunavskilimes-amo.com.hr/unesco.html>.



KATALOG NALAZA

THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

O PROBLEMIMA TOPOGRAFIJE HRVATSKOG DIJELA DUNAVSKOG LIMESA
NA TEMELJU NOVIJIH ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA
ON THE PROBLEM OF TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CROATIAN PART OF THE DANUBE LIMES
BASED ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

1. Fragment rimske paradne konjičke kacige

Sotin, 1908., AMZ-16908

željezo

visina: 12 cm, širina: 13,3 cm

2.-3. st.

Maska s prikazom mladog muškog lica izrađena je od željeza, a debljina joj iznosi od 1 mm do 2 mm. Ova je maska zapravo vizir konjaničke paradne kacige i na gornjem je rubu, iznad nosa, još vidljiv čavlič, koji se nekad umetao u odgovarajući otvor, uz pomoć kojega je vizir bio pričvršćen za kacigu. Nakon nedavno provedenog postupka konzervacije, potvrđeno je Hoffillerovo mišljenje da se maska sastoji od dva spojena sloja, vanjskog i unutrašnjeg, a otkriveni su i tragovi organske materije, danas potpuno mineralizirane, koja je prekrivala unutrašnju stranu maske. Nesumnjivo je riječ o koži koja je ublažavala kontakt maske s licem.

Sotinska maska datirana je u dosta širok vremenski raspon, u 2. ili 3. st. Očito je bila dio tzv. trodijelne kacige s maskom. Te kacige, definirane kao tip III u tipologiji kaciga s maskom M. Kohlert, sastavljene su od stražnjeg dijela koje prekriva lubanju i čelo, prednjeg dijela koji pokriva lice izuzevši oči, nosa i usta, pokrivenih trećim dijelom kacige, vizirrom. Taj se tip datira od 1. do 3. st. i rasprostranjen je po cijelom carstvu. Sotinski vizir je, zbog širokih očnih otvora, doveden u vezu s jedinom poznatom kacigom tipa IV, pronađenoj u Kostolcu. Premda ta kaciga konstrukcijski nije bliska tipu III, zbog karakterističnih im širokih očnih otvora i činjenice da potječu s istog geografskog prostora, mogle bi biti istovremene. Kostolačka kaciga datira se, ovisno o autorima, od 1. st pr. Kr. do 2. st. pos. Kr., iako je kasnija datacija vjerojatnija. Budući da maske 1. st. u načelu imaju šire očne otvore i usta od kasnijih primjeraka, sotinski vizir bi se mogao datirati bliže ranijem razdoblju. Zato datacija u 2. st. zvuči možda nešto prihvatljivije od 3. st.

Objava: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 218
Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 107-135; Kohlert 1978, 22; Waurick 1988, 345, 361-363; Feugère 1993, 187-195; Feugère 1994, 123-140; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 58-59

I. R.-L.

1. Fragment of a Roman equestrian parade helmet

Sotin, 1908, AMZ-16908

iron

height: 12 cm, width: 13.3 cm

2nd-3rd cent.

Iron mask with a depiction of a young male face, between 1-2 mm thick. This mask is in fact a visor of an equestrian helmet with a still visible rivet on the upper edge above the nose. The rivet was once inserted into the corresponding aperture, fixing the visor to the helmet. The recent conservation treatment proved Hoffiller right in believing that the mask consisted of two layers—exterior and interior one—joined together. The treatment also revealed traces of organic matter, now completely mineralized, which once covered the interior of the mask – undoubtedly leather that softened the pressure of the mask on the face.

The mask from Sotin has been dated to a relatively wide time span, covering the 2nd or the 3rd cent. It was obviously a part of a three-part helmet with a mask. These helmets, defined as type III in M. Kohlert's typology of helmets with masks, consisted of a back part covering the skull and the forehead, the front part covering the face except the eyes, nose and mouth, covered by the third part of the helmet – the visor. This type is dated from the 1st to the 3rd cent. and it was spread throughout the Empire. Due to the wide eye slots, the visor from Sotin was linked with the only known helmet of type IV, discovered in Kostolac. Even though the construction of that helmet is not closely related to type III, due to the characteristic wide eye slots and the fact that they come from the same geographic region, they could be simultaneous. Depending on the author, the Kostolac helmet is dated from the 1st cent. B.C. until the 2nd cent. A.D., with the later date being more probable. Since the eye and mouth slots on the masks from the 1st cent. are generally wider than those on later specimens, the visor from Sotin more likely dates from an earlier period. Therefore, the 2nd cent. date is perhaps somewhat more acceptable than the 3rd cent.

Publication: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 218

Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 107-135; Kohlert 1978, 22; Waurick 1988, 345, 361-363; Feugère 1993, 187-195; Feugère 1994, 123-140; Radman-Livaja 2001b, 58-59

I. R.-L.



2. Fragment of an equestrian parade helmet (mask)

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5247

iron

length: 14.4 cm, width: 13.4 cm

2nd-3rd cent.

By its typological features this mask is closely related to the specimen found in Sotin, and it can presumably be dated to the same period.

Publication: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 219

Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 107-135;

Kohlert 1978, 22; Waurick 1988, 345, 361-

363; Feugère 1993, 187-195; Feugère 1994,

123-140

S. F.

3. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 7620

iron

ca. 11 x 11 cm

4th cent.

Fragment of a half-dome of a late Roman helmet of the Intercisa type. The ear aperture bordered by a series of perforations for fixing the lining is still clearly visible. It is possible that this fragment—together with two fragments bearing the same inventory number—belonged to the same helmet.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;

Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-

Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

4. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 7620

iron

ca. 9,5 x 8 cm

4th cent.

Iron fragment probably attributable to a late Roman helmet of the Intercisa type.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;

Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-

Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.



2. Fragment paradne konjaničke kacige (maska)

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5247

željezo

dužina: 14,4 cm; širina: 13,4

2.-3. st.

Po svojim tipološkim odlikama ova je maska vrlo slična primjerku pronađenom u Sotinu te se vjerojatno može i datirati istovremeno.

Objava: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 219

Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 107-135;

Kohlert 1978, 22; Waurick 1988, 345,

361-363; Feugère 1993, 187-195;

Feugère 1994, 123-140

S. F.

3. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 7620

željezo

cca 11 x 11 cm

4. st.

Fragment polukalote kasnoantičke kacige tipa Intercisa. Ušni otvor obrubljen rupicama za prošivanje podstave je još dobro vidljiv. Moguće je da je ovaj fragment zajedno s 2 ulomka koji nose isti inventarni broj pripadao istoj kacigi.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;

Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Rad-

man-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

4. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 7620

željezo

cca 9,5 x 8 cm

4. st.

Željezni fragment koji se vjerojatno može odrediti kao dio kasnoantičke kacige tipa Intercisa.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;

Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Rad-

man-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

5. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 7620
željezo
cca 10 x 7,5 cm
4. st.

Vjerojatno je riječ o fragmentu kasnoantičke kacige tipa Intercisa.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

6. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 18 x 15,5 cm
4. st.

Većim dijelom očuvana polukalota kacige tipa Intercisa obrubljena rupicama za prišivanje podstave. Jasno je vidljiv is-pupčeni ukras u obliku dvije antitetički postavljene životinjske glave razjapljenih usta.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

7. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 19,5 x 13 cm
4. st.

Fragment polukalote kacige tipa Intercisa obrubljene rupicama za prišivanje podstave i jasno vidljivim ušnim otvorom.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

5. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 7620
iron
ca. 10 x 7.5 cm
4th cent.

Probably a fragment of a late Roman Intercisa type helmet.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

6. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 18 x 15.5 cm
4th cent.

Largely preserved half-dome of an Intercisa type helmet bordered with perforations for fixing the lining. Embossed ornament in the shape of two antithetical animal heads with mouths agape.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

7. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 19.5 x 13 cm
4th cent.

Fragment of a half-dome of an Intercisa type helmet bordered with holes for fixing the lining and a clearly visible ear slot.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.



8. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 17 x 16 cm
4th cent.

Fragment of a half-dome of a late Roman composite helmet, probably of the Intercisa type.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

9. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 18 x 13 cm
4th cent.

Fragment of a half-dome of a late Roman composite helmet. It probably formed part of a somewhat more complex two-piece composite helmet generally associated with horsemen. A small fragment of a cheek-piece is glued to the ear slot by the corrosion.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

10. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 19 x 13 cm
4th cent.

Poorly preserved fragment of a half-dome of a late Roman composite helmet. In this case also we are probably dealing with the remains of a two-piece composite equestrian helmet. A fragment of a cheek-piece has remained pasted to the eye slot.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

8. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 17 x 16 cm
4. st.

Fragment polukalote kasnoantičke kompozitne kacige, vjerojatno tipa Intercisa.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216;
Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

9. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 18 cm x 13 cm
4. st.

Fragment polukalote kasnoantičke kompozitne kacige. Čini se da bi moglo biti riječ o dijelu nešto složenije dvodijelne kompozitne kacige kakve se pripisuju konjanicima. Manji fragment obrazine je korozijom slijepljen za ušni otvor.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216;
Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

10. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 19 x 13 cm
4. st.

Loše očuvani fragment polukalote kasnoantičke kompozitne kacige. I u ovom slučaju se možda radi o ostatku dvodijelne kompozitne konjaničke kacige. Fragment obrazine ostao je pričvršćen za ušni otvor.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216;
Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

11. Fragment kacige

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5246
željezo
cca 11 x 7 cm

4. st.

Loše očuvani fragment kacige. Moguće je da je pripadao istoj kacigi kao i prethodno spomenuti veći fragment.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

12. Zaštitni oklop za konjsku glavu

Dalj, 1914., AMZ-9231
željezo, bakrena slitina, srebro, zlato
visina: 18,5, širina: 29 cm
1. st.

Nakon dugotrajnih pregovora, Arheološki muzej je nakon 1. svjetskog rata uspio otkupiti jedan komad sportsko-paradne konjske opreme. Taj je oklop za konjsku glavu otkriven u Dalju, vjerojatno 1914. godine. Sastoji se od tri dijela, lijevog i desnog štitnika za oči te središnje ploče, koja je pokrivala čelo i nos životinje. Dijelovi su međusobno bili spojeni uz pomoć 4 šarnira koji se nisu sačuvali, no još uvijek su vidljiva njihova ležišta. Štitnici za oči, iako jednake širine, nisu sasvim simetrični jer je lijevi nešto manji (cca 2 cm) od desnoga. Oklop je napravljen od dva sloja metala, odnosno od željeznog lima s unutrašnje strane, prekrivenog brončanim limom. Oklop je bio podstavljen kožom, i još su vidljive zakovice kojima je kožna navlaka bila pričvršćena za metal. Oklop je bogato ukrašen: posebno je i pozlaćen, a ornamentacija u vidu vegetabilnih ukrasa izvedena je taširanjem. Na središnjem je dijelu umetan i crni emajl, a rešetke na očnim štitnicima izvedene su u obliku stiliziranog lišća, što je uobičajen oblik ukrašavanja očnih štitnika u 1. st. Po svojim karakteristikama ovaj oklop datira u 1. st, budući da se trodijelni konjski oklopi za glavu kroz 2. i 3. st mahom ukrašavaju reljefnim ornamentima.

Objava: Hoffiller 1951, 93-99.

Lit.: Garbsch 1978, 13-14, 86-87; Radman-Livaja 2005, 941-953

I. R.-L.

11. Fragment of a helmet

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5246
iron
ca. 11 x 7 cm
4th cent.

Poorly preserved fragment of a helmet. It is possible that it belonged to the same helmet as the previously mentioned larger fragment.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1994, 141-150; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 210-216; Radman-Livaja 2007b, 109-110

S. F.

12. Horse head armour

Dalj, 1914, AMZ-9231
iron, copper alloy, silver, gold
height: 18.5, width: 29 cm
1st cent.

After lengthy negotiations, after World War I the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb eventually succeeded in purchasing a piece from a sports-parade horse harness. This horse head armour was discovered in Dalj, probably in 1914. It consists of three parts, the left and right eye guards and the central plaque that covered the forehead and the nose of the animal. The pieces were joined together with 4 hinges that have not been preserved, but their mounts are still visible. The eye guards—although of the equal width—are not entirely symmetrical, as the left one is somewhat smaller (ca. 2 cm) than the right one. The armour was made of two layers of metal—sheet-iron core covered with sheet bronze. The armour was lined with leather, and the rivets fixing the leather to the metal are still visible. The armour is richly decorated: it is silvered and gilded, while the vegetable ornaments were inlaid. Black enamel was inlaid in the central part, while the grids on the eye-guards were executed in the form of stylized leaves, which is a common type of eye-guard decoration in the 1st cent. This armour is dated by its features to the 1st cent., considering that the three-piece horse head armours during the 2nd and 3rd cent. are by and large decorated with relief ornaments.

Publication: Hoffiller 1951, 93-99.

Lit.: Garbsch 1978, 13-14, 86-87; Radman-Livaja 2005, 941-953

I. R.-L.



13. Fragments of a scale armour

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 2680
lengt: 5.5, width: 1.7 cm
2nd-3rd cent.

Fragment of a scale armour with elongated scales, possibly a piece of the so-called lamellar armour.

Unpublished

Lit.: Robinson 1975, 162-163; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 80

S. F.

14. Sword

Osijek, MSO, RST 8
iron

length: 53 cm; length of tang: 11.94 cm;
width of blade: 2.88 cm

2nd half of the 1st cent. – early 2nd cent.

Even though the tip is broken, the size—that is the length and width of the blade—make it plausible that this is a Pompeii-type sword.

Unpublished

Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Feugère 1993, 99, 146; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 79-80; Miks 2007, 65-71

S. F.

15. Mace head

Vinkovci (Korzo), 2008, GMV, PN-115,
inv. A2219

iron

length: 9.26 cm; width: 4.48 cm; diameter
of the shaft-hole: 2.2 cm

3rd quarter of the 4th cent.

Forged iron mace head with a shaft hole, quite well preserved in spite of the few damaged spikes. The head was forged out of a single piece of iron. It is elongated, with 8 short spikes, unevenly arranged in three rows. The hole by which the head was attached to a wooden shaft is at the base of the mace head. The mace was found during a salvage excavations in Vinkovci, in the territory of ancient Cibale, in a layer dated to the second half of the 4th cent.

Even though the use of mace heads is reported in at least one source from antiquity (*Arrianus, Ars tactica, 4.9*), such finds are extremely rare, and this piece from Vinkovci—so it appears—presently stands out as the single known find of that type from the European part of the Roman Empire.

Unpublished

Lit.: James 2004, 188-90

H. V.

13. Dijelovi ljuskastog oklopa

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 2680
dužina: 5,5 cm; širina: 1,7 cm
2.-3. st.

Fragment ljuskastog oklopa s izduženim ljuskama, moguće je riječ o tzv. lamelarnom oklopu.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Robinson 1975, 162-163; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 80

S. F.

14. Mač

Osijek, MSO, RST 8
željezo

dužina: 53 cm; dužina trna: 11,94 cm;
širina sječiva: 2,88 cm

druga pol. 1. st – rano 2. st.

Iako mu je vrh odlomljen, s obzirom na dimenzije, odnosno dužinu i širinu sječiva, čini se da je riječ o gladiju tipa Pompeji.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Feugère 1993, 99, 146; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 79-80; Miks 2007, 65-71

S. F.

15. Buzdovan

Vinkovci (Korzo), 2008.,
GMV, PN-115, inv. A2219

željezo

dužina: 9,26 cm; širina: 4,48 cm; promjer
otvora: 2,2 cm

druga pol. 4. st.

Željezni kovani buzdovan s rupom za nasad, dosta dobro očuvan iako su mu neki šiljci oštećeni.

Glava je iskovana iz jednog komada željeza, izduženog je oblika s 8 nasumično raspoređenih kratkih šiljaka u tri reda. Na donjem dijelu glave je široki otvor za nasadivanje na drvenu dršku.

Buzdovan je pronađen tijekom zaštitnih istraživanja u Vinkovcima, na prostoru antičkih Cibala u sloju koji je datiran u drugu polovinu 4. st.

Iako se uporaba buzdovana spominje u barem jednom antičkom izvoru (*Arrianus, Ars tactica, 4.9*), takvi su nalazi iznimno rijetki, pa bi ovaj primjerak iz Vinkovaca bio, čini se, zasad jedini poznat nalaz te vrste iz europskog dijela Rimskog Carstva.

Neobjavljen

Lit.: James 2004, 188-90

H. V.

16. Koplje

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 840
 željezo
 dužina: 31,7 cm; širina lista: 5,35 cm;
 dužina tuljca: 10,1 cm ; pr. otvora: 1,9
 cm
 1.-5. st.
 Listoliko izduženo koplje sa slabo nagla-
 šenim središnjim rebrom.
 Neobjavljeno
 Lit.: Feugère 1993, 169-171; Radman-
 Livaja 2004a, 27-29; Bishop&Coulston
 2006, 76-78, 130, 151-152, 200

S. F.

17. Vrh sulice

Dalj, AMZ, bez inv. broja
 bakrena slitina
 dužina 6,2 cm; promjer tuljca 0,9cm
 druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
 Laka konjanička sulica s piramidalnim
 vrhom i nasadom na tuljac.
 Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 1.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

18. Petica sulice

Dalj, AMZ, bez inv. broja
 bakrena slitina
 dužina 4,3cm; promjer tuljca: 0,9cm
 druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
 Petica lake konjaničke sulice.
 Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 2.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

16. Spear head

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 840
 iron
 length: 31.7 cm; width of leaf: 5.35 cm;
 length of socket: 10.1 cm; diameter of hole:
 1.9 cm
 1st-5th cent.
 Leaf-shaped elongated spear head with a
 slightly pronounced mid-rib.
 Unpublished
 Lit.: Feugère 1993, 169-171; Radman-
 Livaja 2004a, 27-29; Bishop&Coulston
 2006, 76-78, 130, 151-152, 200

S. F.

17. Javelin head

Dalj, AMZ, without an inv. number
 copper alloy
 length: 6.2 cm; diameter of socket: 0.9 cm
 2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
 cent.
 Light equestrian bodkin-shaped socketed
 javelin.
 Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 1.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

18. Javelin butt

Dalj, AMZ, without an inv. number
 copper alloy
 length: 4.3 cm; diameter of socket: 0.9 cm
 2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
 cent.
 A butt of a light equestrian javelin.
 Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 2.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

**19. Javelin head**

Dalj, AMZ, without an inv. number
 copper alloy
 length: 8.1 cm; diameter of socket: 1.1 cm
 2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
 cent.
 Light equestrian socketed javelin with a
 hexagonal head.
 Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 3.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

20. Javelin head

Dalj, AMZ, 8515
 copper alloy
 length: 7.3 cm; diameter of socket: 0.8 cm
 2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
 cent.
 Light equestrian socketed javelin with an
 octogonal head.
 Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 4.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

21. Javelin head

Dalj, AMZ, 8515
 copper alloy
 length: 6.2 cm; diameter of socket: 0.9 cm
 2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
 cent.
 Light equestrian socketed javelin with an
 octogonal head of irregular shape.
 Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 5.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

19. Vrh sulice

Dalj, AMZ, bez. inv. broja
 bakrena slitina
 dužina 8,1cm; promjer tuljca 1,1 cm
 druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
 Laka konjanička sulica s heksagonalnim
 vrhom i nasadom na tuljac.
 Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 3.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

20. Vrh sulice

Dalj, AMZ, inv. 8515
 bakrena slitina
 dužina 7,3 cm; promjer tuljca 0,8 cm
 druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
 Laka konjanička sulica s oktogonalnim
 vrhom i nasadom na tuljac.
 Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 4.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

21. Vrh sulice

Borovo-Gradac, AMZ, inv. 9517
 bakrena slitina
 dužina 6,2 cm; promjer tuljca 0,9 cm
 druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
 Laka konjanička sulica s oktogonalnim
 vrhom nepravilnog oblika i nasadom na
 tuljac.
 Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
 T. 1, 5.
 Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
 Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

22. Petica sulice

Dalj, AMZ, bez inv. broja
bakrena slitina
dužina 5,6 cm; promjer tuljca 1,2 cm
druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Oštećena petica lake konjaničke sulice.
Objava: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
T. 1, 6.
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

23. Vrh sulice

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 3328
bakrena slitina
dužina: 8 cm; promjer tuljca: 1,3 cm
druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Heksagonalni vrh konjaničke sulice s na-
sedom na tuljac.
Neobjavljen
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

24. Petica sulice

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 3328b
bakrena slitina
dužina: 4,25 cm; promjer tuljca: 1,17
cm
druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Petica konjaničke sulice.
Neobjavljena
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

20. Javelin butt

Dalj, AMZ, without an inv. number
copper alloy
length: 5.6 cm; diameter of socket: 1.2 cm
2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
cent.
Damaged butt of a light equestrian javelin.
Publication: Radman-Livaja 2004c, 62, 72,
T. 1, 6.
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2005, 941-942

I. R. L.

23. Javelin head

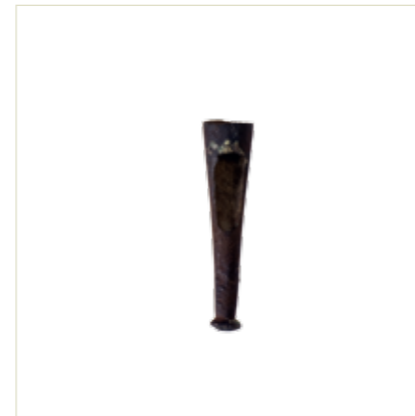
Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 3328
copper alloy
length: 8 cm; diameter of socket: 1.3 cm
2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
cent.
Hexagonal head of an equestrian socketed
helmet.
Unpublished
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

24. Javelin butt

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 3328b
copper alloy
length: 4.25 cm; diameter of socket: 1.17
cm
2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
cent.
Butt of an equestrian javelin.
Unpublished
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

**25. Javelin head**

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 2584
copper alloy
length: 6.67 cm; diameter of socket: 1.15
cm
2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
cent.
Hexagonal head of an equestrian socketed
helmet.
Unpublished
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

26. Javelin butt

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 5260
copper alloy
length: 2.6 cm; diameter of socket: 1.1 cm
2nd half of the 2nd cent. – 1st half of the 3rd
cent.
Butt of an equestrian helmet.
Unpublished
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

27. Roman late ancient javelin

Vukovar, 1912, AMZ-14728
iron
length of head: 39.9 cm, length of butt:
23.4 cm
3rd-4th cent.
An excellently preserved *gaesum*—that
is the barbed head together with an
elongated conical butt—was in the past
discovered in Vukovar and subsequently
delivered to the National Museum in
Zagreb. Smaller specimens with shorter
sockets are encountered in the case of the
Romans already during the 2nd cent., and
it seems that their origin can be traced to
the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine, as
corroborated by the many finds of winged
spears in graves and peat-bogs. The *gaesum*
from Vukovar is similar to certain pieces
from Britain, and based on these analogies
the Vukovar specimen can be dated to the
period between the 3rd and the 5th cent.
Publication: Hoffiller 1912, 97, sl. 35
Lit.: von Schnurbein 1974, 411-433;
Marchant 1990, 1-6; Radman-Livaja 2005,
942

I. R. L.

25. Vrh sulice

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 2584
bakrena slitina
dužina: 6,67 cm; promjer tuljca: 1,15
cm
druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Heksagonalni vrh konjaničke sulice s na-
sedom na tuljac.
Neobjavljen
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

26. Petica sulice

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 5260
bakrena slitina
dužina: 2,6 cm; pr. otvora: 1,1 cm
druga pol. 2.st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Petica konjaničke sulice.
Neobjavljena
Lit.: Petculescu 1991a, 35-58; Radman-
Livaja 2004c, 59-72

S. F.

27. Rimsko kasnoantička sulica

Vukovar, 1912., AMZ-14728
željezo
dužina vrha: 39,9 cm, dužina petice:
23,4 cm
3.-4. st.
U Vukovaru je svojevremeno pronađen i
naknadno predan Narodnom muzeju u
Zagrebu jedan odlično sačuvani *gaesum*,
odnosno vrh s krilcima zajedno s izdu-
ljenom koničnom peticom. Manji se
primjerci s kraćim tuljcima susreću kod
Rimljana već tijekom 2. st., a čini se da
porijeklo vuku od germanskih plemena
istočno od Rajne, o čemu svjedoče brojni
nalazi kopalja s krilcima u grobovima i
tresetištima. Vukovarski *gaesum* nalikuje
nekim primjercima nađenima u Britaniji
te se na temelju tih analogija vukovarski
primjerak može datirati u vrijeme izme-
đu 3. i 5. st.
Objava: Hoffiller 1912, 97, sl. 35
Lit.: von Schnurbein 1974, 411-433;
Marchant 1990, 1-6; Radman-Livaja
2005, 942

I. R. L.

28. Plumbata

Osijek, MSO, inv. br. 1377

željezo, olovo

dužina: 18,7 cm

4. st.

Kasnoantička laka sulica s vrhom s krilcima i nasadom na tuljac, otežana olovnom utegom u donjem dijelu, tzv. *plumbata*. Neobjavljena

Lit.: Feugère 1993: 235, 237; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 30-32; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 200-202

S. F.

29. Inventar groba 5

2 čaše (PN 1491, 1497), obod i dno posude (PN 1471), amfora (PN 1493), lonac (4785), mač u koricama (PN 1522), vojnički opasač (PN 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1534), as (PN 1415; RIC i2.81 (c. AD 22/23-(?)30), Tiberius, rimska kovnica; av.: [DIVVSA]VGVSTVS PA[TER]; Aug. glava sa zrakastom krunom I. rv. [S] - C/PROVIDE[NT]; ograđeni oltar s dvostrukim vratnicama) Ilok, 2006., Gradski muzej Ilok

Keramika, željezo, bakrena slitina druga četvrtina 1. st. Tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja koja je od 2001.-2008. godine tijekom obnove kasnogotičkog dvorca knezova Iločkih, odnosno dvorca obitelji Odiscalchi, provodio Institut za arheologiju, ispod kasnosrednjovjekovnih slojeva i objekata otkriveni su ostaci ranorimskog groblja. Groblje se nalazilo na mjestu ranijih prapovijesnih naselja, dok je od rimskog naselja bilo odijeljeno dubokim prirodnom usjekom. Istraživanja su pokazala kako je nakon prestanka pokopavanja groblje palo u zaborav, što pokazuju ostaci arhitekture te brojne jame koji su na istom mjestu podizani od sredine 3. te posebno u 4. stoljeću, kada su grobovi najvjerojatnije i bili opljačkani.

U istraživanjima je pronađeno šest djelomično sačuvanih grobova. Grobna arhitektura sastojala se od ostataka drvenih sanduka koji su bili položeni na dno velikih i duboko ukopanih pravokutnih grobnih raka. Zbog pljačke te oštećivanja grobova pri izgradnji kasnosrednjovjekovnog dvorca, ostaci pokojnika u grobovima *in situ* nisu pronađeni, osim manje količine prikupljenih razasutih spaljenih kostiju. S pokojnicima su u grobove položeni naoružanje, zatim ostaci nošnje i nakit, toaletni pribor, predmeti iz svakodnevnog života te popudbina. Od naoružanja je u grobu 5 pronađen kratki željezni mač (*gladius*) tipa Mainz koji se nalazio u drvenim koricama

28. Plumbata

Osijek, MSO, inv. no. 1377

iron, lead

length: 18.7 cm

4th cent.

Late Roman socketed javelin with a barbed head, weighted with a lead weight in the lower part, a so-called *plumbata*.

Unpublished

Lit.: Feugère 1993: 235, 237; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 30-32; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 200-202

S. F.

29. Inventory of grave 5

2 cups (PN 1491, 1497), rim and base of a vessel (PN 1471), amphora (PN 1493), pot (4785), sword in scabbard (PN 1522), military belt (PN 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1534), as (PN 1415; RIC i2.81 (c. AD 22/23-(?)30), Tiberius, Roman mint; obv.: [DIVVSA]VGVSTVS PA[TER]; Aug. head with a radiate crown I. rv. [S] - C/PROVIDE[NT]; fenced altar with double doors)

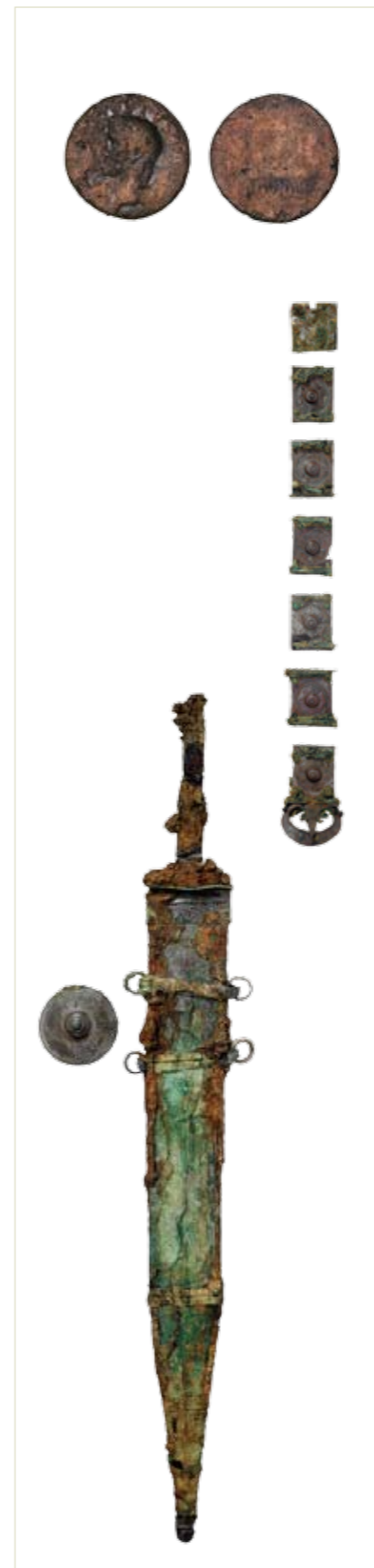
Ilok, 2006, Municipal Museum Ilok

ceramics, iron, copper alloy

2nd quarter of the 1st cent.

The remains of an Early Roman cemetery were discovered below late medieval layers and structures in the salvage archaeological excavations carried out by the Institute of Archaeology between 2001-2008 during the renovation of the palace of the Princes of Ilok, that is the palace of the Odiscalchi family. The cemetery developed at the position of previous prehistoric settlements, and it was separated from a Roman settlement by a deep natural ravine. The excavations have shown that the cemetery fell into disuse once burials ceased, as shown by numerous pits and the remains of the architecture constructed from the mid-3rd cent. and particularly during the 4th cent., which is also the probable date the graves were looted.

The excavations yielded six partially preserved graves. The grave architecture consisted of the remains of wooden trunks placed on the base of large and deeply buried rectangular graves. Due to looting and damaging of graves by the construction of the late medieval palace, the remains of the deceased were not found *in situ*, except for a small quantity of scattered cremated bones. Weapons, remains of costume and jewellery, toilet accessory, everyday objects and grave goods were placed in graves together with the deceased. As for the weapons, grave 5 yielded a short iron sword (*gladius*) of the Mainz type, found in a wooden scabbard with bronze reinforce-



ments. In the same grave was found a military belt decorated with bronze fittings and strap-ends (*cingulum*). Only a part of bronze scabbard was preserved of the sword from grave 3. The finds of bronze Aucissa fibulae, worn in the period of the Roman conquest of south Pannonia, also belong to the military equipment.

Items from everyday life include also the finds of bone and glass counters used in games. Numerous ceramic, bronze and glass vessels and lamps were placed in graves as grave goods. The bulk of the ceramic vessels (amphorae, *terra sigillata*, thin-walled ware), together with bronze and glass vessels, as well as lamps, arrived from north Italy through trade. Analogies for some of the vessels were documented in the investigations of Sirmium as well as in the lowland settlements in south Sarmia dated to the 1st cent., which points to the possibility that they were produced in local workshops. Part of the vessels feature shapes and decorations attributable to the local, Celtic population (pots and S-profiled bowls, situla-shaped pots with a rounded body), which might be of help in the determination of the ethnic affiliation of the discovered graves.

Certain vessels (jugs, pots) have shapes that imitate imported pieces, but their workmanship and technological features reveal a local origin. The vessels contained food and drink, as testified by the finds of seeds of cereals and fruits, mostly grape vine. The remains of figs and olives bear witness to the fact that Mediterranean fruits were imported in addition to luxury items for the needs of soldiers and local aristocracy, but also of the settled merchants and craftsmen. The finds of coins placed there as Charon's obols, together with other imported goods, demonstrate that the graves belong to the first half of the 1st cent., that is the period of rule of emperors from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

It can be assumed that people buried in those graves were mostly members of local aristocracy of Celtic origin, that is, Scordisci. The deceased person from grave 5 in all likelihood served in the army, but it remains open whether he had been a veteran of local origin that was buried among his kinfolk and countrymen, or a soldier from another part of the Empire, who served in that territory, possibly precisely in Cuccium.

Unpublished

Lit.: Dizdar *et alii* 2003, 57-77;

Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78-83, 106-109;

Mišković 2007, 58-65; Tomičić *et alii* 2007, 14-

15; Tomičić *et alii* 2008, 15-16

M. D.

s brončanim pojačanjima. U istom grobu je pronađen i vojnički pojas s ukrasnim brončanim okovima te jezičcima (*cingulum*). Od mača iz groba 3 sačuvao se samo dio brončanih korica. Vojničkoj opremi bi pripadali i nalazi brončanih Aucissa fibula koje su nošene u razdoblju rimskog osvajanja južne Panonije.

Predmetima iz svakodnevnog života pripadaju nalazi koštanih i staklenih žetona koji su korišteni u igrama. Kao popudbina u grobove su položene brojne keramičke, brončane i staklene posude te svjetiljke. Najveći dio keramičkog posuda (amfore, *terra sigillata*, keramika tankih stijenki), zajedno s brončanim i staklenim posudama te svjetiljkama, trgovinom je pristigao s prostora sjeverne Italije. Za dio posuda usporedbe su zabilježene u istraživanjima Sirmija te na nizinskim naseljima u južnom Srijemu datiranim u 1. st. što ukazuje na mogućnost da su proizvod lokalnih radionica. Dio posuda oblikom i ukrasima pripada ostavštini domaćeg, keltskog porijekla (lonci i zdjele S-profilacije, situlasti lonci zaobljenog tijela), što bi moglo pomoći u određivanju etničke pripadnosti pronađenih grobova. Pojedine posude (vrčevi, lonci) oblikom slijede importirane, no načinom izrade i tehnološkim karakteristikama odaju lokalno porijeklo. U posudama su se nalazili hrana i piće o čemu svjedoče nalazi sjemenki žitarica i voća, najviše vinove loze. Nalazi ostataka smokvi i maslina svjedoče kako su, osim luksuznih predmeta, za potrebe vojnika i lokalne aristokracije kao i naseljenih trgovaca i obrtnika bila uvoženi i mediteranski plodovi. Nalazi novca koji su pridodani kao obol, zajedno s drugim importiranim predmetima, pokazuju kako se radi o grobovima iz prve polovice 1. st., odnosno razdoblja vladavine careva Julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije.

Može se pretpostaviti kako su u tim grobovima uglavnom bili pokopani pripadnici lokalne aristokracije keltskog porijekla, odnosno Scordisci. Pokojnik iz groba 5 je po svemu sudeći vjerojatno služio u vojsci no ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li riječ o veteranu lokalnog porijekla koji je sahranjen među svojom rodbinom i zemljacima ili je pak riječ o vojniku iz nekog drugog dijela carstva koji je služio u tom području, za pretpostaviti u samom Cuccium (Cuccium).

Neobjavljeno
Lit.: Dizdar *et alii* 2003, 57-77;
Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78-83, 106-109;
Mišković 2007, 58-65; Tomičić *et alii* 2007, 14-15; Tomičić *et alii* 2008, 15-16

M. D.



KAT. / CAT. 10 - SLUČAJNI NALAZI ... / STRAY FINDS...

IVAN RADMAN-LIVAJA

LOKALITETI CIVILNOG KARAKTERA I SLUČAJNI NALAZI

NON-MILITARY SITES AND STRAY FINDS

Iako među nalazima rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj, sasvim razumljivo, pretežu predmeti pronađeni na lokalitetima gdje su kroz duže ili kraće razdoblje boravile rimske trupe, bilo da je riječ o legijskim logorima poput Burnuma, Tilurija ili Siscije ili pak o auksilijarnim logorima na dunavskom limesu, neki nalazi koji se s velikom sigurnošću mogu vezati uz vojsku, odnosno uz vojnike, potječu iz mjesta u kojima rimska vojska jamačno nije trajno boravila.

Neki od tih spomenika nisu neposredno vezani uz vojnu opremu poput, primjerice, nadgrobnih ili votivnih spomenika koje su podigli vojnici, odnosno veterani ili njihove obitelji, no i oni nam otkrivaju vrlo važne podatke kako o životu rimskih vojnika na ovim prostorima tako i o rimskoj vojsci u cjelini. Nadgrobni spomenici veterana na prostoru Dalmacije i Panonije nisu nužno vezani uz mjesta gdje su postojali garnizoni (mada ih tamo često nalazimo), jer su se veterani mogli skrasiti gdje god ih je bila volja, pa tako i ne čudi popriličan broj njihovih nadgrobnih spomenika kako u velikim gradovima poput Salone (*Salona*), Siscije (*Siscia*) ili Cibale (*Cibalae*) tako ni u manjim mjestima diljem tih provin-

Although, understandably, the number of objects from sites occupied for a longer or shorter periods by Roman troops, such as legionary camps at Burnum, Tilurium or Siscia, or auxiliary camps on the Danube limes, dominates among the finds of Roman military equipment in Croatia, some objects that could with certainty be related to the army or soldiers, were found at sites that were certainly not occupied by the Roman army for any significant period of time.

Some of these finds are not directly associated to the military equipment, such as sepulchral or votive monuments erected by soldiers, veterans or their families, but they still reveal important information on the life of Roman soldiers in this area and the Roman army as a whole. Sepulchral veteran monuments from Dalmatia and Pannonia are not necessarily affiliated with the garrison sites (although often they are), because the veterans were free to settle wherever they liked it, and it is no wonder that many of their monuments were found both within larger urban areas like Salona, Siscia or Cibalae and at lesser settlements in these provinces. Sepulchral monuments of the soldiers that have died during their service are mostly found in the immediate vicinity of the garrisons, but they were also sometimes buried near civilian settlements far

cija. Nadgrobni spomenici vojnika koji su preminuli tijekom službe su uglavnom pronađeni u neposrednoj blizini garnizona, no ponekad su i oni sahranjeni u civilnim naseljima udaljenima od mjesta gdje im je bila stacionirana matična postrojba, katkad vjerojatno iz obiteljskih razloga a ponekad jer ih je, primjerice u slučaju beneficijara, služba mogla odvesti i u gradove u kojima inače nije bilo stalne vojne posade.

Kad je pak o votivnim spomenicima riječ, također nema pravila jer su ih aktivni vojnici mogli podići i daleko od mjesta službovanja, primjerice u svetištima i termalnim lječilištima.¹ Mnoge takve spomenike su uostalom postavili beneficijari, koji su zbog prirode svojih zaduženja ionako mogli boraviti i u mjestima bez stalnog garnizona.

Dok pronalazak spomenika ne implicira nužno boravak neke vojne postrojbe na tom lokalitetu, nalasci vojne opreme, posebice borbene opreme poput oružja ili kaciga i dijelova oklopa, ipak ukazuju na činjenicu da su rimski vojnici morali tuda proći u većem ili manjem broju, iako ponekad možda nije sasvim isključeno da je riječ o opremi koja je ostala u vlasništvu nekog veterana. O razlozima zadržavanja rimskih vojnika na tim mjestima možemo uglavnom samo nagađati, tim više što je mahom riječ o slučajnim nalazima bez poznatog arheološkog konteksta. Nalaze koji se možda mogu datirati u augustovsko razdoblje, poput kaciga iz Klakara ili gladija iz Stare Gradiške, možemo pokušati povezati s razdobljem učvršćivanja rimske vlasti na panonskom prostoru, odnosno s gušenjem velikog ustanka između 6. i 9. godine. Za to razdoblje nemamo puno čvrstih podataka o smještaju rimskih trupa na ovom prostoru, no nema sumnje da su okolnosti prisiljavale rimsku vojsku na česte pohode diljem južne Panonije, pa nalazi rimske vojne opreme uzduž doline rijeke Save, glavnog prometnog toka te regije, nimalo ne iznenađuju. Nalaze koji potječu iz kasnijeg vremena isto možemo pokušati dovesti u vezu s pokretima trupa, koji uostalom i nisu nužno uvijek morali biti vezani uz velike ratne operacije koje se spominju u pisanim izvorima. Tako je, primjerice, nalaze iz Save kod Slavenskog Broda, možda dovoljno interpreti-

from the headquarters of their respective units, sometimes perhaps due to certain family reasons, in other cases – such as with the beneficiaries – their service could take them to the cities normally without a military garrison. Considering votive monuments, there are also no rules, because active soldiers could have erected them far from the place of their service, for example in sanctuaries and baths.¹ Many of these monuments were erected by the beneficiaries, who, due to the nature of their service, in any case had to stay in places with no permanent military garrison.

While the monuments do not necessarily suggest the presence of a military unit on the site, the military equipment, especially battle equipment, such as weapons, helmets or parts of armour, certainly points to the fact that the Roman soldiers had to pass through the area, whether in smaller or larger numbers, although sometimes the possibility remains that the equipment was owned by a veteran. We can only guess as to the reasons for the stay of Roman soldiers on this kind of sites, the more so because these are normally stray finds without any known archaeological context.

The finds from the Augustan period, such as the helmet from Klakar or the gladius from Stara Gradiška, could be associated with the crushing of the great uprising of AD 6-9. We have no solid data on the distribution of Roman troops on this area, but it is certain that the circumstances forced the Roman army to frequent campaigning throughout southern Pannonia, and so the finds of Roman military equipment along the Sava valley, the main road artery of the region, are not at all surprising. Later finds could also be associated with troop movements, not necessarily always connected to great military operations mentioned in literary sources. It suffices, thus, for example, to assume that the finds taken out from the Sava near Slavonski Brod are somehow connected to the movements of the troops, perhaps also short stays on the territory of *Marsonia*, an important urban centre on the main road and river course between Siscia and Sirmium. The belt set of the *VTERE FELIX* type, found in Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*), can probably be explained as a votive offering of a soldier that stayed in the baths for a while. Although alternatives are not to be excluded, it al-

rati kao tragove kretanja pa i kratkotrajnog boravka trupa na području Marsonije (*Marsonia*), važnog urbanog središta na glavnom cestovnom i riječnom prometnom pravcu između Siscije i Sirmija. Pojasna garnitura tipa *VTERE FELIX* pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama (*Aquae Iasae*) se vjerojatno može interpretirati kao zavjetni dar vojnika koji je boravio u lječilištu. Mada nisu isključene ni druge interpretacije, ona gotovo sigurno predstavlja trag boravka nekog vojnika u tom mjestu. Za neke je nalaze, pronađene u mjestima udaljenima kako od vojnih garnizona tako i od većih urbanih naselja, i datiranima u vrijeme kad nemamo podataka o vojnim operacijama na tom prostoru, poput vojničkog bodeža pronađenog u Širokoj Kuli nedaleko Gospića ili kacige iz Donjeg Vidovca, vrlo teško ponuditi zadovoljavajuću interpretaciju, pa možemo samo nagađati o okolnostima pod kojima su ti predmeti završili tamo.

Ipak, i takvi slučajni nalazi, bez obzira na sve manjkavosti koje u znanstvenom smislu proistječu iz nepoznavanja arheološkog konteksta, mogu poslužiti kao zanimljiv pokazatelj za daljnja istraživanja.

most certainly represents a trace of a soldier's stay in this place. For some finds, discovered at sites a long way from both military garrisons and larger urban centres, dated to the period for which we do not have any military operations documented in the area, such as the military dagger from Široka Kula near Gospić or the Donji Vidovec helmet, an adequate explanation is hard to find, and we can only guess as to the circumstances under which the objects ended up there. Yet even these stray finds, no matter the shortcomings arising from the lack of an adequate archaeological context, could serve as interesting indicators for future research.



CIL III 4114 = 10888

¹ Za prostor Hrvatske cf. Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37-47; Šarić 1982, 67-72; Galić&Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174.

¹ For Croatia cf. Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37-47; Šarić 1982, 67-72; Galić&Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174.



KATALOG NALAZA

THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

POGLED S GRADINE KOD TRIBANJSKE DRAGE / VIEW FROM THE HILL FORT AT TRIBANJSKA DRAGA

LOKALITETI CIVILNOG KARAKTERA I SLUČAJNI NALAZI
NON-MILITARY SITES AND STRAY FINDS

1. Rimaska pješaka kaciga

Sava kod Klakara pored Sl. Broda, 1910., AMZ-16909

željezo

visina: 13,5 cm, dužina otvora: 23 cm, širina otvora: 18 cm
prva pol. 1. st.

Željezna pješaka kaciga tipa Weisenau pronađena je slomljena u više komada u Savi kod Klakarja te naknadno restaurirana. Sačuvane su joj i obrazine, a čavli koji im drže šarnire ukrašeni su emajliranim brončanim rozetama. Prednji je rub kacige obrubljen trakom od brončanog lima, isto kao i rub vratobrana te obrazina. Russell Robinson ju je definirao kao carsko-italski tip B i datirao u drugu četvrtinu 1. st., no nešto ranija datacija nije isključena.

Objava : Hoffiller 1910-1911, 180, sl. 21

Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 66-67, Pl. 152-154; Waurick 1988, 333-338; Feugère 1994, 88-97

I. R.-L.

2. Rimski kratki mač, tzv. gladij

Sava kod St. Gradiške, 1909., AMZ-16910

željezo

dužina: 60 cm (sječivo 47 cm), najveća širina: 7 cm

prva pol. 1. st.

Gladij izjaružan 1909. godine u Savi kod Stare Gradiške, iako relativno slabo očuvan, još je uvijek dovoljno prepoznatljiv te se može sa sigurnošću odrediti kao gladij tipa "Mainz". Na vrhu drške ima sačuvanu navlaku od brončanog lima, opremljenu s dvije ušice, jedini sačuvani dio ručke. Hoffiller spominje da su se na ušicama nalazili lančići, no danas je sačuvana samo jedna karika. Taj je detalj dosta zanimljiv jer podsjeća na običaj vezivanja drške mača lančićem za ručni zglob, osvjedočen kod gladijatora. Izgledom i protežnostima sasvim se uklapa u definiciju mačeva tipa « Mainz » te se može pouzdano datirati u prvu pol.1. st.

Objava: Hoffiller 1912, 104, sl. 37

Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 69-71; Feugère 1993, 139-140; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78; Miks 2007, 60-61

I. R.-L.

1. Roman infantry helmet

The Sava at Klakar near Sl. Brod, 1910, AMZ-16909

iron

height: 13,5 cm, length of the opening: 23 cm, width of the opening: 18 cm
first half of the 1st c.

This iron infantry helmet of the Weisenau type was found broken into many pieces in the Sava river at Klakarje and was afterwards restored. Its cheek pieces are preserved, and the nails holding its hinges were decorated with enameled bronze rosettes. The front rim of the helmet is bordered with a bronze sheet band, and the same applies to the neck guard rim and cheek pieces. Russell Robinson defined it as an Imperial-Italic type B and dated it into the second quarter of the 1st c. AD, but somewhat earlier date should not be excluded.

Published in: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 180, sl. 21.

Bibliography: Russel Robinson 1975, 66-67, Pl. 152-154; Waurick 1988, 333-338; Feugère 1994, 88-97

I. R.-L.

2. Roman short sword, the so-called gladius

The Sava at St. Gradiška, 1909, AMZ-16910

iron

length: 60cm (blade 47 cm), maximum width: 7cm

first half of the 1st c.

A *gladius* dredged out of the Kupa at Stara Gradiška; although it is relatively poorly preserved, it is still distinctive enough to positively identify it as the *gladius* of the Mainz type. It still has a bronze sheet coating on the tip of the handle, equipped with two loops, which is the only part of the handle that was preserved. Hoffiller had mentioned that small chains were suspended from the loops, but only one ring exists today. This is an important detail because it reminds us on the custom of tying the sword handle with a chain to a wrist, known to exist among the gladiators. With its appearance and dimensions it perfectly corresponds to the Mainz type of swords and can be securely dated into the first half of the 1st c.

Published in: Hoffiller 1912, 104, sl. 37.

Bibliography: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 69-71; Feugère 1993, 139-140; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78; Miks 2007, 60-61

I. R.-L.



3. Roman short sword, the so-called gladius

The Sava, Zbjeg near Slavonski Brod, 1912, AMZ-15003

iron

length: 57 cm (blade 44 cm), maximum width: 4 cm
second half of the 1st c. – early 2nd c.

A *gladius* discovered during the dredging of the Sava at Zbijeg in 1912 is a typical representative of the Pompeii type: a narrow, relatively short blade, as well as a short triangle tip, both define it as such. It could be dated approximately to the second half of the 1st c., although a somewhat later date should not be excluded, that is, the first decades of the 2nd c.

Published in: Hoffiller 1912,103-104, sl. 36/1.

Bibliography: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 71; Feugère 1993, 99, 146; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 79-80; Miks 2007, 66-67

I. R.-L.

4. Roman cavalry helmet

The Sava at Slavonski Brod, found during the 19th c., AMZ-18005

Copper alloy

Height without the decorative extension: 13 cm, length of the opening: 21,5 cm, width of the opening: 18 cm
late 1st – early 2nd c.

A Guisborough type of a helmet, probably found in the Sava at Slavonski Brod, is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. It was made of bronze and equipped with a small neck guard. It was additionally forged by a hammer, emphasizing certain simple decorations. Thus, 4,5 cm from the rim there is a bulging rib, with a hollow cone extension on the vertex. The cheek pieces are missing, but two nails for fastening the hinges are still visible on both sides. Hoffiller has supposed that the helmet originally had a browguard because it has three small pin perforations on its frontal part. The side perforations are somewhat larger than the ones on the frontal part of the calotte. The analysis of the contemporary reliefs suggests that some cavalry helmets had a reinforcing frontal peak. There is only one analogy for its simple form, a helmet found in Italy during the 19th c., now lost. Russell Robinson has defined these two helmets as the auxiliary cavalry type C and dated them to the early 2nd c., allowing the possibility of a somewhat later date. Although it does not have rich relief decoration present in greater or smaller quantities on

3. Rimski kratki mač, tzv. gladij

Sava, Zbjeg kod Slavanskog Broda, 1912., AMZ-15003

željezo

dužina: 57 cm (sječivo 44 cm), najveća širina: 4 cm
druga pol. 1. st. – rano 2. st.

Za gladij pronađen prilikom jaružanja Save kod Zbjega 1912. godine se može reći da je potpuno tipičan predstavnik tipa "Pompeji": usko, relativno kratko sječivo kao i kratak trokutasti vrh neosporno ga svrstavaju među gladije tog tipa. Može se okvirno datirati u drugu pol. 1. st., iako nije isključena ni nešto kasnija datacija, odnosno prva desetljeća 2. st.

Objava: Hoffiller 1912,103-104, sl. 36/1

Lit.: Ulbert 1969, 97-128; Bishop&Coulston 1993, 71; Feugère 1993, 99, 146; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 79-80; Miks 2007, 66-67

I. R.-L.

4. Rimaska konjanička kaciga

Sava kod Slavanskog Broda, pronađena tijekom 19. st., AMZ-18005

bakrena slitina

visina bez ukrasnog nastavka: 13 cm, dužina otvora: 21,5 cm, širina otvora: 18 cm

kasno 1. st. – rano 2. st.

U zagrebačkom Arheološkom muzeju čuva se jedna kaciga tipa Guisborough, vjerojatno pronađena u Savi kod Slavanskog Broda. Izrađena je od bronce i opremljena malim vratobranom. Kaciga je dodatno oblikovana čekićem, pri čemu su istaknuti neki jednostavni ukrasni motivi. Tako na udaljenosti od oko 4,5 cm od ruba ide jedno ispupčeno rebro, a na tjemenu je izveden šuplji čunjasti nastavak. Obrazine se nisu sačuvale, ali se sa svake strane još vide po dva čavla kojima su bili prikovani šarniri. Hoffiler je pretpostavljao da je ova kaciga izvorno imala i čeonu obruč, jer ima tri rupice za čavle na prednjem dijelu. Rupice s lijeve i desne strane su nešto veće od one na prednjem dijelu kalote. S obzirom na reljefne prikaze lako je moguće da su neke konjaničke kacige imale čeonu obruč. Postoji samo jedna analogija za njen jednostavan oblik, danas izgubljena kaciga pronađena u Italiji tijekom 19. st. Russell Robinson je te dvije kacige definirao kao auksilijarni

konjički tip C te ih datirao u početak 2. st., dopustivši mogućnost i nešto kasnije datacije. Iako joj nedostaju bogati reljefni ukrasi kakvi, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, krase ostale pronađene kacige tipa Guisborough, prizori s nadgrobnih stela pokazuju da konjaničke kacige nisu morale biti ukrašene te da su mogle imati i glatku kalotu. Po svemu sudeći, kacige ovog tipa pojavljuju se već tijekom druge pol. 1. st. i zastupljene su kroz cijelo 2. st. Budući da je mahom riječ o slučajnim ili starim nalazima, nisu jasno definirane tipološke karakteristike koje bi omogućile praćenje nekog kronološkog slijeda. U nedostatku preciznijih parametara, ova kaciga bi se mogla datirati u drugu pol. 1., odnosno početak 2. st. Objava: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 187-188, sl. 26. Lit.: Russel Robinson 1975, 96, Pl. 254; Waurick 1988, 345, 360; Feugère 1994, 110, 113-114

I. R.-L.

5. Pojasna garnitura

Varaždinske Toplice, 1962., AMZ bakrena slitina
druga pol. 2. st. – prva pol. 3. st.
Tijekom istraživanja vođenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama 1962. god. u unutrašnjosti južne prigradnje kupališne bazilike pronađeni su na okupu brončani okovi gotovo cjelovite pojasne garniture (od izvornih 12 elemenata sačuvano je njih 10), oblikovane od slova koja tvore sintagmu VTERE FELIX. Takve su pojasne garniture bile popularne među rimskim vojnicima, otprilike od druge pol. 2. st. sve do sredine 3. st., ako ne i koje desetljeće duže. Objava: Galić & Radman-Livaja 2006, 165-185
Lit.: Ulbert 1974, 211-215; Oldenstein 1976, 88; Petculescu 1991b, 392-394; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 95, kat. 286-287; Radman-Livaja 2005, 940-941, kat. 21; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 183

I. R.-L.

6. Rimski paradna knemida

Sava kod Slavenskog Broda, 1975., MBP A-3346
posrebreni brončani lim; restaurirana
visina: 35 cm; širina: 13,5 cm, debljina lima: 1-2 mm
3. st.

other Guisborough-type helmets, the depictions on sepulchral stelae prove that cavalry helmets did not have to be decorated and that they could have had a smooth calotte. It is most probable that the helmets of this type have appeared already during the second half of the 1st c., and they were present during the entire 2nd. Since they mostly come from chance or early finds, their typological characteristics, that would allow for an ordered chronological sequence, were not clearly defined. With the lack of any more precise parameters, the helmet could be dated into the second half of the 1st or the early 2nd c. Published in: Hoffiller 1910-1911, 187-188, sl. 26.

Bibliography: Russel Robinson 1975, 96, Pl. 254; Waurick 1988, 345, 360; Feugère 1994, 110, 113-114

I. R.-L.

5. Belt set

Varaždinske Toplice, 1962., AMZ
Copper alloy
Second half of the 2nd – first half of the 3rd c.
During the excavations in Varaždinske Toplice of 1962, a number of bronze fittings belonging to an almost complete belt set were found together in the interior of the southern addition to the bath basilica (out of original 12, ten pieces were found). They were in the form of letters creating a construction VTERE FELIX. These belt sets were popular among Roman soldiers from the second half of the 2nd c. to the mid-3rd c., if not for some decades longer.

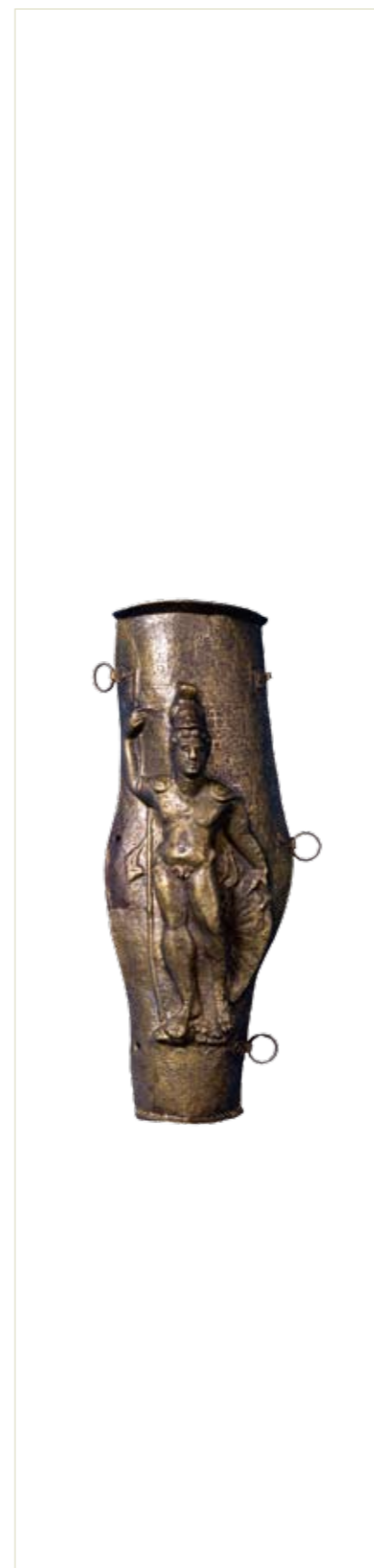
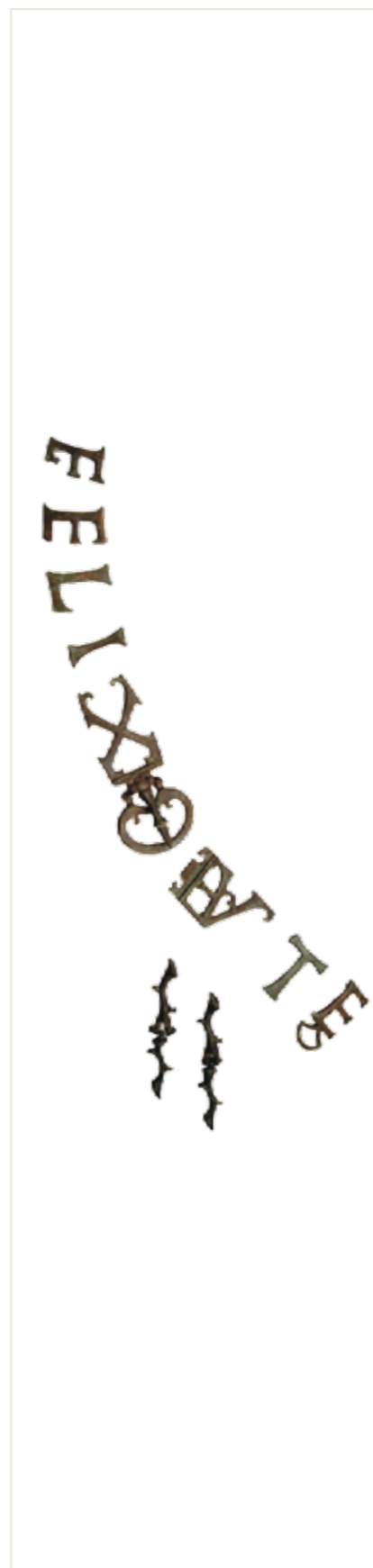
Published in: Galić & Radman-Livaja 2006, 165-185

Bibliography: Ulbert 1974, 211-215; Oldenstein 1976, 88; Petculescu 1991b, 392-394; Radman-Livaja 2004a, 95, kat. 286-287; Radman-Livaja 2005, 940-941, kat. 21; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 183

I. R.-L.

6. Roman greave

The Sava at Slavonski Brod, 1975, MBP A-3346
Silvered bronze sheets; restaurated
height 35 cm; width 13,5 cm; sheet thickness 1-2 mm
3rd c.



This Roman parade greave was found in 1975 in the Sava River during gravel extraction not far from the city stadium of Slavonski Brod. The sheet of the greave was in places crunched, bulged and broken, at places also broken off, and the greave was only successfully conserved and restaurated in the RGZM workshop in Mainz in 1978. Roman parade greaves were protecting the lower part of the leg and formed a part of ceremonial military equipment of Roman dignitaries, which was worn during military festivities, parades, tournaments and other ceremonial activities. It was made of a thin bronze silvered sheet by hammering, engraving and hallmarking. The upper row of the greave is obliquely bent towards the outside so that the sheet would not injure the leg, and the lower part of the greave was similarly formed. Three loops for the strap used for tying the greave to the leg were placed on each side of the greave. The loops were supported by small rings that were attached to the greave with a rivet. Three loops were preserved, with only a small ring on one position. The greave is richly decorated – a nude Mars in frontal view with a spear in his right and a shield in his right hand, with a cape on his back, dominates the centre of the greave, extending along almost its entire length. The position of the spear in Mars' right hand suggests that the greave was intended for the right leg, because the left greave would have Mars with a spear in his left hand. The entire surface of the greave around the war god is divided into fields filled with figural representations and decorative motifs. Beside Mars, two more Roman divinities are present – Dionysus on a leopard and Diana on a deer, together with a mask of Silenus. Boxing scenes and a thorax of Roman armor worn by higher officers are also interesting. Vertically along the left edge of the greave there is an inscription referring to the Julia centuria: >IVL STATA....

Roman parade greave from Slavonski Brod is an important and interesting find of a Roman ceremonial military equipment, and its rich decoration and high quality craftsmanship make it truly a unique find and one of the nicest examples of this type of greaves. Published in: Garbsch 1978, 81, Q 5, T. 38. 1.

Bibliograph: Miškov-Kovačević 1979, 23-31; Kovačević (Miškov) 1980, 135-140, T. 10.1.2., T. 11.1; Miškov& Lozuk 1988, 13-22; Miškov 1993, 71-81; Cambi 2002, 203, sl. 315; Cambi 2003, 489-497; Miškov 2006

L. M.-L.

Rimska paradna knemida pronađena je 1975. godine u rijeci Savi prilikom vađenja pijeska nedaleko gradskog stadiona u Slavonskom Brodu. Lim knemida je prilikom pronalaska bio mjestimično zgnječeno, udubljen i puknut, a ponegdje i otkinut te je knemida uspješno konzervirana i rekonstruirana u radionici RGZM u Mainzu 1978. godine. Rimska paradna knemida je štitnik za donji dio noge i dio je svečane vojne opreme rimskih dostojanstvenika koja se nosila za vojnih svečanosti, parada, turnira i drugih svečanih prigoda. Knemida je izrađena od tanjeg brončanog te posrebnog lima u tehnici iskucavanja, graviranja i punktiranja. Gornji rub knemide koso je izvijen prema van da se lim ne bi urezivao u nogu, a slično je izveden i donji dio knemide. Na svake strane nalazile su se po tri karičice za provlačenje remena za vezivanje oko noge. Karičice su pridržavale ušice koje su pričvršćene za knemidu s pomoću zakovice. Očuvane su tri karičice, a na jednom mjestu samo ušica. Knemida je bogato ukrašena – na sredini gotovo čitavom dužinom knemide dominira reljefni lik neodjevenog boga Marsa okrenutog ravno prema naprijed s kopljem u podignutoj desnici i štitom u lijevoj te s plaštem prebačenim preko leđa. Položaj koplja u Marsovoj desnoj ruci pokazuje da je ova knemida bila za desnu nogu, jer na knemidi za lijevu nogu koplje bi stajalo u lijevoj ruci. Cijela površina knemide unaokolo boga rata Marsa podijeljena je u polja ispunjena figuralnim prizorima i dekorativnim motivima. Osim Marsa zastupljena su još dva božanstva iz rimske mitologije – Dioniz na leopardu i Dijana na jelenu te maska Silena. Zanimljive su scene iz boksačkog života i prikaz toraksa rimskog oklopa kakav su nosili visoki rimski časnici. Okomito uz lijevi rub knemide nalazi se natpis koji se odnosi na centuriju Juliju, a glasi: >IVL STATA....

Rimska paradna knemida iz Slavenskog Broda je vrlo važan i zanimljiv predmet paradne rimske vojne opreme, a po bogatstvu svojih motiva i visokom umjetničkom izradom jedinstven je nalaz i jedan od najljepših primjeraka takvih knemida. Objava: Garbsch 1978, 81, Q 5, T. 38. 1

Lit.: Miškov-Kovačević 1979, 23-31; Kovačević (Miškov) 1980, 135-140, T. 10.1.2., T. 11.1; Miškov& Lozuk 1988, 13-22; Miškov 1993, 71-81; Cambi 2002, 203, sl. 315; Cambi 2003, 489-497; Miškov 2006

7. Vojnički bodež (*pugio*)

Široka Kula, 1974/1975, Muzej Like – Gospić, inv. 89

željezo

dužina: 40 cm (dužina sječiva: 29 cm, dužina drška: 11 cm)

2. st. – rano 3. st.

Vojnički željezni bodež, dobro uščuvan, širokog i listolikog sječiva s naglašenim središnjim rebrom. Vrh sječiva je oštećen, a drška je sačinjena od plosnatog pravokutnog trna spojenog sa sječivom i dvije željezne ploče rukohvata oblikovane poput slova T, međusobno spojene s 4 zakovice. Pronađen je prilikom izgradnje pirotehničkog odjela "MOL" - a kod Ličkog Osika, nedaleko Široke Kule, tijekom 1974. ili 1975. godine.

Neobjavljen

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 2006, 134-135, 164

T. K.

8. Kaciga

Donji Vidovec, Muzej Međimurja, inv. 262

visina: 20 cm, širina vratobrana: 26 cm, promjer: 20 cm

prva pol. 3. st.

Ovaj slučajni nalaz se nesumnjivo može odrediti kao rimska kaciga tipa Niederbieber, i to vjerojatno kao tip I. Kalota i istaknuti široki vratobran su dobro očuvani. Štitnici za uši su također naglašeni, a pored njih, s lijeve i desne strane, u visini sljepoočnica, jasno su vidljive po 3 rupe za zakovice za ovjes obrazina kao i za pričvršćivanje čeonog obruča (zakovice su sačuvane na desnoj strani, dok na lijevoj nedostaju). Na vrhu kalote su još vidljive 2 zakovice za nosač trna kojeg više nema. Kacige ovog tipa se okvirno datiraju od kraja 2 st. kroz veći dio 3. st., pa se tako može datirati i ovaj nalaz.

Objava: Vidović 2001, 60-61

Lit.: Robinson 1975, 96-104; Waurick 1988, 338-341; Feugère 1994, 97-100; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 173-178

I. R-L.

7. Military dagger (*pugio*)

Široka kula, 1974/1975, Muzej Like – Gospić, inv. 89

iron

length 40 cm (blade length 29 cm, handle width 11 cm)

2nd – early 3rd c.

A military iron dagger, well-preserved, with a wide leaf shaped blade with emphasized central rib. The tip of the blade is damaged, and the blade is made of a flat quadrangular tang attached to the blade and two T shaped iron plates of the handle, joined together with four rivets. It was found during the construction of the MOL's pyrotechnician department near Lički Osik, not far from Široka Kula, in 1974 or 1975.

Unpublished.

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 2006, 134-135, 164

T. K.

8. Helmet

Donji Vidovec, Muzej Međimurja, inv. 262

height 20 cm, neck guard width 26 cm, diameter 20 cm

first half of the 3rd c.

This chance find can undoubtedly be defined as the Niederbieber-type Roman helmet, probably type I. The calotte and the emphasized wide neck guard are well-preserved. Ear pads are also emphasized and next to them, both from left and right, at the temples level, three rivet perforations for the suspension of cheek pieces, as well as for the attachment of a reinforcing peak, are clearly visible (the ones on the left are missing). Two more rivets are visible on the vertex of the calotte for the now missing knob. The helmets of this type are roughly dated from the end of the 2nd to the major part of the 3rd c., which is also the date of this object.

Published in: Vidović 2001, 60-61.

Bibliography: Robinson 1975, 96-104; Waurick 1988, 338-341; Feugère 1994, 97-100; Bishop&Coulston 2006, 173-178

I. R.-L.



9. Military grave

Tribanjska Draga, 2006, AMZ

iron

spear head: length 28,5 cm, maximum leaf width 4 cm

Bent sword: diameter 23,5 cm, width 12 cm

Shield boss: diameter 14,5 cm, height 9,2 cm

cm

End of the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD

Objects from a cremation burial were donated to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb in 2006. This was allegedly a shallow grave, found by some herdsmen west of Starigrad Paklenica, east of the Tribanjska Draga canyon, at the foot of a hill fort already known as an archaeological site. Out of the grave inventory ceramic fragments of a larger coarse vessel were preserved, probably an urn, as well as fragments of one or more smaller vessels made on a pottery wheel, also a ritually bent sword, a spear head and a shield boss. According to the witnesses there were some glass fragments present in the grave, but these were not taken out of the grave. Because of an amateur handling of the discovery many information on the grave complex are missing, but this cremation grave certainly dates from the BC/AD transition, that is, from the Augustan period. The type of the sword supports this suggestion: a *gladius* of the Mainz type. Because of the ritual bending of the sword, we can presume that the deceased was a Roman auxiliary soldier of Celtic origin. Since the site remains unexcavated, it is not possible to ascertain the circumstances of the burial at the foot of a Liburnian hill fort, but the possibility of the presence of a Roman military garrison on the site is not to be excluded.

Unpublished

Bibliography: Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78; Dubolnić 2006, 11-14; Dubolnić 2007, 14, 39-40; Miks 2007, 58-65

I. R. L.

9. Vojnički grob

Tribanjska Draga, 2006., AMZ

željezo

vrh koplja: dužina 28,5 cm, najveća širina lista 4 cm

savijeni mač: promjer 23,5 cm, širina 12 cm

umbo štita: promjer 14,5 cm, visina 9,2 cm

kraj 1. st. pr. Kr. – početak 1. st.

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu je 2006. g. dobio na poklon nalaze iz jednog paljevinškog groba. Navodno su ga, plitko ukopanog, slučajno otkrili pastiri zapadno od Starigrada Paklenice, istočno od kanjona Tribanjske Drage, u podnožju gradinskog naselja koje je već otprije poznato kao arheološki lokalitet. Od grobnog inventara su sačuvani keramički ulomci jedne veće grube posude, vjerojatno urne kao i fragmenti jedne ili više manjih posuda rađenih na lončarskom kolu te ritualno svinuti mač, vrh koplja i umbo štita. Po riječima očevidaca u grobu su otkriveni i stakleni ulomci koji nisu prikupljeni. Uslijed nestručnog prikupljanja nalaza nedostaju mnogi podaci o grobnjoj cjelini, no ovaj se paljevinski grob nesumnjivo može datirati na prijelaz stare u novu eru, odnosno u augustovsko razdoblje. Toj dataciji u prilog ide i tip mača, koji se može odrediti kao gladij tipa Mainz. S obzirom na obredno savijanje mača, može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o ukopu rimskog auksilijarnog vojnika keltskog podrijetla. Uslijed neistraženosti lokaliteta nije moguće sa sigurnošću procijeniti okolnosti pod kojima je taj vojnik bio sahranjen u podnožju liburnske gradine, no nije isključeno da je tamo neko vrijeme mogla boraviti rimska vojna posada.

Neobjavljeno

Lit.: Bishop&Coulston 2006, 78; Dubolnić 2006, 11-14; Dubolnić 2007, 14, 39-40; Miks 2007, 58-65

I. R-L.

10. Urna

Danilo, Gradski muzej Šibenik
visina: 25,5 cm, dubina: 17 cm, širina:
17 cm

2. st.

Spomeniku nedostaje otprilike između trećine i polovice prednje strane, čitava lijeva bočna strana, čitava stražnja ploča i lijevi gornji dio desne bočne strane. Na desnoj bočnoj strani u plitkoj se niši nalazi većim dijelom sačuvan prikaz nagog mladića ili dječaka, odnosno genija zagrobnog života, a sličan ili isti takav lik vjerojatno se nalazio i na izgubljennoj lijevoj bočnoj strani spomenika. Na prednjoj strani figuralna je kompozicija, izvorno sastavljena od barem tri lika od kojih su se dobro sačuvali prikazi dva vojnika. Od konja (možda sa slugom koji ga vodi ili s konjanikom) na lijevoj (nesačuvanoj) strani ostao je samo rep u visini bedra nama lijevog, a u stvarnosti središnjeg lika. Taj je lik nedvojbeno vojnik, a po nekim se detaljima može pretpostaviti da je riječ o časniku, moguće o samom pokojniku. Desni lik nesumnjivo je *cornicen*. U lijevoj ruci drži rog, a na glavi mu je pokrivalo od životinjske kože, točnije rečeno preko kacige prebačena mu je koža s glave neke životinje koju ne možemo sa sigurnošću prepoznati. S obzirom na poznate analogije vjerojatno je riječ o vučjoj ili medvjedjoj koži ili pak možda o lavljoj. U polju između dva vojnika prikazan je *vexillum*. To je po svoj prilici simbolični prikaz odličja na koje su imali pravo samo viši časnici. Možemo tek nagađati da se prikazani *vexillum* ticao našega pokojnika, jer u sačuvanom dijelu natpisa nema spomena njegovih eventualnih junačkih djela i odlikovanja. Od natpisa je, naime, očuvan samo manji dio, odnosno desna strana triju posljednjih redaka, iznad reljefnog prikaza na prednjoj strani urne:

---]ASIORVM · TRIB
---]ARITO · KARISSIMO
---]CIT

--- Baet]asiorum, trib(uno) (militum)
--- m]arito karissimo
--- fe]cit

odnosno

---]ASTORVM · TRIB
---]ARITO · KARISSIMO
---]CIT
---] Astorum, trib(uno) (militum)
--- m]arito karissimo
--- fe]cit

10. Urn

Danilo, Gradski muzej Šibenik
height 25,5 cm, depth 17 cm, width 17 cm
2nd c.

Approximately between a third and a half of the front side, the entire left lateral side, the entire posterior plate and the left upper part of the right lateral side of the object are missing. On the right lateral side there is an almost completely preserved figure of a naked boy or a young man, or an afterlife genius, in a shallow niche, while a similar or identical figure was probably present on the missing left lateral side of the object. A figural composition is represented on the frontal side, originally composed of at least three characters, out of which only two soldiers are now clearly visible. Only a tail is left of a horse (perhaps being led by a servant, or with a rider) on the left (missing) side, at the level of what appears to us as the left – but in reality the central – character. He is certainly a soldier, perhaps, judging by certain details, an officer, perhaps the deceased himself. The right figure is certainly a *cornicen*. He holds a horn in his left, and his head is covered with an unidentified animal skin. Judging by analogies, it is probably a wolf or bear skin, or perhaps a lion skin. In the field between two soldiers there is a *vexillum*. This is most probably a symbolical representation of a decoration reserved for higher officers. We can only guess that this *vexillum* had something to do with the deceased, since the preserved part of the inscription does not mention his potential heroics and decorations. Only a small part of the inscription is preserved, the right side of three final lines, above the relief on the front side of the urn:

---]ASIORVM · TRIB
---]ARITO · KARISSIMO
---]CIT

--- Baet]asiorum, trib(uno) (militum)
--- m]arito karissimo
--- fe]cit

or

---]ASTORVM · TRIB
---]ARITO · KARISSIMO
---]CIT
---] Astorum, trib(uno) (militum)
--- m]arito karissimo
--- fe]cit



The inscription undoubtedly mentioned the *cursum honorum* of the deceased knight. Thus, before the enumeration of his tribunical service in an unknown legion, an infantry auxiliary cohort that was under his command – he had to command it in order to receive the status of a military tribune (*tribunus legionis angusticlavius*) – should have been mentioned. The deceased served in, probably, the *cohors I Baetasiorum civium Romanorum* or in some of the seven cohorts bearing the name of *cohors Asturum*. Based on epigraphic, iconographic, but also technical elements (the soldier's pupils are bored with a drill), the urn cannot be earlier than the early 130s. Since the inscription is fragmentary, a more precise chronology is not possible, but we believe that the acceptable time frame would be between AD 120 and 200. It needs to be emphasized that the lower limit is somewhat less probable, and the second half of the 2nd c. seems a more acceptable solution.

Published in: Pedišić & Zaninović 2007, 7-12.

Bibliography: Domic Kunić & Radman-Livaja 2009, 67-106

I. R.-L.

Natpis nesumnjivo sadrži *cursum honorum* preminulog viteza, pa bi se prije navođenja tribunske službe koju je obavljao u nekoj, nama nepoznatoj, legiji trebao nalaziti spomen pješачke augzilarne kohorte, kojoj je prethodno morao zapovijedati da bi uopće mogao preuzeti vojnički tribunat (*tribunus legionis angusticlavius*). Pokojnik je, po svemu sudeći, služio ili u *cohors I Baetasiorum civium Romanorum* ili u nekoj od 7 kohorti koje su nosile naziv *cohors Asturum*.

Na temelju epigrafskih, ikonografskih, ali i tehničkih elemenata (zjenice vojnika izbušene su svrdlom), urna se vjerojatno ne može datirati prije početka trećeg desetljeća 2. st. S obzirom na to da je natpis fragmentaran teško je odrediti precizniju dataciju, no vjerujemo da se kao prihvatljiv širi kronološki okvir može prihvatiti razdoblje između 120. i 200. godine. Ipak, treba napomenuti da je donja kronološka granica nešto manje vjerojatna, pa se datiranje u drugu pol. 2. st. čini prihvatljivije.

Objava: Pedišić & Zaninović 2007, 7-12

Lit.: Domic Kunić & Radman-Livaja 2009, 67-106

I. R.-L.

11. Nadgrobnji spomenik, središnji dio
Pula, prije 1893., AMI Pula, inv. br. A-301

vapnenac
visina: 48 cm, širina: 34 cm, dužina:
43 cm
treća četvrtina 1. st.

Središnji dio nadgrobnog spomenika kockastog oblika, od crvenkastog vapnenca. Natpis je djelomično sačuvan u završnim dijelovima prva dva reda: [---]mi / [---]i / -----. Bočne strane bile su ukrašene reljefima. Na desnoj bočnoj strani nalazi se reljef dijagonalno postavljenog kratkog mača (*gladius*) s ručkom kuglastog završetka, u okovanim koricama s remenom (*cingulum*). Korice mača imaju u gornjem dijelu sa svake strane po dvije ušice za vješanje lančića, a u donjem, trokutastom dijelu ukrašene su palmetom i završavaju kuglicom. Remen je ukrašen okovima u obliku rozeta na pločici i bez pločice, a završava jednostrukim lancem za kopčanje. Polukružna kopča s trnom ima pokretnu zakovnu pločicu. Sekundarnom obradom natpisni blok je klinasto oblikovan, odbijene su s lijeve strane tri četvrtine natpisnog polja. Natpisno polje uokvireno je ravnom letvicom čija visina na donjoj i gornjoj strani iznosi 6 cm, a na bočnima 2 cm i izvijenom letvicom čija visina na donjoj i gornjoj strani iznosi 2,8 cm, a na bočnima 2,4 cm. Jednake su dimenzije i omjeri letvica okvira reljefnog desnog polja. Unutrašnjost reljefnog polja visoka je 33 cm i široka 26 cm. Grubo obrađeno gore i otraga, s lijeve strane zaglađeno u sekundarnoj obradi. Na gornjoj strani nalazi se kvadratasti utor za pričvršćenje pokrovnog dijela spomenika. Prema obliku mača i remena s kopčom, spomenik je datiran u treću četvrtinu 1. st. S tom datacijom u skladu su oblik nadgrobnog spomenika, način njegove dekoracije i izostanak posvete bogovima Manima u formulaciji teksta, redom obilježja 1. st.

Objava: Reichel 1893, 11, kat. 96
Lit.: Franzoni 1987, 18, kat. 2; Starac 2006, 109, kat. 68

A. S.

11. Sepulchral monument, central section
Pula, before 1893, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-301
limestone
height 48 cm, width 34 cm, length 43 cm
third quarter of the 1st c.

A central part of a square sepulchral monument made of reddish limestone. The inscription is partly preserved in the endings of first two lines: [---]mi / [---]i / -----. The lateral sides were decorated in relief. On the right lateral side there is a relief of a diagonally placed short sword (*gladius*), with a handle with spherical tip, in a scabbard with a belt (*cingulum*). The scabbard has two chain suspension loops in the upper part, and it is decorated with a palmette on the lower triangular part, ending in a small chape. The belt is ornamented with rosette shaped fittings, both on a plate and without it, and it ends in a single fastening chain. The semicircular buckle with a tang has a mobile riveted plate. Secondly, the inscription block was formed in the shape of a wedge; three quarters of the inscriptions on the left were broken off. The inscription field is framed with a straight bar 6 cm high on the lower and the upper side and 2 cm on the lateral sides, and a bent bar, 2,8 cm high on the lower and the upper side and 2,4 cm on the lateral. The dimensions and ratios of the right field relief frame are the same. The inside of the relief field is 33 cm high, and 26 cm wide. It was coarsely retouched at the top and back, and it was secondarily polished on the left side. A quadrangular slot for the attachment of the covering of the monument is on the upper side. According to the form of the sword and the belt with the buckle, the monument is dated to the third quarter of the 1st c. The form of the sepulchral monument, its decoration and the lack of the dedication to the Manes in the text formulation, all conform to this date, since these are the characteristics of the 1st c.

Published in: Reichel 1893, 11, kat. 96.

Bibliography: Franzoni 1987, 18, kat. 2;

Starac 2006, 109, kat. 68

A. S.



MATO ILKIĆ

RIMSKE VOJNIČKE DIPLOME S PROSTORA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Rimske vojničke diplome su epigrafski spomenici pravnog karaktera koji obiluju mnoštvom dragocjenih podataka, osobito važnih za cjelovitije poznavanje mnogobrojnih i raznovrsnih auxilijarnih postrojbi. Pozivajući se na privilegije veterana iz republikanskoga razdoblja, a pridodavši im još i pravo na *conubium*, rimske vojničke diplome je institucionalizirao car Klaudije. Izdavane su od vremena njegove vladavine, pa sve do početka 4. st. Dobivali su ih pripadnici pomoćnih ala i kohorti, flote te drugih vrsta izvanlegijskih formacija, a u iznimnim slučajevima čak i pojedini vojnici nekih legija. Dakle, to su bili veterani koji su nakon propisanog broja godina službe, časno otpušteni te tom prigodom i nagrađeni rimskim pravnim povlasticama.¹ Ali oni nisu bili jedini koji su imali koristi od vojničkih diploma. Njima su se bili okoristili i carevi. Naime, dodjeljivanjem tih pravnih povlastica, sebi su stvarali odane zajednice sa statusom rimskih građana i to diljem goleme antičke države kojom su vladali.²

1 Osnovne podatke o rimskim vojničkim diplomama vidjeti u: Keppie 2001, 84-85; Matijašić 2002, 157-161; Lassère 2005, 797-807; usporediti i <http://www.romancoins.info/MilitaryDiploma.html>, 18. travnja 2010.

2 O uzročno-posljedičnoj pojavi rimskih vojničkih diploma, osobito o njihovoj pravnoj dimenziji, od novijih radova s citiranom starijom literaturom vidjeti u: Karlović&Milotić 2009, 43-57; Milotić 2009, 13-63. Također vidjeti i u: Valvo 2001, 151-167.

Roman military diplomas are epigraphic monuments of legal character abounding in valuable information, especially those important for the more complete knowledge on numerous and different auxiliary units. Roman military diplomas were institutionalized by the emperor Claudius, evoking the veteran privileges from the Republican period and adding them the right of *conubium*. They were issued from the period of his reign until the early 4th c. They were issued to the soldiers from the auxiliary alae and cohorts, navy and other types of non-legionary formations, in special cases even to certain legionaries. Thus, those were the veterans who were honorably discharged after the accomplishment of the term of their military service and given Roman legal privileges.¹ But they were not the only beneficiaries of military diplomas. The emperors also profited through them. With granting these legal privileges they have created loyal communities of Roman citizens, throughout the vast state they ruled.²

1 Basic information on Roman military diplomas are in Keppie 2001, 84-85; Matijašić 2002, 157-161; Lassère 2005, 797-807; compare also: <http://www.romancoins.info/MilitaryDiploma.html>, accessed on 18th April, 2010.

2 For the causes and effects of the appearance of Roman military diplomas, especially concerning their legal dimension, see the recent works, with earlier literature, of Karlović&Milotić 2009, 43-57; Milotić 2009, 13-63. See also Valvo 2001, 151-167.

Prevladava mišljenje da su rimske vojničke diplome automatizmom dodjeljivane svim časno otpuštenim veteranima peregrinskog podrijetla.³

Rimske vojničke diplome se uvijek sastoje od dvije četvrtaste brončane pločice međusobno spojene jednom ili više karika. Tekst diplome (*constitutio*) je urezan dva puta, i to u cijelosti na vanjskoj stranici prve pločice. Ponovljeni sadržaj na unutarnjim stranicama diptiha smatrao se vjerodostojnijim i bio je zapečaćen olovnim plombama svjedoka čija su imena urezana na vanjskoj stranici druge pločice, o čemu svjedoči jedna izvrsno sačuvana diploma koja se čuva u Muzeju Brodskog Posavlja.⁴ Iako je riječ o prijepisu preuzetom s opće carske konstitucije koja je u Rimu bila izvešana na uvid *urbi et orbi*, ipak se drži da vojnička diploma predstavlja pravni akt u izvorniku. Naime, kako kaže Ivan Milotić: „ona je jedinstvena za svakog vojnika poimence i samo kao takva jamči mu pravnu povlasticu“.⁵

Uključujući i ulomke, dosad je na prostoru nekadašnjeg Rimskog Carstva otkriveno oko tisuću vojnih diploma.⁶ S prostora Republike Hrvatske poznato je 14 takvih svjedočanstava, od kojih je njih sedam u cjelovitom stanju očuvanosti. Većina ih je obrađena u znanstvenim publikacijama, a samo su dva ulomka tek spomenuta u literaturi. Iako su te rimske vojničke diplome otkrivene slučajno, uglavnom se znaju mjesta njihova pronalaska (Karta 1).

U proširivanju i učvršćivanju Rimskoga Carstva, kao što je dobro poznato, bili su uključeni i pripadnici pokorenih naroda. No neki od njih se i nisu baš uvijek rado odazivali službi, kojoj je cilj bilo stvaranje novoga svjetskog poretka pod rimskom vlašću.

3 Morris&Roxan 1977, 300. Za drugačije mišljenje, prema kojemu su diplome darivane kao odlikovanje *ob virtutem*, tj. samo za iskazanu hrabrost u ratu ili zbog teških fizičkih poslova u mirnodopskim uvjetima, vidjeti u: Dušanić 1982, 197-232.

4 Miškov 1998a, 83-99.

5 Milotić 2009, 51.

6 Prve veće skupine te vrste epigrafske građe objavljene su u 3. i 16. svesku *CIL*-a. Noviji takvi nalazi publicirani su u pet svezaka *RMD*-a (*Roman Military Diplomas*). Na podatku o broju pronađenih diploma zahvaljujem Andreasu Pangerlu, koji je samostalno ili u koautorstvu dosad objavio njih oko 150.

Today the opinion that Roman military diplomas were automatically issued to every honorably discharged veteran of peregrine ancestry prevails.³

Roman military diplomas always consisted of two quadrangular bronze tablets joined by two or more loops. The text of the diploma (*constitutio*) is carved in twice in its entirety on the outer side of the first tablet. The repeated contents on the inside of the diptych was considered more reliable and was sealed with lead seals of witnesses whose names were carved in on the outer side of the second tablet, as seen in a well-preserved diploma kept in the Museum of Brodsko Posavlje.⁴ Although this is a transcript copied from a general imperial order hoisted in Rome *urbi et orbi*, it is still believed that the military diploma originally represented a legal act. In the words of Ivan Milotić: “it is unique for every individual soldier and only as such offers him legal privilege”.⁵

C. 1000 military diplomas, including fragments, were found in the area of the Roman Empire.⁶ From the Croatian territory 14 examples are known, seven of them complete. Most of them were analyzed in scientific publications, and only two fragments were only mentioned in the literature. Although the diplomas were chance finds, their sites of origin are mostly known (Map 1).

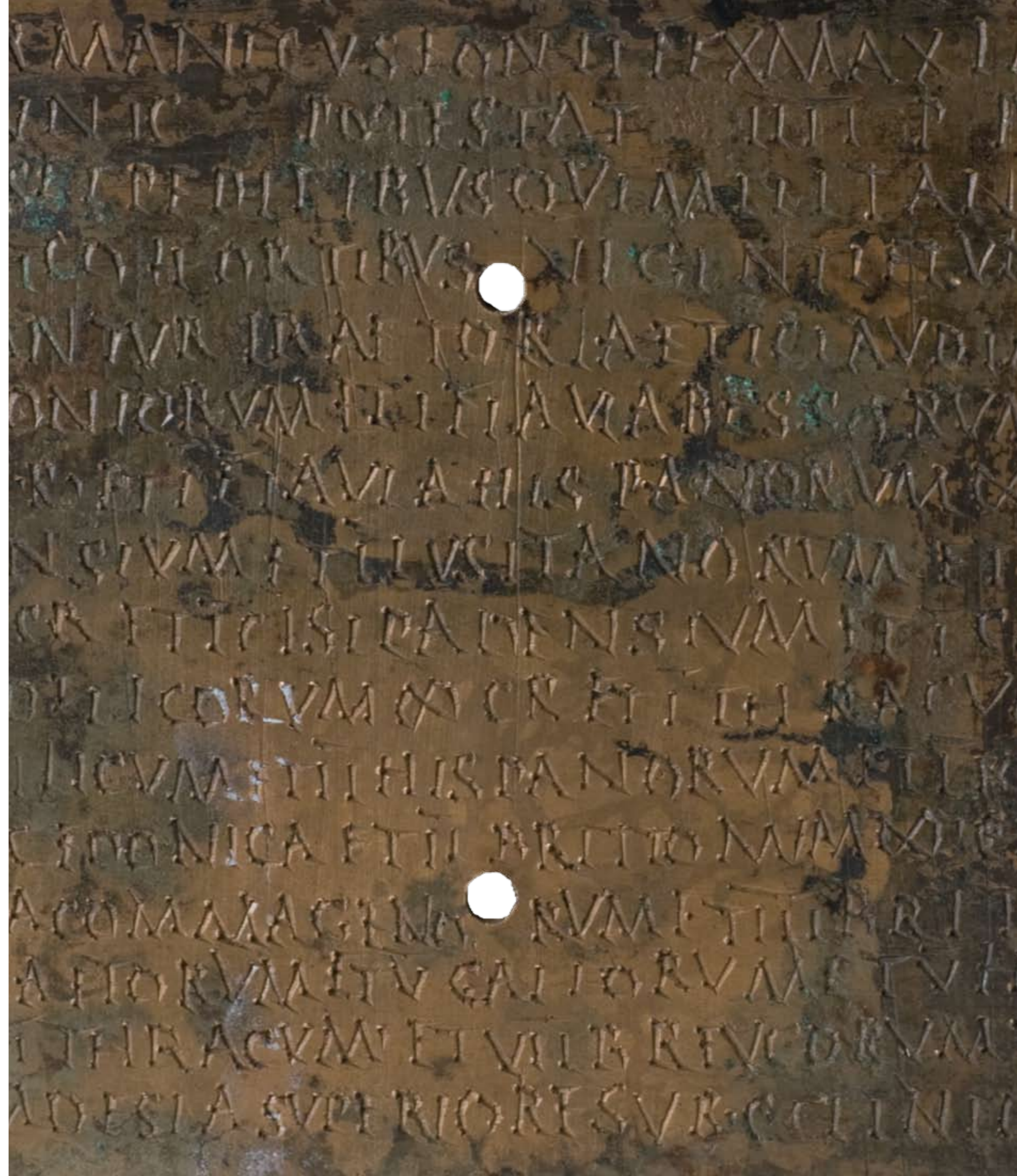
It is well known that the conquered nations also took part in expansion and strengthening of the Empire. But some of them were not always very eager to answer the call of duty to a force planning to create a new world order under Roman dominion. Precisely the extensive recruiting among the peregrine youth of the Illyricum for the Marcomannic wars was one of major reasons of a mutiny against this force. The ensuing conflict, according

3 Morris&Roxan 1977, 300. For a different opinion, stating that the diplomas were issued as a medal *ob virtutem*, thus only for bravery in battle or hard physical work during peace, see Dušanić 1982, 197-232.

4 Miškov 1998a, 83-99.

5 Milotić 2009, 51.

6 First larger groups of this type of epigraphic material were published in the 3rd and 16th CIL volume. More recent examples were published in five volumes of the RMD (*Roman Military Diplomas*). I would like to thank Andreas Pangerl for the information on the number of diplomas (he has already published, as a single author or in collaboration, c. 150 examples).



MJESTA NALAZA RIMSKIH VOJNIČKIH DIPLOMA NA PODRUČJU REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE
FINDS OF THE ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA



1. (?) ČITLUK (AEQUUM); 2. DUBOČICA, KOD SLAVONSKOG ŠAMCA / NEAR SAVONSKI ŠAMAC;
3. GRABARJE, KOD SLAVONSKOG BRODA / NEAR SLAVONSKI BROD; 4. ILAČA; 5. JECI, KOD UMAGA / NEAR UMAG;
6. NEGOSLAVCI; 7. PODGRAĐE (ASSERIA); 8. SISAK (SISCIA); 9. SOLIN (SALONA);
10. SOTIN (CORNACUM); 11. (?) TRILJ (TILURIUM); 12. VUKOVAR

Upravo pretjerano novačenje mladića među peregrinima s prostora Ilirika, za rat protiv Markomana, bio je jedan od glavnih uzroka pobune protiv te iste vlasti. Sukob koji je uslijedio, kako kaže Svetonije, bio je *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica* („najteži od svih vanjskih ratova poslije punskih“).⁷ U tome velikom delmatsko-panonskom ustanku (*Bellum Batonianum*), koji je počeo 6. god., sudjelovali su i Breuci, jedno od tadašnjih glavnih autohtonih naroda u južnoj Panoniji. Iz njihovih je redova bio i Baton, jedan od ustaničkih vođa. Ugušenjem pobune 9. god., Rimljani su konačno pacificirali ilirička plemena.⁸ No iz njihovih redova su i dalje nastavili novačiti mladiće sa zadatkom da služe rimskim interesima diljem antičke velesile. Da je tome tako svjedoče i neke od najstarijih rimskih vojničkih diploma, odnosno one iz razdoblja posljednjih dvaju careva julijevske-klaudijske dinastije. Jednu takvu, doduše necjelovito sačuvanu, objavio je još potkraj 19. st. jedan od pionira hrvatske arheologije, Josip Brunšmid.⁹ Ta je diploma izdana za konjanika Druge kohorte Hispanaca, Dasenta, podrijetlom Kornakata.¹⁰ U toj ispravi iz približno sredine 1. st. (svakako prije 13. veljače 54. god.), među inim, naveden je i njegov otac Dasmen, koji je vjerojatno bio suvremenik velikoga delmatsko-panonskog ustanka. Spomenuta diploma je otkrivena u rijeci Savi nedaleko od Sremske Rače,¹¹ pa se može s velikom sigurnošću pretpostaviti da se Dasent, stekavši rimski civitet, vratio u svoj rodni zavičaj ili njegovu bližu okolicu. U svakom slučaju, nakon što je

to Suetonius, was *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica* (“the hardest of all outside wars after the Punic”).⁷ In this great Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising (*Bellum Batonianum*), starting in AD 6, the Breuci also took part, being one of the leading autochthon nations of southern Pannonia. One of the leaders of the uprising, Bato, was their compatriot. With the suppressing of the uprising in AD 9 the Romans finally pacified Illyrian tribes.⁸ Yet they have continued to recruit youths out of their ranks for serving Roman interests throughout the Empire. This is testified by some of the earliest Roman military diplomas, those from the period of reign of the two latest emperors of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. One of those, although incomplete, was published in the late 19th c. by a pioneer of Croatian archaeology, Josip Brunšmid.⁹ The diploma was issued for a horseman of the Second Hispanian cohort, Dasentus, a Cornacatus by birth.¹⁰ The document, dating from the mid-1st c. AD (certainly before February 12, 54 AD), mentions, among other things, his father Dasmenus, probably a contemporary of the great Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising. The diploma was found in the river Sava near Sremska Rača,¹¹ and we can safely presume that Dasentus, obtaining the Roman citizenship, returned to his country of birth or its nearest surroundings. In any case, after being honorably discharged, he lived the rest of his life as a Roman citizen. But these legal privileges he did not only obtain for himself, but also for his family – his spouse, children and descendants.

⁷ Suet., *Tib.*, 16

⁸ On the Dalmatian-Pannonian uprising (*Bellum Batonianum*) see Pašalić 2009 (= Pašalić 1975: 376-431); Hoti 1992, 140-142; Zaninović 2003, 446-448.

⁹ Brunšmid 1897, 1-6; compare also Bormann 1898: 162ff, figures on pp. 164-165. The diploma is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

¹⁰ On the Cornacati, a people of southern Pannonia see Mócsy 1968, 373. A diploma was issued in 154 for a veteran belonging to this tribe. See *RMD* 169; *AE* 1990, 799; Weiß 1990, 137-149, T. IV, e.

¹¹ It is kept by the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. The surroundings of Sremska Mitrovica are noted as a place of discovery (Lőrincz 2001, 153, Cat. No. 2). But the diploma was, according to Brunšmid, found at the village of Bijela Crkva, some 3 km west of Rača (Brunšmid 1897, 1; Bormann 1898, 162). This site is located in the Serbian part of the Sava valley, some 30 km west of Sremska Mitrovica. On the diploma see *CIL* 16, 2.

⁷ Suet., *Tib.*, 16

⁸ O delmatsko-panonskom ustanku (*Bellum Batonianum*) vidjeti u: Pašalić 2009 (= Pašalić 1975, 376-431); Hoti 1992, 140-142; Zaninović 2003, 446-448.

⁹ Brunšmid 1897, 1-6; usp. i Bormann 1898, 162 i d., slike na str. 164-165. Diploma se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.

¹⁰ O Kornakatima, zajednici s prostora južne Panonije, vidjeti u: Mócsy 1968, 373. Iz njihovih je redova bio i jedan veteran koji je 154. god. dobio diplomu. O tome vidjeti u: *RMD* 169; *AE* 1990, 799; Weiß 1990, 137-149, T. IV, e.

¹¹ Diploma se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Kao mjesto njezina pronalaska navodi se okolica Sremske Mitrovice (Lőrincz 2001, 153, Kat. Nr. 2). Međutim, diploma je, kako kaže Brunšmid, nađena kod sela Bijela Crkva oko 3 km zapadno od Rače (Brunšmid 1897, 1; Bormann 1898, 162). Taj se lokalitet nalazi u srpskoj Posavini, oko 30 km zapadnije od Sremske Mitrovice. O toj diplomu vidjeti i u: *CIL* 16, 2.

časno otpušten, ostatak života je proveo kao rimski građanin. No te pravne povlastice on nije bio stekao samo za sebe, već su njima bili obuhvaćeni i članovi njegove obitelji, tj. supruga, djeca i potomci.

Rimskim civitetom nagrađivani su i pojedini susjedi Kornakata. To su po svoj prilici bili pripadnici već spomenutih Breuka,¹² iz čijih je redova formirano čak osam kohorti.¹³ Ali, to nije sve. Osim u te pomoćne pješacke postrojbe, oni su bili unovačivani i u druge vrste auxilijarnih formacija. Upravo jednoga njihovog konjanika spominje najstarija dosad otkrivena rimska vojnička diploma s prostora Republike Hrvatske. Izdana je 2. srpnja 61. god. za Breuka Dazija (*Dasius*), aktivnog vojnika Druge ale Hispanaca i Aravakâ. Taj Breuk bio je unaprijeđen u dekuriona. U vrijeme njegove službe *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* bila je stacionirana na području današnjeg Dalja (*Teutoburgium*). Vojnu karijeru *Dasius* je očito ostvario na prostoru svoje rodne južne Panonije. Na to upućuje i mjesto otkrića njegove diplome, svega 15 km južno od sjedišta konjaničke formacije u kojoj je bio zapovjednik jedne od turmi. Naime, ta cjelovito sačuvana isprava pronađena je u Vukovaru.¹⁴ Oko osam km južno od toga grada na Dunavu, u mjestu Negoslavci otkrivena je još jedna rimska vojnička diploma iz Neronovog razdoblja, koja je također pripadala jednome od Breuka. Izdana je 17. lipnja 65. god. za Likaja, pješaka Sedme kohorte Breuka.¹⁵ Ta je postrojba tada bila na službi u Germaniji, rimskoj provinciji odakle se *Licaius*, nakon časnog otpusta, vratio u južnu Panoniju.

Istoga je imena bio još jedan primatelj vojničke diplome s hrvatskog područja, koji je bio centurion iz carske pomorske flote u gradu Mizenu (*Misenum*). Bio je to Likaj, sin Birsov, iz Marsunije/Marsonije (Slavonski Brod). On se, iako je od cara Vespazijana

Roman citizenship was awarded to some of the neighbors of the Cornacti. These probably belonged to the nation of the already mentioned tribe of Breuci,¹² from whose ranks as much as eight cohorts were filled.¹³ But this is not all. They were recruited in other auxiliary formations, other than auxiliary foot soldier units. Precisely one of their horsemen is mentioned in what is the earliest so far discovered Roman military diploma from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. It was issued on July 2, AD 61 for a *Dasius*, who belonged to the Breuci, an active soldier at the Second ala of the Hispani and Aravacs. This horseman was promoted into the rank of a decurio. During the period of his service the *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* was stationed on the area of modern Dalj (*Teutoburgium*). *Dasius* obviously served his military career on the territory of his native southern Pannonia. This is also suggested by the place of discovery of his diploma, only 15 km south of the headquarters of the cavalry formation in which he commanded one *turma*. This complete document was discovered in Vukovar.¹⁴ Some eight kilometers south of this Danubian city another Roman military diploma was found in Negoslavci, from the reign of Nero, also belonging to one of the Breuci. It was issued on June 17, AD 65 for one *Licaius*, a foot soldier of the Seventh Breucian cohort.¹⁵ This formation was then serving in Germania, a Roman province from where *Licaius*, after honorable discharge, returned to southern Pannonia.

The same name was carried by another recipient of a military diploma from Croatian territory, a centurion in the imperial fleet stationed at Misenum: *Licaius*, son of Birso, from Marsunia (Slavonski Brod). Although he had received a donation from the emperor Vespasian of some land in Paestum (*deducto Paestum*), he returned to his native land. His excellently preserved diploma was issued on February 9, AD 71, and it was discovered in the river Sava at the gravel extraction facility of Dubočica, not far from Slavonski Šamac.¹⁶ Another incomplete diploma, dated some two months later in the same year, was found in

dobio zemlju u Paestumu (*deducto Paestum*), vratio u svoj rodni kraj. Naime, njegova izvrsno očuvana diploma, izdana 9. veljače 71. god. konstitucije, pronađena je u rijeci Savi na području šljunčare Dubočica nedaleko od Slavonskoga Šamca.¹⁶ Iz iste godine, ali oko dva mjeseca kasnije, datira jedna necjelovito sačuvana diploma koja je nađena u Grabarju, sedam km sjeverno od Slavonskoga Broda.¹⁷ I taj je primatelj diplome bio pripadnik flote, i to možda upravo jedan od veterana koji su dodatno spomenuti u toj ispravi kao oni koji su stekli prijevermeni *honestamissio* zbog svojih ratnih zasluga.¹⁸ Nakon časnog otpusta, taj se Panonac vratio kući. Iz flavijevskog razdoblja datiraju i dvije rimske vojničke diplome koje su nađene u Saloni. Prva od njih je izdana 5. travnja 71. god. za Platora, koji je bio centurion u ravenatskoj floti.¹⁹ Taj po podrijetlu Mezejac, iako naseljen (*deductus*) u Panoniju, zadržao se u glavnom gradu provincije Dalmacije. Nakon časnog otpusta, u njemu je ostao i *Venetus*, pješak Treće kohorte Alpinaca, sudeći prema drugoj salonitanskoj diplomu od 13. srpnja 93. godine.²⁰

Od ukupnog broja rimskih vojničkih diploma s prostora Republike Hrvatske, njih skoro polovica pripadaju razdoblju Antonina. Jedna takva cjelovito sačuvana izvađena je iz rijeke Kupe kod Siska (*Siscia*). U njoj je popis ala i kohorti koje su bile stacionirane u provinciji Gornja Mezija. Izdana je 8. svibnja 100. god. za Sapiju, Sarmosova sina iz Anazarba u Kilikiji, pješaka koji je služio u kohorti *I Antiochensium*.²¹ Približno u vrijeme njegovoga časnoga

Grabarje, seven km north of Slavonski Brod.¹⁷ This recipient of a diploma also belonged to the navy, probably one of the veterans mentioned in the diploma as receiving a premature *honestamissio* for their military merits.¹⁸ After an honorable discharge, the Pannonian returned home. Two military diplomas from Salona date to the Flavian period. The first was issued on April 5, AD 71, for *Platorus*, a centurion of the fleet stationed in Ravenna.¹⁹ This native Moesian, although settled (*deductus*) in Pannonia, resided in the capital of Dalmatia. After an honorable discharge *Venetus*, a foot soldier of the Third Alpine cohort, also remained in Salona, at least according to the second Salonitan diploma of July 13, AD 93.²⁰

Out of the total number of Roman military diplomas from the territory of Croatia, almost half of them belong to the Antonine period. One of those, a complete example, was taken out of the Kupa River near Sisak (*Siscia*). On it, a list of alae and cohorts stationed in the Upper Moesia province is recorded. It was issued on May 8, 100 for a *Sapius*, a son of *Sarmosus*, of *Anasarvus* in Cilicia, a foot soldier serving in the *I Antiochensium* cohort.²¹ Somewhat contemporary with his honorable discharge, an unnamed soldier was recruited, and his fragmented diploma was recently found in Asseria, an archaeological site on the site of modern Podgrađe, not far from Benkovac. This document was issued in 125/126. On it, a list of auxiliary units serving in Lower Dacia, a province then governed by *Cocceius Naso*, is recorded.²² It is believed that a small fragment, also taken out of the Kupa near Sisak,²³ belongs to a military diploma issued for the army of the province of

12 O Breucima vidjeti u: Patsch 1897: 831; Zaninović 2003, 443-449; Šašel Kos 2005, 376 i dalje.

13 O breučkim kohortama vidjeti u: Spaul 2000, 317-327.

14 O toj diplomu koja se čuva u Gradskom muzeju u Vukovaru, vidjeti u: *RMD* 202; Dušanić 1998, 51-62; Koledin 2000, 231-239.

15 Ta cjelovito sačuvana diploma čuva se u Gradskom muzeju u Vukovaru. O njoj vidjeti u: *RMD* 79; Dušanić 1978, 461-475; Dorn 1984, 165-174.

12 On Breuci see Patsch 1897: 831; Zaninović 2003: 443-449; Šašel Kos 2005: 376ff.

13 On the cohorts of the Breuci see Spaul 2000: 317-327.

14 On the diploma, kept by the City museum Vukovar, see *RMD* 202; Dušanić 1998: 51-62; Koledin 2000: 231-239.

15 This complete diploma is kept by the City museum Vukovar, see *RMD* 79; Dušanić 1978: 461-475; Dorn 1984: 165-174.

16 It is kept by the Brodsko Posavlje museum. See *RMD* 204; Miškiv 1998a, 83-101. On Roman fleets see D. B. Saddington 2007, 201-217.

16 Diploma se čuva u Muzeju Brodskog Posavlja. O njoj vidjeti u: *RMD* 204; Miškiv 1998a, 83-101. O rimskim flotama vidjeti u: D. B. Saddington 2007, 201-217.

17 Ulomak diplome iz Grabarja bio je prvi nalaz te vrste epigrafske građe s prostora Republike Hrvatske. Nađen je još prije 1862. godine, kad je prvi put publiciran. O tome vidjeti u: Brunšmid 1891, 34. Ulomak se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.

18 O toj necjelovito sačuvanoj diplomu vidjeti u: *CIL* 16, 17. Zapovjednik pod kojim su se borili primatelji ove konstitucije, *Cn. Paedius Cascus, cos. suff.* 71. god., bio je namjesnikom rimske provincije Dalmacije 74. godine. O tome vidjeti u: Kurilić 2006, 135 i nr. 111 na str. 142.

19 *CIL* 16, 14.

20 *CIL* 16, 38.

21 *CIL* 16, 46; Brunšmid 1911, 23-39. Diploma se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.

17 The fragment of the Grabarje diploma was the first epigraphic find of this kind on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. It was found before 1862, when it was published. See Brunšmid 1891, 34. The fragment is kept by the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

18 On this incomplete diploma see *CIL* 16, 17. The commander of the receivers of the constitution, *Cn. Paedius Cascus, cos. suff.* AD 71, was a governor of the Roman province of Dalmatia in AD 74. See Kurilić 2006, 135 and no. 111 on p. 142.

19 *CIL* 16, 14.

20 *CIL* 16, 38.

21 *CIL* 16, 46; Brunšmid 1911, 23-39. The diploma is kept by the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

22 Ilkić 2009a, 59-73. The diploma is kept by the Archaeological museum in Zadar.

23 Brunšmid 1915, 19.

otpusta bio je unovačen vojnik nesačuvanog imena čija je fragmentirana diploma nedavno nađena u Aseriji (*Aseria*), arheološkom lokalitetu na području Podgrada nedaleko od Benkovca. Aserijatska isprava datira iz 125./126. godine. U njezinom popisu navedene su augzilijarne formacije koje su služile u Donjoj Daciji, provinciji čiji je upravitelj tada bio *Cocceius Naso*.²² Za jedan manji ulomak, koji je izvađen također iz rijeke Kupe kod Siska,²³ smatra se da pripada vojničkoj diplomi izdanoj za vojsku provincije Sirije i to u razdoblju približno druge polovice vladavine cara Hadrijana, tj. između 127. i 136. godine.²⁴ Kronološki slijede dvije isprave iz razdoblja vladavine Antonina Pija. Otkrivene su na prostoru Vukovarsko-srijemske županije. Prva od njih nađena je južno od Ilače. Cjelovito je sačuvana. Izdana je 5. rujna 152. godine. Njezin primatelj *C. Valerius Dasius*, podrijetlom iz Dalmacije, bio je pripadnik carske ratne flote u Raveni.²⁵ Čini se da je neposredno prije časnog otpusta bio unaprijeđen u oružara. Naime, u tekstu na vanjskoj stranici je istaknuto da je on bio oružar (*armorum custos*), dok je na unutarnjoj strani naznačeno da mu je diploma izdana još kao običnom vojniku (*ex gregale*).²⁶ Iz Sotina (*Cornacum*), neistraženog arheološkoga lokaliteta 10 km jugoistočno od Vukovara, potječe necjelovito sačuvana vojnička diploma koja je izdana 157. god., vjerojatno 6. prosinca. Njezin primatelj je bio Valerije Fronton, podrijetlom iz Anazarba. Među inim, ta diploma spominje pet ala i 13 kohorti, augzilijarne postrojbe koje su tada bile na službi u Donjoj Panoniji. Otkrivena je na položaju pod nazivom „Popino brdo“, dominantnom prostoru u Sotinu uz desnu obalu Dunava, gdje je vjerojatno bio smješten rimski kastrum *Cornacum*.²⁷

22 Ilkić 2009a, 59-73. Diploma se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru.

23 Brunšmid 1915, 19.

24 *RMD* 2006, 702.

25 *CIL* 16, 100; Brunšmid 1891, 33-40; Bormann 1898, 168 i d., slike na str. 166-167. Diploma se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.

26 Bormann 1898, 170; usp. *CIL* 16, 100.

27 Ilkić 2009b, 143-164. Ta necjelovito sačuvana diploma je u privatnom vlasništvu. Registrirana je pri Ministarstvu kulture Republike Hrvatske.

Syria, probably during the second half of Hadrian's reign, that is, between 127 and 136.²⁴ Chronologically, two documents issued during Antoninus Pius' reign follow. They were discovered on the territory of the Vukovarsko-srijemska County. The first of them was found south of Ilača. It was issued on September 5, 152. The recipient, *C. Valerius Dasius*, a native Dalmatian, was affiliated with the imperial war fleet in Ravenna.²⁵ It would seem that he was promoted to the rank of an armourer, immediately before his honorable discharge. In the text on the exterior it is emphasized that he was an armourer (*armorum custos*), while the text on the interior notes that the diploma was issued to him while he was still only a regular soldier (*ex gregale*).²⁶ A fragmentary military diploma issued in 157, probably on December 6, comes from Sotin (*Cornacum*), an unexcavated archaeological site 10 km south-east of Vukovar. The recipient was Valerius Fronto, a native of Anasarbus. Among other things, the diploma mentions 5 alae and 13 cohorts, auxiliary units serving in Lower Pannonia at the time. It was discovered on the site of "Popino brdo", a dominant area within the Sotin perimeter along the right bank of the Danube, where the Roman castrum of *Cornacum* was probably situated.²⁷

The latest reliably dated Roman military diploma from the territory of the Republic of Croatia belongs to the early period of the Severan dynasty. It was found in Jeka, not far from Umag in northern Istria. Only the first tablet is preserved, but it still enabled the access to an almost complete contents. It was issued on February 1, 194. It was issued by the emperor Septimius Severus to one Lucius Vespensius Proculus, a son of Lucius, enlisted in the Polius tribus, of Faventia, a honorably discharged veteran of the 10th City cohort.²⁸ Considering that the Italic already possessed Roman citizenship, the diploma lists only the *ius conubii* as his privilege – so that he could legitimize his marriage with a peregrine.

24 *RMD* 2006, 702.

25 *CIL* 16, 100; Brunšmid 1891, 33-40; Bormann 1898, 168 ff, figures on pp. 166-167. The diploma is kept by the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

26 Bormann 1898, 170; compare *CIL* 16, 100.

27 Ilkić 2009b, 143-164. The fragmentary diploma is a private property. It is registered at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia.

28 The diploma is kept in Trieste. See *CIL* 16, 134; Sticotti 1908, 289-294; Benedetti 1973, 37-49; Milotić 2009, 64-137.

Najmlađa pouzdano datirana rimska vojnička diploma s prostora Republike Hrvatske pripada ranom razdoblju dinastije Severa. Otkrivena je u sjevernoj Istri u mjestu Jeci nedaleko od Umaga. Sačuvana je njezina samo prva pločica. To je, međutim, ipak omogućilo uvid u gotovo cjeloviti sadržaj. Izdana je 1. veljače 194. godine. Dakle, diplomu je dodijelio car Septimije Sever i to Luciju Vespensiju Prokulu, Lucijevu sinu, upisanom u tribus Polija, iz Favencije, veteranu koji je časno otpušten iz Desete gradske kohorte.²⁸ S obzirom na to da je taj Italik već otprije imao status rimskoga građanina, u njegovoj diplomi je od povlastica istaknut samo *ius conubii*, da bi se mogao ozakoniti njegov konkubinac s peregrinkom.

S prostora Republike Hrvatske potječu i dva manja ulomka rimskih vojničkih diploma, a koja su samo usput spomenuta u literaturi. Jedan takav je otkriven prije 1991. godine u Sotinu, na dunavskoj obali Vručak. Riječ je o ulomku prve pločice na kojemu su sačuvani dijelovi nekolicine redova teksta.²⁹ Drugi, sasvim mali ulomak rimske vojničke diplome čuva se u sinjskom Muzeju Cetinske krajine. Vjerojatno potječe s prostora Trilja ili Čitluka.³⁰

Gledajući u cjelini, rimske vojničke diplome s prostora Republike Hrvatske su nešto češće pronađene na širem području uz dunavski limes. Dvije su iz Sotina, gdje je bio *Cornacum*, jedno od najvažnijih vojnih uporišta na rimskom limesu u hrvatskom Podunavlju. Još tri rimske vojničke diplome su s prostora Vukovarsko-srijemske županije: iz Vukovara, Negotlavaca i Ilače. One su nađene u mjestima gdje su druge vrste rimskih nalaza veoma rijetke ili ih za sada uopće nema, što možda ukazuje na to da je na njihovom području časno otpuštenim veteranima bilo darovano i zemljište kako bi im se dugoročno osigurao imovinski položaj.

28 Diploma se čuva u Trstu. O njoj vidjeti u: *CIL* 16, 134; Sticotti 1908, 289-294; Benedetti 1973, 37-49; Milotić 2009, 64-137.

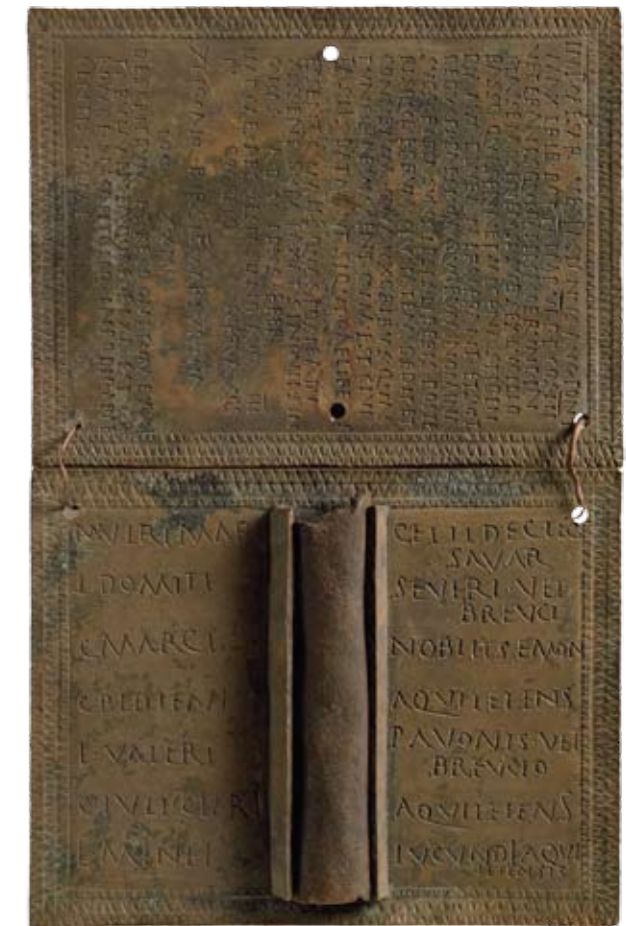
29 Taj ulomak je autor ovih redaka darovao Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. O tome vidjeti u: Ilkić 2009b, 147, bilješka 4.

30 Za taj ulomak, na kojemu su vidljiva tek nekolicina slova, saznao od dr. sc. Ivana Radmana Livaje. Za ukazano povjerenje ovom mu prigodom najljepše zahvaljujem, kao i prof. dr. sc. Anamariji Kurilić i dipl. iur. Ivanu Milotiću za uvid u teško dostupnu literaturu i niz korisnih savjeta.

Two smaller fragments of Roman military diplomas also come from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, but only a short notice on them exists in expert literature. One of them was discovered before 1991 in Sotin, on the Danube shore of Vručak. It is a fragment of the first tablet with only parts of few lines of text still preserved.²⁹ The other, very small fragment of a Roman military diploma, is kept in the Museum of Cetinska krajina in Sinj. It probably comes from the area of Trilj or Čitluk.³⁰

29 The fragment was donated by the author to the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. See Ilkić 2009b: 147, note 4.

30 I was informed of the existence of this fragment, with only a few visible letters, by Ivan Radman-Livaja. I would like to offer him my warmest gratitude on this occasion, as well as to Anamarija Kurilić and Ivan Milotić for help with the bibliography and numerous useful advices.

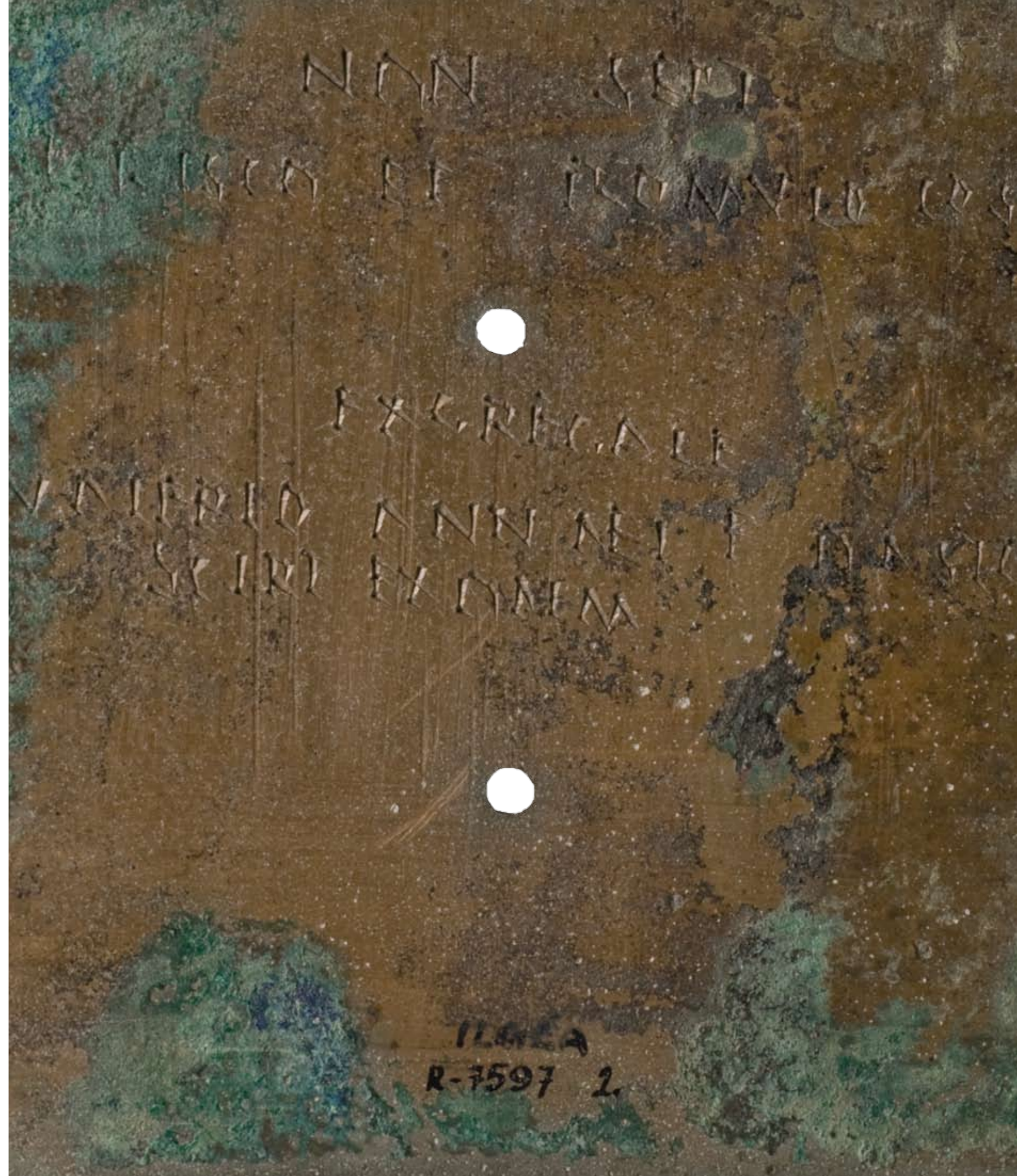


KAT. / CAT. 3 - VOJNIČKE DIPLOME... / MILITARY DIPLOMAS...

S obzirom na to da su unovačeni peregrini uglavnom služili daleko od svoga rodnog zavičaja, zanimljive podatke pruža rimska vojnička diploma iz Vukovara. Naime, njezin primatelj je bio *Dasius*, podrijetlom Breuk, koji je kao dekurion služio u Drugoj ali Hispanaca i Aravaká, konjaničkoj postrojbi koja je bila stacionirana u Teutoburgiju. Dakle, taj Breuk je službovao na prostoru južne Panonije, odakle je i bio podrijetlom. To, kao i njegovo unapređenje u zapovjednika turme, sugerira da je vjerojatno potjecao iz višeg društvenog sloja Breuka. Ostale rimske vojničke diplome s prostora Republike Hrvatske nađene su uglavnom u većim urbanim središtima, tj. u Sisciji, Saloni i Aseriji. Izravno ili posredno, rimske vojničke diplome, kao što je već istaknuto, pružaju niz dragocjenih podataka. U svakom slučaju te svojevrstne „domovnice“ ili „osobne iskaznice“ poticaj su za daljnja znanstvena istraživanja rimskoga svijeta.

On the whole, Roman military diplomas from the territory of the Republic of Croatia were more often found on the wider area along the Danube limes. Two come from Sotin, Roman *Cornacum*, one of the most important Roman military strongholds on the limes in the Croatian Danube area. Three more diplomas came from the Vukovarsko-srijemska County: Vukovar, Negoslavci and Ilača. They were found in places where other Roman finds are extremely rare or non-existent, which perhaps suggests that the honorably discharged veterans were given land in the area, so that their economical status would be ensured for a longer period. Considering the fact that the recruited peregrini generally served a long way from their native country, the Roman military diploma from Vukovar offers some interesting data. The recipient of this diploma was Dasius, a native Breucus, who served as a decurio in the Second ala of the Hispanians and Aravacs, a cavalry formation stationed in Teutoburgium. Thus he served in his native southern Pannonia. This suggests, together with the fact that he was promoted to a turma commander, that he belonged to the upper class among the Breuci. The rest of Roman military diplomas were found mostly in larger urban centers, Siscia, Salona and Asseria. Directly or indirectly, Roman military diplomas, as already emphasized, offer a number of valuable information. In any case, these “identity cards” are a stimulation for further scientific investigation into the Roman world.

VOJNIČKA DIPLOMA IZ ILAČE / MILITARY DIPLOMA FROM ILAČA





KATALOG NALAZA
THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

RIMSKE VOJNIČKE DIPLOME
S PROSTORA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS
FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

1. Rimaska vojnička diploma

Vukovar - Lužac, 1993., GMV, AZ-13
Bronca
ukupna širina: 309 mm; visina: 172 mm; debljina: 4 mm; širina pločica: 155 mm; težina: 1500 gr
2. lipanj 60. godine

Rimska vojnička diploma pronađena je u svibnju 1993. godine, tijekom poljo-privrednih radova na oranici uz desnu obalu Vuke, u vukovarskom naselju Lužac.

Diploma je cjelovita, izvrsno očuvana; sastoji se od dvije brončane pločice povezane brončanom karičicom. Izdana je od Nerona 2. lipnja 60. godine konjanicima četiri ale iz vojne posade Ilirika: I HISPANORUM ET ARAVACORUM, II HISPANORUM AURIANA, II HISPANORUM ET ARAVACORUM, II ASTURUM.

Diploma je izdana decurionu ale II. Hispanorum et Aravacorum, Dasju sinu Karmaja iz plemena Breuka, njegovom sinu Prokulu i kćerima Priscili, Prokuli i Proceli.

Zapovjednik ove ale u doba izdavanja diplome bio je Sekst Kavije Gal, a Lucije Salvidije Salvijs Ruf legat Ilirika. Na diplomu se nalaze imena osam svjedoka od kojih su prva trojica vitezovi.
Objava: Dušanić 1998, 51-62

M.H.

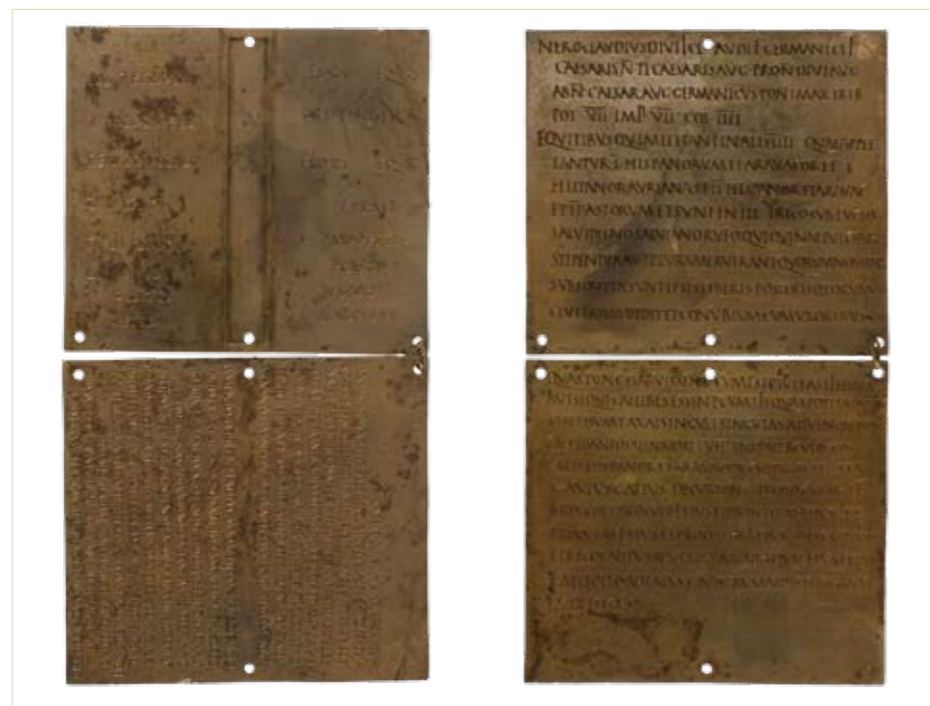
1. Roman military diploma

Vukovar - Lužac, 1993., GMV, AZ-13
Bronze
Total width: 309 mm; height: 172 mm; thickness: 4 mm; width of the tablets: 155 mm; weight: 1500 gr
June 2, AD 60

A Roman military diploma found in May of 1993 during agricultural works on a field along the right bank of the Vuka, in Lužac, a quarter of Vukovar. It is completely and exceptionally preserved; it consists of two bronze tablets joined with a bronze loop. It was issued by Nero on June 2, AD 60 to horsemen of the four *alae* of the military garrison in the Illyricum: I HISPANORUM ET ARAVACORUM, II HISPANORUM AURIANA, II HISPANORUM ET ARAVACORUM, II ASTURUM. It was issued to a decurio of the *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum*, Dasius son of Carmaius of the Breuci tribe, to his son Proculus and daughters Priscilla, Procula and Procela. The commander of the *ala* was in this period Sextus Cavius Gallus, while the governor of Illyricum was Lucius Salvidius Salvius Rufus. Eight witnesses are named on the diploma, first three of them knights.

Published in: Dušanić 1998, 51-62

M.H.



2. Roman military diploma

Negoslavci near Vukovar, 1975.,
GMV, AZ-12
Bronze
Total weight: 284 mm; height: 181 mm; thickness: 2,5 mm; first tablet: 142 x 181 x 2,5 mm; second tablet: 142 x 180 x 3 mm; weight: 889 gr
June 17, AD 65

A Roman military diploma found in a complete form during the construction of a family house in Negoslavci near Vukovar in 1975. It is excellently preserved; it consists of two bronze tablets. The text of the diploma is carved onto the exterior of the first tablet, and the names of seven witnesses on the exterior of the second one. On both interiors the text corresponds to their respective exteriors. The letters are larger and the spaces between lines bigger. The diploma was issued for a discharged soldier of the VII cohort of the Breuci, Liccaius a son of Liccaius, who campaigned in Upper Germania under the commander Publius Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus. It is dated by Nero's titles and the term of the suffect consul Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus Publius Padadienus Firmus on the 15th day before the Calends of July: June 17, AD 65.

Published in: Dušanić 1978, 461-475

Lit.: Dorn 1984, 165-174

M.H.

2. Rimaska vojnička diploma

Negoslavci kod Vukovara, 1975.,
GMV, AZ-12
bronca
ukupna širina: 284 mm; visina: 181 mm; debljina: 2,5 mm; prva pločica: 142 x 181 x 2,5 mm; druga pločica: 142 x 180 x 3 mm; težina: 889 gr
17. lipanj 65. godine

Rimska vojnička diploma pronađena je cjelovita prilikom izgradnje obiteljske kuće u Negoslavcima pokraj Vukovara 1975. godine. Odlično je očuvana; sastoji se od dvije brončane pločice. Na prvoj pločici s vanjske strane urezan je tekst diplome, a na drugoj vanjskoj strani imena sedam svjedoka. Na obje unutrašnje strane urezan je tekst diplome identičan onom na vanjskoj strani. Slova su krupnija a razmaci između redova veći.

Diploma je izdana isluženom vojniku VII. breučke kohorte Likaju, sinu Likaja, koji je ratovao u Gornoj Germaniji gdje je namjesnik bio Publije Sulpicije Skribonije Prokul.

Diploma je datirana titulama cara Nerona i po konzulu sufektu Aulu Liciniju Nervi Silijanu Publiju Padadijenu Firmu petnaestog dana prije julijskih kalenda: 17. lipnja 65.g.
Objava: Dušanić 1978, 461-475.
Lit.: Dorn 1984, 165-174

M.H.

3. Rimska vojnička diploma

Sava kod Slavanskog Šamac, 1997.,
MBP A-3992

bronca; restaurirana

visina obje pločice 16,8 cm; širina obje
pločice 13,1 cm; debljina prve pločice
1,5 mm; debljina druge pločice 2-3,2
mm; ukupna težina 727,8 g
71. godina

Rimska vojnička diploma pronađena je
1997. godine u rijeci Savi prilikom vađe-
nja pijeska na mjestu šljunčare Dubočica
kod Slavanskog Šamca, četrdesetak kilo-
metara nizvodno od Slavanskog Broda.
Diploma je legalizirani prijepis carskog
dekreta s izvornika koji se nalazio na jav-
nom mjestu u Rimu, a kojim se daje časni
otпуст iz dugogodišnjeg služenja u rimskoj
vojsci - sastoji se od dviju brončanih plo-
čica koje su međusobno spojene žicom
na dva mjesta. Na obje pločice je sa sva-
ke strane ispisan tekst urezanim slovima.
Sam tekst je dva puta napisan, na dvije
unutarnje strane pločica (po širini) i na
drujoj vanjskoj strani (po visini). Na prvoj
vanjskoj strani popisana su imena sedam
svjedoka koja potvrđuju točnost prijepisa.
Diploma je izdana u vrijeme cara Vespasi-
zijana, 9. veljače 71. godine, a dobio ju
je centurion Likaj, Birsov sin iz Marsunije
(MARSVNNIA) koji je zajedno s ostalim
suborcima-veteranima vojevao u mizen-
skoj floti pod Sekstom Lucilijem Basom.

3. Roman military diploma

The Sava River at Slavanski Šamac, 1997,
MBP A-3992

Bronze; conserved

Height of both tablets 16,8 cm; width of
both tablets 13,1 cm; thickness of the first
tablet 1,5 mm; thickness of the second
tablet 2-3,2 mm; total weight 727,8 g
AD 71

A Roman military diploma found in 1997
in the river Sava during gravel extraction
on the site of the gravel extraction facility of
Dubočica near Slavanski Šamac, some 40 km
downstream of Slavanski Brod. The diploma
is a legal transcript of an imperial decree
copied from an original exhibited in a public
place in Rome, giving an honorable discharge
from the Roman army – it consists of two
bronze tablets joined in two places with a
wire. Both interiors are inscribed with carved
in letters. The text is written twice, on both
interiors (horizontally) and on the exterior
of the second tablet (vertically). On the exterior
of the first tablet seven names of witnesses
are given confirming the correctness of the
transcript. The diploma was issued during
the reign of Vespasian, on February 9, AD
71, to a centurion Liccaius, son of Birso of
Marsunia (MARSVNNIA), who served with
other veterans in the fleet at Misenum under
Sextus Lucillius Bassus.



After twenty-six or more years of service they
have all acquired Roman citizenship (*civitas*)
and the right of a legal marriage (*conubium*),
and for their special merits they were given
the right to settle in Paestum in southern
Italy. The veteran Liccaius, though, did not
stay in southern Italy but he returned to
his native land, which is what his brothers
in arms probably also did. The original text,
with the names of all the veterans receiving
the diploma on that day, was placed on
the Roman Capitolium, on a copper tablet
attached to the base of the Julian *ara*, and
Liccaius' name was 23rd on the list. The
diploma is excellently preserved with a
very legible text, and it is given a special
significance by the fact that five out of total
of seven seals placed in a special compartment
with a mobile lid were preserved. The border
ornament of exterior sides is also well-
preserved – a triple line of zigzag incisions.
The Roman military diploma has a great
epigraphic value, but is also of a special
significance for the city of Slavanski Brod,
since it is the earliest literary testimony for
the Roman city on the territory of modern
Slavanski Brod. The name in the form
MARSVNNIA confirms the opinion that the
name is of a local Pannonian-Illyrian origin.
Published in Miškiv 1998a, 83-101
Bibliography: Miškiv 1998b, 1-18; Miškiv
1999, 3-13; Miškiv 2000, 103-107; Miškiv
2004, 53-63; Miškiv, 2005, 385-391;
Miškiv 2006

L. M.-L.

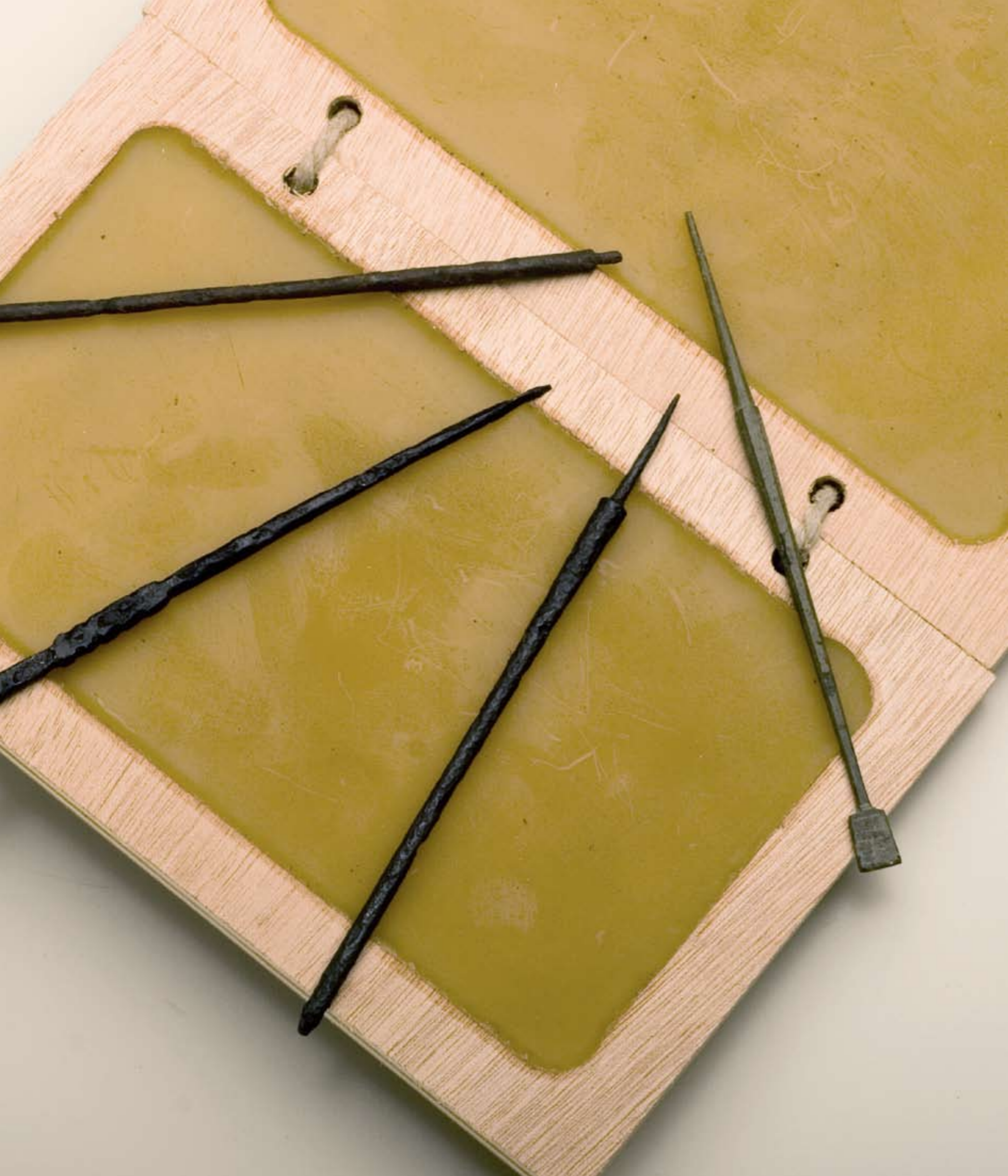
Svi su oni nakon odsluženja dvadeset i šest
i više godina stekli rimsko građansko pravo
(*civitas*) i pravo zakonitog braka (*conubi-
um*), a za posebne zasluge dobili su pravo
naseljavanja u Pestumu u južnoj Italiji. Ve-
teran Likaj nije ostao u južnoj Italiji nego
se vratio u svoj rodni kraj, kao vjerojatno i
ostali njegovi suborci. Izvorni tekst, na ko-
jem su bila popisana imena svih veterana
koji su toga dana dobili diplomu, nalazio
se u Rimu na Kapitoliju, na bakrenoj ploči
pričvršćenoj na podnožju are Julijeuskog
roda, a Likajevo ime se nalazilo na 23.
mjestu. Diploma je odlično očuvana s
potpuno čitljivim tekstom, a posebnu joj
vrijednost daje izvanredna očuvanost pet
od sedam pečata smještenih u posebnom
odjeljku s pomičnim poklopcem. Dobro je
sačuvan i rubni ornament vanjskih stranica
– trostruki niz cik-cak ureza.

Rimska vojnička diploma ima veliku epi-
grafičku vrijednost, ali i posebno značenje
za Slavanski Brod jer donosi prvi pisani
spomen antičkog grada na mjestu današ-
njeg Slavanskog Broda. Naziv grada u
obliku MARSVNNIA potvrđuje mišljenje
o domaćem panonsko-ilirskom podrijetlu
tog imena.

Objava: Miškiv 1998a, 83-101

Lit. : Miškiv 1998b, 1-18; Miškiv 1999,
3-13; Miškiv 2000, 103-107; Miškiv
2004, 53-63; Miškiv, 2005, 385-391;
Miškiv 2006

L. M.-L.



LITERATURA
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abramić & Colnago 1909

M. Abramić & A. Colnago, *Untersuchungen in Norddalmatien*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien 12, 1909, col. 13-112.

Abramić 1924

M. Abramić, *Militaria Burnensia*, in M. Abramić, V. Hoffiller (eds.), *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb – Split, 1924, 221-228.

Abramić 1927

M. Abramić, *O novim mljokazima i rimskim cestama Dalmacije*. Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku XLIX, 1926-27, 1927, 139-155.

Abramić 1937

M. Abramić, *O predstavama Ilira na antikinim spomenicima*, Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje 32/1-4, 1937, 7-19.

Abramić 1940

M. Abramić, *Historijski natpisi iz Garduna*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i dalmatinsku 51 (1930-1934), 1940, 225-229.

Alföldy 1962

G. Alföldy, *Die Auxiliärtruppen der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 14, 1962, 259-296.

Alföldy 1965

G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest, 1965.

Alföldy 1968

G. Alföldy, *s.v. Tilurium*. RE Supplementband XI, Stuttgart 1968, 1259-1268.

Alföldy 1987a

G. Alföldy, *Tilurium – der antike Name des Legionslagers Gardun bei Trilj in der Provinz Dalmatien*, Römische Heeresgeschichte, Beiträge 1962 – 1985, MAVORS, Roman Army Researches III, Amsterdam, 1987, 313-316.

Alföldy 1987b

G. Alföldy, *Die Auxiliärtruppen der Provinz Dalmatien*. Römische Heeresgeschichte, Beiträge 1962 – 1985, MAVORS, Roman Army Researches III, Amsterdam, 1987, 239-297.

Alicu *et alii* 1994

D. Alicu, S. Cocis, C. Ilies, A. Soroceanu, *Small Finds from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa I*, Biblioteca Musei Napocensis IX, Cluj-Napoca, 1994.

APJ 1987

Antički portret u Jugoslaviji, Jevta Jevtović (ed.), katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Beograd, 1987.

Baatz 1962

D. Baatz, *Mogontiacum. Neue Untersuchungen am römischen Legionslager in Mainz*. Limesforschungen 4, Berlin, 1962.

Baatz 1966

D. Baatz, *Zur Geschützbewaffnung römischer Auxiliärtruppen in der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit*, Bonner Jahrbücher 166, 1966, 194-207.

Babić 1996

I. Babić, *Dva međašna natpisa namjesnika Publija Kornelija Dolabele iz Trogirске zagore*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 12, 1996, 57-70.

Babić 2008

A. Babić, *Keramika*, in Miroslava Topić (ed.), *Pax et Bonum FF-AM*. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj, 2008, 187-227.

Balen & Radman-Livaja 2008

D. Balen Letunić – I. Radman Livaja, *Izvorište arhivskih podataka: izvadci iz putnih bilježnica Josipa Brunšmida o rimskim nalazima s dunavskog limesa*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 41, 2008, 417 – 438.

Barkóczy 1980

L. Barkóczy, *History of Pannonia*, in A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest, 1980, 85-124.

Behrens 1912

G. Behrens, *Neue Funde aus dem Kastell Mainz*, Mainzer Zeitschrift 7, 1912, 82-109.

Behrens 1914

G. Behrens, *Ditter Bericht über Funde aus dem Kastell Mainz*, Mainzer Zeitschrift 8/9, 1914, 65-93.

Behrens 1918

G. Behrens, *Neue und ältere Funde aus dem Legionskastell Mainz*, Mainzer Zeitschrift 12/13, 1918, 21-66.

Behrens & Brenner 1911

G. Behrens, E. Brenner, *Ausgrabungen im Legionskastell zu Mainz während des Jahres 1910*, Mainzer Zeitschrift 6, 1911, 53-120.

Bekić 1998

L. Bekić, *Tri manje privatne zbirke s Garduna*, Opvcvla archaeologica 22, 1998, 233-242.

Bekić 2002.

L. Bekić, *Ilirski i rimski Andetrij* (magistarski rad / M. A. thesis), Zagreb, 2002.

Belošević 1980

J. Belošević, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7. – 9. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1980.

Belošević 1985

J. Belošević, *Starohrvatska nekropola u Stankovcima kod Benkovca*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 24 (11), 1985, 73-97.

Benedetti 1973

A. Benedetti, *Un Diploma militare, Umago d'Istria nei secoli, vol. I*, Trieste, 1973, 37-49.

Bersa 1902

G. Bersa, *Iscrizioni Inedite*, Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia dalmata 25, 1902, 143.

Betz 1938

A. Betz, *Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Baden bei Wien, 1938.

Betz 1954-1957

A. Betz, *Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Dalmatien*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 56-59, 1954-1957, 82-87.

Biborski 1994a

M. Biborski, *Römische Schwerter mit Verzierungen*, in Claus von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Beiträge zur römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten (Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn)*, Lublin/Marburg, 1994, 109-135.

Biborski 1994b

M. Biborski, *Römische Schwerter im Gebiet des europäischen Barbaricum*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 5, 1994, 169-197.

Bishop 1988

M. C. Bishop, *Cavalry equipment of the Roman army in the first century A. D.*, in J. Coulston (ed.), *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers*, Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 394, Oxford, 1988, 67-195.

Bishop 1992

M.C. Bishop, *The early imperial "apron"*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 3, 1992, 81-104.

Bishop 2002a

M. C. Bishop, *A catalogue of military weapons and fittings*, Gessellschaft Pro Vindonissa, Jahresbericht 2001, 2002, 7-12.

Bishop 2002b

M. C. Bishop, *Lorica segmentata I, A handbook of articulated Roman Plate Armour*, The Armatura Press, 2002.

Bishop & Coulston 1993

M. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, London, 1993.

Bishop & Coulston 2006

M. C. Bishop, J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, Oxford, 2006.

Bojanovski 1974

I. Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, Sarajevo, 1974.

Bojanovski 1977

I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*. Godišnjak XV, Centar za balkanološka istraživanja. Knjiga 13, Sarajevo, 1977, 83-152.

Bojanovski 1984

I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, IV – rimska cesta Siscia-Sirmium (Tab. Peut.) i njena topografija*, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja 22, Sarajevo, 1984, 146-265.

Bojanovski 1988

I. Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Sarajevo, 1988.

Bojanovski 1990

I. Bojanovski, *Legio VIII Augusta u Dalmaciji*, Arheološki vestnik 41, 1990, 699-712.

Bojčić 1978

Z. Bojčić, *Gradac, Batina – prehistorijsko nalazište*, Arheološki pregled 19, 1978, 41 - 43.

Bojčić *et alii* 2009

Z. Bojčić, M. Dizdar, T. Hršak, T. Leleković, *Terenski pregled područja Batine*, Annales Instituti Archaeologici 5, Zagreb 2009, 125 - 129.

Bormann 1898

E. Bormann, *Neue Militärdiplome*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien 1, 1898, 162-180.

Boschung 1987

D. Boschung, *Römische Glasphaleren mit Porträtbüsten*, Bonner Jahrbücher 187, 1987, 193-258.

Boube-Picot 1964

C. Boube-Picot, *Phalères de Maurétanie Tingitane*, Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine 5, 1964, 145–199.

Breščak 1982

D. Breščak, *Antičko bronasto posodje Slovenije*, Ljubljana, 1982.

Britvić 1965

J. Britvić, *Neka topografsko-povijesna pitanja s teritorija Delmata*. Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 65-67 (1963-1965), 1965, 27-37.

Brunšmid 1891

J. Brunšmid, *Rimski vojnički diplom iz Ilače u Srijemu*, Vjestnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 13, 1891, 33-40.

Brunšmid 1897,

J. Brunšmid, *Rimski vojnički diplom iz Bijele Crkve kod Rače (kotar mitrovački)*, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 2, 1897, 1-6.

Brunšmid 1911

J. Brunšmid, *Rimski vojnički diplom iz Siska*, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 11, 1911, 23-39.

Brunšmid 1915

J. Brunšmid, *Ulomak rimskoga vojničkoga diploma iz Siska*, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 14, 1915, 19-21.

Bulat 1969

M. Bulat, *Topografska istraživanja na limesu u Slavoniji i Baranji*, Osječki zbornik 12, 1969, 39 – 52.

Bulat 1970a

M. Bulat, *Gradac - Batina Skela - naselje od srednjobrončanog do željeznog doba i rimski logor*, Arheološki pregled 12, 1970, 42 – 43.

Bulat 1970b

M. Bulat, *Najnovija istraživanja u Batini Skeli*, Glasnik slavonskih muzeja 5, 1970, 17 – 18.

Bulat 1974

M. Bulat, *Dalj – antičko naselje*, Arheološki pregled 16, 1974, 85 – 86.

Bulat 1977a

M. Bulat, *Ciglanja u Dalju – rimski grob od opeka*, Arheološki pregled 19, 1977, 93 – 95.

Bulat 1977b

M. Bulat, *Stanje istraživanja antičkih naselja u Slavoniji*, Antički gradovi i naselja u južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima, Materijali 13, Beograd, 1977, 63 – 87.

Bulić 1894

F. Bulić, *Iscrizioni inedite. Gardun (Arduba?)*, Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata 17, 1894, 3-5.

Bulić 1903

F. Bulić, *Iscrizioni inedite. Gardun-Vojnić, Arduba (?)*, *Delminium (?)*, Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata 26, 1903, 129-136.

Bulić 1905

F. Bulić, *Dell'iscrizione che ricorda Furius Camillus Scribonianus luogotenente della Dalmazia negli a. 41-42 dopo Cristo, e dell'epoca dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Salona*, Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia dalmata 28, 1905, 3-34.

Bullinger 1969

H. Bullinger, *Spätantike Gürtelbeschläge I, II*, Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses XII, Brugge, 1969.

Buora 1996

M. Buora, *Militaria da Aquileia e lungo la via dell' Ambra (I. sec. A. C. - I. sec. D. C.)* in Lungo la via dell' Ambra: Apporti altoadriatici alla Romanizzazione dei territori del Medio Danubio (I. sec. A. C. - I. sec. D. C.). Atti del Convegno di studio (Udine- Aquileia 16-17 settembre 1994), Udine, 1996, 157-184.

Buora 2002

M. Buora, *Militari e militaria ad Aquileia e nell'attuale Friuli*, in M. Buora (ed.), Miles Romanus dal Po al Danubio nel Tardoantico, Atti di Convegno internazionale Pordenone-Concordia Sagittaria, Pordenone, 2002, 183–206.

Burger 1969

A. Sz. Burger, *The Late Roman Cemetery at Ságvár*, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 18, 1969, 99–234

Burkowsky 1999

Z. Burkowsky, *Sisak u prapovijesti, antici i starohrvatskom dobu*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Sisak, 1999.

Burkowsky 2001a

Z. Burkowsky, *Rimska legionarska kaciga (tip Buggenum)*, in I. Ružić & Ž. Škoberne (eds.), *Kacige u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2001, 44-45.

Burkowsky 2001b

Z. Burkowsky, *Zbirke Gradskog muzeja Sisak, Oružje 1*, Sisak, 2001.

Bušariol 1990

F. Bušariol, *«S» spone u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 83, 1990, 21-28.

Buzov 1993

M. Buzov, *Segestika i Siscija – topografija i povijesni razvoj*, Prilozi Instituta za Arheologiju u Zagrebu 10, 1993, 47-68.

Cambi 1984

N. Cambi, *Gardunski tropej*, Cetinska krajina od prehistorije do dolaska Turaka, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 8, Split, 1984, 77-92.

Cambi 1989

N. Cambi, *Narona u odnosu prema bosansko – hercegovačkom zaleđu u ranijoj antici*, Zbornik referata međunarodnog simpozijuma “Bosna i Hercegovina u tokovima istorijskih i kulturnih kretanja u jugoistočnoj Europi” (Sarajevo 6–7 oktobar 1988), Sarajevo, 1989, 39-56.

Cambi 1991

N. Cambi, *Two Soldier Stelai from Salona*, Römisches Österreich. Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie 17/18, Zum Gedenken an Edit B. Thomas, 1991, 61-72.

Cambi 1993

N. Cambi, *Rimski nadgrobnici iz Aserije*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 31(18), 1993, 25-51.

Cambi 1994

N. Cambi, *Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 86, 1994, 147–181.

Cambi 2000

N. Cambi, *Imago animi – antički portret u Hrvatskoj*, Split, 2000.

Cambi 2001

N. Cambi, *I porti della Dalmazia, Strutture portuali e rotte marittime nell'Adriatico di età Romana*, Antichità Altoadriatiche 46, 2001, 137-160.

Cambi 2002

N. Cambi, *Antika, Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2002.

Cambi 2003

N. Cambi, *Bilješke o ikonografiji rimske paradne knemide iz Slavenskog Broda*, Opuscula archaeologica 27, Zagreb 2003, 489-497.

Cambi 2005

N. Cambi, *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*, Split, 2005.

Cambi 2008

N. Cambi, *Bilješke o skulpturalnoj baštini*, in Miroslava Topić (ed.), *Pax et Bonum FF-AM. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju*, Sinj 2008, 73-111.

Cambi *et alii* 2006

N. Cambi, M. Glavičić, D. Maršić, Ž. Miletić & J. Zaninović, *Amfiteatar u Burnumu. Stanje istraživanja 2003. – 2005.*, Drniš – Šibenik – Zadar, 2006.

Cambi *et alii* 2007

N. Cambi, M. Glavičić, D. Maršić, Ž. Miletić & J. Zaninović, *Rimska vojska u Burnumu. L'Esercito Romano a Burnum*, Katalozi i monografije Burnum 2, Drniš – Šibenik – Zadar, 2007.

Campbell 2006

D. B. Campbell, *Roman Legionary Fortresses 27 BC-AD 378*, Osprey Fortress 43, Oxford 2006.

Campedelli 2007

A. Campedelli, *Relazione della campagna di rilievo e scavo nel castrum Romano di Burnum*, Drniš (18-30 agosto 2006), in Cambi *et alii* 2007, Rimska vojska u Burnumu. L'Esercito Romano a Burnum, Katalozi i monografije Burnum 2, Drniš – Šibenik – Zadar, 2007, 51-64.

Cavada 2002

E. Cavada, *Militaria tardoantichi (fine IV-V secolo) dalla valle dell'Adige e dalle aree limitrofe*, in M. Buora (ed.), Miles Romanus dal Po al Danubio nel Tardoantico, Atti di Convegno internazionale Pordenone-Concordia Sagittaria, Pordenone, 2002, 139–162.

Chadwick Hawkes & Clough Dunning 1964

S. Chadwick Hawkes & G. Clough Dunning, *Krieger und Siedler in Britannien während des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts*, Bericht des Römisch-Germanische Kommission 43–44 (1962–1963), 1964, 155–231.

Christol 1997

M. Christol, *L'empire romain du IIIe siècle*, Paris, 1997.

Connolly 1999

P. Connolly, *Pilum, Gladius and Pugio in the Late Republic*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment studies 8, 1997, 41-57.

Coulston 1985

J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Archery Equipment*, British Archaeological Reports 275, International Series, 1985, 220-366.

Cuntz 1929

O. Cuntz, *Legionare des Antonius und Augustus aus dem Orient*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 25, 1929, 70-81.

Čače 1989

S. Čače, *Pogranične zajednice i jugoistočna granica Liburnije u kasno predrimsko i u rimsko doba*, Diadora 11, 1989, 59-91.

Čače 2003

S. Čače, *Aserija u antičkim pisanim izvorima. Tekstovi i komentari*, Asseria 1, 2003, 7-43.

Davies 1974

R. W. Davies, *The Daily Life of the Roman Soldier under the Principate*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 1, Berlin – New York, 1974, 299-338.

Deimel 1987

M. Deimel, *Die Bronzekleinfunde vom Magdalensberg*, Klagenfurt, 1987.

Demicheli 2006

Dino Demicheli, *Neobjavljeni antički natpisi iz Muzeja Cetinske krajine i Zbirke franjevačkog samostana u Sinju*. Izlaganje na znanstvenom skupu Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini, Sinj 10-13.10.2006., (u pripremi / in print).

Deschler-Erb 1999

Eckhard Deschler-Erb, *Ad arma, Römischer Militär des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Augusta Raurica*, Forschungen in August, Band 28, August, 1999.

Dixon, Southern 1992

K. R. Dixon, P. Southern, *The Roman Cavalry, From the First to the Third Century AD*, London, 1992.

Dizdar et alii 2003

M. Dizdar, R. Šoštarić, K. Jelinčić, *Ranorimski grob kao prilog poznavanju romanizacije zapadnog Srijema*, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 20, 2003, 57 – 77.

Dizdar et alii 2009

M. Dizdar, D. Ložnjak Dizdar, M. Ilkić, T. Leleković, *Sotin, terenski pregled 2008.*, Annales Instituti archaeologici 5, 2009, 122 – 124.

Dodig 2008

R. Dodig, *Rimski vojni pečati na crijepu iz Ljubuskoga*, Opuscula archaeologica 31, 2008, 143-163.

Dolenz 1998

H. Dolenz, *Eisenfunde aus der Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg*, Klagenfurt, 1998.

Domić Kunić 1993

A. Domić Kunić, *Gentije – međunarodni odnosi između Ilirije, Rima i Makedonije uoči i za vrijeme trećeg makedonskog i trećeg ilirskog rata*, Opuscula archaeologica 17, 1993, 205-251.

Domić Kunić 1995

A. Domić Kunić, *Rimske provincijalne flotile, s posebnim obzirom na udjel Panonaca*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 12, 1995, 83-100.

Domić Kunić 2006

A. Domić Kunić, *Bellum Panonicum (12.-11. pr. Kr.), posljednja faza osvajanja južne Panonije*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 39, 2006, 59-164.

Domić Kunić & Radman-Livaja 2009

A. Domić Kunić, I. Radman-Livaja, *Urna iz Danila u kontekstu društvene elite municipija Ridera (Urn from Danilo in the context of the social elite of the municipium Rider)*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 16, 2009, 67-106.

Dorn 1984

A. Dorn, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Negoslavaca*, Arheološka istraživanja u istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 9, Vukovar, 1984, 165-174.

Dubolnić 2006

M. Dubolnić, *Prapovijesna nalazišta na području Starigrada Paklenice*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 48, 2006, 1-55.

Dubolnić 2007

M. Dubolnić, *Argyrumtum i njegov teritorij u antici*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 49, 2007, 1-58.

Dušanić 1978

S. Dušanić, *A Military Diplomas of A.D. 65. Germania 56/1*, 1978, 461-475.

Dušanić 1982

S. Dušanić, *The Award of the Military Diploma*, Arheološki vestnik 33, 1982, 197-232.

Dušanić 1983

S. Dušanić, *Moesia and Pannonia in Domitian's last war on the Danube*, Živa antika 33, 1983, 13-21.

Dušanić 1998

S. Dušanić, *An Early Diploma Militare*, Starinar 49, 1998, 51-62.

Eggers 1951

H. J. Eggers, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*, Hamburg, 1951.

EPH IV

Ephemeris Epigraphica IV, Roma, 1881.

Faber 1973

Aleksandra Faber, *Građa za topografiju antičkog Siska*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 6-7, 1972-1973, 133-162.

Fadić 1995

I. Fadić, *Novi natpisi VII. legije iz Tilurija*, Diadora 16-17, 1995, 163-177.

Fadić 1997

I. Fadić, *Spomenici VII. legije na području Tilurija (Tilurium)*, Diadora 18-19, 1997, 77-119.

Fadić 2008

I. Fadić, *Kolekcija antičkog stakla*, in M. Topić (ed.), Pax et Bonum FF-AM. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj, 2008, 153-184.

Fahr 2005

R. Fahr, *Frühkaiserzeitliche militärrüstung vom Gelände eines Feldlagers aus dem Bataveraufstand*, Akten der 14. Internationalen Roman Military Equipment Conference, Carnuntum Jahrbuch 2005, 2005, 109–136.

Feugère 1985

M. Feugère, *Les fibules en Gaule méridionale de la conquête à la fin du Ve siècle après J.-C.*, Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, Supplément n° 12, 1985.

Feugère 1993

M. Feugère, *Les armes des Romains*, Paris, 1993.

Feugère 1994

M. Feugère, *Casques antiques*, Paris, 1994.

Feugère 2002

M. Feugère, *Weapons of the Romans*, Gloucestershire, 2002.

Feugère & Poux 2002

M. Feugère, M. Poux, *Gaule pacifiée, Gaule libérée? Enquête sur les militaria en Gaule civile*, Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa Jahresbericht 2001, 2002, 79–95.

Filipović 2006.

S. Filipović, *Varhegy – Mocsolas (Zmajevac)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 3, 2006, 30 – 31.

Fischer 1973

U. Fischer: *Grabungen im römischen Steinkastell von Hedderheim 1957–1959* (Schriften des Frankfurter Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Stadt Frankfurt a. M. II), Frankfurt, 1973.

Fingerlin 1972

G. Fingerlin, *Dangestetten, ein augusteisches Legionslager am Hochrhein*, Bericht des Römisch-Germanische Kommission 51–52 (1970–1971), 1972, 197–232.

Fitz 1962

J. Fitz, *A Military history of Pannonia from the Marcomann Wars to the death of Alexander Severus (180-235)*, Acta Archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae 14, 1962, 25-112.

Fitz 1980

J. Fitz, *Administration and army*, u A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest 1980, 125-140.

Fortis 1984

A. Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, J. Bratulić (ed.), Zagreb, 1984.

Franken 1996

N. Franken, *Die antiken Bronzen im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln*, Kölner Jahrbuch 29, 1996, 7–203.

Franzoni 1987

C. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militis, Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina romana*, Roma, 1987.

Franzot 1999

S. Franzot, *Aquileia e altri porti Romani – analisi della terminologia portuale nelle iscrizioni Romane*, Monfalcone, 1999.

Frere & Joseph 1974

S. S. Frere, J. K. St. Joseph, *The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe*, Britannia 5, 1974, 1–129.

Gabričević 1955

B. Gabričević, *Tropeum iz Garduna u sklopu pitanja naše etnogeneze*, Slobodna Dalmacija 29.-30. studenog i 1. prosinca 1955.

Galić & Radman-Livaja 2006

M. Galić, I. Radman-Livaja, *Vtere felix - pojasna garnitura iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Vtere felix - belt set from Varaždinskih Toplica)*, Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu 39, 2006, 165-185.

Galliazzo 1979

V. Galliazzo, *Bronzi romani del Museo Civico di Treviso (Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto 11)*, Roma, 1979.

Garbsch 1978

J. Garbsch, *Römische Paraderüstungen*, Katalog der Ausstellung, München, 1978.

Garbsch & Gudea 1990-1991

J. Garbsch, N. Gudea, *Despre cea mai veche diplomă militară eliberată pentru provincia Dacia*, Acta Musei Porolissensis 14-15, 1990-1991, 61-82.

Giunio 2003

K. A. Giunio, *Monumentalni žrtvenik s prikazom vučice s Romulom i Remom i scenama žrtvovanja iz Aserije*, Asseria 1, 2003, 133-152.

Glavičić 1994

M. Glavičić, *Natpisi antičke Senije*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 33(20), 1994, 55-82.

Glavičić 2002

M. Glavičić, *Gradski dužnosnici na natpisima obalnog područja rimske provincije Dalmacije*, (doktorska disertacija / PhD thesis), Zadar, 2002.

Glavičić & Miletić 2009

M. Glavičić, Ž. Miletić, *Excavations of the Legionary Amphitheatre at Burnum, Croatia*, in T. Wilmott (ed.), *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th-18th February, 2007, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1946, Oxford, 2009, 75-83.

Glavinić 1878

J. Glavinić, *Iscrizioni inedite*, Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata 1, 1878.

Grew & Griffiths 1991

F. Grew, N. Griffiths, *The pre-Flavian military belt: the evidence from Britain*, Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity 109, 1991, 47-84.

Grgin 1929

A. Grgin, *Skupni nalaz rimskih novaca iz Garduna*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 50 (1928-1929), 1929, 26-29.

Gruen 1996

E. S. Gruen, *The expansion of the Empire under Augustus*, in A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd Edition. Volume X, The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69, Cambridge, 1996, 147-197.

Gunjača 1937

S. Gunjača, *Topografska pitanja na teritoriju stare Cetinske županije s ekskursima o ubikaciji Setovije i Tiluriuma*, Izdanja «Bihaća», Hrvatskog društva za istraživanje domaće povijesti, Split, 1937, 39-46.

Gunjača 1950

S. Gunjača, *Novi prinos ubikaciji Tiluriuma*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 52 (1937-1949), Split 1950, 50-52.

Gunjača 1973

S. Gunjača, *Tri preživjela predhrvatska toponima*, Ispravci i dopune starijoj hrvatskoj historiji 2, Zagreb, 1973, 8-32.

Hajnóczy *et alii* 1995

G. Hajnóczy, T. Mezős, M. Nagy, Z. Visy (eds.), *Pannonia Hungarica antiqua (Itinerarium Hungaricum 1)*, Budapest, 1995.

Hampel 1878

J. Hampel, Magyarhoni régészeti leletek repertórium. Első közlemény. Archaeologiai Közlemények 12, 1878, 131-136.

Harnecker 1997

J. Harnecker, *Katalog der Eisenfunde von Haltern aus den Grabungen der Jahre 1949-1994* (Bodenaltertümer Westfalens 35), Mainz, 1997.

Hartmann 1983

M. Hartmann, *Ein Helm vom Typ Weisenau aus Vindonissa*, Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa, Jahresbericht 1982, 1983, 5-9.

Henderson 1949

A. M. Henderson, *Small Objects in Metal, Bone, Glass, etc.*, in J. P. Bushe-Fox (ed.), Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 16), Oxford, 1949, 106-160.

Hoffiller 1911

V. Hoffiller, *Oprema rimskog vojnika u prvo doba carstva*, Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog Društva 11, 1910-1911, 145-240.

Hoffiller 1912

V. Hoffiller, *Oprema rimskoga vojnika u prvo doba carstva II*, Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog Društva 12, 1912, 16-123.

Hoffiller 1937

V. Hoffiller, *Nove rimske vojničke kacige*, Časopis za zgodovino in narodnopolisje, "Kovačičev Zbornik", 32/1-4, 1937, 29-32.

Hofmann 1905

H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donaauländer*, Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts V, Wien, 1905.

Horbacz & Olędzki 1998

T. J. Horbacz, M. Olędzki, *Roman Inlaid Swords*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 9, 1998, 19-30.

Hoti 1992

M. Hoti, *Sisak u antičkim izvorima*, Opvscvla Archaeologica 16, 1992, 133-163.

Humer *et alii* 1998

F. Humer, W. Jobst, G. Kremer, *The Temple District on Pfaffenberg*, in J. Fitz (ed.), *Religions and Cults in Pannonia*, Székesfehérvár, 1998, 23-24.

Hunt 1998

D. Hunt, *The successors of Constantine*, in A. Cameron, P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd Edition. Volume XIII, The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425, Cambridge, 1998, 1-43.

I Langobardi 1990

I Langobardi, G. C. Menis (ed.), exhibition catalogue, Milano 1990.

Ilakovac 1982

B. Ilakovac, *Rimski akvedukti na području sjeverne Dalmacije*, Zagreb, 1982.

Ilakovac 1976

B. Ilakovac, *Portretna medalja iz Burnuma*, Arheološki vestnik 25, 1976, 158-164.

Ilakovac 1984

B. Ilakovac, *Burnum II. Der römische Aquädukt Plavno polje - Burnum*, Bericht über die Forschungen 1973 und 1974, Wien, 1984.

IlJug 1986

A. Šašel, J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 25, Ljubljana, 1986.

Ilkić 2005

M. Ilkić, *Pečati na antičkim opekama i krovim crepovima iz Sotina (Cornacum)*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 38, 2005, 19 - 54.

Ilkić 2006

M. Ilkić, *Antičke plombe iz Sotina (Cornacum)*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 48, 2006, 57 - 80.

Ilkić 2008a

M. Ilkić, *Arheološki tragovi turnirskih igara rimske vojne posade u Kornakumu*, Histria Antiqua 16, 2008, 137 - 144.

Ilkić 2008b

M. Ilkić, *Popovac - lokalitet Tuneli*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 41, 2008, 199 - 208.

Ilkić 2009a

M. Ilkić, *Rimska vojna diploma iz Podgrada (Asseria)*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 102, 2009, 59-73.

Ilkić 2009b

M. Ilkić, *Rimska vojna diploma iz Sotina (Cornacum)*. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 26, 2009, 143 - 164.

Ilkić 2009c

M. Ilkić, *Rimske zoomorfne fibule iz Sotina (Cornacum)*, Histria antiqua 18, 2009, 439 - 443.

Istenić 2000

J. Istenić: *Poetovio, Zahodna grobišta I, II*, Katalozi i monografije 33, Ljubljana, 2000.

Ivčević 2004

S. Ivčević, *Dijelovi opreme rimskog vojnika iz Garduna*, Opvscvla archaeologica 28, 2004, 159-176.

Ivčević 2007

S. Ivčević, *Aucissa fibule iz antičke Aserije (Podgrađe kod Benkovca)*, Aseria 5, 2007, 227-279.

Ivčević 2008

S. Ivčević, *Privjesci konjske orme iz Salone*, Archaeologia Adriatica 2/I, 2008, 213-222.

Ivčević 2010

S. Ivčević, *Dijelovi vojničke opreme iz Garduna u Arheološkom muzeju Split*, Opvscvla archaeologica 34, (u pripremi / in print).

Ivčević, u pripremi

S. Ivčević, *Metalni nalazi*, in Tilurij 3, (u pripremi / in print).

Jagenteufel 1958

A. Jagenteufel, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung 12, Wien, 1958.

James 1983

S. James, *Archaeological Evidence for Roman Incendiary Projectiles*, Saalburg Jahrbuch 39, 1983, 142-143

James 2004

S. James, *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928-1937, Final Report VII, The Arms and Armour and other Military Equipment*, London, 2004.

James&Taylor 1994

T. James, H. Taylor, *Parts of Roman artillery projectiles from Qasr Ibrim, Egypt*, Saalburg Jahrbuch 47, 1994, 93-98.

Jelovina 1976

D. Jelovina: *Starohrvatske nekropole na području između rijeke Zrmanje i Cetine*, Split, 1976.

Johnson 1987

A. Johnson, *Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, Band 37, Mainz am Rhein, 1987.

Jovanović 2010

J. Jovanović, *Rimsko brončano posuđe iz Arheološkog muzeja Split*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 102, 2010 (u pripremi / in print).

Junkelmann 1996

M. Junkelmann, *Reiter wie Statuen aus Erz*, Mainz, 1996.

Kandler *et alii* 2004

M. Kandler, F. Humer, H. Zabehtlicky, *Carnuntum*, in M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds.), The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Ljubljana 2004, 11-66.

Karlović & Milotić 2009

T. Karlović, I. Milotić, *Military Diplomas and the Legal Integration of the Roman Empire: Two Military Diplomas from Croatia*, in L. Beck Varela, P. Gutiérrez Vega, A. Spinosa (eds.), Crossing Legal Cultures, München, 2009, 43-57.

Keppie 2001

L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, London, 2001.

Kenner *et alli* 1890

F. Kenner, M. Hörnes, T. Frimmel, *Dvije čudnovate grupe od bronca iz okolice sinjske*, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja 2, 1890, 18-24.

Kirigin 1996

B. Kirigin, *Issa*, Zagreb, 1996.

Klemenc 1961

J. Klemenc, *Limes u Donjoj Panoniji*, Limes u Jugoslaviji, Zbornik radova sa simposiuma o limesu (Zagreb, 1960), Beograd, 1961, 5-34.

Klemenc 1963

Josip Klemenc, *Der pannonische Limes in Jugoslawien*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 3, 1963, 55-68.

Kliškić 2002

D. Kliškić, *Oružje i oruđe*, in E. Marin (ed.), *Longae Saloniae*, Split, 2002, 483-548.

Kohlert 1978

M. Kohlert, *Typologie und Chronologie der Gesichtsmasken*, in J. Garbsch (ed.), *Römische Paraderüstungen*, München, 1978, 19-28.

Koledin 2000

J. Koledin, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Vukovara*, Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva 15-16, 2000, 231-239.

Koščević 1980

R. Koščević, *Antičke fibule s područja Siska*, Zagreb, 1980.

Koščević 1991

R. Koščević, *Antička bronca iz Siska*, Zagreb 1991.

Koščević 1999

R. Koščević, *Nekoliko starih brončanih nalaza iz okolice Samobora*, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 13-14 (1996-1997), 1999, 41-48.

Koščević 2008

R. Koščević, *Metalni i koštani nalazi*, in M. Topić (ed.), Pax et Bonum FF-AM. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj, 2008, 229-280.

Kovačević (Miškiv) 1980

J. Kovačević (Miškiv), *Rimska paradna goljenica iz Slavenskog Broda*, Vijesti Muzeja Brodskog Posavlja 4, 1980, 135-140.

Krnčević 1999-2000

Ž. Krnčević, *Prilog poznavanju srednjovjekovnog oružja: strelice iz Podumaca kod Unešića*, Opvscvla archaeologica 23-24, 1999-2000, 487-501.

Kubitschek 1924

W. Kubitschek, *Dalmatinsche Notizien*, in M. Abramić, V. Hoffiller (eds.), Strena Buliciana, Zagreb - Split, 1924, 209-219.

Kurilić 2006

A. Kurilić, *Recent epigraphic finds from the Roman province of Dalmatia*, in D. Davison, V. Gaffney, E. Marin (eds.), Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001, Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1576, Oxford, 2006, 133-147.

Lassère 2005

J. M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine*, Paris, 2005.

Lawson 1978

A. K. Lawson, *Studien zum römischen Pferdegeschirr*, Jahrbuch des Römischen-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 25, 1978, 131-172.

Lolić 2003

T. Lolić, *Colonia Flavia Siscia*, in M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds.), The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia / Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien - Pannonia I, Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, 131-152.

Lovrić 1948

I. Lovrić, *Bilješke o Putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa i Život Stanislava Sočivice*, Zagreb, 1948.

Lőrincz 2001

B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit*, Wien 2001.

Mackensen 1991

M. Mackensen, *Frühkaiserzeitliches Pferdegeschirr aus Thamusida*, Germania 69/1, 1991, 166-175.

Manning 2000

W. H. Manning, *The fortresses of legio XX*, in R. J. Brewer (ed.), Roman Fortresses and their Legions, London - Cardiff, 2000, 69-81.

Maršić 2007

D. Maršić, *Nadgrobní spomenici Burnuma*, Zbornik radova sa simpozija «Rijeka Krka i nacionalni park «Krka». Prirodna i kulturna baština, zaštita i održivi razvitak» (Šibenik, 5.-8. listopada 2005), Šibenik, 2007, 203-228.

Marušić 1967

B. Marušić, *Nekropole VII - VIII vijeka u Istri*, Arheološki Vestnik 18, 1967, 333-348.

Matešić 2005

S. Matešić, *Fibeln, Militaria, Pferdegeschirr und Wagenteile der Gersbach-Grabung im Bonner Legionslager* (magistarska radnja / M. A. thesis), Köln, 2005.

Matijašić 2002

R. Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiku*, Pula, 2002.

Matulić 2010

B. Matulić, *Tilurijski mozaik u svjetlu mozaičnog stvaralaštva provincije Dalmacije tijekom 1. st. poslije Krista*, in Mirjana Sanader (ed.), Tilurij II. Istraživanja 2002-2006 (u pripremi / in print).

Mayer 1957

A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung XV, Wien, 1957.

Mayer 1959

A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung XVI, Wien, 1959.

Medini 1979

J. Medini, *Iovilae zavjet iz Burnuma*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 18 (8), 1979, 137-165.

Medini 1984

J. Medini, *Spomenici s Atisovim likom na području Sinjske krajine*, Cetinska krajina od prehistorije do dolaska Turaka, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 8, Split, 1984, 107-126.

Medini 1989

J. Medini, *Metroaca Burnensia*, Diadora 11, 1989, 255-284.

Mielczarek 1993

M. Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii, Studeis on the Heavy Armoured Cavalry of the Ancient World*, Lodz, 1993.

Miks 2007

C. Miks, *Studien zur römischen Schwertbewaffnung in der Kaiserzeit*, Kölner Studien zur Archäologie der römischen Provinzen 8, Köln, 2007.

Miletić 2006

Ž. Miletić, *Roman Roads along the Eastern Coast: State of Research*, in S. Čače, A. Kurilić, F. Tassaux (eds.), Les Routes de l'Adriatique antique - géographie et économie, Bordeaux - Zadar, 2006, 125-136.

Miletić 2007

Ž. Miletić, *Prostorna organizacija i urbanizam rimskog Burnuma*, in D. Marguš (ed.), Zbornik radova Simpozij Rijeka Krka i Nacionalni park «Krka». Prirodna i kulturna baština, zaštita i održivi razvitak. (Šibenik, 5.-8. listopada 2005), Šibenik, 2007, 181-202.

Milošević 1981

A. Milošević, *Arheološki spomenici gornjeg i srednjeg toka rijeke Cetine*, Arheološka i historijska baština Cetinske krajine, Zbornik Cetinske krajine 2, Sinj, 1981, 1-135.

Milošević 1987

P. Milošević, *Weapons and Equipment of Roman Military during the Conquest of and Consolidation in the Sava River Basin*, in O. Brukner, V. Dautova-Ruševljan, P. Milošević (eds.), The Beginnings of Romanization in the Southeastern Part of Pannonia Province, Novi Sad, 1987, 11-24.

Milošević 1998

A. Milošević, *Arheološka topografija Cetine*, Split, 1998.

Milošević 1999

A. Milošević, *Archäologische Probeuntersuchungen im Flussbett der Cetina (Kroatien) zwischen 1990 und 1994*, Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 29/2, 1999, 203-210.

Milošević 2003

A. Milošević, *Numini Hippi Fluvii*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Split, 2003.

Milošević, 2008

A. Milošević, *Rimski bodež s tauširanim koricama iz korita Cetine u Trilju*, Triljski most, God. III, br. 1 (3), Trilj, 2008, 49-55.

Milošević 2009

A. Milošević, *Pons Tiluri*, Histria Antiqua 17, 2009, 169-182.

Milotić 2009

I. Milotić, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Umaga*, Umag, 2009.

Minichreiter 1976

K. Minichreiter, *Batina skela, Općina Beli Manastir - prahistorijski i antički lokalitet*, Arheološki Pregled 18, 1976, 37 - 40.

Minichreiter 1977

K. Minichreiter, *Zaštitna arheološka sondiranja u Batina Skeli tokom 1976. godine*, Glasnik slavonskih muzeja 33, 1977, 20 – 24.

Milošević 2009

A. Milošević, *Pons Tiluri*, Histria Antiqua 17, 2009, 169-182.

Miškić 1979

J. Miškić-Kovačević, *Römische Paradebeinschiene aus Slavonski Brod*, Archaeologia Iugoslavica 16, 1979, 23-31.

Miškić 1993

J. Miškić, *Rimska paradna potkoljenica iz Slavenskog Broda*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 16, Zagreb, 1993, 71-81.

Miškić 1998a

J. Miškić, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Slavenskog Broda*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 30-31, 1998, 83-101.

Miškić 1998b

J. Miškić, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Slavenskog Broda*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Slavonski Brod, 1998, 1-18.

Miškić 1999

J. Miškić, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Slavenskog Broda*, Katalog izložbe, Zagreb 1999, 3-13.

Miškić 2000

J. Miškić, *Ave Marsvnnia! „Brodenses“ te salutant*, Opuscula archaeologica 23-24, 1999-2000, 103-107.

Miškić 2004

J. Miškić, *Rimska vojnička diploma iz Slavenskog Broda*, Vijesti Muzeja Brodskog Posavlja 9, 2004, 53-63.

Miškić 2005

J. Miškić, *The name of the centurion Liccaius on the Roman military diploma from Slavonski Brod*, Illyrica antiqua, Ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević, Zagreb, 2005, 385-391.

Miškić 2006

J. Miškić, *Dva jedinstvena antička nalaza iz Slavenskog Broda, fotografije i crteži – Rimski paradni štitnik-knemida iz Slavenskog Broda i Rimska vojnička diploma iz Slavenskog Broda*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Zagreb, 2006.

Miškić & Lozuk 1988

J. Miškić, J. Lozuk, *Novigrad/Knemida*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Slavonski Brod, 1988, 13-22.

Mišura 1921

A. P. Mišura, *Colonia Romana Aequum Claudium*, Graz – Vienna, 1921.

Mitchell 1976

S. Mitchell, *Legio VII and the Garrison of Augustan Galatia*, The Classical Quarterly 26, 1976, 298-308.

Mócsy 1959

A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest, 1959.

Mócsy 1962

A. Mócsy, *s.v. Pannonia*, RE, Supplementband IX, 1962, 516-776.

Mócsy 1968,

A. Mócsy, *s.v. Cornacates*, RE, Supplementband XI, 1968, 373.

Mócsy 1974

A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, 1974

Morgan 1971

M. Gwyn Morgan, *Lucius Cotta and Metellus, Roman campaigns in Illyria during the late second century*, Athenaeum 49, 1971, 271-301.

Morris & Roxan, 1977

J. Morris, M. Roxan, *The Witnesses to Roman Military Diplomata*, Arheološki vestnik 28, 1977, 299-333.

Mráv in press

Zs. Mráv, *Roman trifold phalera pendant with metal inlay decoration from Biatorbágy (Pest County, Hungary)*, in F.S.C.H. Yearbook, 2008 (in press).

Müller 2002

M. Müller, *Die römischen Buntmateriallfunde von Haltern*, Bodenaltertümer Westfalens 37, Mainz, 2002.

Nedved 1981

B. Nedved, *Nakit rimskog razdoblja*, Nakit na tlu sjeverne Dalmacije od prapovijesti do danas, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Zadar, 1981, 151-182.

Nelis-Clément 2000

J. Nelis-Clément, *Les beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (I^{er} s. a. C. – VI^e s. p. C.)*, Bordeaux, 2000.

Nenadić 1987

V. Nenadić, *Prilog proučavanju antičke Sisciae*, Prilozi 3/4, 1986-1987, 71-102.

Nesselhauf 1941

H. Nesselhauf, *Die Legionen Moesiens unter Claudius und Nero*, Laurae Aquincenses 2, 1941, 40-46.

Nicolle 1992

D. Nicolle, *Romano-Byzantine armies, 4th-9th centuries*, Osprey, Men at Arms 247, London, 1992.

Novak 1952

G. Novak, *Issa i isejska država*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 54, 1952, 5-40

Obmann 2000

J. Obmann, *Studien zu römischen Dolchscheiden des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: Archäologische Zeugnisse und bildliche Überlieferung*, Kölner Studien zur Archäologie der Römischen Provinzen 4, Köln, 2000.

Oldenstein 1976

J. Oldenstein, *Zur Ausrüstung römischer Auxiliareinheiten*, Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 57, 1976, 51-284.

Ožanić et alii 2003

I. Ožanić, I. Radman-Livaja, A. Rendić-Miočević, *Antički predmeti*, in J. Balen (ed.), Na tragovima vremena, Iz arheološke zbirke Mateja Pavletića, Zagreb, 2003, 13-38, 59-116.

Panciera 1957

S. Panciera, *Vita economica di Aquileia in età Romana*, Aquileia, 1957.

Pašalić 1975

E. Pašalić, *Questiones de bello Dalmatico Pannonicoque (a. 6-9. n. ae.)*, Godišnjak ID BiH, Sarajevo 1957, 245-300 (= Sabrano djelo, Sarajevo, 1975, 376-421).

Pašalić 2009

E. Pašalić, *Batonov ustanak*, Zenica, 2009.

Patsch 1896

C. Patsch, *Rimske pomoćne čete (alae et cohortes auxiliares) u provinciji Dalmaciji*, Deseti izvještaj Velike gimnazije u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 1896.

Patsch 1897a

C. Patsch, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien II*, Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina 5, Wien, 1897, 177-241.

Patsch 1897b

C. Patsch, *s.v. Breuci*, RE, Halbband V, 1897, 831.

Patsch 1897c

C. Patsch, *s.v. Burnum*, RE, Halbband V, 1897, 1068-1070.

Patsch 1900

C. Patsch, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien IV*, Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina 7, Wien, 1900, 33-166.

Patsch 1915

K. Patsch, *Zbirka grčkih i rimskih starina u bos.-herc. Zemaljskome muzeju*, Sarajevo, 1915.

Pedišić & Zaninović 2007

I. Pedišić, M. Zaninović, *Rimska kamena urna iz Ridera – Danila Gornjeg kraj Šibenika*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 15, 2007, 7-12.

Perinić-Muratović 2004

Lj. Perinić-Muratović, *Vojnički kultovi u Mursi (Military cults in Mursa)*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 36, 2004, 97-112.

Periša 2008

D. Periša, *Je li delmatsko područje presjekao rimski limes?*, Archaeologica Adriatica 2/2, 2008, 507-517.

Petculescu 1991a

L. Petculescu, *Bronze spearheads and spear butts from Dacia*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 2, 1991, 35-58.

Petculescu 1991b

L. Petculescu, *VTERE FELIX and OPTIME CON(SERVA) mounts from Dacia*, in V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds.), Roman Frontier Studies 1989, Exeter, 1991, 392-396.

Petrikovits 1975

H. v. Petrikovits, *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 56, Opladen, 1975.

Petru 1972

S. Petru, *Emonske nekropole*, Katalogi in monografije 7, Ljubljana, 1972.

Picard 1957

G. Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome*, Paris, 1957.

Pietsch 1983

M. Pietsch, *Die römischen Eisenwerkzeuge von Saalburg, Feldberg und Zugmantel*, Saalburg Jahrbuch 39, 1983, 5-132.

Pinterović 1961

D. Pinterović, *O rekognosciranju baranjskog sektora limesa*, Zbornik radova sa simposiuma o limesu (Zagreb, 1960), Beograd, 1961, 43-45.

Pinterović 1968

D. Pinterović, *Limesstudien in der Baranja und in Slawonien*, Archeologia Iugoslavica 9, 1968, 5 – 82.

Pinterović 1969

D. Pinterović, *Problemi na limesu – istraživanja na predjelu Batina Skela – Ilok*, Osječki zbornik 12, 1969, 53–69.

Pinterović 1971

D. Pinterović, *Batina – praistorijski i antički nalazi*, Arheološki pregled 13, 1971, 55–58.

Pinterović 1978

D. Pinterović, *Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba*, Osijek, 1978.

Piteša 2009

A. Piteša, *Katalog nalaza iz vremena seobe naroda, srednjeg i novog vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, Split, 2009.

Póczy 1980

K. Póczy, *Pannonian cities*, in A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest, 1980, 247-274.

Póczy 1997

K. Póczy, *Aquincum. The Roman Town in Budapest*, Budapest, 1997.

Podrug 2010

E. Podrug, *Gardun – Prapovijesna arheologija*, in M. Sanader, Tilurij II. Istraživanja 2002-2006 (u pripremi / in print).

Popović 1999

M. Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd, 1999.

Poux & Robin 2000

M. Poux, S. Robin, *Les origines de Lutèce*, Gallia 57, 2000, 181–225.

Radnóti 1938

A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien*, Budapest, 1938.

Radman-Livaja 1998

I. Radman-Livaja, *Rimska streljačka oprema nadena na Gardumu kod Trilja*, Opvscvla archaeologica 22, 1998, 219–231.

Radman-Livaja 2001a

I. Radman-Livaja, *Rimski projektili iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 34, 2001, 123–152.

Radman-Livaja 2001b

I. Radman-Livaja, Tipovi izloženih rimskih kaciga, in I. Ružić & Ž. Škoberne (eds.), *Kacige u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2001, 38-43, 46-59.

Radman-Livaja 2004a

I. Radman-Livaja, *Militaria Sisciensia, Nalazi rimske vojne opreme iz Siska u fundusu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Katalozi i monografije Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2004.

Radman-Livaja 2004b

I. Radman-Livaja, *Rimska brončana pločica iz Baranje (Roman bronze plaque from Baranja)*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 36, 2004, 113-133.

Radman-Livaja 2004c

I. Radman-Livaja, *Rimske brončane sulice iz Dalja (Roman bronze javelins from Dalj)*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 14, 2004, 59-75.

Radman-Livaja 2005

I. Radman-Livaja, *Finds of Roman Military Equipment from Teutoburgium*, in Zsolt Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Pécs, 2005, 939-952.

Radman-Livaja 2007a

I. Radman-Livaja, *In Segestica...*, Prilozi Instituta za Arheologiju u Zagrebu 24, 2007, 153-172.

Radman-Livaja 2007b

I. Radman-Livaja, *Obrazina kasnoantičke kacige iz Vinkovaca (Late Roman cheek piece from Vinkovci)*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 15, 2007, 105-124.

Raknić 1965

Ž. Raknić, *Dvojni epigrafički spomenik iz Burnuma*, Diadora 3, 1965, 71-84.

Rald 1994

U. Rald, *The Roman swords from Danish bog finds*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 5, 1994, 227-241.

Reddé 1986

Michel Reddé, *Mare Nostrum*, Rome, 1986.

Reddé et alii 1995

M. Reddé, S von Schnurbein, F. Barral, J. Benard, V. Brouquier-Reddè, R. Goguy, M. Joly, H.J. Köhler, C. Petit, *Fouilles et recherches nouvelles sur les travaux de César devant Alésia (1991–1994)*, Bericht des Römisch-Germanische Kommission 76, 1995, 73–158.

Reichel 1893

W. Reichel, *Beschreibung der Sculpturen im Augustustempel in Pola*, Arch.epigr.Mitt. 16, 1893, 1-13.

Reisch 1913

E. Reisch, *Die Grabungen des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes während der Jahre 1912 und 1913. Das Standlager von Burnum*, Jahreshfte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien 16, 1913, 112-135.

Rendić-Miočević 2010

A. Rendić-Miočević, *The marble funerary stele of a Cohors II Varcianorum Equitata's veteran, Titus Flavius Atebodius, from the Odra village near Zagreb*, in N. Cambi and G. Koch (eds.), *Funerary Sculpture of the Illyricum and Neighbouring Regions of the Roman Empire*, Split, 2010 (in print).

Rendić-Miočević 1952

D. Rendić-Miočević, *Druzov boravak u Dalmaciji u svjetlu novog viškog natpisa*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 54, 1952, 41-50.

Rendić-Miočević 1964

D. Rendić-Miočević, *P. Cornelius Dolabella legatus pro praetore provinciae Dalmatiae, proconsul provinciae Africae Proconsularis. Problèmes de chronologie*, Akte des IV. internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische epigraphik (Wien, 17. bis 22. September 1962), Wien, 1964, 338-347.

Rendić-Miočević 1968

D. Rendić-Miočević, *Novi Dolabelin «terminacijski» natpis iz okolice Jablanca*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 3, 1968, 63-73.

Rendić-Miočević 1975

D. Rendić-Miočević, *Jedan novi legionarski spomenik iz Varaždinskih Toplica*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 9, 1975, 37-47.

Rendić-Miočević 1987

D. Rendić-Miočević, *Carmina epigraphica*, Split, 1987.

Riegl 1901

A. Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunst-industrie in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien, 1901.

Ritterling 1913

E. Ritterling, *Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus*, Wiesbaden, 1913.

Ritterling 1924-1925

E. Ritterling, *s. v. legio*, RE, Band XII.1-2, 1924-1925, 1186-1829.

Robinson 1975

H. R. Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome*, London, 1975.

Rodríguez Colmenero & Vega Avelaira 1996

A. Rodríguez Colmenero, T. Vega Avelaira, *Equipamiento militar del campamento romano de Aquae Querquennae (Portoquintela, ourense, España)*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies 7, 1996, 21–36.

Roma sul Danubio 2002

M. Buora, W. Jobst (eds.), *Da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra* (Catalogi e monografie archeologiche dei Civici musei di Udine 6), Udine, 2002.

Rostovtzeff 1957

M. Rostovtzeff, *The social and economic history of the Roman empire*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, 1957.

Roxan 1996

M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1985-1995*, London, 1996.

Rüsch 1976

A. Rüsch, *Arae Flaviae. Die Militärlager und die Zivilsiedlung in Rottweil am Neckar*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 5.1, Berlin – New York, 1976, 560-600.

Saddington 2007

D. B. Saddington, *Classes. The Evolution of the Roman Imperial Fleets*, in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A companion to the Roman army*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 201-217.

Sagadin 1979

M. Sagadin, *Antične pasne spone in garniture v Sloveniji*, Arheološki vestnik 30, 1979, 294–338.

Sanader 1998

M. Sanader, *Tilurij – rimski vojni logor. Prethodno izvješće s arheoloških istraživanja u 1997. i 1998.* Opvscvla archaeologica 22, 1998, 243–255.

Sanader 2000a

M. Sanader, *Kasnoantička grobnica iz Vojnića*, Opvscvla archaeologica 23–24, 1999–2000, 225–236.

Sanader 2000b

M. Sanader, *Tilurij – rimski vojni logor*. Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 32/1, 2000, 51–62.

Sanader 2001a

M. Sanader, *Tilurij – rimski vojni logor. Prethodno izvješće o arheološkim istraživanjima u sezoni 2000*, Opvscvla archaeologica 25, 2001, 183–194.

Sanader 2001b

M. Sanader, *Erste Archäologische Ausgrabung in Tilurium*. Akten des 6. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provincialrömischen Kunstschaffens. Budapest Régiségei XXXIV, Budapest, 2001, 235 - 241.

Sanader 2002a

M. Sanader, *Tilurium, Burnum, Bigeste. A new contribution to the dating of the Delmataen limes.* in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema, Brigitta Hoffmann (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000) II*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1084 (II), Oxford, 2002, 713-718.

Sanader 2002b

M. Sanader, *Tilurium, Burnum, Bigeste. Novi prilog dataciji Delmatskog limesa*, Arheološke studije i ogledi, Zagreb, 2002, 120–128.

Sanader 2002c

M. Sanader, *Tilurij – arheološka istraživanja u godini 2002*. Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 34/3, 2002, 87–97.

Sanader 2002d

M. Sanader, *Principia vojnog logora – uzor forumu kolonijalnih gradova?*, Arheološke studije i ogledi, Zagreb, 2002, 106-119.

Sanader 2003a

M. Sanader, *Tilurium I, Istraživanja 1997–2001*, Zagreb, 2003.

Sanader 2003b

M. Sanader, *Grabsteine der Legio VII aus Tilurium. Versuch einer Typologie.* in P. Noelke, F. Naumann-Steckner, B. Schneider (eds.), *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Neue Funde und Forschungen.* Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provinziäl-römischen Kunstschaffens, Mainz am Rhein, 2003, 501-510.

Sanader 2003c

M. Sanader, *The ripa Panonica in Croatia*, in Z. Visy (ed.), *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 2003, 135 – 143, 161 – 163.

Sanader 2003d

M. Sanader, *Rimske legije i njihovi tabori u hrvatskom dijelu panonskog limesa*, *Opvsclva archaeologica* 27, 2003, 463 – 467.

Sanader 2006a

M. Sanader, *The Roman legionary fortress at Tilurium – state of research*. in D. Davison, V. Gaffney, E. Marin (eds.), *Dalmatia. Reserch in the Roman Province 1970-2001*. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1576, Oxford, 2006, 56-66.

Sanader 2006b

M. Sanader, *Die Grenze in Kroatien*, Grenzen des Römischen Imperiums, Mainz am Rhein, 2006, 153 – 157.

Sanader 2009a

M. Sanader, *Mannschaftsbaracken mit Strebepefeilern aus Tilurium.* in Angel Morillo, Norbert Hanel, Esperanza Martin (eds.), *LIMES XX. Estudios sobre la frontera romana/ Roman Frontier Studies, Volumen III*, Madrid, 2009, 1507-11514.

Sanader 2009b

M. Sanader, *O rimskom Carstvu, njegovim granicama i hrvatskom limesu*, Zbornik Matice hrvatske, Zagreb, 2009, 497 – 512.

Sanader 2009c

M. Sanader, *Vojne građevine na dunavskom limesu, Slavonija*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Zagreb, 2009, 103 – 108.

Sanader & Tončinić 2003

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, *Tilurij – arheološka istraživanja u godini 2003*, Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 35/3, 2003, 87–99.

Sanader & Tončinić 2005

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, *Das Projekt Tilurium. Die Wehrmauer.* in Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Pecs, 2005, 685-688.

Sanader & Tončinić 2009

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, *Das Projekt Tilurium : Waffendarstellungen auf Steindenkmälern aus Tilurium*, in A.-W. Busch, H.-J. Schalles (eds.), *Akten des 19. Internationalen Roman Military Equipment Conference (ROMECC) Xanten*, 13. - 16. Juni 2007, Xantener Berichte 16, Xanten, 2009, 199-202.

Sanader et alii 2005a

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, I. Ožanić, *Tilurij – arheološka istraživanja u godini 2004.*, *Opvsclva archaeologica* 28 (2004), Zagreb, 2005, 221-243.

Sanader et alii 2005b

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, I. Ožanić, *Gardun (Tilurium)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 1 (2004), Zagreb, 2005, 219-221.

Sanader et alii 2006

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, I. Ožanić, I. Miloglav, *Gardun (Tilurij)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 2 (2005), Zagreb, 2006, 348-351.

Sanader et alii 2007a

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, D. Demicheli, I. Miloglav, *Gardun (Tilurium)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 3 (2006), Zagreb, 2007, 391-393.

Sanader et alii 2007b

M. Sanader, M. Milićević Bradač, D. Demicheli, *A „poet“ in the military camp at Tilurium*, Poster presented at the XIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Oxford, 2-8.09.2007.

Sanader et alii 2008

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, D. Demicheli, I. Miloglav, *Gardun (Tilurium)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 4 (2007), Zagreb, 2008, 444-447.

Sanader et alii 2009

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, D. Demicheli, I. Miloglav, *Gardun (Tilurium)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 5 (2008), u pripremi / in press.

Sanader et alii 2010

M. Sanader, D. Tončinić, D. Demicheli, I. Miloglav, *Gardun (Tilurium)*, Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 6 (2009), u pripremi / in press.

Saxer 1967

R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Epigraphische Studien 1, Köln – Graz, 1967.

Schaaff 1988

U. Schaaff, *Etruskisch-römische Helme*, in A. Bottini et alii (eds.), *Antike Helme – Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin*, Monographien RGZM 14, Mainz, 1988, 325-326.

Schmid 1925

W. Schmid, *Römische Forschung in Österreich 1912-1924, II. Die südlichen Ostalpenländer*, Bericht des Römisch-Germanische Kommission 15 (1923/24), 1925, 178-241.

von Schnurbein 1979

S. von Schnurbein, *Eine hölzerne Sica aus dem Römerlager Oberaden*, *Germania* 57, 1979, 117-134.

von Schnurbein 1983

S. von Schnurbein, *Neu entdeckte frühkaiserzeitliche Militäranlagen bei Friedberg in Bayern*, *Germania* 61, 1983, 528–550.

von Schnurbein 2000

S. von Schnurbein, *The Organization of the Fortresses in Augustan Germany*, in Richard J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and their Legions*, London – Cardiff 2000, 29-39.

Scott 1985

I. R. Scott, *First century military daggers and the manufacture and supply of weapons for the Roman Army*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 275, 1985, 160-213.

Sellye 1939

I. Sellye, *Les bronzes émaillés de la Pannonie romaine*. Dissertationes Pannonicae Ser. 2, fasc. 8., Budapest, 1939.

Sergejevski 1924

D. Sergejevski, *Cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum u Dalmaciji*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* 36, 1924, 113-123.

Sievers 2001

S. Sievers, *Les armes d'Alésia*, in M. Reddé, S. von Schnurbein (eds.), *Alésia, Fouilles et recherches franco-allemandes sur les travaux militaires romains autour du Mont-Auxois (1991-1997)*, tome 2 – Le matériel, *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, tome XXII, Paris, 2001, 211-291.

Simkins 2003

M. Simkins, *The Roman Army from Caesar to Trajan*, *Osprey*, Man at Arms Series 46, 2003.

Simpson 2000

G. Simpson, *Roman Weapons, Tools, Bronze Equipment and Brooches from Neuss – Novaesium Excavations 1955 – 1972*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 862, Oxford, 2000.

Sivec 1997

I. Sivec, *Poznoantično orožje na Slovenskem*, *Arheološki vestnik* 48, 1997, 143–151.

Spaul 1994

J. H. Spaul, *Ala². The auxiliary cavalry units of the pre-Diocletianic imperial Roman army*, Andover, 1994.

Spaul 2000

J. H. Spaul, *Cohors². The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 841, Oxford, 2000.

Starac 2006

A. Starac, *Reljefni prikazi na rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima / Depictions in Relief on Roman Funerary Monuments at the Archaeological Museum of Istria at Pula*, Arheološki muzej Istre, Corpus signorum Histriae I, Monografije i katalogi, 16, Pula, 2006.

Sticotti 1908

P. Sticotti, *Diploma militare Istriano*, Estratto dall'Archeografo triestino, ser. III, vol. IV, 1908, 289-294.

Stiglitz *et alii* 1977

H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, W. Jobst, *Carnuntum, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II. 6, Berlin – New York 1977, 581-730.

Strobel 2000

K. Strobel, *Zur Geschichte der Legionen V (Macedonica) und VII (Claudia pia fidelis) in der frühen Kaiserzeit und zur Stellung der Provinz Galatia in der augusteischen Heeresgeschichte*, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, 515-528.

Suić 1952

M. Suić, *Neobjelodanjeni rimski natpisi iz sjeverne Dalmacije*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 54, 1952, 207-217.

Suić 1970

M. Suić, *Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma*, Diadora 5, 1970, 93-130.

Suić 1976

M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb, 1976.

Suić 2003

M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, 2. izdanje, Zagreb, 2003.

Szilágyi 1956

J. Szilágyi, *Aquincum*, Budapest 1956.

Šarić 1981

M. Šarić, *Žrtvenik Libera i Libere u Topuskom (L'autel de Liber et Libera à Topusko)*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 14, 1981, 67-72.

Šašel 1974a

J. Šašel, *s.v. Siscia*, RE, Supplementband XIV, 1974, 702-741.

Šašel 1974b

J. Šašel, *Die Limes-Entwicklung in Illyricum*, Actes du IX^e congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines, 1974, 193 – 199.

Šašel-Kos 1986

M. Šašel-Kos, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu*, Ljubljana, 1986.

Šašel Kos 2005

M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum, Situla* 43, Ljubljana, 2005.

Šeparović 2003

T. Šeparović, *Metalni nalazi*, in M. Sanader (ed.), *Tilurium I*, Istraživanja 1997. -2001., Zagreb, 2003, 219-256.

Šeparović & Uroda 2009

T. Šeparović, N. Uroda, *Antička zbirka Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (izbor)/ Ancient Roman Collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (a selection)*, Split, 2009.

Šimić 1998

J. Šimić, *Otkriće rimskih grobova u Zmajevcu (Baranja)*, Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 30/1, 1998, 55.

Šimić-Kanaet 2003

Z. Šimić-Kanaet, *Keramika*, in M. Sanader (ed.), *Tilurium I*, Istraživanja – Forschungen 1997. - 2001., Zagreb, 2003, 109-188.

Thomas 1971

E. B. Thomas, *Helme, Schilde, Dolche – Studien über römisch-pannonische Waffenfunde*, Budapest, 1971.

Thomas 2003

M. D. Thomas, *Lorica segmentata II, A catalogue of finds*, The Armatura Press, 2002.

Tomičić *et alii* 2007

Z. Tomičić, Marko Dizdar, Bartul Šiljeg, Hrvoje Kalafatić, Kristina Jelinčić, Kristina Turkalj, Juraj Belaj, *Rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja dvora knezova Iločkih 2006.g.* Annales Instituti Archaeologici 3, 2007, 7 – 16.

Tomičić *et alii* 2008

Z. Tomičić, K. Minichreiter, K. Jelinčić, K. Turkalj, G. Mahović, K. Botić, M. Dizdar, H. Kalafatić, S. Kovačević, Z. Marković, *Ilok - Dvor knezova iločkih, crkva Sv. Petra apostola, kula 8 i bedemi - rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja 2007. Ilok*, Annales Instituti Archaeologici 4, 2008, 7 – 22.

Tončinić 2003

D. Tončinić, *Koštani i drugi nalazi*, in M. Sanader (ed.), *Tilurium I*, Istraživanja – Forschungen 1997-2001, Zagreb, 2003, 257-270.

Tončinić 2004

D. Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, Zagreb, 2004 (magistarska radnja / M.A. thesis).

Tončinić 2005

Domagoj Tončinić, *Votivna ara iz Tilurija*, Opcsvclva archaeologica 28 (2004), Zagreb 2005, 147-157.

Tončinić 2007

D. Tončinić, *Werkzeugdarstellungen auf einer Grabstele aus Tilurium*, in E. Walde, B. Kainrath (eds.), *Die Selbstdarstellung der römischen Gesellschaft in den Provinzen im Spiegel der Steindenkmäler*. Akten des IX. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des Provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Innsbruck 2007, 259-264.

Tončinić 2009

D. Tončinić, *Ziegelstempel römischer Militäreinheiten in der Provinz Dalmatien*, in Angel Morillo, Norbert Hanel, Esperanza Martin (eds.), *LIMES XX. Estudios sobre la frontera romana/ Roman Frontier Studies, Volumen III*, Madrid 2009, 1447-1459.

Tončinić *et alii* 2006

D. Tončinić, A. Babić, A. Librenjak, *Rimski vojni pečati u Cetinskoj krajini*, Radovi kolokvija Rimski vojska u procesu romanizacije provincije Dalmacije, Sinj, 13. listopada 2006. (u pripremi / in print).

Tudor 1964

D. Tudor, *Castra Daciae Inferioris (VIII), Sápăturile lui Gr. G. Tocilescu în castrul roman de la Răcari (raion Filași. reg. Oltenia)*, Apulum 5, 1964, 233–257.

Ulbert 1969

G. Ulbert, *Gladii aus Pompeji*, Germania 47, 1969, 97-128.

Ulbert 1971

G. Ulbert, *Römische Bronzeknopfe mit Reliefverzierung*, Fundberichte aus Schwaben 19, 1971, 278-297.

Ulbert 1974

G. Ulbert, *Straubing und Nydam, Zu römischen Langschwerten der späten Limeszeit*, Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie, Festschrift für Joachim Werner zum 65. Geburtstag, München, 1974, 197-216.

Unz 1972

Ch. Unz, *Römische Militärfunde aus Baden-Aquae Helveticae*, Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa, Jahresbericht 1971, 1972, 41–58.

Unz 1974

Ch. Unz, *Römische Funde aus Windisch im ehemaligen Kantonalen Antiquarium Aarau*, Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa, Jahresbericht 1973, 1974, 11–42.

Unz & Deschler-Erb 1997

C. Unz, E. Deschler-Erb, *Katalog der Militaria aus Vindonissa*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa, XIV, Brugg, 1997.

Valvo 2001

A. Valvo, *I diplomi militari e la politica di integrazione dell'imperatore Claudio*, in *Integrazione Mescolanze Rifuto - Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 21-23 settembre 2000.*, Roma, 151-167.

Vanden Berghe 1996

L. Vanden Berghe, *Some Roman military equipment of the first three centuries AD in Belgian museums*, Journal of Roman military Equipment studies 7, 1996, 59–95.

Veith 1914

G. Veith, *Die Feldzüge des C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, VII, Wien, 1914.

Vidović 2001

J. Vidović, *Rimska konjanička kaciga (tip Niederbieber I)*, in I. Ružić, Ž. Škoberne (eds.), *Kacige u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2001, 60-61.

Vinski 1974

Z. Vinski, *Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku 69, 1974, 5–86.

Vinski-Gasparini 1959

K. Vinski-Gasparini, *Keltski ratnički grob iz Batine*, Arheološki Radovi i Rasprave 1, 1959, 281 – 297.

Visy 1988

Zs. Visy, *Der Pannonische Limes in Ungarn*, Budapest, 1988.

Višić-Ljubić 1994

E. Višić-Ljubić, *Artes minores Salonae christianae, II. Pojasne kopče i okovi*, in E. Marin (ed.), *Salona Christiana*, katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue, Split, 1994, 227–238.

Višić-Ljubić 2006

E. Višić-Ljubić, *Cingulum kopče iz Salone*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 99, 2006, 161–170.

Višić-Ljubić 2008

E. Višić-Ljubić, *Antički natpisi*, in M. Marić, M. Topić (eds.), *Pax et bonum - FF-AM*, Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj, 2008, 113-141.

Vittinghoff 1977

F. Vittinghoff, *Zur römischen Municipalisierung des lateinischen Donau-Balkanraumes. Methodische Bemerkungen*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 6, Berlin – New York, 1977, 3-51.

Voirol 2000

A. Voirol, *Etats d'armes. Les militaria d'Avenches/ Aventicum*, Bulletin de l'Association Pro Aventico 42, Avenches 2000, 7–92.

Waurick 1988

Waurick G., *Römische Helme*, in Bottini A., Egg M., von Hase F. W. et alii (eds.), *Antike Helme, Sammlung Lipperhide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin*, Berlin, 1988, 327–364.

Waurick 1990

G. Waurick, *Helme in Caesars Heer*, Mainz, 1990.

Webster 1949

G. Webster, *The Legionary Fortress at Lincoln*, Journal of Roman Studies 39, 1949, 57–78.

Weiß 1990

P. Weiß, *Zwei Diplomfragmente aus dem pannonischen Raum*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 80, 1990, 137-149.

Werner 1970

J. Werner, *Bemerkungen zu den Bronzefunden, Die germanische Siedlung auf dem Gelände der Zeche Erin in Castrop-Rauxel*, Bodenaltertümer Westfalens 12, 1970, 75–80.

Wild 1970

J. P. Wild, *Button and Loop-Fasteners in the Roman provinces*, Britannia 1, 1970, 137-155.

Wilkes 1969

J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969.

Wilkes 1974

J. Wilkes, *Boundary Stones in Roman Dalmatia*, Arheološki vestnik 25, 1974, 258-274.

Wilkes 1992

J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, Oxford, 1992.

Wilkes 1996

J. Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan Provinces*, in A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd Edition. Volume X, The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69*, Cambridge, 1996, 545-585.

Woodward 1909

A. M. Woodward, *A Pre-historic Vase in the Museum of Spalato*, Annales of Archaeology and Anthropology 11/1, 1909, 27-32.

Zabehlicky et alii 1979

S. Zabehlicky, Scheffenegger, M. Kandler, *Burnum I. Erster Bericht über die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1973 und 1974 auf dem Forum*, Wien, 1979.

Zanier 1988

W. Zanier, *Römische dreiflügelige Pfeilspitzen*, Saalburg Jahrbuch 44, 1988, 5–27.

Zanier 1994

W. Zanier, *Eine römische Katapultpfeilspitze der 19. Legion aus Oberammergau – Neues zum Alpenfeldzug des Drusus im Jahre 14. v. Chr.*, Germania 72, 1994, 587–597.

Zaninović 1966

M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja 4, Sarajevo, 1966, 27-92.

Zaninović 1967

M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja 5, Sarajevo, 1967, 5-100.

Zaninović 1968

M. Zaninović, *Burnum – Castellum, municipium*, Diadora 4, 1968, 119-129.

Zaninović 1974

M. Zaninović, *Kninsko područje u antici*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 7, 1974, 301-316.

Zaninović 1981

M. Zaninović, *Siscia u svojim natpisima*, Arheološka istraživanja u Zagrebu i njegovoj okolini, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 6, Zagreb, 1981, 201-208.

Zaninović 1985

M. Zaninović, *Prata legionis u Kosovom polju kraj Knina s osvrtom na teritorij Tilurija*, Opuscula archaeologica 10, 1985, 63-79.

Zaninović 1986

M. Zaninović, *Pojava antike u središnjoj Hrvatskoj*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 10, 1986, 59-67.

Zaninović 1993

M. Zaninović, *Classis Flavia Pannonica*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 16, 1993, 53-58.

Zaninović 1996a

M. Zaninović, *Vojni značaj Tilurija u antici*, in *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1996, 280–290.

Zaninović 1996b

Marin Zaninović, *Prata legionis u Kosovu polju kraj Knina s osvrtom na teritorij Tilurija*, in *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1996, 259–270.

Zaninović 1998a

M. Zaninović, *Država Demetrija Hvaranina i šibensko područje*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 19, Zagreb, 1998, 89-96.

Zaninović 1998b

M. Zaninović, *Scardona i Rider – flavijejske fundacije*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 19, Zagreb, 1998, 123-129.

Zaninović 2003

M. Zaninović, *Breuci od Sirmija do Marsonije*, Opuscula archaeologica 27, 2003, 443-449.

Zaninović 2007a

N. Zaninović, *Arheološka topografija na prostoru NP Krka*, in D. Marguš (ed.), *Zbornik radova Simpozij Rijeka Krka i Nacionalni park «Krka». Prirodna i kulturna baština, zaštita i održivi razvitak. (Šibenik, 5.-8. listopada 2005)*, Šibenik, 2007, 259-275.

Zaninović 2007b

M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Šibenik 2007.

Zaninović 2009

J. Zaninović, *Privjesci s rimske konjaničke opreme iz Burnuma*, Histria Antiqua 18/2, 2009, 283-290.

Zeiller 1918

J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 112, Paris, 1918.

Zippel 1877

G. Zippel, *Römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, Leipzig, 1877.

Župić 2008a

Branimir Župić, *Prapovijesni predmeti*, in Miroslava Topić (ed.), *Pax et Bonum FF-AM*. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj 2008, 29-67.

Župić 2008b

Branimir Župić, *Antičko oruđe i oružje*, in Miroslava Topić (ed.), *Pax et Bonum FF-AM*. Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Sinj 2008, 29-67.

IZLOŽBU
NALAZI RIMSKE VOJNE OPREME U HRVATSKOJ
FINANCIJSKI JE POMOGAO SPONZOR





ARHEOLOŠKI MUZEJ U ZAGREBU
ZAGREB · MMX.