

# Segestika i Siscija: od ruba imperija do provincijskog središta

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**SEGESTIKA  
I SISIJA —  
OD RUBA  
IMPERIJA DO  
PROVINCIJSKOG  
SREDIŠTA**

**SEGESTICA  
AND SISCIA —  
FROM THE  
PERIPHERY OF  
THE EMPIRE TO  
A PROVINCIAL  
CENTER**

Urednik  
Editor

**IVAN  
DRNIĆ**

**amz**





Katalozi i monografije  
Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu,  
svezak 16

Musei Archaeologici Zagrabienis  
Catalogi et Monographiae 16

Catalogues and Monographs  
of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb,  
volume 16

NASLOVNICA:

Fibula zoomorfno oblikovanog luka (*Tierkopffibel*) s pozicije Željeznički kolodvor u Sisku (GMS, inv. br. 510:SIK 30805).

FRONT COVER:

Fibula with zoomorphically shaped bow (*Tierkopffibel*) from the Railway station position in Sisak (CMS, inv. no. 510:SIK 30805)

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**IVAN  
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arheološki  
muzej  
u zagrebu  
archaeological  
museum  
in zagreb

Zagreb, 2018.

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Ova knjiga je posvećena svim bivšim, sadašnjim i budućim istraživačima Segestike i Siscije.

This book is dedicated to all former, current and future researchers of *Segestica* and *Siscia*.

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*... bolje je boriti se i biti poražen, nego se predati bez borbe.*  
G. Orwell, Sjećanje na Španjolski građanski rat

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*... it is better ... to fight and be conquered than to surrender without fighting.*  
G. Orwell, Looking back on the Spanish civil war

# SEGESTIKA I SISCIA — OD RUBA IMPERIJA DO PROVINCIJSKOG SREDIŠTA

## SEGESTICA AND SISCIA — FROM THE PERIPHERY OF THE EMPIRE TO A PROVINCIAL CENTER

Ivan Drnić

### Povijest istraživanja i biografija nalazišta

Željeznodobno naselje smješteno neposredno prije ušća rijeke Kupe u Savu, zabilježeno u antičkim izvorima pod imenom Segest(ik)a (Σεγέστη)<sup>1</sup> / Siscija (Σισκία), kao i rimski sljednik koji je baštiniio drugo ime - Siscija zauzimaju posebno mjesto u hrvatskoj arheologiji iako njihova važnost nedvojbeno nadilazi nacionalne okvire. Kako je malo kasnobrončanodobno naselje, kakva su u desetcima posvjedočena na prostoru Pokuplja i sjeverozapadne Panonije, preraslo u važan željeznodobni centar koji je već u 2. stoljeću pr. Kr. dospio u fokus zanimanja rimske države? Odgovor na ovo pitanje nikako nije jednostavan, prvenstveno zbog paradoksalno niskog stupnja istraženosti predrimskog naselja tijekom proteklog stoljeća, iako je iz arheološke perspektive njegova važnost prepoznata već krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Primjerice, u kratkom izvještaju Vladimira Tkalčića, s terenskog istraživanja koja je Narodni muzej proveo 1912. godine, iskapani ostatci sisačkog predrimskog naselja uspoređeni su s istraženim i za tadašnje standarde iznimno kvalitetno objavljenim lokalitetom u Donjoj Dolini.<sup>2</sup> Ipak, istraživački okvir u kojemu će biti interpretirano sisačko željeznodobno naselje dobrim je dijelom bio definiran činjenicom da su određeni podatci o njemu dostupni u zapisima nekih antičkih autora (Strabon, Apijan, Plinije Stariji, Kasije Dion).<sup>3</sup> Stoga se većina interpretacija u arheološkoj i historiografskoj literaturi o položaju, topografiji, društvenoj strukturi, etničkoj pripadnosti stanovništva Segest(ik)e, kao i odnosu protopovijesnog naselja i rimskog vojnog logora, a kasnije i

### Research history and site biography

The Iron Age settlement situated right at the confluence of the Kupa and Sava rivers and recorded in ancient sources as *Segest(ic)a* (Σεγέστη)<sup>1</sup> / *Siscia* (Σισκία), and its Roman successor that inherited the second name - *Siscia*, both hold a special place in Croatian archaeology, even though their importance undoubtedly surpasses the national level. How did a small Late Bronze Age settlement, the likes of which have been recorded in the Pokuplje region and northwestern Pannonia, grow into an important Iron Age center that became interesting to the Romans in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC? The answer to this question is certainly not simple, primarily due to the paradoxically low level of research conducted at the pre-Roman settlement during the last century, even though its importance was, from an archaeological perspective, recognized already at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, in a short report from the 1912 excavations, Vladimir Tkalčić from the National Museum, compares the excavated remains of the pre-Roman settlement in Sisak with the excavated and, at the time, well-published site of Donja Dolina.<sup>2</sup> However, the research framework used to interpret the Iron Age settlement in Sisak was mostly defined through data provided by Roman authors (Strabo, Appian, Pliny the Elder, Cassius Dio).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, most interpretations in archaeological and historical publications that refer to the position, topography, social structure, the ethnicity of the inhabitants of *Segest(ic)a*, as well as the relations between the proto-historical settlement,

1 Segestika je termin koji se uvriježio u modernoj literaturi, iako M. Šašel Kos (2005, 437) naglašava da je ispravnije koristiti ime Segesta. Također: Domić Kunić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

2 Arhiv AMZ-a (AAMZ, 42, Sisak, 1912, *Izvještaj Vladimira Tkalčića, pravog srednjošk. učitelja dodijeljenoga arheološkom muzeju, o svom službenom putovanju u Sisak*); za Donju Dolinu – Truhelka 1904.

3 Strabon 4.6.10; 7.3.2; 7.5.2; 7.5.12; N.H. 3.148; III. 22.62; 24.71; Dion Kasije, 49.37, 1, 3-4.

1 *Segestica* is a common term in modern publication, although M. Šašel Kos (2005, 437) suggests that *Segesta* is a more appropriate term. Additionally: Domić Kunić 2018 (in this publication).

2 AMZ Archives (AAMZ, 42, Sisak, 1912, *Izvještaj Vladimira Tkalčića, pravog srednjošk. učitelja dodijeljenoga arheološkom muzeju, o svom službenom putovanju u Sisak*); for Donja Dolina – Truhelka 1904.

3 Strabo 4.6.10; 7.3.2; 7.5.2; 7.5.12; N.H. 3.148; III. 22.62; 24.71; DIO, 49.37, 1, 3-4.

civilnog naselja, zasnivala na analizama navedenih izvora, uz vremene osvrtne na rijetku publiciranu arheološku građu. Nažalost, nakon spomenutog Tkalčićevog istraživanja iz 1912. godine, čiji su rezultati uglavnom do danas ostali neobjavljeni, tijekom cijelog 20. stoljeća provedeno je još samo jedno manje istraživanje na desnoj obali Kupe, točnije u njenom koritu, kojom su prilikom pronađeni ostatci drvene arhitekture, vjerojatno dijelovi sojeničarskih nastambi, kao i keramički i metalni nalazi, datirani od kasnog brončanog do mlađeg željeznog doba.<sup>4</sup> Osim potvrde prethodno ustanovljenih predodžbi o postojanju pretpovijesnog naselja na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Pogorelca,<sup>5</sup> zbog relativno malog opsega ovo istraživanje nije znatnije unaprijedilo poznavanje topografije brončanodobnog / željeznodobnog naselja.

Jedno od uvriježenih mišljenja, uglavnom zasnovano na interpretaciji Strabonovog teksta jest da Segest(ik)a, smještena na poziciji Pogorelac, na desnoj obali rijeke Kupe, predstavlja željeznodobno naselje (*pólis* / πόλις), dok je Siscija kao rimska utvrda osnovana krajem 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početkom 1. stoljeća po Kr. na lijevoj obali.<sup>6</sup> Dijametralno suprotnu interpretaciju iznosi M. Šašel Kos tvrdeći da je Segesta keltsko naselje smješteno na poziciji Pogorelac, na posljednjem meandru rijeke Kupe prije ulaza u Savu, dok je Siscija mogla biti stariježeljeznodobno naselje smješteno bliže rijeci Savi. Rimskodobno naselje koje se razvilo tijekom Principata spajanjem ovih dvaju naselja, navodno je preuzelo predkeltsko ime – Siscija, dok je ime Segesta postupno pao u zaborav.<sup>7</sup> Sličnu interpretaciju je ponudio i I. Radman-Livaja, pretpostavljajući postojanje naselja na obje strane Kupe, pri čemu bi Segest(ik)a bila veće i važnije naselje, dok je Siscija mogla biti manje utvrđeno mjesto sa zadaćom nadzora savske komunikacije.<sup>8</sup>

U pojedinim slučajevima neke su interpretacije bile zasnovane na „zdravorazumskom“ zaključivanju bez ikakve potvrde u izvorima, a još manje u arheološkim podacima, kao što je to slučaj s pozicioniranjem dijela željeznodobnog naselja na povišeni položaj Zibel, smješten južno od Pogorelca. Naime, iako su ondje nakon 2. svjetskog rata provedene brojne građevinske aktivnosti, do danas nisu poznati nikakvi arheološki podatci koji bi upućivali na postojanje predrimskog naselja ili rimskog vojnog logora na tom prostoru.<sup>9</sup> Isto se odnosi i na ranije interpretacije vremena osnutka naselja. Naime, pretpostavljajući vjerojatno na osnovu imena (*Segesta*) da se radi o keltskom naselju,<sup>10</sup> nekoliko povjesničara tijekom 20. stoljeća pretpostavlja da je ono osnovano u 4. stoljeću pr. Kr., u vrijeme povijesno zabilježenih keltskih seoba na prostor Karpatske kotline, a početkom 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. dalje na Balkan i u Malu Aziju.<sup>11</sup> Zanimljivo je da nitko od antičkih autora koji su pisali o Segest(ik)i / Sisciji ne spominje njegove stanovnike Segestance (Apijanovi Σεγεστανοι) kao Kelte. Dapače, u prilo-

the Roman military camp and, later, the civilian settlement, were based on analyses of the said sources with occasional referrals to the sparsely published archaeological material. Unfortunately, after the 1912 excavations conducted by Tkalčić, which still remain mostly unpublished, only one small-scale excavation was carried out during the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century on the right bank of the Kupa River, i.e. the riverbed, and it yielded traces of wooden architecture, probably the remains of stilt houses, as well as ceramic and metal finds dated to the period between the Late Bronze and the Late Iron Age.<sup>4</sup> Apart from confirming the previously established ideas about the existence of a prehistoric settlement on the northeastern part of Pogorelac,<sup>5</sup> due to its small scale, this excavation did not significantly widen the knowledge about the topography of the Bronze / Iron Age settlement.

One of the common opinions, mostly based on interpretations of Strabo's texts, is that *Segest(ic)a*, situated at Pogorelac on the right bank of the Kupa River, is the Iron Age settlement (*pólis*), while *Siscia*, the Roman fort, was founded at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD on the left bank.<sup>6</sup> M. Šašel Kos presents a completely opposite interpretation, stating that *Segesta*, as a Celtic settlement, was situated at Pogorelac, on the last meander of the Kupa River before its confluence with the Sava River, and that *Siscia* could have been an Early Iron Age settlement situated closer to the Sava River. The early Roman settlement that developed during the Principate, when the two settlements merged, allegedly inherited the pre-Celtic name – *Siscia*, while the term *Segesta* was gradually lost.<sup>7</sup> A similar interpretation was also suggested by I. Radman-Livaja, assuming that the settlement functioned on both banks of the Kupa River, whereby *Segestica* was the larger and more important settlement, and *Siscia* might have been a fort that had the role of controlling communication that flowed along the Sava River.<sup>8</sup>

In some cases, certain interpretation were founded on “common sense”, without any confirmation in the sources and even less in archaeological data. For example, the positioning of a part of the Iron Age settlement at the elevated position of Zibel, situated south of Pogorelac. In addition, although numerous construction works took place there right after WWII, so far there is no archaeological data that proves the existence of a pre-Roman settlement or a Roman military camp in the area.<sup>9</sup> The same can be said about the earlier interpretation pertaining to the time the settlement was founded. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several historians, probably based on the name (*Segesta*), suggested that it was a Celtic settlement<sup>10</sup> founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, a time when the Celts are known to have moved into the Carpathian basin, from where they moved further into the Balkans and Asia Minor at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to

4 Burkowsky 2004; Drnić 2019, 5-12.

5 Faber 1973, 152; Majnarić-Pandžić 1986, 35, 37, završna bilješka 28.

6 Strabon 7.3.2; Šašel 1974, 726; Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48.

7 Šašel Kos 1997, 192.

8 Radman-Livaja 2007, 161.

9 Nenadić 1987, 73; Lolić 2003, 138.

10 O toponimu Segesta / Siscija: Domić Kunić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

11 Šišić 1925, 79; Mócsy 1962, 597; Klaić 1980. Ovu tezu nekritički preuzimaju i pojedini arheolozi: Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48; Lolić 2003, 137-138. Arheologija je po tom pitanju prilično jasna. Naseobinski tragovi s početka mlađeg željeznog doba, odnosno kraja 4. i prve

4 Burkowsky 2004; Drnić 2019, 5-12.

5 Faber 1973, 152; Majnarić-Pandžić 1986, 35, 37, endnote 28.

6 Strabon 7.3.2; Šašel 1974, 726; Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48.

7 Šašel Kos 1997, 192.

8 Radman-Livaja 2007, 161.

9 Nenadić 1987, 73; Lolić 2003, 138.

10 On the *Segesta* / *Siscia* toponym: Domić Kunić 2018 (in this publication)

11 Šišić 1925, 79; Mócsy 1962, 597; Klaić 1980. This hypothesis was, uncritically, adopted by some archaeologists: Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48; Lolić 2003, 137-138. In this case, archaeology is quite clear. Traces of settlement from the beginning of the Late Iron Age, i.e. the

gu o ovoj knjizi A. Domić Kunić jasno navodi pojedine autore od kojih neki izravno (Strabon: „segestanski grad pripada Panoncima“), a drugi, kao Apijan i Kasije Dion, kontekstualno navode njihovu pripadnost panonskom etniku. Na etničku pripadnost kratko se referira i N. Majnarić-Pandžić 1970. godine prilikom objave malobrojnih predmeta iz AMZ-a koji potječu iz jaružanja rijeke Kupe provedenih početkom 20. stoljeća. Iako navedeni materijal definira kao keltski, ali i djelomično prilagođen domaćem ukusu, ona je znatno opreznija kod određivanja etničke pripadnosti stanovnika Segest(ik)e zbog, kako navodi, potpune neistraženosti terena.<sup>12</sup> Također, pojedini su autori pretpostavljali i miješani etnički karakter stanovnika Segest(ik)e s autohtonim ilirskim i novopridošlim keltskim etničkim elementima.<sup>13</sup>

Bez obzira na pripadnost stanovnika sisačkog mlađeželjezodobnog naselja nekom od navedenih etnika, što je, uostalom, iz arheološke perspektive prilično „sklizak“ teren“, činjenica je da je ono bilo iznimno važan regionalni centar i ključna točka u željeznodobnoj komunikacijskoj mreži, prvenstveno zbog povoljnog položaja na razmeđu jugoistočnih Alpa, zapadnog Balkana i Panonije. Njegovo posebno mjesto u trgovačkoj mreži između Italije i Podunavlja zabilježeno je i u pisanim izvorima kao što je Strabon, što je detaljno opisano u prilogu A. Domić Kunić u ovoj knjizi. Od sredine 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. ta je činjenica prepoznata i u vanjskopolitičkom djelovanju rimske države u okviru širih operacija u sjeveroistočnoj Italiji, jugoistočnim Alpama, na istočnoj jadranskoj obali i njenom zaleđu – prostorima koji se u odnosu na imperijalističku republiku od tog vremena mogu promatrati kao pogranične zone u kojima se odvijaju društveni, politički i kulturni procesi karakteristični za kontaktne situacije Imperija i indigenih populacija (Dzino, u ovoj knjizi).<sup>14</sup> To je djelovanje, s promjenjivom srećom tijekom 2. stoljeća pr. Kr., u konačnici rezultiralo osvajanjem Segest(ik)e / Siscije 35. godine pr. Kr. i uspostavom vojnog garnizona kao „točke ulaska“ u daljnjem osvajanju Panonije. Povijesni razvoj prostora na ušću Kupe u Savu u slijedećih osamdeset godina, sve do odlaska legija na dunavski limes sredinom četrdesetih godina 1. stoljeća za vladavine cara Klaudija, dominantno će biti obilježen prisutnošću velikog broja rimskih vojnih postrojbi koji je, dakako, varirao s obzirom na povijesne okolnosti. Ipak, unatoč postojanju niza podataka iz pisanih izvora prema kojima je uporište na području današnjeg Siska činilo žarišnu točku u događajima iz posljednje trećine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početka 1. stoljeća po Kr.,<sup>15</sup> kao i unatoč otkriću

note that none of the ancient authors who mentioned *Segestica* / *Siscia* referred to its inhabitants – the *Segestans* (Appian's Σεγεστανοί) as Celts. In fact, in a contribution to this publication, A. Domić Kunić clearly lists individual authors who directly (Strabon: “the *Segestan* city belongs to Pannonians”), or contextually, such as Appian and Cassius Dio, ascribe them to the Pannonian ethnic. In her 1970 publication of few finds from the dredging of the Kupa riverbed that occurred at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, N. Majnarić-Pandžić also briefly refers to ethnicity. She defines the material as Celtic, although partially adapted to local tastes, but is significantly more careful when defining the ethnicity of the inhabitants of *Segest(ic)a* due to the, as she says, complete lack of conducted research.<sup>12</sup> In addition, certain authors assume that the inhabitants of *Segest(ic)a* were of mixed ethnicity, with autochthonous Illyrian and new Celtic elements.<sup>13</sup>

Regardless of the ethnicity of the settlers of the Late Iron Age settlement at Sisak, which is, in either case, on “slippery ground” from an archaeological perspective, the fact remains that the settlement was an exceptionally important regional center and the key point in the Iron Age communication network, primarily due to its position at the crossroads between the southeastern Alps, the western Balkans and Pannonia. Its favorable position was also recorded in written sources, such as Strabo, as described in detail in A. Domić Kunić’s contribution in this publication. From the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the fact was also recognized in the foreign policy of the Roman state throughout northeastern Italy, the southeastern Alps, the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland – territories that, in regard to the contemporary imperialistic Republic, could be seen as border zones. These areas were marked by social, political and cultural processes typical of bordering regions between Empire and indigenous populations (Dzino, in this publication).<sup>14</sup> These operations, with varying success during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, finally resulted in the conquest of *Segest(ic)a* / *Siscia* in 35 BC and the foundation of a military garrison at the “point of entry” for the further conquest of Pannonia. The historical development of the Kupa to Sava confluence throughout the following eighty years, until the legions moved to the Danube *limes* in the middle of the 40s BC, during the rule of Claudius, was predominantly marked by the presence of a varying number of Roman troops, depending on the historical circumstances. However, despite the plethora of data in written sources that make the stronghold in today’s Sisak a focal point in events that took place during

polovice 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. na prostoru južne Panonije gotovo da i ne postoje. Manja istraženja groblja, primjerice Srednica kod Ptujaja i Orehova Vas u slovenskom dijelu Štajerske (Lubšina Tušek, Kavur 2011; Grahek 2015), sa svega nekoliko ukopa, upućuju na migracije manjih skupina kolonista koji su se kretali sa sjevera prema jugu u potrazi za obradivom zemljom, pa stoga nije vjerojatno da su novopridošli „keltski“ doseljenici osnovali veliko i važno naselje Segest(ik)u. Proces centralizacije i početci urbanizacije u kontekstu latenske kulture u južnoj Panoniji mogu se pratiti tek od sredine 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. s osnivanjem utvrđenih naselja – opida (*oppida*).

12 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65.

13 Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48. Obje autorice iznose tvrdnju da su povijesno zabilježeni Panonci zapravo etnička mješavina autohtonih Ilira i novopridošlih Kelta (?).

14 Također: Dzino 2010, 61-79.

15 Navedeni događaji su osvajanje Segest(ik)e / Siscije 35. pr. Kr. u sklopu Oktavijanovog ilirskog pohoda (35. – 33. pr. Kr.), Tiberijev Panonski rat (13./12. – 9./8. pr. Kr.), i, naposljetku, Batonov ustanak (6. – 9. godina).

end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, are almost non-existent in southern Pannonia. Small-scale excavations of graveyards, like those at Srednica near Ptuj and Orehova Vas in the Slovenian part of Styria (Lubšina Tušek, Kavur 2011; Grahek 2015), with only several burials, point to the migrations of smaller groups of colonizers who moved from north to south in search of arable land, so it seems unlikely that the newly-arrived “Celtic” people established the large and important center at *Segestica*. The processes of centralization and the beginnings of urbanization in the context of the La Tène culture in southern Pannonia can be traced only from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, when fortified settlements (*oppida*) were founded.

12 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65.

13 Nenadić 1987, 72; Buzov 1993, 48. Both authors state that the historically recorded Pannonians were of mixed ethnicity, with autochthonous Illyrian and new Celtic elements (?).

14 Also: Dzino 2010, 61-79.

velikog broja rimskih vojnih predmeta izjaružanih početkom 20. stoljeća iz rijeke Kupe,<sup>16</sup> izostanak konkretnih arheoloških tragova utjecao je na spekulativni karakter interpretacija o položaju i karakteru vojnog logora. Kao i u slučaju topografije protopovijesnog naselja, i pokušaji pozicioniranja logora uglavnom su se temeljili na analizi povijesnih izvora. Primjerice G. Veith je smatrao da se protopovijesno naselje – Segest(ik)a, zapravo nalazilo na lijevoj obali rijeke Kupe, a posljedično i rimski vojni logor tijekom i nakon osvajanja Segest(ik)e 35. godine pr. Kr.<sup>17</sup> J. Šašel je bio skloniji smjestiti logor iz augustovsko-tiberijevskog razdoblja na južni dio Pogorelca,<sup>18</sup> a Nenadić i Buzov mišljenja su da se garnizon, koji je inicijalno bio smješten u autohtonom naselju – Segest(ic)i, brzo preselio na lijevu obalu Kupe, i upravo na taj novonastali logor bi se odnosio Strabonov podatak o Sisciji kao utvrdi.<sup>19</sup> S obzirom na velik broj trupa koje su u navedenom razdoblju od osamdesetak godina boravile na prostoru današnjeg Siska I. Radman-Livaja, koji se i u ovoj knjizi osvrnuo na tu problematiku, smatra da je zasigurno postojalo nekoliko logora na različitim pozicijama, uključujući lijevu i desnu obalu rijeke Kupe.<sup>20</sup>

Važno je naglasiti da su na lijevoj obali rijeke Kupe, na prostoru unutar zidova rimske Siscije, već od pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća na nekoliko pozicija ispod zidanih građevina zabilježeni i tragovi drvene arhitekture, kao i ostatci drvene pilotaže koja je služila učvršćivanju močvarnog terena.<sup>21</sup> Spomenuti ostatci drvene arhitekture kronološki pripadaju fazi vojnog logora, ali vjerojatno i najranijem horizontu civilnog naselja koje je prethodilo intenzivnoj urbanističkoj aktivnosti koja započinje krajem vladavine cara Klaudija, a intenzivira se za vrijeme Flavijevaca kada Siscija biva uzdignuta na rang kolonije.<sup>22</sup>

Stanje istraženosti predrimskog željeznodobnog naselja znatno je poboljšano u posljednjih petnaest godina zahvaljujući rezultatima zaštitnih arheoloških iskopavanja koja su prethodila građevinskim aktivnostima na prostoru uže gradske jezgre, ali i istraživanjima koja od 2012. godine na Pogorelcu sustavno provodi Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu. Također, u navedenom razdoblju provedeno je nekoliko većih analiza pojedinih kategorija pokretne arheološke građe, ali i pretpovijesne i rimske arhitekture i urbanistike, koje su rezultirale objavom nekoliko magistarskih i doktorskih radova koji su znatno unaprijedili poznavanje pretpovijesne i protopovijesne Segest(ik)e / Siscije kao i najranije rimske prisutnosti na sisačkom prostoru. To su *Militaria Sisciensia* I. Radmana-Livaje iz 2004. godine, u kojoj je obrađen korpus nalaza rimske vojne opreme prikupljene u jaružanju rijeke Kupe na početku 20. stoljeća. Slijedila je disertacija T. Lolić *Urbanizam antičke Siscije na temelju analize*

the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>25</sup> as well as the discovery of many Roman military-related finds recovered from the Kupa riverbed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>26</sup> the lack of clear archaeological evidence influenced the speculative character of interpretations referring to the position and the character of the military camp. Just like in the case of the topography of the proto-historical settlement, the attempts to position the military camp were mostly based on the analysis of historical sources. For example, G. Veith thought that the proto-historical settlement – *Segestica*, was actually situated on the left bank of the Kupa River and, subsequently, that the Roman military camp was on the same spot during and after the conquest of *Segestica* in 35 BC.<sup>27</sup> J. Šašel is more prone to place the camp from the Augustan-Tiberian period to the southern part of Pogorelac,<sup>28</sup> and Nenadić and Buzov are of the opinion that the garrison, initially situated in the indigenous settlement – *Segestica*, soon moved to the left bank of the Kupa River, and that precisely the newly-constructed camp was recorded by Strabo as being the fort of *Siscia*.<sup>29</sup> Considering the large number of troops that were situated in today's Sisak during the listed period of about eighty years, I. Radman-Livaja, who discusses the issue in this publication, feels that there must have been several camps at several different positions, including both the left and the right bank of the Kupa River.<sup>20</sup>

It is important to note that the area within the walls of Roman *Siscia* on the left bank of the Kupa River has, since the 1950s, been revealing traces of wooden architecture under stone structures, as well as traces of wooden supports used to consolidate the marshy terrain.<sup>21</sup> The mentioned remains of wooden architecture can be chronologically ascribed to the phase as the military camp, but probably also to the earliest phase of the civil settlement that preceded the intense urbanistic activities that took place at the end of the rule of Emperor Claudius, and which intensified during the reign of the Flavians when *Siscia* acquired colonial rank.<sup>22</sup>

The state of research into the pre-Roman Iron Age settlement has been significantly improved over the past fifteen years thanks to the results of rescue archaeological excavations that preceded construction works in the city center, but also thanks to the excavations that are systematically being conducted at Pogorelac by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb since 2012. Additionally, several comprehensive studies of specific groups of movable archaeological finds have been conducted, as well as of prehistoric and Roman architecture and urbanism, resulting in several master's and doctoral theses, thereby significantly increasing the knowledge on the prehistoric and proto-historic *Segestica* / *Siscia*, as well as the earliest Roman presence in the area of Sisak. These include *Militaria Sisciensia* by I. Radmana-Livaja from 2004 that brings a corpus of Roman military

16 Radman-Livaja 2004.

17 Veith 1914, 51-58.

18 Šašel 1974.

19 Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-162.

20 Radman-Livaja 2007; Radman-Livaja 2010; Radman-Livaja 2015.

21 Lolić 2003, 141-142; Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić (u ovoj knjizi) i dr.

22 Lolić 2003, 142-143; Vidošević 2003.

15 These events include conquest of Segest(ic)a / Siscia in 35 BC as a part of Octavian's Illyrian operations (35-33 BC), Tiberius' Pannonian war (13/12-9/8 BC), and, finally, Bato's rebellion (6-9 AD).

16 Radman-Livaja 2004.

17 Veith 1914, 51-58.

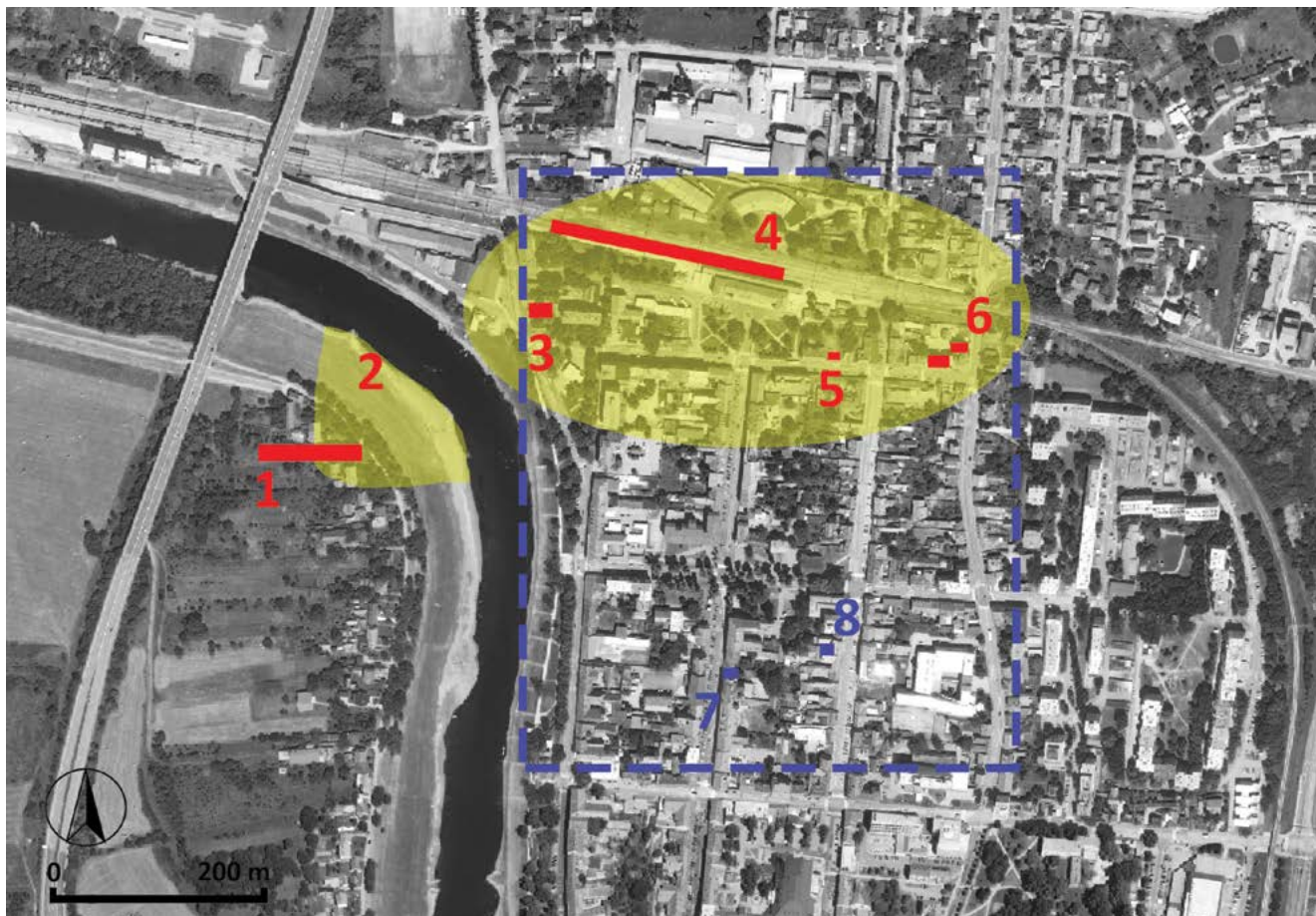
18 Šašel 1992, 612.

19 Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-162.

20 Radman-Livaja 2007; Radman-Livaja 2010; Radman-Livaja 2015.

21 Lolić 2003, 141-142; Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić (in this publication) and elsewhere.

22 Lolić 2003, 142-143; Vidošević 2003.



**Sl. 1.** Pretpostavljeni položaj mlađeželjeznodobnog naselja u Sisku (žuto); pretpostavljeni položaj rimskog vojnog logora iz augustovsko-tiberijevskog razdoblja (plava linija); 1-2 pozicije s tragovima naseljavanja iz starijeg i mlađeg željeznog doba (1. Pogorelac - kat. č. 15/2 i 15/3; 2. Pogorelac-Keltsko); 3-6 pozicije s tragovima naseljavanja iz mlađeg željeznog doba i iz vremena najranije rimske prisutnosti (3. Dunavski Lloyd; 4. Željeznički kolodvor; 5. Frankopanska ulica b.b.; 6. Državni / Povijesni arhiv); 7-8. pozicije s tragovima naseljavanja iz vremena najranije rimske prisutnosti (7. Ulica S. i A. Radića 38; Ulica A. Starčevića 37a) (izradili: I. Drnić i M. Maderić)

**FIG. 1.** The assumed position of the Late Iron Age settlement in Sisak (yellow); the assumed position of the Roman military camp from the Augustan-Tiberian period (blue line); 1-2 Positions with traces of settlement dated to the Early and Late Iron Age (1. Pogorelac - cat. plots 15/2 and 15/3; 2. Pogorelac-Keltsko); 3-6 Positions with traces of settlement from the Late Iron Age and the earliest Roman presence (3. Dunavski Lloyd; 4. Railway station; 5. Frankopanska ulica b.b.; 6. Državni / Povijesni arhiv); 7-8 Positions with traces of the earliest Roman presence (7. Ulica S. i A. Radića 38; Ulica A. Starčevića 37a) (made by: I. Drnić i M. Maderić)

*i interpretacije povijesne i moderne nacrtno dokumentacije iz 2014., kao i recentni doktorski radovi Tipološko-kronološka klasifikacija rimske keramike iz Siscije I. Miletić Čakširan te Donje Pokuplje u komunikacijskoj mreži željeznoga doba na razmeđu južne Panonije, istočnih Alpa i zapadnoga Balkana I. Drnića, u čijem je fokusu analiza pokretne građe, ali i kontekstualnih i topografskih podataka brončanodobnog i željeznodobnog naselja u Sisku te njegovog položaja u mikroregionalnom kontekstu Donjeg Pokuplja, ali i nadregionalnoj komunikacijskoj mreži željeznog doba.*

### Nova arhološka istraživanja

Prijelomnu točku u poznavanju željeznodobnog naselja na prostoru današnjeg Siska predstavljalo je zaštitno iskopavanje na poziciji buduće zgrade Državnog arhiva, smještenoj na križanju Frankopanske ulice i Ulice Franje Lovrića (Sl. 1-2). Istraživanje je provela tvrtka Kaducej u dvije etape, 2003. i 2004. godine, na površini od 405 m<sup>2</sup>, pri čemu je istraženo oko 4,5 metra kulturnih slojeva iz četiri kronološke faze: recentne / novovjekovne, srednjovjekovne, antičke te željeznodobne.<sup>23</sup> Od iznimne je važnosti činjenica da je na relativno velikoj površini istraženi kulturni

equipment collected in the dredging of the Kupa riverbed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, T. Lolić's dissertation *Urbanizam antičke Siscije na temelju analize i interpretacije povijesne i moderne nacrtno dokumentacije* (*The urbanism of ancient Siscia based on an analysis and interpretation of historical and modern layouts*) from 2014, as well as the recent *Tipološko-kronološka klasifikacija rimske keramike iz Siscije* (*The typological and chronological classification of Roman pottery from Siscia*) by I. Miletić Čakširan and *Donje Pokuplje u komunikacijskoj mreži željeznoga doba na razmeđu južne Panonije, istočnih Alpa i zapadnoga Balkana* (*The Donje Pokuplje region in the Iron Age communication network at the crossroads of southern Panonia, the eastern Alps and the western Balkans*) by I. Drnić. The latter focuses on the analysis of movable finds, as well as contextual and topographic data about the Bronze and Iron Age settlement in Sisak, its position in both the micro-regional context of the Lower Kupa valley region and the supra-regional Iron Age communication network.

### New archaeological research

A turning point in the research into the Iron Age settlement in today's Sisak was reached when rescue archaeological excavations were conducted at the position of the future building of

slojevi koji su prethodili rimskoj zidanoj arhitekturi (Sl. 3), a koji su se na osnovu pokretne građe, uglavnom ulomaka keramičkog posuđa, mogli datirati u mlađe željezno doba, ali i razdoblje najranije rimske prisutnosti na ovom prostoru na prijelazu stare u novu eru, koju, kao što je navedeno u uvodnom poglavlju, karakterizira nazočnost vojske.

Detaljnijom analizom stratigrafskih podataka i brojne pokretne građe, uglavnom ulomaka keramičkih posuda, iz dva metra visokih mlađeželjeznodobnih kulturnih slojeva (Sl. 3), provedenom u radu I. Drnić i I. Miletić Čakširan iz 2014. godine, definirano je nekoliko naseobinskih faza.<sup>24</sup> Prvu fazu činili su objekti ukopani u sterilan geološki sloj, uključujući i donji dio vertikalne keramičarske peći (ložište i rešetka), kao i slojevi neposredno iznad zdravice. Druga faza vezana je uz građevinu pravokutnog tlocrta koju tvore ostatci spaljenih drvenih greda, prosječne širine oko 60 cm, dok je duža strana objekta iznosila 16 metara u smjeru sjeveroistok - jugozapad. Treću fazu čine slojevi uz koje se vežu ostatci objekata pravokutnih tlocrta, od kojih su sačuvani redovi manjih stupića, kao i sporadični tragovi spaljenih greda. Pokretni arheološki materijal datira prvu i drugu naseobinsku fazu isključivo u mlađe željezno doba, a zbog nedostatka metalnih ili staklenih nalaza koji bi omogućili preciznije kronološko pozicioniranje, mogu se datirati u 2. i 1. stoljeće pr. Kr. U trećoj fazi pojavljuju se i prvi rijetki importi rimske keramike, što ga datira na sam kraj mlađeg željeznog doba i možda u početak rimske prisutnosti na ovom prostoru. Nakon njega slijedi prvi rimski naseobinski horizont s tragovima drvene gradnje i pokretnim materijalom kraja 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početka 1. stoljeća po Kr., koji se nedvojbeno može vezati uz rimski vojni logor.

Usljedila su zaštitna iskopavanja na pozicijama Dunavski Lloyd i Frankopanska b.b., koja je 2010. i 2011. proveo Gradski muzej Sisak, čiji su rezultati djelomično predstavljeni u ovoj knjizi u prilogu R. Škrkulje. Pozicija Dunavski Lloyd, smještena pedesetak metara istočno od korita rijeke Kupe, istraživana je 2010. godine (Sl. 1). Na površini od 300 m<sup>2</sup> istraženi su ostatci rimske arhitekture datirani od 1. do 4. stoljeća i definirani u četiri naseobinske faze. Ispod najstarije rimske faze zabilježeni su ostatci i predrimskih, mlađeželjeznodobnih slojeva i struktura, kao što su podnica objekata, ognjišta, ukopi stupova, otpadne jame i kanali.<sup>25</sup> Nažalost, postojanje vrlo gustih ostataka rimske arhitekture nije dozvoljavalo istraživanje ovoga naseobinskog horizonta u cjelini. Između njega i prvog rimskog horizonta u kojemu su zabilježeni ostatci drvene arhitekture nalazi se sloj „razaranja“ koji voditeljica istraživanja R. Škrkulja povezuje uz događaje iz 35./34. godine pr. Kr.

U predrimskom horizontu, kao i u sloju razaranja, osim brojnih ulomaka keramičkog posuđa izrađenog ručno i na lončarskom kolu zabilježeni su i metalni nalazi koji se datiraju od druge polovice 2. do kraja 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. (vrh koplja, nož, keltski / mlađeželjeznodobni i rimski republikanski novac).<sup>26</sup> Predmeti iz najsta-

the State Archives (Državni arhiv) at the crossroad of Frankopanska and Franje Lovrića Streets. The excavations were conducted by the private company Kaducej d.o.o. in two stages during 2003 and 2004 on an area of 405 m<sup>2</sup>, and revealed about 4.5 m of cultural layers from four chronological phases: recent/Modern Ages, medieval, Roman and Iron Age (Fig. 1-2).<sup>23</sup> It is remarkable that the cultural layers that preceded Roman stone architecture had been excavated at rather larger surface (Fig. 3). Based on movable finds – mostly fragments of pottery, these layers could be dated to the Late Iron Age, as well as the time of the earliest Roman presence in the area at the transition from the old into the new era that was, as listed in the introduction, characterized by military presence.

The 2014 paper by I. Drnić and I. Miletić Čakširan brings a detailed analysis of stratigraphic data and numerous movable finds, mostly pottery fragments, recovered from two-meter-thick Late Iron Age cultural layers that helped define several phases of habitation (Fig. 3).<sup>24</sup> The first phase is marked by structures dug into the sterile geological layer, including the bottom of a vertical pottery kiln (firing chambers and grid), as well as layers that were right above the sterile one. The second phase is connected to a rectangular building composed of the remains of burnt wooden beams, with an average width of about 60 cm and a length of 16 meters spanning from southeast to northwest. The third phase is composed of layers connected to the remains of rectangular structures that were preserved only as series of small post-holes and sporadic traces of burnt beams. The movable material dates the first and second phases of habitation exclusively to the Late Iron Age. Due to the lack of metal or glass finds that would allow for a more precise chronological definition, the material is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. The third phase also includes the first rare finds of imported Roman pottery, dating it to the very end of the Late Iron Age and possibly the beginnings of Roman presence in the area. This phase is followed by the first Roman phase, marked by the remains of wooden constructions and movable material dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, that can undoubtedly be linked to the Roman military camp.

Rescue excavations, conducted by the City Museum Sisak, took place at the Dunavski Lloyd and Frankopanska b.b. positions in 2010 and 2011, and the results are partially presented in R. Škrkulja's contribution in this publication. The Dunavski Lloyd position, situated about fifty meters east of the Kupa riverbed, was excavated in 2010 (Fig. 1). An area of 300 m<sup>2</sup> yielded the remains of Roman architecture dated to between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and were ascribed to four phases of settlement. The oldest Roman phase was preceded by the remains of pre-Roman, Late Iron Age layers and structures, including house floors, hearths, post-holes, waste pits and canals.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the densely-placed remains of Roman architecture made it impossible to fully excavate this phase of habitation. This layer and the first Roman phase with remains of wooden architecture were divided by a “destruction” layer that was connected by the head of excavations, R. Škrkulja to the events of 35/34 BC.

23 Burmaz 2005, 122-124; Burkowsky 2007, 6-13. U iskopavanju je za nalazište korišten naziv Povijesni arhiv, koji se kasnije ustalio u arheološkoj literaturi.

24 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014.

25 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 89-96; Škrkulja 2018, (u ovoj knjizi).

26 Bilić 2018, (u ovoj knjizi); Škrkulja 2018, (u ovoj knjizi).

23 Burmaz 2005, 122-124; Burkowsky 2007, 6-13. During the excavations, the site was known as *Povijesni arhiv*, and the name is now commonly used in archaeological publications.

24 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014.

25 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 89-96; Škrkulja 2018, (in this publication).



**Sl. 2.** Zaštitno arheološko straživanje na poziciji Državni (Povijesni) arhiv II 2004. godine (snimio: J. Burmaz)

**FIG. 2.** The 2004 rescue archaeological excavations at the Državni (Povijesni) arhiv II position (photo: J. Burmaz)



**Sl. 3.** Dio sjevernog profila na poziciji Državni (Povijesni) arhiv II s mladeželjeznodobnim kulturnim slojevima ispod rimskih zidanih struktura (snimio: J. Burmaz)

**FIG. 3.** A part of the northern profile at the Državni (Povijesni) arhiv II position with Late Iron Age cultural layers below Roman stone structures (photo: J. Burmaz)

In addition to fragments of pots made by hand and on a potter's wheel, both the Roman layer and the layer of destruction yielded metal finds dated to the time between the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (spearhead, knife, Celtic / Late Iron Age and Roman republican coins).<sup>26</sup> Finds from the oldest Roman layer, such as fine tableware (terra sigillata from Arezzo, Aco beakers and *Sarius* type cups), dated to the middle and late Augustan period, and metal finds (an *Idrija* Ia type fibula, an *Aucissa* type fibula), as well as some finds of military equipment (an iron tent peg, bronze rings from a chainmail, sword sheaths made from bronze tin) point to the existence of cultural layers that can be connected to the military camp that was situated on the left bank of the Kupa River from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The Frankopanska ulica b.b. position is situated between the described Dunavski Lloyd and Državni arhiv positions (Fig. 1). In 2011, an area of 59 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated, and three phases of use were defined: recent/Modern Ages, Roman and Late Iron Age that was marked by different structures dug into the geological base: waste pits and a series of post holes similar to those discovered in the third occupational phase at the Povijesni arhiv position.<sup>27</sup> The described structures were followed by layers that yielded the usual Late Iron Age ceramics similar to those from Pogorelac and Povijesni arhiv, pyramidal weights used on vertical

<sup>26</sup> Bilić 2018, (in this publication); Škrgulja 2018, (in this publication).

<sup>27</sup> Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159, Sl. 5-6.



rijeg rimskog sloja, kao što je fina stolna keramika (aretinska tera sigilata, čaše tipa *Aco*, šalice tipa *Sarius*), datirana u srednje i kasnoaugustovsko razdoblje, te metalni nalazi (fibula tipa *Idrija Ia*, fibula tipa *Aucissa*), uključujući i pojedine nalaze vojne opreme (željezni šatorski klin, brončane karike karičastog oklopa, ostaci korica mača izrađenih od brončanog lima) upućuju na postojanje kulturnih slojeva koji se mogu dovesti u vezu s vojnim logorom s kraja 1. stoljeća prije Kr. i početka 1. stoljeća po Kr. na lijevoj obali rijeke Kupe.

Pozicija Frankopanska ulica b.b. nalazi se između prethodno opisanih pozicija Dunavski Lloyd i Državni arhiv (Sl. 1). Ovdje je 2011. godine istražena površina od 59 m<sup>2</sup> pri čemu su definirane tri faze korištenja prostora: recentna / novovjekovna, rimska te mladeželjeznodobna u kojoj su zabilježene različite strukture ukopane u geološku podlogu: otpadne jame, niz ukopa za stupove, slični onima istraženim na poziciji Povijesni arhiv u trećem naseobinskom horizontu.<sup>27</sup> Iznad opisanih struktura nalazili su se slojevi s uobičajenim mladeželjeznodobnim keramičkim materijalom kakav je prikupljen u istraživanjima na Pogorelcu i Povijesnom arhivu, zatim s piramidalnim utezima okomitog tkalačkog stana i ulomcima kućnog lijepa, ali i tetradrahmom tipa Đurđevac (kasna faza), odnosno tauričanskom tetradrahmom kovanom u drugoj polovici 2. st. ili u 1. st. pr. Kr.<sup>28</sup> Tu su istraženi i ostaci vertikalne keramičarske peći s očuvanim ložištem i rešetkom.<sup>29</sup> Slijedio je ranorimski horizont datiran finim stolnim posuđem (šalica tipa *Sarius*, sigilatni tanjuri tipa Consp. 5.4.2 i Consp. 20) u kraj 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početak 1. stoljeća po Kr., što potvrđuje i nalaz fibule sa životinjskom glavom na luku (tzv. *Tierkopffibel*).

Kao iznimno važna pozicija za razumijevanje prve faze rimske prisutnosti, s obzirom na veličinu istražene površine od gotovo 3000 m<sup>2</sup>, ali i svih kasnijih urbanističkih faza rimske Siscije, ističe se sisački željeznički kolodvor. Ovo je istraživanje provedeno u dvije faze tijekom 2014. i 2016. godine, a stratigrafski podatci prikupljeni u kampanji iz 2014. godine predstavljeni su u ovoj knjizi u prilogu T. Jerončića, A. Pare i M. Mesarić. Kao i kod prethodno navedenih pozicija, i ovdje su istraženi dijelovi kulturnih slojeva predrimskog / mladeželjeznodobnog naselja, ali i slojevi iz razdoblja najranije rimske prisutnosti s rijetkim ostacima drvene arhitekture koji pripadaju vremenu vojnog logora. Kronološki slijede ostaci civilnog naselja kolonije Flavije Siscije (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*) pri čemu se važnošću ističe otkriće glavnog gradskog foruma s dijelovima kamenog popločenja te glavne gradske prometnice – karda (*cardo*) s pripadajućim kanalizacijskim sustavom, koja je u smjeru sjever - jug prolazila zapadno od spomenutog foruma.

U ovim istraživanjima prikupljena je golema količina pokretne građe, među kojom, uobičajeno, dominiraju ulomci keramičkih posuda, a koja zasigurno neće u bližoj budućnosti biti u potpunosti dostupna široj arheološkoj javnosti. Na sreću, u ovoj se knjizi nalaze dva rada u kojima su obrađene određene skupine keramičkih posuda. Autori A. Paro, O. Novaković i I. Radman-Livaja donose rezultate analize 257 ulomaka amfora koji svjedoče

looms, pieces of daub, but also a tetradrachm of the Đurđevac type (late phase), i.e. an Etruscan tetradrachm minted in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>28</sup> The layers also yielded the remains of a vertical pottery kiln with a preserved firing chambers and grid.<sup>29</sup> These were followed by an early-Roman phase dated based on fine tableware (a *Sarius* type cup, *sigillata* plates of the Consp. 5.4.2 and Consp. 20 types) to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, as additionally attested to by a fibula with an animal head on the bow (*Tierkopffibel*).

The Railway station (Željeznički kolodvor) position in Sisak stands out as an exceptionally important position for the understanding of the first phase of Roman presence, as well as the following urbanistic phases of Roman *Siscia*, seeing as an area of almost 3000 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated. The excavations were conducted on two occasions during 2014 and 2016, and the stratigraphic data collected in 2014 is presented in T. Jerončić, A. Paro and M. Mesarić's contribution in this publication. Just like with the previous positions, this one revealed cultural layers of the pre-Roman / Late Iron Age settlement and those from the earliest phases of Roman occupation. The latter included rare remains of wooden architecture ascribed to the military camp. These layers are chronologically followed by the remains of the civil settlement - *Colonia Flavia Siscia*, which are especially important due to the discovery of the main city forum with traces of a stone pavement and the main city road – the *cardo* and its accompanying sewage system that was placed west of the *forum* and spanned from north to south.

These excavations revealed large amounts of movable finds that are, as is common, dominated by pottery fragments, and which will certainly not be available completely to the wider archaeological public in the near future. Luckily, this publication contains two papers that bring the analyses of certain groups of ceramic finds. Authors A. Paro, O. Novaković and I. Radman-Livaja present the analysis of 257 amphora fragments that attest to the import of different produce from numerous parts of the Roman Empire. Notably the most important find is a fragment of a Dressel 8 type amphora with an inscription (*titulus pictus*) that contains what is, so far, the oldest epigraphic mention of Roman *Siscia*. The fragment was discovered in a dugout storage area that had wooden paneling along the edges. I. Miletić Čakširan analyzed fine tableware from stratigraphic units SU 650, SU 1300 and SU 1311 that were defined in the western part of the site. The analyzed forms, including finds of early thin-walled pottery, pottery with a black slip, as well as relief pottery in the sense of *Sarius* type cups and *Aco* beakers, date the layers to the middle Augustan period. The, so called, Dangstetten-Oberaden phase of Roman military camps on the Rhine is dated to the same period. Although there were no solid architectural remains, the finds from these layers, along with material collected at the Dunavski Lloyd, Frankopanska b.b. and Povijesni arhiv positions, clearly indicate the existence of a Roman military camp on the left bank of the Kupa River at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

27 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159, Sl. 5-6.

28 Bilić 2018, (u ovoj knjizi).

29 Škrgulja 2018, (u ovoj knjizi).

28 Bilić 2018, (in this publication).

29 Škrgulja 2018, (in this publication).

o uvozu različitih proizvoda iz brojnih dijelova Rimskog Carstva. Važnošću se neosporno ističe nalaz amfore tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom (*titulus pictus*) sa zasad najstarijim epigrafskim spomenom rimske Siscije, koja je pronađena u ukopanoj smočnici sa stijen-kama obloženim drvenim daskama. I. Miletić Čakširan obradila je fino stolno posuđe iz stratigrafskih jedinica SJ 650, SJ 1300 i SJ 1311, istraženih na zapadnom dijelu iskopne površine. Analizirani oblici, među kojima se nalaze ulomci rane keramike tankih stijenki, keramika s crnim premazom, reljefna aretinska tera sigilata kao i šalice tipa *Sarius* i čaše tipa *Aco*, datiraju istražene slojeve u srednjoaugustovsko razdoblje kada se datira i tzv. Dangstetten - Oberaden horizont rajnskih vojnih logora. Iako bez konkretnijih građevinskih ostataka, nalazi iz ovih slojeva, zajedno s materijalom s pozicija Dunavski Lloyd, Frankopanska b.b. i Povijesni arhiv, jasno upućuju na postojanje rimskog vojnog logora na lijevoj obali rijeke Kupe krajem 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.

Na kraju pregleda o recentnim iskopavanjima na sisačkom prostoru svakako se moramo osvrnuti i na sustavna iskopavanja koja se od 2012. godine sustavno provode na desnoj obali rijeke Kupe, na poziciji Pogorelac. U ovim istraživanjima, u kojima je osim iskopavanja provedena i geofizička prospekcija, zabilježeni su tragovi naseljavanja iz starijeg i mlađeg željeznog doba, kao i rimskog razdoblja (2. - 3. stoljeće), te ostatci kasnoantičke nekropole iz 4. i prve polovice 5. stoljeća.<sup>30</sup> Nakon što su u analizu uključeni prostorni podatci i pokretna građa iz prethodno spomenutog iskopavanja na poziciji Keltsko u koritu rijeke Kupe,<sup>31</sup> kao i iz recentnog zaštitnog iskopavanja provedenog 2013. i 2014. godine u kanalu paralelnom s Avenijom V. Janića Cape,<sup>32</sup> bio je moguć pokušaj rekonstrukcije dinamike naselja smještenog na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Pogorelca kroz cijelo 1. tisućljeće pr. Kr., sve do dolaska rimske vojske 35. godine pr. Kr.

Prema dostupnim podacima prikupljenim u iskopavanju iz 1992. godine, jezgra naselja, formiranog u završnoj fazi brončanog doba (Ha B), nalazila se u današnjem koritu rijeke Kupe.<sup>33</sup> Iz tog vremena potječe i nekoliko metalnih nalaza iz Kupe, kao i paljevinski grob s tri keramičke posude pronađen u zaštitnom iskopavanju u Zagrebačkoj ulici na lijevoj strani rijeke.<sup>34</sup> Više-manje u istom opsegu naselje je egzistiralo i u starijoj fazi starijeg željeznog doba, a veliku ekspanziju doživljava u 6. - 5. stoljeću pr. Kr., odnosno kasnohalštatskom razdoblju (Ha D2-3, LT A - B1), kada se širi u smjeru istoka na povišenu desnu obalu Kupe. Na osnovu rezultata geofizičkog pregleda te iskopavanja, čini se izglednim da je u toj fazi naselje bilo formirano unutar više-manje pravilne mreže s gusto nabijenim stambenim objektima (barem u jednom dijelu), na površini procijenjenoj na 3 - 4 ha (Sl. 4-5). U recentnim istraživanjima AMZ-a na kat. č. 15/2 i 15/3 na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Pogorelca istraženi su nasebinski slojevi iz starijeg željeznog doba u sondama 1, 2 i 4, dok u iskopavanju Sonde 3 nisu zabilježeni tragovi naseljavanja iz ovoga razdoblja, čime je definirana zapadna granica stariježeljeznodobnog naselja. Sjevernu granicu naselja vjerojatno je činio meandar rijeke Kupe, dok za

At the end of the overview of recent excavations conducted in the Sisak area, it is important to mention the systematic excavations conducted on the right bank of the Kupa River, at the Pogorelac position, that started in 2012. These excavations, which also included geophysical prospection, revealed traces of habitation dated to the Early and Late Iron Age, the Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century), as well as the remains of a Late Roman necropolis dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> Once spatial data and movable finds from the described excavations at Keltsko in the Kupa riverbed,<sup>31</sup> and the recent rescue excavations conducted in 2013 and 2014 in the canal that runs parallel to Avenija V. Janića Cape<sup>32</sup> were included into the analysis, it was possible to suggest a reconstruction of the development of the settlement situated on the northeastern part of Pogorelac throughout the entire 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, until the arrival of the Roman military in 35 BC.

Based on available data gathered in the 1992 excavations, the core of the settlement that was formed in the final phases of the Bronze Age (Ha B) was situated in today's Kupa riverbed.<sup>33</sup> Several metal finds from the Kupa River and an incineration grave with three ceramic vessels, discovered in rescue excavations at Zagrebačka ulica on the left riverbank, can be dated to the same period.<sup>34</sup> The settlement more or less remained of equal size during the early phase of the Early Iron Age, and expanded significantly during the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, i.e. in the Hallstatt period (Ha D2-3, LT A-B1), when it spread eastwards onto the elevated right bank of the Kupa River. Based on the results of geophysical prospection, it seems likely that, in that phase, the settlement was formed within a more or less regular network that included densely distributed residential structures (at least in a part of the settlement), and covered an estimated area of 3-4 ha (Fig. 4). The recent excavations conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb on cadastral plots 15/2 and 15/3 on the southeastern part of Pogorelac revealed habitational layers dated to the Early Iron Age in trenches 1, 2 and 4, while trench 3 yielded no traces of habitation from the same period, thereby helping define the western border of the Early Iron Age settlement. The northern border of the settlement was probably defined by the Kupa River meander, while the southern border is, based on geophysics, assumed to be on cadastral plots 17/2 and 17/3, about sixty meters south of Trench 2. This, however, remains only an assumption until further excavations are conducted.

The presence of Late Iron Age layers in Trench 1, which have different depositional characteristic than the Early Iron Age layers that structurally match those on the left bank of the Kupa River (the Povijesni arhiv, Railway station, etc. positions), as well as their nonexistence in other trenches situated to the west of Trench 1, confirms that the settlement got smaller at the beginning of the Late Iron Age and that it was situated closer to the Kupa River in the period between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> / the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

30 Drnić, Groh 2018.

31 Burkowsky 2004.

32 Nakić 2014.

33 Burkowsky 2004; Drnić 2019, 5-12.

34 Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012; Boras 2013.

30 Drnić, Groh 2018.

31 Burkowsky 2004.

32 Nakić 2014.

33 Burkowsky 2004; Drnić 2019, 5-12.

34 Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012; Boras 2013.

južnu granicu na osnovu rezultata geofizičke prospekcije procjenjujemo da se mogla nalaziti na kat č. 17/2 i 17/3, šezdesetak metara južno od Sonde 2, iako bez provedenih iskopavanja ova tvrdnja ostaje samo pretpostavka.

Prisustvo mladeželjeznodobnih slojeva u Sondama 1, drugačijih pozicijskih karakteristika u odnosu na stariježeljeznodobne, koji strukturom odgovaraju onima s lijeve obale Kupe (na pozicijama Povijesni arhiv, Željeznički kolodvor itd.), kao i njihov izostanak u ostalim sondama smještenim zapadno od Sonde 1, potvrđuju da se naselje početkom mlađeg željeznog doba opsegom smanjilo te je u razdoblju od kraja 4. i početka 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. pa sve do druge polovice 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. funkcioniralo bliže rijeci Kupi. Potpun izostanak ranorimskog materijala u Sondama 1-4, a koji je zabilježen na lijevoj obali rijeke, upućuje na to da je mladeželjeznodobno naselje na desnoj obali rijeke Kupe, na sjeveroistočnom dijelu pozicije Pogorelac, prestalo funkcionirati krajem 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., što se podudara s povijesno zabilježenim događajem rimskog osvajanja naselja, poznatog iz izvora pod imenom Segest(ik)a, i osnivanja vojnog uporišta 35. pr. Kr.<sup>35</sup>

### Analiza i interpretacija starih nalaza

Važan istraživački segment u kontekstu predrimskog i rimskog naselja čini analiza starijih nalaza iz fundusa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu te Gradskog muzeja Sisak, koji uglavnom potječu iz rijeke Kupe. Primjerice, samo je u jaružanjima rijeke Kupe s početka 20. stoljeća prikupljeno više od deset tisuća uglavnom rimskodobnih predmeta, uz nešto pretpovijesne i srednjovjekovne građe.<sup>36</sup> Iako tim predmetima nedostaje uži arheološki kontekst, njihova brojnost, a nerijetko i reprezentativni karakter, utječu na donošenje zaključaka o važnosti i istraženosti ovog iznimnog lokaliteta, kao i na razumijevanje njegovog mjesta u širem arheološkom kontekstu brončanog/željeznog doba i rimske vladavine na ovome prostoru. Dobar primjer tome su analize i objave rimskih fibula iz Siska,<sup>37</sup> kao i ostalih elemenata nošnje,<sup>38</sup> zatim olovnih pločica – trgovačkih tesera, koje čine najveću zbirku tih predmeta u svijetu,<sup>39</sup> te rimske vojne opreme.<sup>40</sup> Kombinirajući dugogodišnje iskustvo rada na ova dva tipa materijala, tzv. *militaria* s jedne, te epigrafskim spomenicima – tesarama s druge, I. Radman-Livaja u ovoj knjizi donosi prilog u kojemu je kroz analizu natpisa na nekoliko komada vojne opreme (žvale, kaciga tipa Hagenau), jednog transkribiranog natpisa s danas nestalog nadgrobno spomenika centuriona XV legije Tiberija Klaudija Pontija, uz kraći osvrt na numizmatičku građu,<sup>41</sup> pokušao ponuditi neke odgovore na pitanja o boravku pojedinih legija u sisačkom garnizonu u razdoblju julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije.

Uz prisustvo rimske vojske na sisačkom prostoru vežu se i nalazi dvaju odista iznimnih konjskih žvala obrađenih u prilogu D. Božića, za koje se na osnovu morfoloških karakteristika može ustvr-

The complete lack of early Roman material in Trenches 1 – 4, and its presence on the left bank of the Kupa River, points to the fact that the Late Iron Age settlement on the right bank of the Kupa River, i.e. on the northeastern part of Pogorelac, ceased to exist at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC - a period that overlaps with the historically recorded Roman conquest of the settlement that is known in sources as *Segest(ica)*, as well as with the creation of a military base in 35 BC.<sup>35</sup>

### The analysis and interpretation of old finds

The analysis of older finds that were mostly recovered from the Kupa River and are kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the City Museum Sisak is an important segment of research into the pre-Roman and Roman settlement. For example, the dredging of the Kupa riverbed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century yielded over ten thousand, mostly Roman, but also some prehistoric and medieval finds.<sup>36</sup> Although the finds have no archaeological context, their number, and often representative features, influence the conclusions about the importance and state of research into this exceptional site, as well as understanding its place in the wider archaeological context of the Bronze / Iron Age and Roman rule in the area. Good examples of this include the analyses and publications of Roman fibulas from Sisak,<sup>37</sup> as well as those of other elements of attire,<sup>38</sup> lead plates – trading *tesserae* that make up the largest collection of such finds in the world,<sup>39</sup> and Roman military equipment.<sup>40</sup> By combining his year-long work on these two types of finds, the, so called, *militaria* on the one hand, and epigraphic monuments – *tesserae*, on the other, I. Radman-Livaja's contribution to this publication includes an analysis of inscriptions found on several pieces of military equipment (e.g. bits, a Hagenau type helmet), a transcribed inscription from the, now lost, tombstone of a centurion from legion XV, Tiberius Claudius Pontius, and a short overview of numismatic finds.<sup>41</sup> The author tried to provide some answers to the questions of legionary presence in the Sisak garrison during the Julian-Claudian dynasty.

The presence of the Roman army in Sisak is attested to by the finds of two exceptional bits that are discussed in D. Božić's contribution. Based on their morphological characteristics, the fibulas can be ascribed to the Dacian type. The first find, with side elements in the form of rods, is a special form of the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits, and was probably made during the Augustan period. The other one, with side elements shaped as a wheel with three protrusions, presents a new variant of Dacian bits, called the Sisak variant, and was probably used during the Early Imperial Period.

In addition to Roman weaponry and equipment, authors M. Dizdar and I. Drnić bring the first complete analysis of all availa-

35 Šašel Kos 1997; Šašel Kos 2005, 437-442.

36 Vukelić, Radman-Livaja 2012.

37 Košćević 1980.

38 Košćević 1991.

39 Radman-Livaja 2014.

40 Radman-Livaja 2004.

41 Asi kovani 7. godine pr. Kr. s kontramarkom *APOL*.

35 Šašel Kos 1997; Šašel Kos 2005, 437-442.

36 Vukelić, Radman-Livaja 2012.

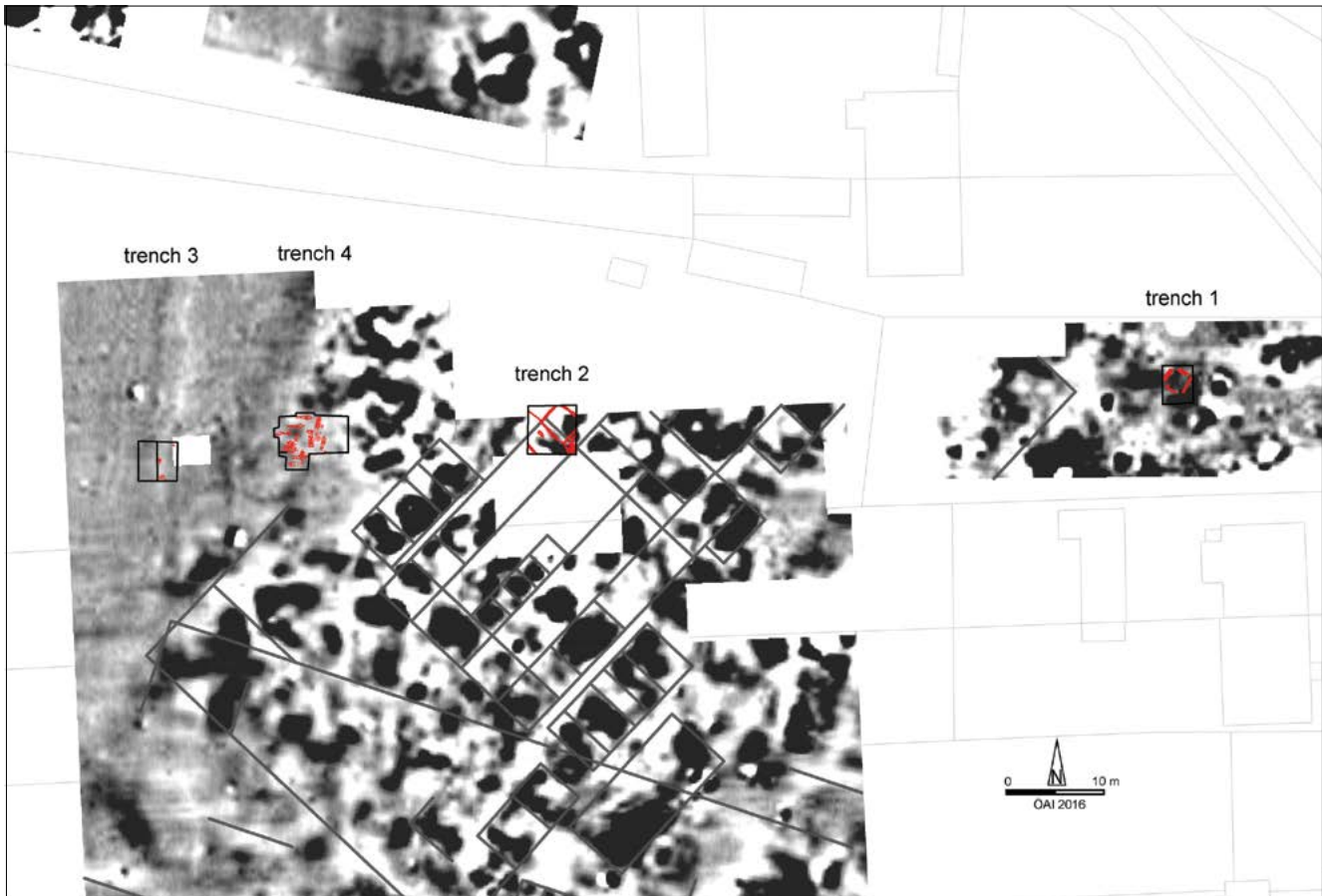
37 Košćević 1980.

38 Košćević 1991.

39 Radman-Livaja 2014.

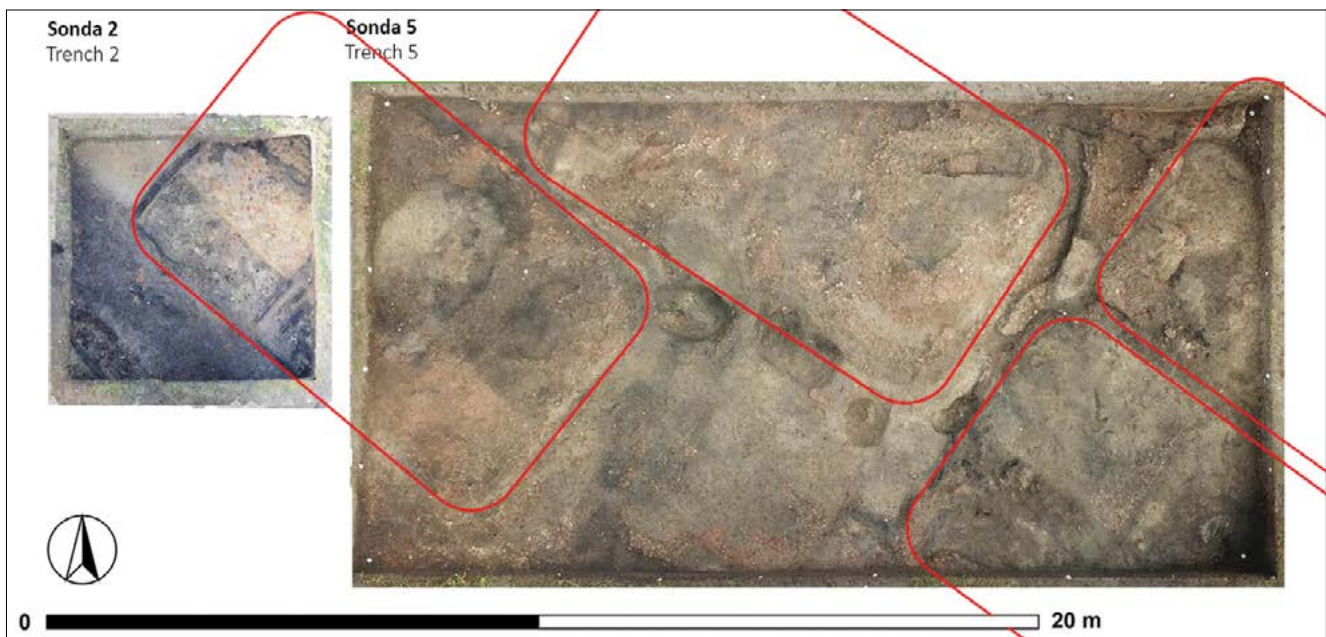
40 Radman-Livaja 2004.

41 Assēs minted in 7 BC with the *APOL* countermark.



**Sl. 4.** Rezultati geomagnetskog pregleda u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Pogorelca u kombinaciji s položajem Sondi 1-4 (prema Drnić, Groh 2018)

**FIG. 4.** The results of geomagnetic surveys conducted on the northeastern part of Pogorelac, combined with the positions of Trenches 1-4 (according to: Drnić, Groh 2018)



**Sl. 5.** Segment stariježelznodobnog naselja na Pogorelcu (kasnohalštatska faza) s objektima organiziranim u pravilnu mrežu (izradili: I. Drnić i M. Maderić)

**FIG. 5.** A segment of the Early Iron Age settlement at Pogorelac (the late Hallstatt phase) with structures organized into a regular network (made by: I. Drnić i M. Maderić).

diti da pripadaju dačkom tipu žvala. Prvi primjerak, s obraznim elementima u obliku šipke, predstavlja poseban oblik u okviru varijante Magdalensberg dačkih žvala, a proizveden je vjerojatno u augustovskom razdoblju. Druge žvale, čiji su obrazni elementi izrađeni u obliku kotača s tri trna, predstavljaju novu varijantu dačkih žvala, nazvanu varijanta Sisak, a vjerojatno su korištene u ranocarskom razdoblju.

Osim rimskog naoružanja i opreme, u prilogu M. Dizdara i I. Drnića prvi puta se objavljuje cjelokupna dostupna građa koju čine mlađeželjznodobni / latenski nalazi naoružanja i konjske opreme, a koje su koristile ratničke elite Segest(ik)e i Siscije u razdoblju od 3. do 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., djelomično vjerojatno i za vrijeme vojnih operacija 35. pr. Kr. Radi se o skupini od tridesetak predmeta koju čine dio korica latenskog mača, vrhovi kopalja, noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, kopče pojasnih garnitura te različiti elemente konjske opreme (razvodnik, dugmad, kopča, ostruga).

Prilog A. Tonc donosi raspravu o procesima koji su se tijekom 2. polovice 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početkom 1. stoljeća po Kr. odvijali na prostoru ušća Kupe u Savu, kroz prizmu jedne karakteristične skupine nalaza – fibula. Analizirajući nekoliko tipova fibula, kao što su Alezija, Langton Down, Idrija, Almgren 2 te Almgren 236/237 i 238, autorica upućuje na različite procese koji su utjecali na strukturu nošnje lokalnog stanovništva, od autohtonog razvoja pojedinih elementa do kulturnih utjecaja potaknutih trgovinom i razmjenom s prialpskim i sjevernoitalskim prostorom. Također, upozorava i na priljev novog stanovništva nakon uspostave vojnog garnizona, prvenstveno vojnika, ali i civilnog stanovništva – trgovaca i obrtnika, koji donose i neke nove elemente u nošnji.

Prilog koji objedinjuje analizu starih i novih nalaza rad je T. Bilića o predcarskom novcu iz Siska. Kroz analizu keltskih / željznodobnih kovanica, rimskog republikanskog novca i jedne numidske bronce, nalaza koji potječu iz arheoloških iskopavanja, i njihovom usporedbom s većom skupinom novca bez poznatog arheološkog konteksta, ponuđeni su odgovori na pitanja vezana uz optjecaj novca na području Siska u razdobljima prije i poslije osvajanja Segest(ik)e / Siscije. S obzirom na važnost sisačkog željznodobnog naselja unutar komunikacijske mreže 2. i 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i njegov položaj na razmeđu kontinentalne i mediteranske zone, ne iznenađuje heterogen sastav novca za koji se pretpostavlja da je pripadao monetarnom optjecaju u razdoblju koje je prethodilo rimskom osvajanju Segest(ik)e / Siscije. U ovoj skupini nalaze se tauričanski kovovi, kao i novac Skordiska, ali i novac Apolonije i Dirahija koji sredinom 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. na prostoru Panonije biva zamijenjen rimskim republikanskim novcem koji je jasno posvjedočen u sisačkim mlađeželjznodobnim naseobinskim slojevima. S druge strane, rijetki nalazi keltskog novca iz kulturnih slojeva koje vežemo uz najraniju rimsku prisutnost na ovom prostoru potvrđuju njegovu cirkulaciju i nakon uspostave rimske vladavine.

Kao što je vidljivo iz ovog poglavlja, velika količina mlađeželjznodobne i rimske arheološke građe je objavljena, ali ipak bih se usudio zaključiti da znatan dio posla na obradi materijala tek predstoji. Velike skupine predmeta iz depoa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Gradskog muzeja Sisak, kao što su primjerice brončano bez zarez, ili željezno oruđe, kao i predmeti od stakla i kosti, još čekaju detaljne analize i publikaciju.

ble Late Iron Age / La Tène weaponry and horse-riding equipment that was used by warrior elites of Segestica and Siscia in the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, as well as, probably, during the military operations of 35 BC. The contribution brings about thirty finds, including parts of scabbards from a La Tène sword, spearheads, Pritoka-Bela Cerkev type knives, belt buckles and different elements of horse-riding equipment (strap separator, buttons, buckle, spur).

A. Tonc discusses the processes that took place at the confluence of the Kupa and the Sava Rivers during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and does it through a characteristic group of finds – fibulas. Through the analysis of several types of fibulas, such as Alesia, Langton Down, Idrija, Almgren 2 and Almgren 236/237 i 238, the author points to different processes that affected the structure of the attire worn by the local population, from the autochthonous development of certain elements, to the cultural influences brought through trade and exchange with the pre-Alpine and north Italian territories. Additionally, she also emphasizes the influx of new settlers after the military garrison was established, primarily soldiers, but also civilians – merchants and craftsmen, who also brought in new elements of attire.

T. Bilić's contribution brings a unified overview of old and new finds of pre-Imperial coins from Sisak. The analysis of Celtic / Iron Age mints, Roman republican coins and one Numidian bronze that were discovered in excavations, and comparisons to the larger group of coins found from archaeological contexts, provide possible answers to the questions pertaining to the circulation of coins during the period before and after Segestica / Siscia was conquered. Considering the importance of the Iron Age settlement in Sisak within the communication network of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, and its position at the crossroads of the continental and the Mediterranean zone, the heterogenic composition of the assemblage is not surprising. It is assumed that the coins were a part of monetary circulation in the period preceding the Roman conquest of Segestica / Siscia. The assemblage includes mints of the *Taurisci*, coins used by the *Scordisci*, as well as those from *Apolonia* and *Dyrrachium* that were, as attested to by numerous finds from Late Iron Age layers in Sisak, replaced by Roman republican coins in Pannonia at the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. On the other hand, rare finds of Celtic coins from the cultural layers, which can be connected to the earliest Roman presence in the area, attest to its circulation even after the establishment of Roman rule.

As can be seen from this chapter, the large amounts of Late Iron Age and Roman archaeological material have been published. However, the author feels like the majority of work is yet to be done. Large assemblages kept at the depots at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Sisak City Museum, such as, for example, bronze vessels, iron tools and finds made of glass and bone, still await detailed analyses and publication.

### **The dynamics of the prehistoric / proto-historic settlement and the earliest Roman presence in Sisak – recent discoveries**

Based on today's state of research, which is certainly far from ideal, but which does, nonetheless, allow for making significant-

## Dinamika pretpovijenog / protopovijesnog naselja i najranija rimska prisutnost na prostoru Siska – recentne spoznaje

Na današnjem stupnju istraženosti, koji je zasigurno daleko od idealnog, ali koji ipak dozvoljava znatno utemeljenije zaključke, u završnom poglavlju pokušat će se ukratko sumirati naseobinska dinamika sisačkog prostora u 1. tisućljeću pr. Kr. i na samom početku nove ere. Prema dostupnim podacima, naselje smješteno neposredno prije ušća Kupe u Savu osniva se u završnoj fazi kasnog brončanog doba, odnosno stupnju Ha B prema srednjoeuropskoj relativnoj kronološkoj podjeli, o čemu svjedoči materijal prikupljen na desnoj strani korita Kupe (pozicija Keltsko) te paljevinski grob s lijeve strane rijeke. To je naseobinska jezgra iz koje će se kasnije razviti znatno veće naselje. Rijetki dostupni podatci dozvoljavaju pretpostavku da je naselje kontinuirano funkcioniralo i u starijoj fazi starijeg željeznog doba (Ha C – D1), a znatnu ekspanziju doživljava u mlađoj fazi starijeg željeznog doba, tzv. kasnom halštatu (Ha D2-3 / LT A-B1), kada se širi na desnu, povišenu obalu rijeke Kupe i poprima protourbani karakter s nastambama organiziranim u više-manje pravilnu mrežu. Površina te faze naselja procjenjuje se na 3 – 4 ha. Teško je sa sigurnošću reći što je uvjetovalo taj uspon, ali se može ustvrditi da se on kronološki poklapa s događajima iz druge polovice 7. i početka 6. stoljeća pr. Kr. koji su doveli do znatnih promjena u pojedinim dijelovima Karpatske kotline, primjerice Transdanubiji i južnoj Panoniji, a koji se vežu uz provale nomadskih naroda s istoka, povijesno zabilježenih Skita. Danas je jasno da ti nasilni upadi nisu imali kataklizmički učinak na halštatske zajednice spomenutih prostora, kako se to tumačilo u dijelu starije literature, ali su doveli do znatnih kulturnih i društvenih promjena koje se manifestiraju, između ostalog, i u nestanku monumentalne grobne arhitekture – tumula, ali zasigurno i u restrukturiranju postojećih komunikacijskih mreža. Moguće je da je upravo u tom povijesnom trenutku sisačko naselje doživjelo uspon, prvenstveno zbog iznimnog položaja na razmeđu nekoliko geografskih, ali i kulturnih regija kao što su jugoistočne Alpe, južna Panonija i zapadni Balkan.

Naselje na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Pogorelca opsegom se smanjilo početkom mlađeg željeznog doba, krajem. 4. i početkom 3. stoljeća pr. Kr., pa je sve do druge polovice 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. funkcioniralo bliže rijeci Kupi. Na sadašnjem stupnju istraženosti teško je ustanoviti odnos između smanjenja naselja i procesa iz druge polovice 4. stoljeća pr. Kr., koji su označili prelazak u mlađe željezno doba i pojavu latenske kulture u južnoj Panoniji. Kao što je već napomenuto u uvodnom poglavlju, u starijim interpretacijama navedeni procesi vezani su uz masovne migracije Kelta, ali danas je jasno da su oni bili znatno kompleksniji te su, osim migracija manjih skupina i pojedinaca, uključivali i prijenos kulturnih obrazaca kroz akulturaciju, što je utjecalo na viši ili niži stupanj „latenizacije“ pojedinih indigenih južnopanonskih zajednica. Iz perspektive materijalne kulture, posebice keramičkog posuđa koje čini kvantitativno dominantnu skupinu nalaza, prilično se jasno može ustvrditi kulturni kontinuitet sisačke željeznodobne zajednice na prijelazu starijeg u mlađe željezno doba, pri čemu su usvajani određeni elementi latenske kulture, prvenstveno elementi nošnje (primjerice fibule), koja u tom razdoblju predstavlja nadregionalnu modu, a u nešto manjoj mjeri i novi oblici keramičkog posuđa, uključujući i novu tehnologiju – brzo lončarsko kolo.

ly more founded conclusions, the final chapter brings a summary of the settlement dynamics that took place in the Sisak area in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC and the very beginning of the new era. According to available data, the settlement that was situated right at the Kupa-Sava confluence was founded in the final phase of the Late Bronze Age, i.e. phase Ha B in the central European relative chronological scheme, as attested to by the material collected on the right bank of Kupa riverbed (the Keltsko position) and the incineration grave discovered on the left bank of the Kupa River. This habitational core would later turn into a significantly larger settlement. The sparse available data makes it possible to assume that the settlement functioned continuously throughout the early phase of the Early Iron Age (Ha C-D1), and that it significantly expanded in the late phase of the Early Iron Age, i.e. the Late Hallstatt period (Ha D2-3 / LT A-B1), when it spread to the right, elevated, bank of the Kupa River and acquired a proto-urban character with structures organized into a more or less organized grid. The surface area of this phase is estimated to be 3-4 ha. It is difficult to definitively claim what caused the expansion, but it chronologically matches the events that took place in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, which caused significant changes in certain parts of the Carpathian basin, e.g. in Transdanubia and southern Pannonia, and which are connected to the raid of nomadic peoples from the east, historically recorded as Scythians. Today, it is clear that these violent raids did not have a cataclysmic effect on the Hallstatt communities in the mentioned areas as some older publications suggested, but they did lead to significant cultural and social changes that manifested, among other things, through the disappearance of monumental grave architecture – tumuli, and also caused the restructuring of existing communication networks. It is possible that the Sisak settlement prospered precisely at this historic moment, primarily due to its exceptional position at the crossroads between several geographical, but also cultural regions, including the eastern Alps, southern Pannonia and the western Balkans.

The settlement situated on the northeastern part of Pogorelac downsized at the beginning of the Late Iron Age, at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, up until the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC when it moved closer to the Kupa River. Based on today's state of research, it is difficult to establish the relationship between the reduction in the size of the settlement and the processes that took place in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC that marked the transition from the Late Iron Age and the appearance of the La Tène culture in southern Pannonia. As mentioned in the introduction, older interpretations list processes connected to the massive Celtic migrations, but, today, it is clear that they were significantly more complex and that they included both the migrations of smaller groups and individuals, as well as the transfer of cultural patterns through acculturation, thereby causing a larger or smaller degree of "latenization" within specific communities in southern Pannonia. From the perspective of material culture, especially pottery that is quantitatively the most numerous category of finds, it can quite clearly be said that the Sisak population sustained its cultural continuity at the transition from the Early and the Late Iron Age, whereby certain elements of the La Tène culture were absorbed, primarily elements of attire, such as fibulas that were a part of above-regional fashion at the time, as well as, to a lesser extent, new forms of ceramic vessels, including new technology – the fast-rotating potter's wheel.

U mlađem željeznom dobu, vjerojatnije u njegovoj završnoj fazi, odnosno stupnju LT D (2. – 1. stoljeće pr. Kr.), sisačko se naselje u znatno većem opsegu razvija i na lijevoj obali Kupe, u smjeru rijeke Save koja predstavlja glavnu komunikacijsku arteriju južnog dijela Karpatske kotline. Na sadašnjem stupnju istraženosti, površina naselja na lijevoj obali rijeke može se ugrubo procijeniti na 8-10 ha. O tome svjedoče tragovi naseljavanja zabilježeni na pozicijama Dunavski Lloyd, Frankopanska b.b., Željeznički kolodvor i Povijesni arhiv, gdje do sada nisu zabilježeni tragovi naseljavanja iz starijeg željeznog doba. Navedena naseobinska ekspanzija, nakon one kasnohalštatske iz 6./5. stoljeća pr. Kr., vjerojatno predstavlja lokalnu reakciju na društvene i političke procese koji su od prve polovice 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. na prostoru srednje Europe doveli do znatne centralizacije i urbanizacije, povećanja proizvodnih aktivnosti i intenzivnih veza s mediteranskim svijetom, što se u literaturi naziva civilizacijom opida.

Nakon događaja iz 35. pr. Kr. sisački prostor postaje ključno rimsko vojno uporište u Panoniji, a novija istraživanja na pozicijama Dunavski Lloyd, Željeznički kolodvor, Frankopanska b.b., Povijesni arhiv te Ulica A. i S. Radića 38 napokon dozvoljavaju pozicioniranje vojnog logora (ili jednog od logora!) iz augustovsko-tiberijskog razdoblja na lijevu obalu Kupe, odnosno na prostor između Kupe i Save. Ova je knjiga posvećena samo jednom vremenskom odsječku u opisanom razvoju Segest(ik)e / Siscije, onome od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. do prve polovice 1. stoljeća po Kr., ali to je zasigurno jedno od najdinamičnijih razdoblja kada ovo panonsko središte sa svojim stanovnicima izlaze iz historiografske tame pret-povijesti i zakratko postaje poprištem događaja koji su uvelike odredili budućnost ovih krajeva, ali i rimske države u cjelini! Taj proces možda najbolje opisuje teza D. Dzine iz posljednjeg priloga u ovoj knjizi:

*Indigena politička infrastruktura radikalno se preobražava, a Siscija postaje fizičko uporište iz kojeg se vojna sila imperija projicira dalje u Panonsku nizinu, preobražavajući s vremenom prostor pogranične zone u imperijalni artefakt.*

In the Late Iron Age, most probably in its final phase, i.e. the LT D phase (2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC), the Sisak settlement increased again and spread to the left bank of the Kupa River, towards the Sava River that is the main communication artery of the southern part of the Carpathian basin. At the current state of research the area of the settlement on the left bank can be roughly estimated to 8-10 ha. This expansion is attested to by the traces of settlement recorded at the Dunavski Lloyd, Frankopanska b.b., Railway station and Povijesni arhiv positions, where no traces of habitation dated to the Early Iron Age have been discovered so far. The said expansion, following that from the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, probably represents a local reaction to social and political processes (called the *oppida* civilization in publications) that, starting from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, caused significant centralization and urbanization in central Europe, as well as the increase in production and intensified connections with the Mediterranean world.

After the events of 35 BC, the Sisak area became the key Roman military stronghold in Pannonia. Recent research at the Dunavski Lloyd, Railway station, Frankopanska b.b., Povijesni arhiv and Ulica A. i S. Radića 38 positions finally allow us to position the military camp (or one of several!) from the Augustan-Tiberian times to the left bank of the Kupa River, i.e. to the area between the Kupa and the Sava Rivers. This publication is only dedicated to one chronological phase in the described development of *Segestica / Siscia*, the one between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. However, the said period is certainly one of the most dynamic periods when this Pannonia center and its inhabitants exited the historiographic darkness of pre-history and briefly became the scene of events that significantly determined the future of the area, but also that of the entire Roman state! The process is perhaps best described by D. Dzino's suggestion from the last contribution to this publication:

*The indigenous political infrastructures were radically transformed, and Siscia became a physical stronghold from which the military power of the Empire projected further into the Pannonian plains, in time reshaping the space of the frontier-zone into an imperial artefact.*

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# SISAK OD STRABONA DO DIONA KASIJA — POVIJESNI IZVORI O SEGESTICI AUGUSTOVOG DOBA

## SISAK FROM STRABO TO CASSIUS DIO — HISTORICAL SOURCES ON AUGUSTAN SEGESTICA

Alka Domić Kunić

*Strabon i Dion Kasije vremenski su okvir unutar kojeg se nalazi većina povijesnih izvora koji su se bavili Segestikom / Siscijom ili su je spomenuli u kontekstu koji nas zanima. Ovaj se rad bavi podacima o predrimskoj Segestici i o njezinoj nasljednici Sisciji, koji se mogu iščitati iz narativa antičkih izvora. Glavna pozornost usmjerena je na Augustovo doba, točnije na njegov ilirički rat u kojemu su Segestika, a s njom i zapadni dio panonskog Međuriječja, pali pod rimsku vlast, no nije zanemareno niti vrijeme koje je prethodilo tome vojnom pohodu, kao niti razdoblje koje je uslijedilo nakon njega.*

*Strabo and Cassius Dio make up the timeframe that encompasses the majority of historical sources dealing with Segestica / Siscia, or mentioning it in the context of the author's interest. This paper discusses data on pre-Roman Segestica, as well as its successor Siscia, that can be collected from narratives in the ancient sources. The main focus is on the Augustan period or, more precisely, his war in Illyricum when Segestica, along with the western part of the Pannonian Interfluve, fell under Roman authority. However, the time before this military campaign is not neglected, along with the period that ensued.*

### Ključne riječi:

Segestika, Siscija, Oktavijan August, Panonija, rimsko osvajanje, strateška važnost

### Key words:

Segestica, Siscia, Octavian Augustus, Pannonia, Roman conquest, strategic importance

### Segestika u mreži republikanskog trgovanja

Prvi spomen Segestike vezan je uz kontekst trgovačkih puteva koji su Italiju povezivali s Podunavljem (Strabon, 4,6,10, 7,5,2). Strabon, povjesničar i geograf iz Amasije na Pontu (64./63. pr. Kr. – oko 24.), svoju je *Geografiju* sastavio tijekom Augustovog i u ranim godinama Tiberijevog principata.<sup>1</sup> Strabonov narativ o trgovini koju je Rim održavao sa širim Podunavljem ne odražava samo njemu suvremenu situaciju, nego oslikava već tradicionalne trgovačke puteve i veze uspostavljene više od stotinu godina prije njegovog vremena, dajući grubi uvid u tu ranu ponudu i potražnju.<sup>2</sup> Već od 2. st. pr. Kr. u trgovačku razmjenu s Rimom bili su, uz Tauriske, Noričane, Japode i druge zajednice u prialpskom i zapadnopanonskom području, uključeni i Se-

### Segestica in the trading network of Republican Rome

The first record of Segestica is associated with the context of trade routes that connected Italy with the Danube region (Strabo, 4,6, 10, 7,5, 2). Strabo, a historian and geographer from *Amaseia* in Pontus (64/63 BC - about AD 24), wrote his *Geographica* during Augustus' and the early years of Tiberius' rule.<sup>1</sup> Strabo's narrative about the trade between Rome and the wider Danube area does not only reflect his contemporary situation, but also points to the already traditional trade routes and connections established over a hundred years before his time, providing a rough insight into the early supply and demand.<sup>2</sup> Starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, trade with Rome was conducted by the Taurisci, the Norici, the Iapodes, other communities in the Alpine and

1 Kronološki najnoviji podatak koji Strabon spominje datira se u 23. godinu, Potheary 1997, 235; Potheary 2002. O Strabonu kao izvoru za panonsko Međuriječje: Dzino 2008.

2 Domić Kunić 2006, 62-64.

1 The most recent chronological data mentioned by Strabo is dated to the year AD 23, Potheary 1997, 235; Potheary 2002. On Strabo as a source for the Pannonian Interfluve: Dzino 2008.

2 Domić Kunić 2006, 62-64.

gestanci;<sup>3</sup> sve su te zajednice bile sastavni dijelovi trgovačkog lanca koji se u unutrašnjosti protezao na istok sve do Crnoga mora, a s morske strane zahvaćao i povezao obje obale Jadranskog mora. Što se kopnenih putova tiče, Strabon svjedoči da je riječ o kombinaciji karavanskog i riječnog prometa (5.1,8, 7.5,2). Panonsko Međuriječje, koje čine Drava, Sava i Dunav (između utoka Drave i Save), u tom je kontekstu predstavljalo najkraću i najpovoljniju kopnenu vezu Italije s njezinim istočnim posjedima Makedonijom i Grčkom; k tome, Sava sa svojim sustavom pritoka otvara put prema prialpskom prostoru (odakle nije daleko do sjevernog Jadrana), a Dunav (dohvatljiv Savom) prema Crnome moru.

Robna razmjena između Italije i Podunavlja naročito je procvatila nakon osnivanja Akvileje, latinske kolonije u sjevernom kutu Jadrana (181. pr. Kr.). Strabon Akvileji izričito daje upravo tu namjenu - ishodišta za trgovačku razmjenu s Podunavljem (5.1,8; usp. 4.6,10; 7.5,2). Osnivanje Akvileje bio je preduvjet i za ulazak panonskog prostora u sferu šireg rimskog interesa koji nije obuhvaćao samo trgovanje. Akvileja, *caput viarum* za prometovanje prema Podunavlju i prema sjevernom Jadranu, i sama na jednom od najvažnijih trgovačkih puteva koji su još od pretpovijesti povezivali Baltik sa Sredozemljem,<sup>4</sup> od samog je početka imala i stratešku ulogu: smještena u sjeveroistočnom kutu Cisalpske Galije, štitila je Italiju od upada susjednih zajednica iz Ilirika (Strabon, 5.1,8). Izvori poimence spominju Histre, Karne, Noričane, Tauriske, Liburne, Japode i Panonce, koji su barem od početka 2. st. pr. Kr. (kada je Akvileja bila osnovana i otkad su zabilježeni prvi incidenti) pa do duboko u Augustov principat opetovano napadali i pljačkali bogata pogranična trgovišta i uporišta.<sup>5</sup> Legije su iz Akvileje svo to vrijeme kretale u obrambene akcije i kaznene pohode; usporedo s time, od druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. počeo će i osvajačke operacije usmjerene prema alpskom i podunavskom prostoru.

Italija je, prema Strabonovom svjedočanstvu (4.6,10, 7.5,2), za sirovine i drugu traženu robu koju je nabavljala iz podunavskog prostora zauzvrat davala svoje proizvode. Strabon (5.1,8) spominje neke od artikala koji su se nudili podunavskom tržištu, tada još ograničenom na pripadnike viših društvenih slojeva - riječ je, naime, mahom o luksuznim predmetima kao što su fino keramičko i brončano posuđe, oružje i nakit, te o mediteranskim

western Pannonian regions, as well as the inhabitants of Segestica;<sup>3</sup> and all of these communities were an integral part of the trade chain that spread inland eastward to the Black Sea, and that, on the sea, included and connected both coasts of the Adriatic. Regarding the land routes, Strabo states that they allowed for a combination of caravan and river traffic (5.1, 8, 7.5, 2). The Pannonian Interfluvium, comprised of the Drava, Sava and Danube (between the confluence of the Drava and the Sava) rivers, was, in that context, the shortest mainland connection between Italy and its eastern lands in Macedonia and Greece. Additionally, the Sava, with its system of tributaries, opened the way towards the Alpine region (from where it was not difficult to reach the northern Adriatic), and the Danube (reachable through the Sava) opened up towards the Black Sea.

Trade exchange between Italy and the Danube region especially flourished after the foundation of Aquileia, a Latin colony in the northern corner of the Adriatic (181 BC). Strabo ascribes precisely that purpose to Aquileia - that of being the central trading point with the Danube region (5.1, 8; cf. 4.6, 10; 7.5, 2). The founding of Aquileia was also a precondition for including the Pannonian area into the sphere of wider Roman interest that did not only pertain to trade. Aquileia, the *caput viarum* for trade towards the Danube and the northern Adriatic, was itself situated on one of the most important trade routes that had connected the Baltic and the Mediterranean since prehistory,<sup>4</sup> and the city had, since the beginning, a strategic role: it was situated in the northeastern corner of Gallia Cisalpina and had protected Italy from the pillaging intrusions of neighbouring communities in Illyricum (Strabo, 5.1, 8). The sources specifically mention the Histri, the Carni, the Norici, the Taurisci, the Liburnians, the Iapodes, and the Pannonians, who had, at least since the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (when Aquileia was founded and the first incidents were recorded), and well into Augustus' rule, repeatedly attacked and plundered rich market towns and strongholds along the border.<sup>5</sup> All the time, the legions from Aquileia engaged in defensive actions and punitive campaigns; simultaneously, since the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, military expeditions were sent towards the Alpine and Danube regions, with the intention of annexing them to the Roman state.

Italy was, according to Strabo's testimony (4.6, 10, 7.5, 2), giving its produce in return for raw materials and other goods it acquired

3 Rim je iz ekonomskih razloga sklapao kratkotrajne saveze (*foedera*) s pojedinim bližim i daljim narodima, radi nabave sirovina - osobito ruda, a onda i druge robe za koju je rimsko tržište bilo zainteresirano. Takvo savezništvo pretpostavlja se i sa Segestancima, usp. Zaninović 2015, 349-350. Za alpske i panonske zajednice: Zaninović 1986, 61; Šašel Kos 2005, 331-332. O Segestici kao jednom od najvažnijih panonskih trgovišta usp. Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 97.

4 U Akvileji je završavao kopneni dio transkontinentalne trgovine baltičkim jantarom, i počinjala njegova morska etapa; riječ je o tzv. Jantarskom putu.

5 Livije Akvileju spominje kao vojnu bazu za obranu sjeveroistočne granice Italije protiv Histra. Histri su pokušali spriječiti osnivanje kolonije (Livije, 40.26), što upućuje na pomisao da je prva glavna zadaća tamošnje vojne posade bila suzbijanje histarskog gusarenja koje je ometalo pomorsku trgovinu i snabdjevanje Italije žitom (usp. Livije 41.1; 41.5; 41.10). Za Histre još: Livije, 41 (*passim*), usp. Livije, 43.5; za Noričane: Kasije Dion, 54.20,1-3, 54.22,1-2; za Tauriske: Kasije Dion, 49.34,1-2; za Liburne: Kasije Dion, 49.34,1-2; za Japode: Apijan, *Illyr.* 3.15, 4.18, Kasije Dion, 49.34,1-2; za Panonce: Kasije Dion, 54.20,1-3, 54.22,1-2, 54.24,3. Ovo su tek neki primjeri.

3 For economic reasons, Rome made short-term alliances (*foedera*) with individual peoples near and far in order to obtain raw materials - especially ore and other goods that were of interest to the Roman market. Such an alliance was supposedly made with the Segestans; cf. Zaninović 2015, 349-350. For Alpine and Pannonian communities: Zaninović 1986, 61; Šašel Kos 2005, 331-332. On Segestica as one of the most important Pannonian trade centers cf. Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 97.

4 Aquileia was the last station of mainland trans-continental trade of amber from the Baltic, and the starting point of its sea-route; this was the, so called, Amber road.

5 Livy mentions Aquileia as a military base for defending the northern Italian border against the Histri. The Histri had attempted to prevent the colony from being established (Livy, 40.26), suggesting that the first and main role of the army stationed there was to repress Histrian piracy that was detrimental to maritime trade and the supplying of Italy with wheat (cf. Livy 41.1; 41.5; 41.10). More on the Histri: Livy, 41 (*passim*), cf. Livy, 43.5; on the Norici: Cassius Dio, 54.20, 1-3, 54.22, 1-2; on the Taurisci: Cassius Dio, 49.34, 1-2; on the Liburnians: Cassius Dio, 49.34, 1-2; on the Iapodes: Appian, *Illyr.* 3.15, 4.18, Cassius Dio, 49.34, 1-2; on the Pannonians: Cassius Dio, 54.20, 1-3, 54.22, 1-2, 54.24, 3; these are only a few examples.

prehrambenim artiklima (vino, maslinovo ulje, morski plodovi).<sup>6</sup> S druge strane, Italija je bila zainteresirana za panonske i alpske rude (željezo, zlato), drvenu građu, smolu, sirovu kožu, krzna, stočarske proizvode, sol, vosak, med i robove. U toj je razmjeni dobara Segestika imala ključnu ulogu čvorišta puteva prema Dunavu i prema sjevernom Jadranu; prometna važnost toga panonskog središta bila je tim veća što se ovdje nalazio i jedan od ukupno četiri pogodna prijelaza preko rijeke Save. Sava se u antici, naime, mogla prijeći samo kod Ščitarjeva, Siska, Bosanske Gradiške i Slavenskog Broda,<sup>7</sup> i na tim su mjestima upravo zbog toga niknula znatna naselja (Andautonija, Segestika i njezina nasljednica Siscija, Servitij i Marsonija) kao važne strateške i prometne točke u panonskom prostoru išaranom močvarama i gustim šumama.

Strabon se vrlo kritički odnosio prema svojim izvorima: "Treba spomenuti da Eratosten i Timosten, kao i raniji geografi, uopće nisu poznavali Iberiju i Keltiku. Još su manje poznavali Germaniju i Britaniju (...) Također nisu baš puno znali o Italiji, Jadranskom moru, Pontu i regijama sjeverno od njih" (2.1,41). Ovaj se odlomak posredno odnosi i na panonski prostor, za koji sve do njegovog doba nije postojalo mnogo kvalitetnih informacija. Panonija zapravo sve do Oktavijanovog<sup>8</sup> iliričkog pohoda (35. – 33. pr. Kr.) nije bila u središtu senatskog interesa za veći vojni angažman - iz konteksta povijesnih izvora koji su zabilježili prethodne vojne akcije ne daje se, naime, iščitati da su to bili osvajački pohodi. Sve do Oktavijanovog rata panonsko je Međuriječje Rimu ponajviše bilo zanimljivo kao tržište i tranzitno područje za trgovinu s Podunavljem, kao prostor za eksploataciju prirodnih resursa, te kao moguća kopnena spona prema istočnim posjedima (Makedoniji i Grčkoj).<sup>9</sup> Prije Oktavijana, sudeći prema slijedu povijesnih događaja, još se nisu stvorili potrebni preduvjeti da se Međuriječje stavi pod vojnu kontrolu senata i rimskog naroda, kao niti da ga se uključi u sastav rimske države. Sukladno tome, rimsko poznavanje panon-

from the Danube area. Strabo (5.1, 8) mentions some of the items that were offered on the Danubian market, at the time still limited to the members of the higher social classes - these were mostly luxurious items such as fine pottery and bronze vessels, weapons and jewelry, and Mediterranean food (wine, olive oil, seafood).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Italy was interested in Pannonian and Alpine ores (iron, gold), wooden building material, resin, raw hide, furs, livestock produce, salt, honey, and slaves. In this exchange, Segestica had the key role of being at the junction of roads towards the Danube and the northern Adriatic; the importance of this Pannonian traffic center was even greater because it also had one of the total four crossings over the Sava River. In Antiquity, the Sava River could only be crossed in Ščitarjevo, Sisak, Bosanska Gradiška and Slavenski Brod,<sup>7</sup> and this is why significant settlements were created at these places (Andautonia, Segestica and its follower Siscia, Servitium, and Marsonia) as important strategic and traffic-related points on Pannonian territory otherwise riddled with marshes and thick forests.

Strabo employed a critical approach to his sources: "It should be noted that Eratosthenes and Timosthenes, as well as earlier cartographers, did not know Iberia or the Celtic territories. They knew even less of Germania and Britannia (...) They also did not know much about Italy, the Adriatic Sea, Pontus and the regions north of them" (2.1, 41). This paragraph refers to Pannonian territory as well, one that was not very well known before his time. In actuality, until Octavian's<sup>8</sup> campaigns in Illyricum (35-33 BC), Pannonia was not in the center of the Senate's interests in terms of a more significant military engagement - there are no references to conquests in the contexts of historical sources that noted previous military actions. Until Octavian's war, Rome was primarily interested in the Pannonian Interfluve as a market, a transitional area for trade with the Danube region, an area where natural resources could be exploited, and as a possible mainland link with the eastern territories (Macedonia and Greece).<sup>9</sup> Before Octavian, based

6 Valja, dakako, u obzir uzeti još jednu kategoriju potrošača italskih artikala - Italike koji borave u iliričkom prostoru. U prvome redu to su trgovci, a onda i drugi poduzetnici (koji su ponajprije iz poslovnih razloga doselili ovamo), i napokon pripadnici rimske vojske. O sjevernoitalskom uvozu u Ilirik i razmjeni dobara s domaćom populacijom: Tassaux 2004. O artiklima za koje je postojala potražnja u Italiji: Domicić Kunić 2003, 178-179. Strabonov popis nešto je kraći od navedenoga.

7 Durman 1992, 120.

8 Rođen kao Gaj Oktavije, adopcijom je preuzeo ime Gaj Julije Cezar Oktavijan (44. pr. Kr.), a senat mu je udijelio počasni naslov August (*augustus* = uzvišeni) (27. pr. Kr.). Poštujući tu kronologiju, u ovome radu zvat ćemo ga Oktavijanom dok god je riječ o događajima koji su prethodili 27. pr. Kr., a u kontekstu događaja od te godine dalje - Oktavijanom Augustom.

9 O panonskom i podunavskom tržištu već je bilo riječi, zahvaljujući Strabonu. Što se prirodnih resursa tiče, valja se u prvome redu osvrnuti na već spomenuti Strabonov popis artikala koje je Italija uvozila iz podunavskog prostora. Uz to ne treba zanemariti niti vijesti koje, doduše, stižu iz kasne antike, no koje upućuju na još jedan panonski artikl: pšenicu. Tako se, primjerice, u 4. st. Panonija naziva "zemljom bogatom svim plodovima, i stokom i robom, a djelomice i robovima" (*Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 57), a milanski biskup Ambrozije svjedoči o trgovini viškom panonskog žita (*Epistolarum classis*, 1.18,21). Za Higina Gromatika (1./2. st.) Panonija je bila ogledni primjer provincije koja posjeduje više kategorija plodnog zemljišta (*Constitutio limitum*, 205.12-14), što punih pet stotina godina poslije potvrđuje i seviljski biskup Isidor ("Panonija) je sretna zbog tla", *Etymologiae*, 14.4,16). Što se pak tiče kopnene komunikacije između Italije i Makedonije odnosno Grčke, ona se zasigurno oslanjala na predrimsku mrežu puteva i predstavljala je moguću alternativu isplativijem i uobičajenom pomorskom pravcu s ishodištem u Brundisiju.

6 Another category of Italian consumers should be considered as well - the Italians who were situated on the territory of Illyricum. This primarily includes traders, followed by other entrepreneurs (who had settled the area primarily for business reasons), and, finally, the members of the Roman army. On northern Italian import to Illyricum and trade with the native population: Tassaux 2004. On the items that were in high demand in Italy: Domicić Kunić 2003, 178-179. Strabo's list is somewhat shorter than this one.

7 Durman 1992, 120.

8 Born as Gaius Octavius, when adopted, he took the name of Caius Iulius Caesar Octavianus (44 BC), and was awarded the honorary title of Augustus (*augustus* = the illustrious one) by the Senate (27 BC). According to this chronology, he will be regarded as Octavian in this paper when it comes to events that occurred before 27 BC, and as Octavian Augustus for the events that took place after that year.

9 The Pannonian and Danubian markets had already been discussed, thanks to Strabo. Regarding natural resources, it is important to look at the, already mentioned, list of items in Strabo that were imported to Italy from the Danube region. The news from Late Antiquity, therein, should not be disregarded, seeing as it refers to another Pannonian item - wheat. For example, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Pannonia was regarded as a "land rich in all fruits, cattle and goods, and partially even slaves" (*Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 57), and the bishop of Milan testifies to the trade of excess Pannonian wheat (*Epistolarum classis*, 1.18, 21). Hyginus Gromaticus (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent.) saw Pannonia as a prime example of a province that had several categories of fertile land (*Constitutio limitum*, 205.12-14), a fact confirmed five hundred years later by the bishop Isidore of Seville, who stated that Pannonia was lucky for its soil (*Etymologiae*, 14.4, 16). Mainland trade between Italy and Macedonia and Greece, must have relied on the pre-Roman trade network, and was a possible alternative to the more cost-effective and usual maritime route starting from Brundisium.

ske geografije bilo je prilično oskudno i tek će Oktavijanov vojni pohod Rimu priskrbiti mnoštvo raznolikih informacija o tome razmjerno nedalekom, ali uvelike nepoznatom prostoru.<sup>10</sup> Stoga nije čudno što je Strabon, kritizirajući svoje prethodnike za nedostatak informacija, upao u vlastitu klopku nepoznavanja prostora o kojemu piše. Riječ je, naime, o panonskoj hidrografskoj mreži (4.6,10, 7.5,2). Strabon očito nije naišao na dovoljno jasan opis hidrografske situacije u Panoniji,<sup>11</sup> a kako sam nikada nije bio ondje, pokušao se dovinuti rješenju najbolje što je mogao. Ipak, njegov opis nizinskog prostora podno jugoistočnih ogranaka Alpa prilično je točan: mimo Siska (Segestike) doista protječe Sava, a mimo Vrhničke (Nauporta) jedna rijeka (Ljubljanica), koja utječe u Savu; kod Siska u Savu se ulijeva Kupa, a u Kupu Odra, pa je Strabon posve u pravu kada kaže da je Segestika smještena na utoku nekoliko rijeka (7.5,2). U svoj je opis uključio i rijeku Krku (Korkoras), još jedan pritok Save (uz Ljubljanicu i Kupu). Kada se u obzir uzme činjenica da se na ušću svake od te tri rijeke nalazilo znatnije naselje,<sup>12</sup> jasna je svrha Strabonovog prilično detaljnog opisa panonskih vodotokova: zaokružiti narativ o trgovačkim putovima kroz Panoniju - i onima kopnenima, i onima riječnima. No, on je u nastavak izlaganja upleo i rijeku Dravu, ustvrdivši da se Sava ulijeva u Dravu a Drava u Noar, i to blizu Segestike. Ostavimo po strani Dravu koja je ovamo upala nekom vrstom pogreške, i osvrnimo se na Noar, inače posve nepoznati hidronim;<sup>13</sup> Strabon je, naime, jedini povijesni izvor koji ga spominje, a iz kombinacije njegova dva odlomka (7.5,2, 7.5,12<sup>14</sup>) jasno je da je Νόαρος starije ili pak lokalno ime rijeke Save (koju Strabon inače zove Σάος) u njezinom gornjem toku.

Unutar te riječne mreže nalazi se Segestika.<sup>15</sup> Strabon je to naselje opisao kao ključno prometno i trgovačko središte u zapadnom dijelu panonskog Međuriječja. Podatke o Segestici po svoj prilici preuzeo iz istih izvora koji su opisali i panonsku hidrografsku situaciju, iako ne smijemo posve odbaciti mogućnost da

on the historical sequence of events, the preconditions had not yet been met for putting the Interfluvium under military control of the Senate and the Roman people, or for including it into the Roman state. Accordingly, Roman knowledge on the geography of Pannonia was poor, and only Octavian's military campaign would provide Rome with a plentitude of different information about this, relatively close, but largely unknown area.<sup>10</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that Strabo, when criticizing his predecessors for the lack of information, fell into his own trap of not being familiar with the territory he wrote of. This refers to the Pannonian hydrographic network (4.6, 10, 7.5, 2). Strabo obviously did not find a clear-enough description of the hydrographic situation in Pannonia,<sup>11</sup> and, as he never went there himself, he tried to offer a solution to the best of his abilities. However, his descriptions of the lowland areas at the foot of the southeastern offshoots of the Alps are quite clear: the Sava really does flow next to Sisa (Segestica), a river (Ljubljanica) that flows into the Sava does pass next to Vrhnička (Nauportus); the Kupa does flow into the Sava near Sisa, and the Odra flows into the Kupa, so Strabo was completely right when he stated that Segestica was situated on the confluence of several rivers (7.5, 2). His description also included the Krka River (Corcoras), another tributary of the Sava (along with the Ljubljanica and the Kupa). There was a significant settlement on the mouth of each of these rivers,<sup>12</sup> making the purpose of Strabo's quite detailed description of Pannonian watercourses quite clear: to conclude the narrative about trade routes in Pannonia - including both mainland and river ones. However, in his narrative he included the Drava River, stating that the Sava flowed into the Drava, and the Drava into the Noarus near Segestica. Discarding the Drava, that must have gotten there by mistake, the focus should be on the Noarus, an otherwise completely unknown hydronym.<sup>13</sup> Strabo is the only historical source that mentions it, and a combination of two paragraphs (7.5, 2; 7.5, 12)<sup>14</sup> clearly shows that Νόαρος is an older, or local, name for the Sava River (that Strabo usually refers to as Σάος) in its upper flow.

- 10 Istina, trgovci su, kao svojevrtni pioniri, više desetljeća prije Oktavijana utirali puteve za razmjenu dobara i pridonosili upoznavanju prostora koji su pokrivala njihove trgovačke aktivnosti. No, tek će Oktavijan s čitavom vojskom ne samo profesionalnih ratnika, nego i raznolikih stručnjaka, Rim opskrbiti mnoštvom mjerodavnih pojedinosti o panonskom prostoru.
- 11 U ovome dijelu *Geografije* Strabon je starije podatke očito pretpostavio onima najnovijima, koje su, vrlo izgledno, sadržavale Oktavijanove zabilješke s terena. O Strabonovim izvorima pregledno: Šašel Kos 2005, 103. O Strabonovoj hidrografiji: Domic Kunić 2003, 30-32; Šašel Kos 2005, 425-426; Domic Kunić 2006, 68-69.
- 12 Na utoku Ljubljanice u Savu nalazi se Emona, blizu ušća Krke je Nevioudun (Drnovo kod Krškog) (Strabon ne spominje ta dva naselja), a na mjestu gdje se Kupa ulijeva u Savu - Segestika.
- 13 Šašel Kos 2002; Domic Kunić 2003, 31, 80; Šašel Kos 2005, 142-144.
- 14 "(Korkoras) utječe u Savu, Sava u Dravu a Drava u Noar u blizini Segestike. Odmah ispod Nauporta Noar se obogaćuje vodom od Kolapisa" (7.5,2); "(Veliki Skordisci) su živjeli između dvije rijeke koje utječu u Ister (sc. Dunav): Noara koji protječe mimo Segestike i Marga (sc. Morave) koju neki zovu Barg" (Strabon, 7.5,12).
- 15 Ovaj će se rad baviti Segestikom (i Siscijom) poglavito iz perspektive povijesnih izvora i podataka koje su nam oni posredovali; spoznaje dobivene arheološkim istraživanjima obrađene su u nekim drugim radovima u ovoj knjizi. Takav pomalo isključivi pristup odabran je namjerice, kako bi se vidjelo koji se i kakvi podaci mogu iščitati iz antičkih tekstova, bez pomoći arheologije. Najnoviji sažeti, a opet vrlo informativni prikaz Segestike (Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015) u tome smislu može poslužiti kao dodatak i (po potrebi) korektiv narativu utemeljenom na izvorima. Usp. i Bačani *et al.* 2012. i, daka ko, radove u ovome zborniku koji sagledavaju sisačku problematiku iz arheološke perspektive.

- 10 Traders had, as pioneers, created new trade routes decades before Octavian, and had contributed to the knowledge on the area covered by their trading activities. However, Octavian would, with an entire army of not only professional soldiers, but also different experts, provide Rome with valuable and reliable details about Pannonia.
- 11 In this part of *Geographica*, Strabo obviously preferred old data to the most recent one that had, likely, contained Octavian's field notes. On an overview of Strabo's sources: Šašel Kos 2005, 103. On Strabo's hydrography: Domic Kunić 2003, 30-32; Šašel Kos 2005, 425-426; Domic Kunić 2006, 68-69.
- 12 Emona is on the confluence of the Ljubljanica into the Sava, Nevioudun (Drnovo near Krško) is on the Krka estuary (Strabo does not mention these two settlements), and Segestica is at the spot where the Krka flows into the Sava.
- 13 Šašel Kos 2002; Domic Kunić 2003, 31, 80; Šašel Kos 2005, 142-144.
- 14 "(Korkoras) flows into the Sava, the Sava into the Drava, and the Drava into the Noarus near Segestica. Right below Nauportus, the Noarus is made richer by the water from Kolapis" (7.5, 2); "(The great Scordisci) lived between the two rivers that flew into the Ister (sc. the Danube): the Noarus that flows next to Segestica and Margus (sc. the Morava), that some refer to as Bargus" (Strabo, 7.5, 12).

je (barem neke) detalje preuzeo iz Oktavijanovih zapisa.<sup>16</sup> Riječ je u prvome redu o memoarima koje je sastavio sam Oktavijan, a onda vjerojatno i o njegovim izvješćima senatu o ratu u Iliriku (35. – 33. pr. Kr.). Ništa od toga nije očuvano, no u princepsove memoare imamo kakav-takav uvid zahvaljujući povjesničaru Apijanu iz Aleksandrije (oko 95. – oko 165.) koji se, pišući s vremenskim odmakom od stotinjak godina, prema vlastitom priznanju obilato služio Oktavijanovim narativom (a samim time ga je vjerojatno i prilično vjerno prenio).<sup>17</sup>

Stratešku i prometnu važnost Segestike naglašavaju i drugi povijesni izvori. Iako je bila okružena močvarama koje su diktirale pravac protezanja prometnica (ali i pružale uspješnu zaštitu od napadača), položaj na utoku dvije plovne rijeke omogućavao joj je komunikaciju u smjeru zapad-istok (duž Save), kao i u smjeru sjever-jug (duž Kupe), pri čemu je ključno bilo to što se nalazila na jednom od već spomenutih malobrojnih pogodnih prijelaza preko rijeke Save. Dodatnu stratešku važnost Segestici je davala blizina ležišta željeza na Zrinskoj i Petrovoj gori, kao i razmjerno laka dostupnost bogatih rudišta u porječju Une, Sane i Japre.<sup>18</sup>

### Segestika i Siscija u kontekstu ratova u Iliriku

Strabon Segestiku naziva segestanskim gradom (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις), Apijan je zove Segestom (Σεγέστη); Plinije Stariji, polihistor iz Vespazijanovog vremena (23. – 79.), više ne spominje grad Segestiku, već samo riječni otok toga imena (*insula quae Segestica appellatur*, “otok koji nazivaju Segestikom”, odnosno pravilnije: “otok koji nazivaju segestanskim”) koji tvori Kupa svojim meandrom. Kasije Dion iz Nikeje u Bitiniji (oko 155. – 235.), rimski senator grčkog podrijetla, jedan od ključnih izvora za poznavanje Međuriječja, uopće ne spominje Segestiku - on poznaje samo Sisciju (Σισκία).<sup>19</sup> Pomnim čitanjem izvora nameće se zaključak da se grad zvao Segesta (Σεγέστη), a da je oblik Segestika (Σεγεστική), koji smo naviknuli koristiti kao njegov toponim, zapravo pridjev u značenju “segestanski”.<sup>20</sup> Riječ Σεγέστη

Segestica was situated within this river network.<sup>15</sup> Strabo described this settlement as a key center of trade and traffic in the western part of the Pannonian Interfluvium. He probably obtained his data on Segestica from the same sources that described the hydrographic situation in Pannonia, although it cannot be completely excluded that he copied (at least some) details from Octavian's records.<sup>16</sup> These primarily include memoirs written by Octavian himself, and probably also the reports he wrote to the Senate about the war in Illyricum (35-33 BC). None of these are preserved, but the princeps' memoirs are somewhat familiar due to Appian, a historian from Alexandria (about AD 95 - about 165) who, writing about a hundred years later, admits to significantly relying on Octavian's narratives (thereby probably quite accurately transferring them).<sup>17</sup>

The importance of Segestica in the sense of strategy and traffic is also emphasized by other historical sources. Although it was surrounded by marshes that dictated the direction of the roads (but also provided efficient protection from attackers), the position on the confluence of two sailable rivers enabled the city to communicate from west to east (along the Sava), as well as from north to south (along the Kupa), whereby its position on one of the aforementioned few crossings over the Sava River played a significant role. Segestica was even more strategically important because it was close to iron deposits on the Zrinska and Petrova mountains, as well as to relatively easily available rich deposits in the basin between the Una, Sana and Japra watercourses.<sup>18</sup>

### Segestica and Siscia in the context of the wars in Illyricum

Strabo called Segestica a Segestan city (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις), Appian called it Segesta (Σεγέστη); Pliny the Elder, a polyhistor from the time of Vespasian (AD 23-79), no longer mentions Segestica, but only a small river island bearing the same name (*insula quae Segestica appellatur*, “an island called Segestica”), or, more

16 O Strabonovim izvorima općenito i ukratko: Dueck 2002, 180-186.

17 Apijan o tome svjedoči na dva mjesta: “Toliko sam mogao doznati o ranoj povijesti Ilira i Peonaca (sc. Panonaca); čak ni u komentarima drugoga Cezara zvanog August nisam mogao naći nijedan raniji podatak o Peoncima” (*Illyr.* 3.14), kao i: “August nije opisao pothvate drugih u onoj mjeri kao vlastite, u izlaganju o tome kako je umirio one koji su se bili pobunili i nagnao ih da ponovo plaćaju porez, kako je podjarmio druge koji su bili od početka neovisni i kako je zagospodario svim plemenima koja stanuju na vrhuncima Alpa, barbarskim i ratobornim plemenima koja su često pljačkala susjedno područje Italije” (*Illyr.* 3.15). Opsežna i temeljita studija o Apijanovoj *Ilirskoj povijesti* dugo još neće biti nadmašena: Šašel Kos 2005. O Oktavijanovim memoarima usp. i Domić Kunić 2003, 136, 139, 166, 182, 190-191.

18 O ležištima željeza: Škegro 1999, 103-115; usp. Domić Kunić 2003, 82, 77-78 (o zanimanju Rima za rudišta u sjeveroistočnom susjedstvu); Domić Kunić 2006, 71.

19 Strabon, 7.5,2; Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23; Plinije, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,148; Kasije Dion, 49.37, 49.38. Usp. vrlo koristan i opsežan komentar o Kasiju Dionu: Swan 2004; Siscija se u tome komentaru spominje isključivo u kontekstu panonsko-dalmatinskog (Batonovog) ustanka.

20 Tako Strabon: “segestanski grad” (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις) (4.6,10, 7.5,2); Plinije Stariji: “segestanski otok” (*Segestica insula*) (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,148). Od naših izvora samo Apijan grad naziva njegovim pravim imenom: Σεγέστη (*Illyr.* 4.23).

15 This paper will focus on Segestica (and Siscia), especially from the perspective of historical sources and the data they provide; the insight obtained through archaeological excavations is discussed in other parts of this publication. This, somewhat exclusive, approach was chosen in order to reveal which and what kind of data can be obtained from ancient texts, without the help of archaeology. The most recent summarized, but very informative overview of Segestica (Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015) can, in that sense, be used as an appendix, and (when needed) a correction of the narrative founded on the sources. Cf. also Bačani *et al.* 2012 and, naturally, papers in these proceedings that tackle the problem of Sisak from an archaeological perspective.

16 On Strabo's sources in general, summarized: Dueck 2002, 180-186.

17 Appian speaks of this on two occasions: “I could learn so much about the early history of the Illyrians and the Paeonians (sc. Pannonians); not even in the comments of the second Caesar called Augustus could I find earlier data on the Paeonians” (*Illyr.* 3.14), and: “Augustus did not describe the campaigns of others as much as his own, in his presentation on how he calmed those who had rebelled and how he made them pay taxes again, how he subjugated others that had been independent from the beginning, and how he conquered all tribes that lived on the tops of the Alps, the barbaric and warlike tribes that often plundered in the neighboring territory of Italy” (*Illyr.* 3.15). This all-encompassing and thorough study of Appian's *Illyrian History* will not be surpassed for a long time: Šašel Kos 2005. On Octavian's memoirs cf. also Domić Kunić 2003, 136, 139, 166, 182, 190-191.

18 On iron deposits: Škegro 1999, 103-115; cf. Domić Kunić 2003, 82, 77-78 (on Roman interest in the mines in the northeastern neighbourhood); Domić Kunić 2006, 71.

/ \*Segesta indoeuropskog je podrijetla (vjerojatno keltskog) i upućuje na izvorni etnički sastav toga naselja, bilo da je riječ o keltskim pridošlicama ili lateniziranoj autohtonoj populaciji. Moguće su dvije varijante značenja toga toponima: ako se Σεγέστη / \*Segesta izvodi iz indoeuropskog korijena \*seg<sup>h</sup>-, pripada krugu riječi koje označavaju silu, moć ili snagu, dok bi korijen \*seg- upućivao na obrađena, zasijana polja (možda u značenju “naselje uz obrađena polja”).<sup>21</sup> Jednako se tako predlažu dvije moguće etimologije za riječ Σισκία / Siscia: ukoliko je izvedena iz indoeuropskog \*si-sg<sup>h</sup>-, znači (tjelesnu) snagu, a ako joj je korijen \*si-sk- (keltski \*sisk<sup>wo</sup>-), tada bi joj značenje bilo “suho mjesto (u vlažnom okruženju)”.<sup>22</sup>

Strabon, naš najstariji izvor, razlikuje Segestiku, panonski grad i trgovačko središte (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις), od obližnje utvrde Siscije (ἡ Σισκία φρούριον) (7.5,2).<sup>23</sup> On je jedini povijesni izvor koji spominje oba ta mjesta, pa otuda i mišljenje da su ona supostojala istovremeno, na dvije susjedne lokacije.<sup>24</sup> Činjenica jest da su i grad i utvrda postojali u vrijeme kada je Strabon u svoju *Geografiju* unio podatke koji su se odnosili na nedavnu prošlost. Strabon je, naime, bio mladić kada je Oktavijan osvojio Segestiku (35. pr. Kr.), u zrelim je godinama slušao o Tiberijevim bitkama s Breucima i drugim Panoncima (12. – 9. pr. Kr.), a pod starost o velikom ustanku u Panoniji i Dalmaciji (6. – 9.). U godinama u kojima je dovršavao *Geografiju*, Siscija je bila veliki legijski tabor, strateška točka čije su se čvrstoća i važnost već bile dokazale u borbama protiv ustanika. Na temelju samih povijesnih izvora ne možemo, dakako, biti sigurni jesu li tek Oktavijanovi legionari sagradili utvrdu Sisciju nakon neslavno propalog prvobitnog plana da se smjeste unutar bedema Segestike, ili je na tome mjestu možda već otprije postojala kakva znatnija domaća aglomeracija koja je potom prešla u rimske ruke; odgovor na to pitanje mogu dati samo arheološka istraživanja.<sup>25</sup> Apijan, koji gotovo izravno prenosi Oktavijanovo izvješće (pa ga se stoga može smatrati takoreći izvorom prvoga reda, kad je riječ o osvajanju Segestike), uopće ne spominje Sisciju već samo Segestu na koju su krenule Oktavi-

precisely: “an island they call Segestan”) that was created by a meander of the Kupa River. Cassius Dio from Nicaea in Bithynia (about AD 155-235), a Roman senator of Greek origin, one of the key sources on the Interfluve, does not mention Segestica at all, but speaks only of Siscia (Σισκία).<sup>29</sup> After a thorough reading of the sources, it can be concluded that the city was called Segesta (Σεγέστη), and that the form Segestica (Σεγεστική), commonly used as its toponym, is actually an adjective meaning Segestan).<sup>20</sup> The word Σεγέστη / \*Segesta is of Indo-European origin (probably Celtic), and points to the original ethnic composition of the settlement, being they Celtic immigrants or Latenized autochthonous populations. There are two possible meanings of this toponym: if Σεγέστη / \*Segesta is derived out of the Indo-European root \*seg<sup>h</sup>-, it belongs to the group of words that denote force, power or strength, while the root \*seg- points to cultivated, sown fields (possibly denoting “a settlement alongside cultivated fields”).<sup>21</sup> Equally, there are two proposed etymologies of the word Σισκία / Siscia: if derived from the Indo-European \*si-sg<sup>h</sup>-, it denotes (physical) strength, and if its root is \*si-sk- (Celtic \*sisk<sup>wo</sup>-), then it would denote “a dry place (in wet surroundings)”.<sup>22</sup>

Strabo, the oldest available source, differentiates between Segestica, a Pannonian city and trade center (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις), and the nearby fortress of Siscia (ἡ Σισκία φρούριον) (7.5, 2).<sup>23</sup> He is the only historical source that mentions both places, creating the opinion that they existed simultaneously on two neighboring locations.<sup>24</sup> It is a fact that both the city and the fortress existed at the time Strabo filled his *Geographica* with data relating to recent history. Namely, Strabo was a young man when Octavian conquered Segestica (35 BC), in his mature years he listened to stories about Tiberius' battles with the Breuci and other Pannonians (12-9 BC), and, in his old age, about the great rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia (AD 6-9). During the years when he was finishing his *Geographica*, Siscia was a legionary camp, a strategic point that had proved its steadfastness and importance in the battles against the rebels. Certainly, based on the historical sources themselves,

21 O izvođenju značenja iz korijena \*seg<sup>h</sup>- (“sila, moć, snaga”): Pokorny 1959, 888-889; Mallory, Adams 1997, 123-124; Wodtko *et al.* 2008, 600; Matasović 2009, 327; iz korijena \*seg- (“sjetva, sjeme”): Anreiter 2001, 179-182. Oba ta korijena autori smatraju keltskima, no Mayer smatra nešto drugačije: “Segestica ist vielmehr der ältere, illyrische Name für den späteren, keltischen Siscia” (Mayer 1957, 308).

22 Za prvu varijantu: Wodtko *et al.* 2008, 601; za drugu: Pokorny 1959, 894-895; Anreiter 2001, 179-182; Matasović 2009, 337.

23 Termin φρούριον (u latinskoj varijanti *castellum*) označava utvrđeni kompleks građevina u kojem je smještena vojna posada sa zadatkom kontrole određenog područja.

24 Faber 1973; Hoti 1992, 134, 138; Radman Livaja 2007, 160-161; Kovács 2014, 23; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 149, 198. Faber uz to pretpostavlja da su ta dva susjedna naselja imala i različit etnički sastav (Faber 1973, 152). Ako su oba ta mjesta postojala istodobno, onda je u predrimsko doba važnije i veće bilo naselje na Pogorelcu (Segestika), dok je Siscija, manje utvrđeno naselje na suprotnoj obali Kupe, vjerojatno imala ulogu kontrole komunikacije prema Savi (Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 198; usp. Radman Livaja 2007, 160-161, 164-165).

25 Rješenje ponuđeno u tekstu oslanja se poglavito na pisane izvore, no dakako da konačan odgovor na pitanje gdje se doista nalazio rimski logor mogu dati samo arheološka istraživanja. O predrimskom naseobinskom kompleksu na lijevoj obali Kupe: Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; o ranorimskom logoru na položaju Pogorelac (s mogućom kratkotrajnom fazom na suprotnoj obali Kupe): Radman Livaja 2007, 167-168.

19 Strabo, 7.5, 2; Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 49.38. Cf. a very useful and thorough comment on Cassius Dio: Swan 2004; in that comment, Siscia is only mentioned in the context of the Pannonian-Dalmatian (Bato's) rebellion.

20 Strabo: “Segestican city” (ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις) (4.6, 10, 7.5, 2); Pliny the Elder: “Segestican island” (*Segestica insula*) (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148). From the sources listed in this paper, only Appian calls the city by its true name: Σεγέστη (*Illyr.* 4.23).

21 On deriving the meaning from the root \*seg<sup>h</sup>- (“force, power, strength”): Pokorny 1959, 888-889; Mallory, Adams 1997, 123-124; Wodtko *et al.* 2008, 600; Matasović 2009, 327; from the root \*seg- (“harvest, seed”): Anreiter 2001, 179-182. Both roots are considered to be Celtic by authors, but Mayer sees it differently: “Segestica is the older, Illyrian name for the later, Celtic Siscia” (Mayer 1957, 308).

22 For the first variant: Wodtko *et al.* 2008, 601; for the second: Pokorny 1959, 894-895; Anreiter 2001, 179-182; Matasović 2009, 337.

23 The term φρούριον (*castellum* in the Latin variant) denotes a fortified complex of buildings that have a military garrison and the aim of controlling specific territory.

24 Faber 1973; Hoti 1992, 134, 138; Radman Livaja 2007, 160-161; Kovács 2014, 23; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 149, 198. Faber also supposes that the two neighbouring settlements had different ethnic compositions (Faber 1973, 152). If the two places existed simultaneously, then the one on Pogorelac (Segestica) was more important and bigger in pre-Roman times, while Siscia, a smaller fortified settlement on the opposite bank of the Kupa River, probably had the role of controlling communication towards the Sava River (Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 198; cf. Radman Livaja 2007, 160-161, 164-165).

janove legije. Pomišljamo na jedino logično rješenje: Oktavijan u svojim ratnim zabilježkama nije spomenuo Sisciju jer je tada još nije bilo - barem ne kao strateški znatnije točke; takvom će je uskoro potom učiniti rimske legije, smjestivši se onamo nakon pada Segestike.

Velej Paterkul, naš sljedeći izvor, Strabonov je mlađi suvremenik i sudionik Tiberijevih ratnih operacija u Iliriku.<sup>26</sup> On spominje samo Sisciju, i to u kontekstu borbi tijekom panonsko-dalmatinskog (Batonovog) ustanka, četrdesetak godina nakon Oktavijanovog osvajanja Segestike. U njegovom se narativu Siscija pojavljuje kao glavni stožer Tiberijevih protuustaničkih snaga, i on suvereno barata podacima jer je i sam sudjelovao u borbama u Panoniji. O Segestici ni riječi - teško da bi je previdio da je i dalje postojala kao znatnije domaće naselje ili pak rimska vojna baza. Velejeva šutnja navodi nas na pomisao da je Segestika do tada već izgubila svoju nekadašnju prometnu i stratešku važnost i u najbolju ruku bila svedena na naselje u službi obližnjeg velikog legijskog tabora na suprotnoj obali Kupe. Velej Paterkul je na dva mjesta u svojem sažetku rimske povijesti bio obećao da će napisati monografiju o Panoniji;<sup>27</sup> ona ili nije odoljela protoku vremena ili nikada nije ni napisana, a mi smo u svakom slučaju zaknuti za mnoštvo podataka među kojima bi vjerojatno bili i oni o Sisciji, glavnom rimskom uporištu u zapadnom dijelu Međuriječja, a možda bi se našlo i ponešto o Segestici koja je, kako zaključujemo iz šutnje u našim izvorima, odnedavno bila svedena na neznatno domaće mjesto, ako već nije bila razorena i napuštena.

Segestika će se, međutim, još jednom<sup>28</sup> pojaviti u povijesnim izvorima, no ne više kao naseljeno mjesto već kao ime riječnog otoka unutar meandra Kupe (Plinije Stariji, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,148). Plinije, autor te informacije, istodobno znade za koloniju Sisciju, u čiju blizinu smješta spomenuti otok Segestiku. Siscija je bila uzdignuta na rang kolonije upravo u vrijeme kada je Plinije sastavljao *Prirodoslovlje*, svoju opsežnu enciklopediju u koju je ubacio i taj najnoviji podatak.<sup>29</sup> Činjenica da se Segestika navodi samo kao riječni otok, bez naznake naseljenosti, i opet govori u prilog da je nekadašnje panonsko središte do tada već bilo svedeno na puku uspomenu, očuvanu u imenu riječnog otoka.<sup>30</sup> Stoljeće i pol kasnije Kasije Dion govori isključivo o Sisciji, čak i u kontekstu u kojemu bi se očekivalo da spomene Segestiku. Naime, kad pripo-

it cannot be definitively established whether Octavian's legionaries built the stronghold of Siscia after their original plan to settle within the walls of Segestica miserably failed, or if there might have been a more significant conglomeration in the same place that later fell into Roman hands. The answer to this question can only be given by archaeological excavations.<sup>25</sup> Appian, who almost directly copies Octavian's report (and can, therefore, be seen as a first-class source when it comes to the conquest of Segestica), does not mention Siscia, but only Segesta that was attacked by Octavian's legions. One solution seems logical: Octavian did not mention Siscia in his notes from the war because it did not yet exist - at least not as a strategically important location; it would become that once Roman legions settled there after the fall of Segestica.

Velleius Paterculus, the next available source, was Strabo's younger contemporary and a participant in Tiberius' military operations in Illyricum.<sup>26</sup> He mentions Siscia in the context of the battles that took place during the Pannonian-Dalmatian (Bato's) rebellion, about forty years after Octavian conquered Segestica. In his narrative, Siscia appears as the main headquarters of Tiberius' counter-rebellion units, and his use of data is in line with the timeframe because he himself participated in the battles in Pannonia. There is no mention of Segestica - it is difficult to believe he would not mention it had it still existed as a significant native settlement or a Roman military base. Velleius' silence leads the author to believe that Segestica had, by then, lost its strategic and traffic-related importance and was, at best, reduced to a settlement that served the large nearby legionary camp on the opposite bank of the Kupa River. On two occasions in his summary of Roman history, Velleius Paterculus promises to write a monograph on Pannonia;<sup>27</sup> but it either did not stand the test of time, or was never written, and the reader is left with a lack of information that probably would have referred to Siscia, the main Roman stronghold in the western part of the Interfluve, and possibly also to Segestica that had, as concluded from the silence in the sources, if not already destroyed and abandoned, recently been reduced to an insignificant native settlement.

However, Segestica would once again<sup>28</sup> appear in historical sources, no longer as a settled place, but as the name of a river island in a meander on the Kupa River (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148). Pliny, the author of this data, simultaneously knew about the col-

26 Velej Paterkul je kao jedan od Tiberijevih vojnih tribuna sudjelovao i u panonskom ratu (12. – 9. pr. Kr.) i u trogodišnjem gušenju velikog panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka (6. – 9.), o čemu izravno svjedoči (2.96,2-3; 2.111,3); Domić Kunić 2006, 104-105, 113.

27 Prvi put u kontekstu kratkog izvješća o Tiberijevom panonskom ratu (2.96,2), a drugi put tijekom narativa o panonsko-dalmatinskom ustanku (2.114,4).

28 Ime Segestike će se, osim u navedenom slučaju, pojaviti još jednom prilikom - u epigrafičkom kontekstu, navedeno na olovnoj teseri, trgovačkoj etiketi neodredive uže datacije i zasad još nedovoljno poznatog konteksta. O tome detaljnije Radman-Livaja 2007 koji teseru datira "u prvih 250 godina nakon Krista" (str. 157; usp. 169).

29 U Sisciju i Sirmij, dvije strateški iznimno važne točke na Savi, Vespazijan je najvjerojatnije 71. godine deducirao veterane ravenske pretorijske flote, podigavši oba ta grada na rang kolonije. Plinije Stariji u to vrijeme dovršava dugogodišnji rad na *Prirodoslovlju*, a osam godina poslije pogiba u znanstvenoj inspekciji provale Vezuva.

30 Nije, naime, vjerojatno da je Plinije podatak o Segestici kao (samo) riječnom otoku našao u nekom starijem izvoru. Stariji izvori bi zasigurno znali za znatno panonsko naselje koje se sve do izmaka stare ere nalazilo na tom položaju, danas zvanom Pogorelac.

25 The solution offered in the text is mostly based on written sources, but, naturally, the final answer to the question of where the Roman camp really was can only be answered by archaeological excavations. On the pre-Roman settlement complex on the left bank of the Kupa River: Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; on the Early Roman camp on Pogorelac (with a possible shorter phase on the opposite bank of the Kupa River): Radman Livaja 2007, 167-168.

26 Velleius Paterculus, as one of Tiberius' military tribunes, participated in both the Pannonian war (12-9 BC) and the three-year-long crushing of the great Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (AD 6-9), as he directly attests (2.96, 2-3; 2.111, 3); Domić Kunić 2006, 104-105, 113.

27 The first time in a short report on Tiberius' Pannonian war (2.96, 2), and the second time in the narrative on the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (2.114, 4).

28 The name of Segestica would, apart from the listed case, appear once more - in an epigraphic context, recorded on a lead *tessera*, a commercial mark that can, currently, not be more precisely dated and that does not have a known context. More details on this issue: Radman-Livaja 2007, dating the tessera to "the first 250 years AD" (p. 157; cf. 169).



vijeda o Oktavijanovoj opsadi i osvajanju panonskog središta, on ga naziva Siscijom - kao da je do njegovog vremena nestalo svakog traga panonske Segestike na koju je Oktavijan bio doveo svoje legije, kao da je u zaborav pao i sam toponim, za koji je Plinije još bio čuo. Toponimi Segestika i Siscija u Dionovom su se narativu stopili u jedno, i Dion o njima pripovijeda iz perspektive svoga vremena. No, pripovijedajući o zbivanjima u Panoniji i Dalmaciji, Kasije Dion zna o čemu govori, i na to čitatelje izravno upozorava. On je, naime, u obje te provincije bio odslužio po jedan namjesnički mandat i poznao ih je iz prve ruke (49.36,4).<sup>31</sup> U vrijeme Kasija Diona Siscija već odavno nije legijski tabor, već jedan od najbogatijih gradova u Panoniji, čiji se teritorij, logično je pretpostaviti, protezao i na položaj na kojemu se u prošlosti nalazilo središte zajednice Panonaca. Današnje ime toga položaja je Pogorelac - u prošlosti on se zvao Segestika.<sup>32</sup>

## Grad i njegovi stanovnici

Strabon je Segestiku opisao kao trgovačko i prometno središte i riječnu luku (4.6,10; 7.5,2), a Apijan i Kasije Dion su Segestu odnosno Sisciju opisali u kontekstu Oktavijanove opsade grada (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23; Kasije Dion, 49.37). Uoči pada u rimske ruke to je panonsko središte imalo sve odlike urbanoga središta, u čemu se nepodijeljeno slažu sva tri naša glavna izvora - sva trojica ga izričito zovu gradom (πόλις), s time da ga Apijan određuje kao "čvrsti grad utvrđen rijekom i vrlo širokim opkopom koji ga okružuje" (Strabon, 4.6,10, 7.5,2; Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; usp. Kasije Dion 49.37). Ta je rijeka, dakako, Kupa koja je Segestiku gotovo okruživala svojim meandrirajućim tokom. Strabon pridodaje podatak da se u neposrednoj blizini spaja "nekoliko" plovniha rijeka - to su Odra, Kupa i Sava koje su panonskom središtu odredile karakter ključnog prometnog raskrižja u tome dijelu Međuriječja. Opis koji je ostavio Kasije Dion toliko je slikovit da gotovo sigurno potječe iz autorove vlastite autopsije. Kasije Dion je, štoviše, ponudio dvije faze hidrografske situacije oko Segestike - stariju, koju je zatekao Oktavijan došavši pod gradske bedeme i mlađu, koju je ostavio Tiberije koje desetljeće poslije. Osim riječnih tokova, koji su pružali djelotvornu prirodnu zaštitu, sam je grad bio dodatno utvrđen jakim bedemima, a međuprostor između grada (odnosno Kupe koja je protjecala odmah uz bedeme) i Save bio je zaštićen opkopima, palisadama i nasipima za koje Apijan tvrdi da ih je načinio Oktavijan nakon pada Segestike (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23; usp. Kasije Dion,

ony of Siscia, and places the river island of Segestica in its vicinity. Siscia rose to colonial rank precisely when Pliny was composing *Natural History*, his extensive encyclopedia that included this, most recent, data.<sup>29</sup> The fact that Segestica is mentioned only as a river island, without indication of settlement, again speaks in favor of the idea that the previous Pannonian center had, by that time, already been reduced to a memory, preserved only in the name of a river island.<sup>30</sup> A century and a half later, Cassius Dio speaks only of Siscia, even in contexts where Segestica would be expected. Namely, when speaking about Octavian's siege and conquest of the Pannonian center, he refers to it as Siscia - as if, by his time, all traces of the Pannonian Segestica, where Octavian led his legions, were gone, as if the toponym that Pliny recorded was forgotten. The toponyms of Segestica and Siscia are merged into one in Dio's narrative, and he speaks of them from his own temporal perspective. However, when discussing the events from Pannonia and Dalmatia, Cassius Dio knew what he was talking about, and emphasized it to his readers. Namely, he spent a mandate as a legate in both of these provinces and knew them first hand (49.36, 4).<sup>31</sup> At the time of Cassius Dio, Siscia was no longer a legionary camp, but one of the richest cities in Pannonia that, it is logical to assume, included the position where the Pannonian center used to be. Today's name of this position is Pogorelac - in the past it was called Segestica.<sup>32</sup>

## The city and its inhabitants

Strabo described Segestica as a center of trade and traffic, and as a river harbor (4.6, 10; 7.5, 2), and Appian and Cassius Dio described Segesta, i.e. Siscia, in the context of Octavian's siege of the city (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23; Cassius Dio, 49.37). Before it fell into Roman hands, this Pannonian center had all of the features of an urban center, as undividedly agreed upon by all of the three main sources - all of them strictly define it as a city (πόλις), and Appian refers to it as "a strong city fortified by a river and surrounded by a very wide entrenchment" (Strabo, 4.6, 10, 7.5, 2; Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; cf. Cassius Dio, 49.37). The river is, certainly, the Kupa that almost encircled Segestica with its meandering flow. Strabo adds information about the confluence of "several" sailable rivers in the vicinity - these rivers are the Odra, the Kupa and the Sava, that defined the character of the Pannonian center as the key crossroads in that part of the Interfluve. The description provided by Cassius Dio is so graphic that it must have come from the author's own

31 Sam Kasije Dion upozorio je čitatelje svoje *Rimske povijesti* da događaje kani opisivati sažeto (u skladu s koncepcijom čitavog djela). Stoga mu moramo biti zahvalni i za ono malo detalja o Sisciji koje nam je posredovao. On je bio namjesnik (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) provincije Dalmacije 224.-226., a zatim je istu službu obavljao u Gornjoj Panoniji (226.-228.). Štoviše, i njegov je otac svojedobno bio namjesnik Dalmacije, čime je Kasije Dion želio naglasiti da odlično poznaje tu provinciju. O Dionovoj službi usp. i Šašel Kos 1986, 28-34.

32 O problemu Segestike i Siscije sažeto ali vrlo informativno i Radman Livaja 2007, 159-168.

29 Most probably in 71, Vespasian moved the veterans of the Ravenna praetorian fleet to Siscia and Sirmium, giving the cities colonial rank. At the time, Pliny the Elder was finishing his epic work on the *Natural History*, and died eight years later while scientifically inspecting the eruption of Vesuvius.

30 It is not probable that Pliny found information about Segestica as (only) a river island in some older source. Older sources would have definitely referred to the significant Pannonian settlement that was situated on that spot, today's Pogorelac, until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.

31 Cassius Dio himself warns the reader of his *Roman History* that he intends to give a short overview of events (in line with the concept of his entire work). Therefore, the reader should be grateful for the little details he provides on Siscia. He was a legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) in the province of Dalmatia between AD 224 and 226, and then proceeded to do the same job in Pannonia Superior (AD 226-228). Moreover, his father had, at a certain point, also been the legate of Dalmatia, which made Cassius Dio want to highlight his knowledge on the province. On Dio's service cf. also Šašel Kos 1986, 28-34.

32 On the problem of Segestica and Siscia, summarized, but very informative, Radman Livaja 2007, 159-168.

49.37,4). Apijanov i Dionov opis Segestike zajedno sa Strabonom podacima omogućavaju da stvorimo prilično jasnu sliku o tome panonskom središtu. Apijanovi podaci, kao što smo već rekli, potječu izravno iz Oktavijanovih zabilježki i zrcale situaciju koju je Oktavijan zatekao došavši pod bedeme grada, kao i situaciju koju je za sobom ostavio nakon pada Segestike. Ne možemo biti sigurni je li Kasije Dion posegao za Apijanovim podacima,<sup>33</sup> ili je informacije preuzeo od nekog drugog izvora koji se služio Oktavijanovim memoarima ili izvješćima senatu. U svakom slučaju, spomenuti trojac (Strabon, Apijan i Kasije Dion) čvrst je temelj za naše poznavanje Segestike posredovanjem pisanih izvora, a na arheološkim je istraživanjima da potvrde ili opovrgnu njihove tvrdnje.

Osim o smještaju grada, iz povijesnih se izvora mogu iščitati i druge informacije, kao što su to primjerice etnička slika segestanskog prostora, društveni i ekonomski ustroj zajednice te način života i opće karakteristike panonske populacije. Etnički sastav Segestike zacijelo je bio šarolik, iako za to nema izravnih potvrda u pisanim izvorima; na taj nas zaključak navodi činjenica da je riječ o cvatućem prometnom i trgovačkom središtu u panonskom Međuriječju, a vjerujemo i da će tu pretpostavku potkrijepiti buduća arheološka istraživanja. Izvorni stanovnici grada bili su Panonci,<sup>34</sup> o čemu svjedoče sva tri naša izvora. Strabon to kaže izravno: "segestanski grad pripada Panoncima" (7.5,2; posredno i u 4.6,10; 7.5,10), Apijanovi Segestanci (Σεγεστανοί), koje spominje na više mjesta, su Panonci, što je jasno iz konteksta njegovog narativa (*Illyr.* 2.10,<sup>35</sup> 4.22; posredno i iz 3.14), a Kasije Dion govori o Oktavijanovom napadu na Panonce kada pripovijeda o osvajanju Segestike (kod njega zvane Siscija) (49.36-37; usp. i trijumf nad Panoncima, 51.21,5). Ukoliko se fragment očuvan u bizantskom priručniku *Sudi* odnosi na sukob rimskih legija sa Segestancima (o čemu nešto kasnije), onda je već Polibije u 2. st. pr. Kr. toj zajednici dao panonsko etničko obilježje (Polibije, frg. 78/122).<sup>36</sup> Veliki rimski povjesničar Tit Livije, suvremenik Oktavijanovog pohoda na Segestiku (i Strabonov suvremenik), Oktavijanove je protivnike također nazvao Panoncima; iako je Livijev navod očuvan samo u obliku sažetka ("Cezar /sc. Oktavijan/ je porazio Japide, Dalmate i Panonce", *Per.* 131), izvjesno je da u spomenutim Panoncima treba prepoznati stanovnike Segestike. S druge pak strane, Plinije Stariji i Klaudije Ptolemej, prirodoznanstvenik iz Aleksandri-

autopsy. Moreover, Cassius Dio suggested two phases of the hydrographic situation around Segestica - an older one, seen by Octavian when he reached the city walls, and a younger one, left by Tiberius a few decades later. Apart from river flows, which provided efficient natural protection, the city was additionally fortified with strong walls, and the area between the city (i.e. the Kupa River that flowed right along the walls) and the Sava River was protected by ditches, palisades and embankments that had, according to Appian, been built by Octavian after the fall of Segestica (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23; cf. Cassius Dio, 49.37, 4). Appian and Dio's descriptions of Segestica, along with Strabo's data, allow for the creation of a rather clear picture of this Pannonian center. Appian's data, as previously mentioned, is derived directly from Octavian's notes, and reflects the situation encountered by Octavian when he reached the city walls, as well as the situation he left behind after Segestica fell. It is not certain if Cassius Dio relied on Appian's data,<sup>33</sup> or if he took the information from some other source that relied on Octavian's memoirs or reports to the Senate. In any case, the mentioned trio (Strabo, Appian and Cassius Dio) provide a firm basis for our knowledge about Segestica by virtue of the written sources, and future archaeological excavations will have the task of proving or disproving their claims.

Apart from the location of the city, historical sources also provide additional information, such as, e.g., the ethnic composition of the Segestan area, the social and economic structure of the community, and the way of life and general characteristics of the Pannonian population. The ethnic composition of Segestica must have been diverse, although there are no direct confirmations of it in the written sources. This conclusion was reached based on the fact that it was a flourishing center of traffic and trade in the Pannonian Interfluve, and the author believes that this assumption will be proven by future archaeological excavations. The original inhabitants of the city were Pannonians,<sup>34</sup> as attested to by all three of the sources. Strabo says so explicitly: "the Segestan city belongs to the Pannonians" (7.5, 2; indirectly, also in 4.6, 10; 7.5, 10), Appian's Segestans (Σεγεστανοί), whom he mentions several times, were Pannonians, as made clear by the context in his narrative (*Illyr.* 2.10,<sup>35</sup> 4.22; indirectly also in 3.14), and Cassius Dio speaks of Octavian's attack against Pan-

33 Apijan i Kasije Dion, iako međusobno vrlo kompatibilni, razlikuju se tek u odabiru pojedinih detalja, usp. Kovács 2014, 25.

34 Autohtona populacija koju izvori nazivaju Panoncima u zapadnom je dijelu Međuriječja bila poprilično keltizirana, na što upućuje njihova materijalna ostavština, kao i pojedini antroponimi i toponimi očuvani u rimskodobnim povijesnim izvorima - literarnim i epigrafičkim. Plinije Stariji u ovome dijelu Panonije spominje Tauriske ("planina Klaudij kojoj su sprijeda Skordisci a straga Taurisci", *Nat. hist.* 3.25,148) kao prevladavajući keltski element koji je u predrimsko doba okupljao sve tamošnje zajednice u neku vrstu političkog saveza, davši mu pritom svoje ime. Nakon sloma tauriščanske političke moći na površinu izranjaju pojedine autohtone zajednice koje su se našle na istom Plinijevom popisu (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,147-148).

35 "Lucije Kota i Metelo su, čini se, pokorili Segestance. No, oba su se plemena (sc. Japodi i Panonci) nedugo nakon toga pobunila".

36 "Uporište, Polibije: Osvojivši tu utvrdnu na početku rata, Panonci su je učinili (svojim) uporištem i odabrali je za prihvata plijena".

33 Appian and Cassius Dio, although mutually very compatible, differ in the selection of certain details, cf. Kovács 2014, 25.

34 The autochthonous population that the sources refer to as Pannonians was largely Celtified in the western part of the Interfluve, as indicated by their material remains, as well as certain anthroponyms and toponyms preserved in Roman historical sources - both literary and epigraphic. In this part of Pannonia, Pliny the Elder mentions the Taurisci ("the Claudius mountain with the Scordisci in front and the Taurisci in the back", *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148) as the prevalent Celtic element that, in pre-Roman times, included all local communities into some kind of political alliance, giving them its name. After the fall of the political power of the Taurisci, certain autochthonous communities listed by Pliny came to the forefront (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 147-148).

35 "Lucius Cotta and Metellus had, as it seems, conquered Segestica. However, both tribes (sc. the Iapodes and the Pannonians) rebelled not long after".

je (2. st.), u širem sisačkom prostoru vide Kolapijane,<sup>37</sup> zajednicu koja se (kao i mnoge druge) u povijesnim izvorima pojavila tek s administrativnim uređenjem rimske provincije; Rim je, naime, na prostoru koji su u prošlosti zauzimale pojedine etničke zajednice organizirao *civitates peregrinae*, teritorijalne cjeline koje su mogle (ali i nisu morale) poštivati zatečene etničke granice. Jedna takva *civitas peregrina* pripadala je Kolapijanima, čije ime doslovce znači "oni koji žive uz Kupu". Postoji, dakako, i druga mogućnost: Kolapijani su i u vrijeme prije rimskih administrativnih zahvata bili zasebna etnička cjelina, jedna od zajednica koje je Rim skupnim imenom nazivao Panoncima. Kada se taj pretpostavljeni politički savez,<sup>38</sup> u izvorima zvan Panoncima, raspao pod udarcima rimskog oružja, na površinu su isplivale pojedine njegove sastavnice koje je Plinije Stariji nabrojao u svome odlomku o Panoniji: jedne u geografskom nizu (Sereti, Serapili, Jasi, Andizeti, Kolapijani i Breuci), a druge abecednim redom, preuzetim iz poreznih popisa koji su već obuhvaćali i sjeverni, mađarski dio Panonije (Arvijati, Azali, Amantini, Belgiti, Katari, Kornakati, Eravisci, Herkunijati, Latovici, Oserijati, Varcijani) (*Nat. hist.* 3.24,147-148).

Zahvaljujući ponajprije Apijanu, znamo ponešto i o društvenom ustroju u Međuriječju, netom prije nego je ono palo pod rimsku kontrolu i vlast. Panonija je bila ruralni prostor ispresijecan šumama i močvarama (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; usp. Plinije Stariji, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,147). U tom su krajoliku urbana središta bila prava rijetkost prije rimskog vremena, a jedan od malobrojnih predrimskih gradova bila je i Segestika. Sela i zaseoci kao pretežne aglomeracije svojstvene su za rodovski način života, koji je Apijan ocrtao iz rimske perspektive, zapažajući određene njegove karakteristike i izvlačeći ih iz općeg konteksta (*Illyr.* 4.22). Unutar tog rodovskog društva postojala je izražena podjela na staleže, od kojih Apijan spominje samo dva - prvake i običan puk (*Illyr.* 4.23; usp. Kasije Dion, 49.37). Pripovijedajući o Oktavijanovoj opsadi Segestike, Apijan svjedoči o razlikama između domaće elite i naroda, o njihovom međusobno sukobljenom stavu prema situaciji u kojoj se našla njihova zajednica suočena s rimskom vojnom silom. Vode-

nonians when he discusses the conquest of Segestica (which he calls Siscia) (49.36-37; cf. also the triumph over the Pannonians, 51.21, 5). If the fragment preserved in the Byzantine handbook, entitled *Suda*, refers to the conflict between Roman legions and the Segestans (that will be discussed below), then, already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, Polybius defined the community as having Pannonian ethnic characteristics (Polybius, frg. 78 /122/).<sup>36</sup> The great Roman historian, Titus Livius (Livy), a contemporary of Octavian's Segestan campaign (and Strabo's contemporary), also identifies Octavian's adversaries as Pannonians. Even though Livy's record is preserved only as a summary ("Caesar /sc. Octavian/ defeated the Iapydes, the Dalmatae and the Pannonians", *Per.* 131), it is very likely that the mentioned Pannonians should be regarded as the inhabitants of Segestica. On the other hand, Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy, a scholar of natural sciences from Alexandria (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD), see the Colapiani on the wider territory of Sisak,<sup>37</sup> a community that (like many others) appeared in historical sources only when the Roman province became administratively regulated. Namely, on the territory that was previously inhabited by certain ethnic communities, Rome organized *civitates peregrinae*, political units or rather territorial communities that could (but did not have to) respect the ethnic borders they encountered. One such *civitas peregrina* belonged to the Colapiani, whose name literally means "those who live along the Kupa River". Naturally, there is another possibility: prior to the Roman administrative intervention, the Colapiani were a separate ethnic unit, one of the communities that Rome collectively called Pannonians. When this supposed political alliance,<sup>38</sup> called Pannonians in the sources, fell apart under the blows of Roman weapons, its individual components came to the surface, and Pliny the Elder listed them in a paragraph about Pannonia: one in a geographical sequence (the Sereti, Serapili, Iasi, Andizetes, Colapiani and Breuci), and the other alphabetically, taken from taxation lists that already included the northern, Hungarian part of Pannonia (the Arviatei, Azali, Amantini, Belgites, Catari, Cornacates, Eravisci, Hercuniatei, Latovici, Oseriatei, Varciani) (*Nat. Hist.* 3.24, 147-148).

37 *Colapiani* (Plinije Stariji, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,147), *Κολαπιανοί* (umjesto *Κολαπιανοί*) (Klaudije Ptolemej, 2.14,2). Segestika je, sudeći prema zasad poznatoj arheološkoj građi, pripadala Kolapijanima koji su držali Pokuplje i šire područje ušća Kupe u Savu - usp. Mócsy 1959, 24-26; Raunig 1996, 52; Benac 1987, 796; Božić 2001; Domić Kunić 2003, 84-85, 112. Šašel, međutim, smatra da je središte Kolapijana bilo na području Karlovca i razlikuje ih od Segestanaca (Šašel 1985, 325). Arheološki materijal identificirao je dvije točke kao granične kolapijanske točke prema susjednim zajednicama: Krčana kod Velike Kladuše (na gornjem toku Kupe) bila bi granica između Kolapijana i Japoda (Raunig 1996), a gradina Osječnica iznad sela Gorička kod Dvora (na gornjem toku Une) razgraničavala bi Kolapijane od Mezeja (Ožanić 1998, 28; usp. Marić 1964).

38 Analogni savezi postojali su i kod drugih srodnih ili susjednih zajednica - primjerice, Liburna, Japoda ili Delmata; nije isključeno ni postojanje saveza pod imenom Panonaca ili Segestanaca; usp. Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, *passim* (za Delmate), 169 (za Segestance).

36 "Source, Polybius: By conquering this fortress at the beginning of the war, the Pannonians made it (their) stronghold and chose it as the place for collecting loot".

37 The *Colapiani* (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 147), *Κολαπιανοί* (instead of *Κολαπιανοί*) (Claudius Ptolemy, 2.14, 2). Segestica, based on the currently available archaeological material, belonged to the Colapiani who occupied the area around the Kupa River, and the wider area of the confluence of the Kupa and Sava rivers - cf. Mócsy 1959, 24-26; Raunig 1996, 52; Benac 1987, 796; Božić 2001; Domić Kunić 2003, 84-85, 112. Šašel, on the other hand, feels that the center of the Colapiani was on the territory of Karlovac and separates them from the inhabitants of Segestica (Šašel 1985, 325). The archaeological material helped identify two border points between the Colapiani and the neighboring communities: Krčana near Velika Kladuša (on the upper flow of the Kupa River) would be the border between the Colapiani and the Iapodes (Raunig 1996), and the Osječnica hillfort above the Gorička near Dvor village (on the upper flow of the Una River) would be the border between the Colapiani and the Maezaei (Ožanić 1998, 28; cf. Marić 1964).

38 Similar alliances existed among other similar or neighboring communities - e.g. the Liburnians, the Iapodes or the Delmatae; the existence of an alliance under the name of Pannonians or Segestans is also not excluded; cf. Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, *passim* (for the Delmatae), 169 (for the inhabitants of Segestica).

ći je stalež htio udovoljiti Oktavijanovim zahtjevima, no puk se tome oštro suprotstavio, što je rezultiralo početkom opsade grada (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23). Sasvim je logično pomisliti da je segestanska elita, već otprije povezana s elitama susjednih i udaljenijih zajednica trgovinom i drugim vezama (primjerice savezništvom ili ženidbom), bila svjesna prednosti uspostave i održavanja dobrih odnosa s ekonomski i vojno nadmoćnom rimskom državom. Na to posredno upućuje i Strabonov već spomenuti narativ o trgovačkim putevima prema Podunavlju, iza kojega se može nazrijeti stvaranje raznolikih veza među zajednicama (njihovom elitom) uključenima u trgovinu.

Strabon i Kasije Dion naglašavaju da se u Panoniji, u kojoj je podneblje oštro a tlo nedovoljno darežljivo živi prilično bijedno i tegobno. Iako se spomenute tvrdnje ne odnose izravno na Segestiku nego općenito na panonski prostor, one se zasigurno mogu primijeniti i na segestanski kraj - počevši od opisa kontinentalne klime pa do izvješća o prehrambenim navikama panonske populacije (Strabon, 7.5,10; Kasije Dion, 49.36,2-3). Posve u skladu s teorijom, raširenom u antici, da podneblje određuje karakter ljudi, u Panoniji, podložnoj hladnoći i snijegu, živjeli su hrabri i ratoborni ljudi. To je nepodijeljeno mišljenje svih povijesnih izvora koji se dotiču psihofizičkih karakteristika Panonaca, ali i drugih naroda u Europi s kojima je Rim ukrašavao oružje.<sup>39</sup> Ratobornost i hrabrost, pa i krvožednost glavne su odlike i Japoda, i Delmata, i Pirusta, kao i udaljenih Gala i Germana - svih naroda koji su rimskim legijama pružali žešći otpor. S jedne su strane Rimljani, i sami prekaljeni ratnici, znali cijeniti ratničke odlike svojih protivnika, a s druge strane te su odlike bile i odličan propagandni materijal koji je omogućavao da rimska pobjeda nad dostojnim protivnikom dobije na dodatnoj važnosti.<sup>40</sup> I stanovnici Segestike bili su okarakterizirani kao hrabri i žestoki protivnici, o čemu jasno svjedoči Apijan (*Illyr.* 4.24)<sup>41</sup> a što se posredno iščitava i iz Oktavijanovog govora legijama uoči bitke kod Akcija, u kojemu se spominju njegovi nedavni ratni uspjesi ("Protiv Tauriska, Japida, Dalmata i Panonaca vi ste se, sami ovdje prisutni, borili s mnogo žara, često da biste zauzeli nekoliko bedema i jalovu zemlju, i potčinili ste sva ta plemena iako su, što je opće poznato, vrlo ratoborna", Kasije Dion, 50.28,4). Dionov suvremenik Herodijan iz Sirije Panonce je opisao kao izgledom upečatljive ljude i žestoke ratnike, ali ne baš vješte u dvosmislenom ophođenju: "Stanovnici (Panonije) su vrlo jaki i visoki ljudi, u ratovanju vrlo vješti i žestoki, ali troma duha, jer ne baš lako shvaćaju ako što lukavo ili podmuklo učiniš ili kažeš" (2.9,11). Već u doba Oktavijana Augusta Panonci su, kako to izravno tvrdi Velej Paterkul, bili prilično upoznati s rimskim načinom života - barem s onim aspektima koji su se ticali uključivanja u vojnu službu: "Sada su svi Panonci posjedovali ne samo znanje o rimskoj disciplini nego i o rimskom jeziku, a mnogi su u stanovitoj mjeri znali i

Thanks to, primarily, Appian, there is some knowledge about the social composition in the Interfluve right before it fell under Roman control and rule. Pannonia was a rural area crisscrossed with forests and marshes (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; cf. Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 147). In that landscape, urban centers were a rarity before Roman times, and Segestica was one of the few pre-Roman cities. Villages and hamlets, as the predominant agglomerations, are characteristic of a rural way of life that Appian described from the Roman perspective, noting some of their characteristics and extracting them from the general context (*Illyr.* 4.22). There was a notable division into classes within this clan society, and Appian mentions only two - chieftains and the common folk (*Illyr.* 4.23; cf. Cassius Dio, 49.37). When discussing Octavian's siege of Segestica, Appian records the differences between the native elite and the people, taking note of their mutually opposed attitudes towards the situation that their community faced when confronted with Roman military forces. The leading class wanted to fulfill Octavian's demands, but the common folk strongly opposed it, resulting in the beginning of the siege (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23). It is logical to think that the Segestan elite, already interconnected with elites from neighbouring and more distant communities due to trade and other ties (e.g. alliances or marriage), was aware of the advantages of creating and maintaining good relations with the economically and militarily superior Roman state. Strabo indirectly points to this in the aforementioned narrative about trade routes towards the Danube, wherein it is possible to discern the creation of different ties among the communities (their elites) who took part in the trade.

Strabo and Cassius Dio highlight the fact that life in Pannonia, where the climate was harsh and the land was insufficiently generous, was quite poor and troublesome. Although they mentioned these claims do not directly refer to Segestica, but the Pannonian territory in general, they could certainly also be applied to the area of Segestica - starting with the descriptions of the continental climate, to the report about the dietary habits of the Pannonian population (Strabo, 7.5, 10; Cassius Dio, 49.36, 2-3). Completely in line with the then widespread theory that people's character is shaped by climate, Pannonia, susceptible to cold and snow, was inhabited by strong and warlike people. This is the undivided opinion in all historical sources that discuss the psychological and physical features of Pannonians, but also other peoples in Europe that Rome crossed weapons with.<sup>39</sup> Belligerence and braveness, as well as bloodlust, are the main characteristics of the Iapodes, the Delmatae, the Pirustae, as well as the more distant Gauls and Germans - all of the peoples that had showed significant resistance to Roman legions. On the one hand, the Romans, seasoned warriors themselves, knew how to value warlike capabilities of their enemies, and, on the other hand, the same traits also made for excellent prop-

39 O rimskoj percepciji neke barbarske (u ovome slučaju panonske) populacije: Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012.

40 Hrabrost je bila karakteristika koja je Panonce pratila kroz čitavu antiku, pa i onkraj nje - nadbiskup Isidor iz Seville (6-7. st.) u svojoj je enciklopediji naslovljenoj *Etimologije* Panoniju nazvao "zemljom hrabrih ljudi" (14.4,6).

41 Na drugome mjestu, rangirajući zajednice prema količini otpora koji su pružile Oktavijanovim legijama, Apijan kaže: "Najviše su mu muke zadali Salasi, prekoalpski Japodi, Segestanci, Dalmate, <daisioite> i Peonci, vrlo udaljeni od Salasa" (*Illyr.* 4.17).

39 On the Roman perception of some barbarian (in this case Pannonian) populations: Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012.

pisati i među njima nije bila nepoznata ni vještina u rukovanju oružjem<sup>42</sup> (2.110,5). No, Albije Tibul kao da nije imao baš dobro mišljenje o Panoncima - nazvao ih je prevrtljivima, u kontekstu Oktavijanovog iliričkog pohoda u kojemu je sudjelovao i Marko Valerije Mesala Korvin (*cos.* 31. pr. Kr.), Tibulov prijatelj i pokrovitelj kojemu je veliki pjesnik posvetio dotični eulogij.<sup>43</sup> Tibulovi Panonci sasvim bi izvjesno mogli biti Segestanci, koji su se s jedne strane pokazali dostojnim protivnikom Oktavijanovim legijama (kako nam je to prenio Apijan), a s druge strane barbarima koji se čak u dva navrata tijekom mjesec ili dva o kojima pripovijeda Apijan nisu držali dogovora s Oktavijanom - u prvoj epizodi su zalupili vrata doslovce pred nosom rimskoj posadi koju su netom prije pristali primiti u grad (*Illyr.* 4.23), a u drugoj su oružjem (doduše, samo nakratko) istjerali tu istu posadu iz grada, nakon što je Oktavijan pobjedonosno otputovao u Rim (*Illyr.* 4.24).<sup>44</sup>

## Oktavijanov pohod na Segestiku

Iako su planovi vezani uz stjecanje kontrole nad Podunavljem u Rimu možda postojali već otprije, oni su postali ostvarivima tek početkom 2. st. pr. Kr., s osnivanjem kolonije u Akvileji. Prva vojna kampanja u Međuriječje tradicionalno se datira u sredinu 2. st. pr. Kr. i temelji na Apijanovom usputnom spomenu poraza vojskovođe Kornelija u srazu s Panoncima (*Illyr.* 3.14). Da je riječ o prvom sukobu sa Segestancima, zaključeno je po Apijanovim uvodnim riječima uz narativ o Oktavijanovom osvajanju Segestike: "Iako su prije toga Rimljani dvaput bili napali segestansku zemlju, nisu polučili ni taoce niti išta drugoga, uslijed čega su Segestanci postali vrlo obijesni" (*Illyr.* 4.22). Kornelijeva vojna kampanja bila bi prva od te dvije spomenute rimske kampanje protiv Segestanaca, koje su prethodile Oktavijanovom osvajanju Segestike. Ukoliko se Polibijev ulomak,<sup>45</sup> očuvan u bizantskom priručniku Sudi iz 10. st., može povezati s tom epizodom, moguće da nije bila riječ o prvom rimskom napadu na sam grad Segestiku, nego o vojnoj akciji protiv Segestanaca na nekom od njihovih pljačkaških pohoda prema Italiji, o kojima je već bilo riječi.<sup>46</sup>

aganda, making Roman victories over worthy enemy even more significant.<sup>40</sup> The inhabitants of Segestica were also characterized as brave and fierce adversaries, as clearly recorded by Appian (*Illyr.* 4.24),<sup>41</sup> and indirectly deduced from the speech Octavian gave to his legions before the battle of Actium, where all of his recent military successes were listed ("Against the Taurisci, Iapydes, Dalmatae and the Pannonians, all of you, present here yourselves, fought with a lot of flare, often to conquer several walls and barren land, and you subdued all of those tribes even though they are, as is well-known, very belligerent", Cassius Dio, 50.28, 4). Dio's contemporary, Herodian from Syria, described the Pannonians as visually striking people and fierce warriors, but not very skilled in double-edged communication: "The inhabitants of Pannonia are very strong and tall people, very skilled and fierce in battle, but of inert spirit, because they do not easily understand if you do or say something clever or devious" (2.9, 11). Already in the times of Octavian Augustus, the Pannonians, as directly claimed by Velleius Paterculus, were quite familiar with the Roman way of life - at least aspects of it related to military service: "Now all Pannonians had not only the knowledge of Roman discipline, but also of the Roman language, and many knew how to write quite well, and were not unfamiliar with wielding weapons"<sup>42</sup> (2.110, 5). However, Albius Tibullus seems not to have had a very good opinion of the Pannonians - he called them treacherous, in the context of Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum, participated in by Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*cos.* 31 BC), Tibullus' friend and patron to whom the great poet dedicated this eulogy.<sup>43</sup> Tibullus' Pannonians could likely be the inhabitants of Segestica, who, on the one hand, proved themselves to be worthy adversaries to Octavian's legions (as recorded by Appian), and, on the other hand, barbarians who, on two occasions during the month or two discussed by Appian, did not uphold the agreement they had made with Octavian - in the first instance, they literally slammed the door in the face of the Roman garrison that they

42 Neka izdanja Velejeve *Rimske povijesti* na ovome mjestu imaju *familiaris animorum exercitatio* ("vještina u intelektualnom ophođenju"), druga pak *familiaris armorum exercitatio* ("vještina u rukovanju oružjem"). Odlučila sam se za ovo drugo čitanje, iako je i prvo jednako tako moguće. Tako i Josip Miklič, u hrvatskom izdanju Velejeve *Rimske povijesti* (navedenom među literarnim izvorima na kraju rada).

43 "Pjevam o onome što je iskušano u ratovima. Svjedok mi je / srčani ratnik pobijedene Japidije, svjedok mi je varavi / Panonac raspršen po ledenim Alpama, / svjedok mi je i siromah rođen na arupinskim njivama" (*Panegy. Messallae*, 3.7, 107-110).

44 Mišljenje da se Tibul osvrnuo na neke od glavnih protagonista Oktavijanovog iliričkog rata potkrjepljuje nekoliko činjenica: a) Japodi i Panonci bili su, uz Delmate, glavni Oktavijanovi ratni ciljevi 35. pr. Kr.; b) Tibul je pjesmu posvetio Mesali Korvinu koji je kao jedan od Oktavijanovih legata sudjelovao u iliričkom ratu (Kasije Dion, 49.38,3); c) Tibul pjeva o Mesalinim ratnim postignućima, spomenuvši njegov konzulat (31. pr. Kr.) ali ne i trijumf (27. pr. Kr.), pa se pretpostavlja da je elegij bio sastavljen između tih dviju godina; d) pjesnik je 19. pr. Kr. već mrtav, i ta godina predstavlja apsolutni *terminus ante quem* za dataciju naznačenih ratnih epizoda.

45 "Uporište, Polibije: Osvajivši tu utvrdu na početku rata, Panonci su je učinili (svojim) uporištem i odabrali je za prihvat plijena", *Suda*, frg. 78 (122).

45 "Uporište, Polibije: Osvajivši tu utvrdu na početku rata, Panonci su je učinili (svojim) uporištem i odabrali je za prihvat plijena", *Suda*, frg. 78 (122).

46 Usp. Periša 2015, 149-160. Tradicionalno se, međutim, Kornelijev sukob smatra prvim napadom na Segestiku - Gwyn Morgan 1974; Šašel Kos 2005, 383-387, 389-392; Kovács 2014, 23.

40 Courage was a characteristic that accompanied Pannonians throughout the Classical period, and even after - archbishop Isidore of Seville (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> cent. AD) calls Pannonia "the land of brave people" in his encyclopedia entitled *Ethymologiae* (14.4, 6).

41 In second place, ranking communities according to the amount of resistance they showed to Octavian's legions, Appian states: "He was mostly troubled by the Salassi, the trans-Alpine Iapydes, the inhabitants of Segestica, the Dalmatae, <daisioite> and the Peonians, very distant from the Salassi" (*Illyr.* 4.17).

42 Some editions of Velleius' Roman History state *familiaris animorum exercitatio* at this point ("skill in intellectual conduct"), and some state *familiaris armorum exercitatio* ("skill in handling weapons"). The author decided to opt for the second reading, although the first is equally plausible. In the Croatian edition of Velleius' *Roman History* (listed among the literary sources at the end of this paper), Josip Miklič also chooses this option.

43 "I sing of that which has been tested in wars. My witness is / the hearty warrior of the conquered Iapydia, my witness is deceitful / Pannonian dispersed throughout the icy Alps, / my witness is also the pauper born on the fields of Arupium" (*Panegy. Messallae*, 3.7, 107-110).

Apijan je jedini izvor koji spominje sljedeći sukob između rimske vojske i Segestanaca; konzul Lucije Aurelije Kota i pretor Lucije Cecilije Metelo Dijademat su 119. pr. Kr. “čini se pokorili Segestance” (*Illyr.* 2.10). Neizvjestan ishod, kako ga Apijan prikazuje, vjerojatno ipak treba shvatiti kao još jedan rimski poraz, tim više što je izostao trijumf. Legije možda ni ovaj put nisu došle do bedema same Segestike, jer Apijan neodređeno spominje “zemlju Segestanaca” kao poprište sukoba (*Illyr.* 4.22). Da su Segestanci bili poraženi, Rim zasigurno ne bi propustio naglasiti da je iste godine trijumfirao na dva kritična ratišta u Iliriku - u zemlji Delmata i na teritoriju panonskih Segestanaca.<sup>47</sup> Segestika ni ovom prilikom vjerojatno nije bila ozbiljnije ugrožena. Tek će Oktavijanov pohod osamdesetak godina poslije panonsku Segestiku podvrgnuti punoj rimskoj kontroli.

To je zapravo bio niz što simultanih što sukcesivnih vojnih kampanja u široko područje Ilirika, koje je Oktavijan poduzeo u godinama uoči svog konačnog razračunavanja s Markom Antonijem. Ilirički se rat sastojao od nekoliko odlično koordiniranih pohoda koje su između 35. i 33. pr. Kr. pod Oktavijanovim vrhovnim zapovjedništvom vodili njegovi najbolji legati, redom ljudi od njegovog najvećeg povjerenja: Marko Vipsanije Agripa (*cos.* 37. pr. Kr.), Marko Valerije Mesala Korvin (*cos.* 31. pr. Kr.) i Tit Statilije Tauro (*cos. suff.* 37. pr. Kr., *cos.* 26. pr. Kr.).<sup>48</sup> O Oktavijanovom iliričkom ratu napisano je mnogo<sup>49</sup> i raščlanjene su sve njegove sastavnice; u ovome radu osvrnut ćemo se samo na njegovu panonsku fazu u kojoj je glavni vojni cilj bilo osvajanje Segestike. Ključni izvori za čitav ilirički pohod su Apijan i Kasije Dion;<sup>50</sup> Apijan se, kao što smo već čuli, obilato (ako ne i isključivo) služio zabilježkama samoga Oktavijana, vrhovnog zapovjednika udruženih rimskih snaga, pa njegove informacije možemo smatrati suvremenima iako ga od samoga događaja dijeli više od stotinu godina. Nešto mlađe izvješće Kasija Diona prilično vjerno slijedi Apijanov narativ i na nekim ga mjestima upotpunjuje.<sup>51</sup>

had previously consented to let into the city (*Illyr.* 4.23), and in the second one (albeit, for a short period of time), they banished the same garrison from the city after Octavian victoriously left for Rome (*Illyr.* 4.24).<sup>44</sup>

### Octavian's Segestan campaign

Even though the Roman plans for gaining control over the Danube area might have already existed, they became achievable only at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when the colony of Aquileia was founded. The first military campaign into the Interfluvium is traditionally dated to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, based on Appian's mention of commander Claudius' defeat in a battle against the Pannonians (*Illyr.* 3.14). Based on Appian's introduction to the narrative about Octavian's conquest of Segestica, it was concluded that this was the first conflict with Pannonians: “Although the Romans had previously attacked Segestan territory on two occasions, they did not capture hostages or anything else, making the Segestans very rampant” (*Illyr.* 4.22). Cornelius' military campaign could be the first out of the two mentioned Roman moves against the Segestans that preceded Octavian's conquest of Segestica. If Polybius' paragraph,<sup>45</sup> preserved in *Suda*, a Byzantine 10<sup>th</sup>-century handbook, can be connected to this episode, it is possible that it was not the first Roman attack on the city of Segestica, but a military action against the Segestans on one of their looting endeavors towards Italy that were mentioned above.<sup>46</sup> Appian is the only source that mentions the next conflict between the Roman army and the Segestans; in 119 BC, consul Lucius Aurelius Cotta and praetor Lucius Caecilius Metellus Diadematus “as it seems, conquered the Segestans” (*Illyr.* 2.10). However, the precarious outcome, as described by Appian, should probably be seen as just another Roman defeat, especially because there was no triumph. Even then, the legions might not have

47 Mišljenja stručnjaka su podvojena: jedni smatraju da je Segestika tada bila bezuspješno opsjedana (Mócsy 1974; Barkóczi 1980; Šašel Kos 2005), dok drugi misle da je ovom prilikom bila i osvojena (Šašel 1974, *coll.* 730-731). Drugi konzul za godinu 119. pr. Kr., Lucije Cecilije Metelo Delmatik, te je godine uspješno ratovao protiv Delmata i nad njima proslavio trijumf, Livije, *Per.* 62; Apijan, *Illyr.* 2.11.

48 Spominju se i Marko Helvije, koji je uspješno okončao naknadnu pobunu japodskih Posena (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.21), Fufije Gemin, kojeg je Oktavijan postavio za zapovjednika prve posade u Segestici (Kasije Dion, 49.38,1 i 3), te Menas (Menodor), admiral Oktavijanove riječne flotile koji je poginuo pri opsadi Segestike (Kasije Dion, 49.37,6).

49 Od opsežne znanstvene literature spomenimo samo nekoliko najnovijih radova: Bilić Dujmušić 2004; Šašel Kos 2005, 393-471 (tamo je sva prethodna relevantna literatura); Domić Kunić 2006, 91-100; Šašel Kos 2011; Kovács 2014, 24-26.

50 Njima se ponekom opaskom ili insinacijom pridružuju i neki drugi antički pisci (Livije, Strabon, Velej Paterkul). Izvori taj pohod nazivaju *bellum Hiluricum* (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 255), *bella Pannonica* (Plinije Stariji, *Nat. hist.* 7.45,148) i *bellum Delmaticum* (Suetonije, *Aug.* 20; malo dalje kaže da je August osvojio “Panoniju i Dalmaciju s čitavim Ilirikom”, *Aug.* 21). Kao tri glavna vojna cilja spominju se Japodi, Delmati i Panonci (Livije, *Per.* 131; Kasije Dion, 51.21,5). Trijumf koji je senat odobrio 33. pr. Kr. proslavljen je 29. pr. Kr. kao ilirski (Livije, *Per.* 133; Apijan, *Illyr.* 5.28) ili kao delmatski (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 345; Suetonije, *Aug.* 22).

51 “August nije opisao pothvate drugih u onoj mjeri kao vlastite”, kaže Apijan (*Illyr.* 3.15) i time zapravo objašnjava nedostatak nekih epizoda u vlastitom izvješću. Kasije Dion očito je raspolagao i drugim izvorima o iliričkom ratu, pa se kod njega mogu naći neke od izostavljenih informacija (primjerice, o Fufiju Geminu i o Menasu). O mogućim Dionovim izvorima: Kovács 2014, 25.

44 The assumption that Tibullus mentioned some of the main protagonists of Octavian's Illyrian campaign is supported by several facts: a) the Iapodes and the Pannonians were, along with the Delmatae, Octavian's main military goals in 35-33 BC; b) Tibullus dedicated the poem to Messalla Corvinus who had, as one of Octavian's legates, participated in the Illyrian campaign (Cassius Dio, 49.38, 3); c) Tibullus mentions Messalla's military achievements, and mentions his consulate (31 BC), but not his triumph (27 BC), so it is supposed that the eulogy was composed between these two years; d) in 19 BC, the poet was already dead, and that year is the absolute *terminus ante quem* for the datation of the mentioned war episodes.

45 “Stronghold, Polybius: By conquering this fortress at the beginning of the war, the Pannonians made it (their) stronghold and chose it as the place for collecting loot”, *Suda*, frg. 78 (122).

46 Cf. Periša 2015, 149-160. Traditionally, however, Cornelius' conflict is considered to be the first attack on Segestica - Gwyn Morgan 1974; Šašel Kos 2005, 383-387, 389-392; Kovács 2014, 23.

Izvori daju dva moguća razloga zašto je Oktavijan poveo vojsku u Ilirik u godinama uoči odlučujućeg obračuna s Markom Antonijem.<sup>52</sup> Prema Kasiju Dionu (49.36,1), on je želio izvježbati svoje legije, očito kako bi bile spremne sukobiti se s Antonijevom vojskom, dok Apijan tvrdi (*Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23) (a Strabon ga podupire, 4.6,10; 7.5,2) da je želio Segestiku kao bazu za planirani rat protiv Dačana (i Bastarna). Budući dački rat kao jedan od razloga Oktavijanovog osvajanja Segestike nije nemoguća opcija,<sup>53</sup> jer ga navode autori od kojih je jedan (Strabon) suvremenik Oktavijanovog iliričkog pohoda, a drugi (Apijan) prepisuje iz Oktavijanovih memoara. Tijek događaja pokazat će da je posjedovanje Segestike bilo ključan preduvjet za uspostavu kontrole nad čitavim pannonkim Međuriječjem, kao i za osvajanje međuprostora koji je Međuriječje dijelio od rimskog posjeda na istočnoj obali Jadrana. To je pak značilo zaokruživanje Ilirika, onako kako ga je Rim već otprije percipirao.<sup>54</sup> Posjedovanje Međuriječja otvaralo je vrata prema toku Dunava koji je bio logična i željena granična crta između rimskog imperija i barbarika; raščišćavanje odnosa između Rima i naroda koji su živjeli s onu stranu Dunava (a među kojima su bili i Dačani) bilo je logičan korak u tome smislu.

Slijed događaja potvrdio je još nešto: Oktavijanov glavni strateški cilj u ratu 35. – 33. pr. Kr. bila je upravo Segestika. Posjedovanje Segestike značilo je efikasnu kontrolu čitavog zapadnog Međuriječja i nužan preduvjet za doseganje njegovog istočnog dijela. Tek potom bilo je moguće poduzeti ratne akcije u Dakiji,<sup>55</sup> kao i držati na oku još uvijek vrlo problematične Skordiske koji su bili glavna prijetnja u donjem Podunavlju. Osvajanje Segestike predstavljalo je i prvu fazu stjecanja kontrole nad srednjim Podunavljem, koje je strateški i geografski bilo prirodna granica rimskog imperija u nastajanju. Sljedeća je faza obuhvatila, kako će se to

reached the walls of Segestica on this occasion, because Appian vaguely mentions “Segestan territory” as the scene of battle (*Illyr.* 4.22). Had the Segestans been defeated, Rome would surely not miss the opportunity to emphasize the fact that, in the same year, it triumphed on two critical battlefields in Illyricum - the land of the Delmatae, and the territory of the Pannonian Segestans.<sup>47</sup> Segestica was probably not in serious danger even on this occasion. Only Octavian’s conquest about eighty years later would put the Pannonian Segestica under complete Roman control.

It was actually a series of simultaneous and successive military campaigns into the wider area of Illyricum that Octavian conducted in the years leading up to his final conflict with Mark Antony. Between 35 and 33 BC, the war in Illyricum included several excellently coordinated campaigns conducted under Octavian’s supreme command by his best legates, all men who had his utmost trust: Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (*cos.* 37 BC), Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*cos.* 31 BC) and Titus Statilius Taurus (*cos. suff.* 37 BC, *cos.* 26 BC).<sup>48</sup> A lot has been written about Octavian’s war in Illyricum,<sup>49</sup> all of its components have been analyzed, and this paper will only discuss its Pannonian phase, the main military goal of which was to conquer Segestica. The key sources for studying the entire Illyrian campaign are Appian and Cassius Dio;<sup>50</sup> Appian, as stated above, largely (if not even exclusively) relied on the notes of Octavian, the supreme commander of the joint Roman forces, so his information can be seen as contemporary despite the fact that he wrote over a hundred years after the events. The somewhat younger reports of Cassius Dio follow Appian’s narrative quite literally, and occasionally add to it.<sup>51</sup>

52 Usp. Šašel Kos 1997, 397-399, 458-469; Bilić Dujmušić 2004, 424-430; Kovács 2014, 24-25 (autor o tome daje opsežnu literaturu); Zaninović 2015, 419-421.

53 Džino misli da bi mogla biti riječ o Oktavijanovoj propagandi koja bi opravdala napad na Segestiku. Ipak, Međuriječje u rimskom posjedu postalo je neke vrste tampon-zone prema Dačanima, Džino 2012, 467; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 166-167.

54 Za Oktavijanovog života Ilirik je obuhvaćao prostor od Jadrana do Drave; granica na Dunavu uspostavljena je u Klaudijevo doba, Tóth 1976, 200-201; Fitz 1977, 543; Visy 1978, 37; Domić Kunić 2003, 519-522.

55 Dačko pitanje bilo je otvoreno još od vremena Julija Cezara. Cezar je bio planirao kazneni pohod u Dakiju (o tome neizravno Plutarh, *Caes.* 58.6), budući da je dački prvak Burebista 48. pr. Kr. bio stao na Pompejevu stranu, a protiv Cezara (Strabon, 7.3.5). Te su planove omele zlokobne martovske ide, no Burebista je iste godine (44. pr. Kr.) pao kao žrtva urote, pa je time barem na neko vrijeme bila otklonjena neposredna opasnost od Dačana. Oktavijan je, naslijedivši Cezarovo ime, imetak i ugled, naslijedio i poočimove planove vezane uz vanjsku politiku. Činjenica da izvori spominju Dakiju u kontekstu osvajanja Segestike može značiti samo da je Oktavijan želio (ili je tvrdio da želi) dovršiti ono što je Cezar bio nakanio, tim više što je Dakija bila znatno oslabljena Burebistinom smrću (usp. Strabon, 7.3.11), ali je i dalje ostala znatnom prijetnjom sigurnosti sjevernog pograničnog područja rimskog imperija. No, Oktavijan August nije ostvario zacrtani cilj - početne operacije usmjerene prema Dunavu (pohod na zemlju Markomana) osujeto je nepovoljan tijekom zbivanja uzrokovan velikim ustankom u Iliriku (6.-9.) i gubitkom čitave donjogermske legijske posade (9.); dačka faza stoga nije ni nastupila, i tek će Domicijan (u ratu 86.-88.) i Trajan (u dva navrata, 101.-102. i 105.-106.) okončati dačko pitanje.

47 The opinions of experts are diverse: some feel that, at the time, Segestica was unsuccessfully attacked (Mócsy 1974; Barkóczy 1980; Šašel Kos 2005), while others feel that it was conquered on this occasion (Šašel 1974, *coll.* 730-731). The second consul in 119 BC, Lucius Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, successfully waged war against the Delmatae and triumphed over them, during the same year, Livy, *Per.* 62; Appian, *Illyr.* 2.11.

48 Marcus Helvius is also mentioned, who successfully ended the subsequent Iapodian Poseni (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.21), Fufius Geminus, who was made commander of the first garrison in Segestica by Octavian (Cassius Dio, 49.38, 1 and 3), and Menas (Menodorus), the admiral of Octavian’s river fleet who died during the siege of Segestica (Cassius Dio, 49.37, 6).

49 A selection of more recent papers from the extensive body of scientific literature: Bilić Dujmušić 2004; Šašel Kos 2005, 393-471 (listing all previous relevant publications); Domić Kunić 2006, 91-100; Šašel Kos 2011; Kovács 2014, 24-26.

50 They are joined by some remarks or insinuations made by other Greek and Roman authors (Livy, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus). The sources refer to this campaign as the *bellum Hiluricum* (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 255), *bella Pannonica* (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 7.45, 148) and *bellum Delmaticum* (Suetonius, *Aug.* 20; goes on to say that Augustus conquered “Pannonia, Dalmatia and the entire Illyricum”, *Aug.* 21). The three main military aims include the Iapodes, the Delmatae, and the Pannonians (Livy, *Per.* 131; Cassius Dio, 51.21, 5). The triumph approved by the Senate in 33 BC was celebrated in 29 BC as an Illyrian (Livy, *Per.* 133; Appian, *Illyr.* 5.28), or a Dalmatian one (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 345; Suetonius, *Aug.* 22).

51 “Augustus did not describe the campaigns of others as much as his own”, states Appian (*Illyr.* 3.15), thereby actually explaining the absence of certain episodes in his own report. Cassius Dio obviously had other sources on the war in Illyricum, so some of the missing information can be retrieved from his works (e.g., about Fufius Geminus and Menas). On Dio’s possible sources: Kovács 2014, 25.

vidjeti dvadesetak godina poslije, preostali dio panonskog Međuriječja, a završne akcije (većinom diplomatskog karaktera) bile su usmjerene na dohvaćanje samoga toka Dunava i ostvarene su za vladavine Oktavijanovog pranećaka Klaudija sredinom 1. st.

Oktavijan je, ako je vjerovati našim izvorima, poduzeo određene akcije vezane uz pripreme za dački rat - i Apijan (*Illyr.* 4.22) i Kasije Dion (49.37,5) kažu da je dao sagraditi riječnu flotilu, dok Strabon (7.5,2) samo naznačuje potrebu posjedovanja brodova za napad na Dakiju. No, dok Apijan kaže da su ti brodovi, sagrađeni na Savi, bili namijenjeni prevoženju opskrbe na Dunav (radi napada na Dakiju), Kasije Dion tvrdi da su ih sagradili (rimski) saveznici "u okolici" te da su ti brodovi, preko Dunava dotegljeni u Savu i iz nje u Kupu, sudjelovali u nekoliko riječnih bitaka kod Segestike.<sup>56</sup> Problem identifikacije Oktavijanovih saveznika i dalje ostaje otvorenim zbog nepomirljive razlike između Apijanove i Dionove inačice te epizode. Jednako tako nemoguće je prepoznati segestanske saveznike (Kasije Dion, 49.37,6) za koje Apijan kaže da su "drugi Panonci" (*Illyr.* 4.23) - svaki mogući prijedlog koja bi to panonska zajednica mogla biti, ostaje u sferi nagađanja.

Iz Apijanovog narativa (*Illyr.* 4.23) može se iščitati da Oktavijanova izvorna nakana nije bila Segestiku osvojiti oružjem, već uz suglasnost njezinih stanovnika grad pretvoriti u vojnu bazu. Početne pozicije, dakako, nisu bile izjednačene - Oktavijan je, doduše, pokazao dobru volju, ali iz perspektive nadmoćne sile koja ne moli, nego zahtijeva. Njegov početno dobrohotni stav prema panonskim zajednicama ogleda se u njegovom putovanju duž Kupe prema Segestici koje je opisano kao netipično miroljubivi marš rimskih legija kroz potencijalno neprijateljski teritorij, a koji je ipak završio pustošenjem i paleži (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; Kasije Dion, 49.37,1). Iz Apijanovog uvodnog dijela o Oktavijanovom ratu (*Illyr.* 4.22) jasno je da je dio ratnih operacija imao za svrhu osigurati sjeveroistočnu granicu Italije od daljnjih pljačkaških upada koje su svako toliko poduzimale zajednice u njezinom razmjerno bliskom susjedstvu. Među tim su pljačkašima bili i Panonci u kojima možemo prepoznati (i) Segestance - u tome smo svjetlu sagledali prva dva sukoba rimskih legija sa Segestancima (Apijan, *Illyr.* 3.14, 2.10); u istom se svjetlu vjerojatno može razumjeti i Apijanova tvrdnja da su Segestanci nakon dva neuspjela rimska napada na njihovu zemlju "postali vrlo obijesni" - trebalo im je, dakle, demonstrirati rimski autoritet i posljedice njegova nepoštivanja. Panonska je faza Oktavijanovog pohoda stoga, kao što smo već rekli, imala nekoliko međusobno sukladnih ciljeva: preuzeti Segestiku kao vojnu bazu (i za dački rat?) te tako steći kontrolu nad zapadnim dijelom Međuriječja u kojemu je Segestika imala ključni položaj; time bi se ujedno spriječile i daljnje pljačkaške akci-

The sources provide two possible reasons why Octavian lead his army to Illyricum in the years prior to his deciding battle with Mark Antony.<sup>52</sup> According to Cassius Dio (49.36, 1), he wanted to train his legions, obviously to prepare them for the battle against Antony's army, while Appian claims (*Illyr.* 4.22, 4.23) (and is supported by Strabo, 4.6, 10; 7.5, 2) that he wanted Segestica to be the base for the planned wars against the Dacians (and the Bastarnae). The predicted Dacian war, as one of the reasons for Octavian's conquest of Segestica, is not an improbable option,<sup>53</sup> because it is listed by authors, one of whom (Strabo) was a contemporary of Octavian's Illyrian campaign, and another (Appian) copied it from Octavian's memoirs. The sequence of events would reveal that holding Segestica was a key precondition for establishing control over the entire Pannonian Interfluve, as well as for conquering the areas between the Interfluve and the Roman territories on the eastern Adriatic coast. This in turn meant that the whole territory of Illyricum, as defined by the Romans, became a conquered entity.<sup>54</sup> Controlling the Interfluve opened the door towards the Danube that was the logical and desired borderline between the Roman Empire and the barbarians; clearing relations between Rome and the peoples who lived on the other side of the Danube (including the Dacians), was a logical step in that direction.

The sequence of events confirmed another thing: Octavian's main strategic goal in 35-33 BC was precisely Segestica. Controlling Segestica allowed for the establishment of efficient control over the entire western Interfluve, and was a necessary precondition for reaching its eastern part. Only after this was done was it possible to conduct military campaigns in Dacia,<sup>55</sup> as well as to keep an eye on the, still very problematic, Scordisci who were the main threat in the lower Danube area. The conquest of Segestica was also the first phase of gaining control over central Danube area, which was the natural strategic and geographical border of the emerging Roman Empire. The next phase included, as would be revealed about twenty years later, the rest of the Pannonian Interfluve, and the final actions (mostly of diplomatic character) focused on reaching the banks of the Danube, and were accomplished during the rule of Octavian's great-grand-nephew Claudius in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Octavian had, if the sources are to be trusted, taken certain actions regarding the preparations for the Dacian war - both Appian (*Illyr.* 4.22) and Cassius Dio (49.37, 5) report that he ordered the construction of a river flotilla, while Strabo (7.5, 2) only hints at the need to have ships for the attack on Dacia. However, while Appian states that these ships, constructed on the Sava River, were intended for transferring supplies to the Danube (for the

56 O brodovima: Hoti 1992, 137-138; Džino 2010, 110; Kovács 2014, 26-27. O saveznicima: Wilkes 1969, 53 (norički Taurisci); Šašel Kos 1986, 140 (neka druga norička zajednica); Hoti 1992, 137-138; Kovács 2014, 26-27 (Skordisci ili neka dačka zajednica).

52 Cf. Šašel Kos 1997, 397-399, 458-469; Bilić Dujmušić 2004, 424-430; Kovács 2014, 24-25 (with an extensive bibliography); Zaninović 2015, 419-421.

53 Džino feels that this could refer to Octavian's propaganda intended to justify the attack on Segestica. However, under Roman control, the Interfluve became a kind of buffer zone towards the Dacians, Džino 2012, 467; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 166-167.

54 During Octavian's life, Illyricum included the territory between the Adriatic Sea and the Drava River; the border on the Danube was created in Claudius' time, Tóth 1976, 200-201; Fitz 1977, 543; Visy 1978, 37; Domić Kunić 2003, 519-522.

55 The Dacian question had been opened since the time of Julius Caesar. Caesar had planned to punitively attack Dacia (indirectly on that topic, Plutarch, *Caes.* 58.6), seeing as Dacian chieftain Burebista had joined



je Segestanaca i drugih susjednih zajednica prema Italiji. Kasije Dion nudi pak zasebnu opciju: "Protiv njih nije imao nikakvih pri- tužbi, niti su mu oni ikako naudili, nego je želio svojim vojnicima pružiti vježbu i poduprijeti ih na trošak stranog naroda, jer je sva- ku demonstraciju protiv slabije strane smatrao pravednom ako se sviđa čovjeku koji je moćniji oružjem" (49.36,1). Iz ovih bi se ri- ječi moglo iščitati da je Oktavijan time kanio pripremiti svoje le- gije za skorašnji sukob s Markom Antonijem, a te riječi ujedno odražavaju i stav politički i vojno nadmoćne strane koja ne treba posebno opravdavati svoje ratne akcije.<sup>57</sup>

Oktavijan je pod Segestiku stigao iz Japodije, prateći tok Kupe, "kroz zemlju Peonaca (sc. Panonaca), koju Rimljani još nisu bili po- korili" (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22). Putem je, kako nas izvori izvješćuju, želio pokazati dobru volju senata i rimskog naroda, da nezarati posvaku cijenu s onima koji se žele predati i pokoriti Rimu (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; Kasije Dion, 49.37,1). No, Panonci su čakama uznemirivali legije na maršu ubijajući vojnike na začelju kolone i Oktavijan je pribjegao taktici spaljene zemlje, ostavivši za sobom pustoš u dolini Kupe.

Iz konteksta narativa Apijana i Kasija Diona jasno je da je Okta- vijan poduzeo opsadu Segestike tek nakon što Segestanci nisu udovoljili njegovim zahtjevima. Možemo se samo domišljati za- što Oktavijan nije odmah krenuo u napad nego se prethodno že- lio nagoditi s tamošnjim stanovnicima; moguće da nije želio grad prvo razarati da bi ga zatim opet podizao kao utvrdu za svoje voj- nike, a sasvim sigurno nije u Segestancima vidio neprijatelje s koji- ma nema pregovora, nego ih se odmah napada. Ni sami Segestan- ci kao da se nisu smatrali neprijateljima na koje bi legije trebale nasrnuti - Apijan spominje izaslanstvo iz grada koje je od Oktavija- na tražilo odgovor na pitanje zašto je došao (*Illyr.* 4.23). Ovaj im je uzvratilo trima zahtjevima: da grad upotrijebi kao vojnu bazu, da vodeći stalež dade stotinu svoje djece kao jamstvo sigurnosti rim- ske posade, te da se grad pobrine za opskrbu te posade hranom (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23). Ti su zahtjevi prouzročili neslogu između elite koja im je željela udovoljiti i običnog naroda koji se tome uspro- tivio; opsada je počela tek nakon što su Segestanci zatvorili grad- ska vrata posadi koja se već spremala ući (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23; Kasi- je Dion, 49.37,2). Bila je to uvreda preko koje Oktavijan nije mogao prijeći, uz to što je po svaku cijenu želio zagospodariti Segestikom.

attack on Dacia), Cassius Dio claims that they were built by (Ro- man) allies "in the vicinity", and that they were towed on the Danube into the Sava and then the Kupa River where they took part in several river battles near Segestica.<sup>56</sup> The problem of iden- tifying Octavian's allies still remains unresolved due to the un- bridgeable gaps between Appian's and Dio's variations of the episode. It is also impossible to discern Segestan allies (Cassius Dio, 49.37, 6), defined by Appian as "other Pannonians" (*Illyr.* 4.23) - every possible suggestion of which communities these might be remains in the sphere of speculation.

Appian's narrative (*Illyr.* 4.23) shows that Octavian's original in- tention was not to conquer Segestica with weapons, but to turn it into a military base with the approval of its inhabitants. The starting positions were, naturally, not equal - Octavian had, truthfully, shown good intentions, but from the perspective of a superior force that does not beg, but demands. His initially be- nvolent attitude towards Pannonian communities is seen in his atypically peaceful advance along the Kupa River towards Segestica, through enemy territory. This state of affairs did not last, and, in the end, resulted in the plundering and scorching of the areas through which the legions marched (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 1). Appian's introduction to Octavian's war (*Il- lyr.* 4.22) clearly shows that some of the military operations were made with the aim of securing the northeastern border of Italy from further looting raids that were every so often conducted by the communities who lived in close proximity. These looters unquestionably included Pannonians, and among them very like- ly the Segestans - in that light, the first two conflicts between the Roman legions and the Segestans were discussed (Appian, *Il- lyr.* 3.14, 2.10); and in the same light probably has to be seen Ap- pian's claim that the Segestans, after two unsuccessful Roman attacks on their land, "became very rampant" - therefore, it was necessary to demonstrate Roman authority to them and the consequences of not respecting it. Consequently, the Pannoni- an phase of Octavian's military campaign, as stated above, had several mutually compatible goals: to conquer Segestica as a mil- itary base (also for the Dacian war?), and thereby gain control over the western part of the Interfluve where Segestica held a key position; this would also prevent further raiding sorties on

57 Usp. Hoti 1992, 136; Kovács 2014, 24-25.

Pompey against Caesar in 48 BC (Strabo, 7.3, 5). The plans were disrupted by the Ides of March, and Burebista was killed in a conspiracy in the same year (44 BC), so the immediate danger posed by the Dacians was deferred at least for a while. Octavian inherited Caesar's name, possessions and reputation, but also his adoptive father's plans regarding foreign policy. The fact that the sources mention Dacia in the context of conquering Segestica can only mean that Octavian wanted (or claimed to want) to finish what Caesar envisioned, especially as Dacia was significantly weakened by Burebista's death (cf. Strabo, 7.3, 11). However, it continued to pose a significant threat to the security of the northern border of the Roman Empire. Still, Octavian Augustus did not fulfill the intended goal - the initial campaigns towards the Danube (campaign to the land of the Marcomani) were hindered by the unfavorable course of events caused by the great rebellion in Illyricum (AD 6-9), and the loss of the entire legionary garrison in Germania Inferior (AD 9); the Dacian phase, consequently, never came, and only Domitian (in the war between AD 86 and 88), and Trajan (on two occasions, AD 101-102 and 105-106) would put an end to the Dacian question.

56 On ships: Hoti 1992, 137-138; Dzino 2010, 110; Kovács 2014, 26-27. On the allies: Wilkes 1969, 53 (the Norican Taurisci); Šašel Kos 1986, 140 (some other community from Noricum); Hoti 1992, 137-138; Kovács 2014, 26-27 (the Scordisci or some community from Dacia).

Sudeći prema narativu Apijana i Kasija Diona, Oktavijan je Segestiku napao s istočne strane.<sup>58</sup> Dion, naime, govori o praznom prostoru između Save i Kupe gdje su se nalazile palisade i opkopi (49.37,4). Apijan kaže da su te obrambene (u ovome slučaju opsadne) strukture bile djelo Oktavijanovih vojnika (*Illyr.* 4.23), a da je riječ upravo o prostoru koji dijeli Pogorelac od toka Save, proizlazi iz Dionove tvrdnje da su saveznički brodovi Oktavijanu stigli Savom, iz koje su potom uplovili u Kupu (49.37,5). Segestanske pak saveznike, “druge Panonce” (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23), možemo tražiti ponajprije među zajednicama čiji teritorij graniči sa segestanskim (Varcijani, Jasi, Oserijati, kao i Kolapijani u Pokuplju, koje izvori nazivaju Panoncima), no ne smijemo posve odbaciti niti zajednice udaljenije od Segestike, glavnog ekonomskog i strateškog središta čitavog zapadnog Međuriječja. Nedostaju, međutim, pisani podaci i arheološka građa, koji bi omogućili da se na tu nepoznanicu baci nešto svjetla.

Opsada grada trajala je mjesec dana (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24), unutar kojih su se Segestanci žestoko odupirali nadmoćnoj rimskoj sili.<sup>59</sup> Taj se rat, u kojemu su Segestanci pretrpjeli “sve nećaće opsade” (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24), vodio i na kopnu i na vodi, uz velike gubitke u ljudstvu - u jednom je riječnom okršaju bio ubijen i admiral Oktavijanove flotile, iskusni Menas koji se u prošlosti bio iskazao kao sposoban pobočnik Seksta Pompeja<sup>60</sup> (Kasije Dion, 49.37,6). Oktavijan je Segestiku bio okružio opkopima, palisadama i nasipima te premostio Kupu, kako bi lakše napadao gradske bedeme (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23; Kasije Dion, 49.37,4); Segestanci su uzvraćali vatrenim projektilima, nastojeći uništiti drvene konstrukcije koje je Oktavijan bio postavio protiv grada (usp. Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23). Otpor je potrajao sve dok branitelji nisu uvidjeli da im pomoć neće stići.<sup>61</sup> Oktavijanove su legije, naime, predusrele i iz zasjede napale pojačanje koje je krenulo u pomoć Segestancima; dio njih je izgинуo, a dio se povukao (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23; Kasije Dion, 49.37). Tek tada su Segestanci položili oružje, pokazavši se tijekom proteklih trideset dana opsade tvrdim orahom za Oktavijanove legije. Apijan svjedoči da je Oktavijan respektirao srčanost Segestanaca - na jednome mjestu (*Illyr.* 4.17) Apijan ih je ubrojao među one zajednice koje su u iliričkom ratu Oktavijanu

the part of the Segestans and other neighbouring communities into Italy. Cassius Dio offers another option: “No one had any complaints against them, nor had they harmed him in any way, but he wanted to train his soldiers and encourage them at the expense of the foreign people, because he saw every demonstration against the weaker side as just, as long as it suited the man who had superiority in arms” (49.36, 1). These words suggest that Octavian had intended to use this to prepare his legions for the upcoming battle against Mark Antony, and also reflect the attitude of a politically and military superior side that does not particularly need to justify its military actions.<sup>57</sup>

Octavian reached Segestica through Iapodian land, following the Kupa River, “through the land of the Peonians (sc. Pannonians), that had not yet been conquered by the Romans” (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22). On the way, as recorded by the sources, he wanted to show the good will of the Senate and the Roman people, to, if at all possible, avoid conflict with those willing to submit and bow to Rome (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 1). However, the Pannonians occasionally upset the marching legions by killing the soldiers at the end of the line, and Octavian decided to apply a scorched earth policy, leaving the Kupa valley barren and destroyed.

Out of the contexts of Appian and Cassius Dio’s narratives, it is evident that Octavian put Segestica under siege only after the Segestans refused to fulfill his demands. It is only possible to speculate why Octavian did not immediately attack, but wanted to reach an agreement with the local inhabitants; it is possible that he wanted to avoid destroying the city and then later having to rebuild it as a fortress for his soldiers, and he most certainly did not see the Segestans as enemies that could not be reasoned with, but should immediately be attacked. It seems that the Segestans did not see themselves as enemies that should be attacked by the legions - Appian mentions a delegation from the city that wanted to know why Octavian was there (*Illyr.* 4.23). He replied with three demands: the right to use the city as a military base, that the leading citizens provide a hundred children that would guarantee the safety of the Roman garrison, and that the city take care of supplying the garrison with food (Appian, *Illyr.*

58 Ta se pretpostavka temelji isključivo na izvorima. No, logično je pomisliti da su rimske snage tijekom slijedećih trideset dana opsjedale grad duž čitavog njegovog perimetra.

59 Vjeruje se da je u opsadi Segestike sudjelovalo dvije i pol legije (oko 15.000 ljudi), uz pripadajuće augzilijarne jedinice (Šašel Kos 1986, 142; Vrbanović 1981, 187). Apijan spominje 100.000 panonskih boraca (*Illyr.* 4.22), no ne u kontekstu same opsade grada nego u kontekstu čitavoga panonskoga pohoda, koji je počeo nakon pada japodskih zajednica i završio s padom Segestike. Podatak o brojnosti neprijatelja treba uzeti s izvjesnim oprezom, jer povjesničari koji pišu o slavim rimskim pobjedama te pobjede znaju naglašavati preveličavanjem brojčanog stanja pobijedenih neprijatelja.

60 Menas ili Menodor bio je oslobođenik Gneja Pompeja (Velikog) i jedan od vodećih admirala njegovog sina Seksta. On je u pomorskoj bitci 40. pr. Kr. preoteo Sardiniju Oktavijanovom namjesniku Marku Luriju, ali je dvije godine poslije (38. pr. Kr.) prešao na Oktavijanovu stranu i vratio mu otok, za što je bio nagrađen viteškim rangom. Uskoro (36. pr. Kr.) je opet na strani Seksta Pompeja, no nezadovoljan njegovom sumnjičavošću (koja je, priznajmo, bila opravdana) još jednom mijenja stranu (Apijan, *Bell. civ.* 5, *passim*, usp. Plutarh, *Antonius*).

61 Apijan kaže da je riječ o “drugim Panoncima” (*Illyr.* 4.23), dok Kasije Dion to nesuđeno pojačanje naziva jednostavno “saveznicima” (49.37,6).

57 Cf. Hoti 1992, 136; Kovács 2014, 24-25.

“zadale najviše muke”,<sup>62</sup> a na drugome (*Illyr.* 4.24), pripovijeda-jući o događajima nakon pada Segestike, dao je naslutiti da je Oktavijan upravo zato (“diveći im se zbog njihove srčanosti”) blago postupao prema poraženima. Nije ih, naime, dijelom posmicao a dijelom pretvorio u robove, već im je odredio novčanu kaznu. Kakve su bile daljnje kaznene mjere (a zacijelo ih je bilo), ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati - ako je suditi prema sudbini Segestike, Segestanci su bili svedeni na politički (i gospodarski?) nevažnu panonsku zajednicu.

Kolika je bila strateška važnost Segestike vidi se po tome što se s njezinim padom u rimske ruke predao “ostatak Panonije” (Kasije Dion, 49.37,6). To se ponajprije odnosi na zapadni dio Međuriječja,<sup>63</sup> u kojemu je Segestika bila ključno političko, ekonomsko i strateško stjecište. Pomišljamo u prvome redu na Kolapijane, zajednicu uz Kupu koja se prva bila našla na udaru Oktavijanovih legija na maršu prema Segestici (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; Kasije Dion, 49.37,1),<sup>64</sup> a zatim i na zajednice u Posavini: Varcijane uzvodno od Segestike, koji su sada, nakon što su bili poraženi Japodi i Segestanci, ostali uključeni u području koje je sa svih strana bilo pod rimskom kontrolom; Oserijate, o kojima izvori šute, čije se središte traži u Donjoj Dolini na Savi, u blizini Bosanske Gradiške, kao i na Jase u Podravini.<sup>65</sup>

Primivši od Segestanaca predaju njihova grada, Oktavijan je ostvario svoj prvobitni naum - u Segestiku je smjestio posadu od 25 kohorti (10.000 do 12.000 ljudi) pod zapovjedništvom Fufija Gemina.<sup>66</sup> Ta prva rimska posada na sisačkom području smještena je “u gradu” kojemu su prethodno porušili “dio bedema” (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24); Gemina spominje samo Kasije Dion, svjedočeći o skorašnjoj pobuni domaće populacije kojoj je gotovo uspjelo natrag zauzeti Segestiku, a s njom osloboditi i zapadni dio panonskog Međuriječja (Kasije Dion, 49.38,1 i 3; Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24). Možda su baš zbog toga Segestanci kod pjesnika Tibula bili zaslužili epitet prevrtljivaca (*Panegyri Messallae*, 4.1,108-109). Kako, naime, nazvati zajednicu koja pogazi nagodbu (zapriječiti posadi ulaz u grad) i potom, nakon što se poražena preda u rimske ruke, digne oružje na pobjednike?

4.23). The demands caused strife among the elite who wanted to fulfill them, and the common folk who opposed; the siege began only after the Segestans closed the city gates to a garrison that was getting ready to enter (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 2). It was an insult that Octavian could not ignore, especially because he wanted to control Segestica at any cost.

Based on the narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio, Octavian attacked Segestica from the east side of the city.<sup>58</sup> Dio refers to the empty area between the Sava and the Kupa Rivers that had palisades and moats (49.37, 4). Appian states that these defensive, but in this case offensive structures, were built by Octavian's soldiers (*Illyr.* 4.23). We know that the exact place where they were situated was in the area dividing Pogorelac and the Sava River, because of Dio's claim that allied ships reached Octavian by the Sava, from where they could sail into the Kupa (49.37, 5). The Segestan allies, “the other Pannonians” (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23), can be found among the communities whose territory borders the Segestican territory (the Varciani, Iasi, Oseriates, and the Colapiani in the area of the Kupa River, referred to as Pannonians in the sources), although other communities, more distant from Segestica, the main economic and strategic center of the entire western Interfluve, should also not be dismissed. Still, there is no direct written data or archaeological evidence that could help shed light on this question.

The siege of the city lasted for a month (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24), and the Segestans fiercely opposed the superior Roman force.<sup>59</sup> This war, in which the Segestans suffered “all the adversities of a siege” (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24), was conducted on both land and water, with great human losses - one river battle ended with the death of the admiral of Octavian's flotilla, the experienced Menas who had previously proved himself to be a capable adjutant of Sextus Pompey<sup>60</sup> (Cassius Dio, 49.37, 6). Octavian surrounded Segestica with moats, palisades and embankments, and built a bridge over the Kupa River in order to make attacking the city walls easier (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 4); the Segestans replied with burning projectiles, attempting to destroy the wooden constructions that Octavian had set up against the city (cf. Appian,

62 Apijan je zajednice s kojima se Oktavijan sukobio 35-33. pr. Kr. klasificirao prema žestini otpora na one koje je porazio “u jednom poduhvatu”, one koje je pobijedio “s nešto više napora” te na one koji su mu “zadali najviše muke” (*Illyr.* 4.16-17). Segestanci su uvršteni u treću kategoriju, zajedno sa Salasima, Japodima koji su živjeli sjeverno od Velike i Male Kapele, Dalmatima, <daisioite> (o njima u sljedećoj bilješci) i Peoncima. Popis je uređen geografski, zajednice su nabrojane od zapada prema istoku.

63 Ne znamo, zapravo, koji je bio stvarni doseg rimske kontrole u Međuriječju nakon Oktavijanovog iliričkog pohoda - on je mogao biti osjetno veći od teritorija koji je Oktavijan osvojio oružjem. Na tu pretpostavku upućuje navod još nerazjašnjenih <daisioite> kod Apijana (*Illyr.* 4.17), u drugim izdanjima navedenih kao <desioite> ili <daisioi te> (usp. Šašel Kos 2005, 68) - riječ je vjerojatno o Desitijatima koji su izravno ili neizravno bili uključeni u Oktavijanov ilirički rat.

64 Kao što je već prije rečeno, stanovnici Segestike i Kolapijani vjerojatno dijele isti etnički identitet - to su Panonci (usp. Strabon, 7.5,2; Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; usp. Kasije Dion, 49.37). O Segestancima kao Kolapijanima: Raunig 1996, 52; Božič 2001; Čučković 2004.

65 Oserijate spominje samo Plinije Stariji u abecednom popisu teritorijalnih općina u provinciji Panoniji (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,148). O njihovom središnjem naselju: Marić 1964; usp. Domic Kunić 2006, 75-81, 96-100.

66 Posadu od 25 kohorti spominje Apijan (*Illyr.* 4.24), dok Kasije Dion govori o “malim snagama” (49.38,1); usp. Radman Livaja 2007, 162. O Fufiju Geminu: Wilkes 1969, 53 (bilj. 4), 91 (bilj. 4). O daljnjoj sudbini te posade: Wilkes 1969, 53.

58 This assumption is based exclusively on sources. However, it is logical to think that the Roman forces besieged the city around its entire perimeter over the following thirty days.

59 It is believed that two and a half legions participated in the siege of Segestica (about 15,000 soldiers), along with their designated auxiliary units (Šašel Kos 1986, 142; Vrbanović 1981, 187). Appian mentions 100,000 Pannonian fighters (*Illyr.* 4.22), not in the context of the siege itself, but in the context of the entire Pannonian campaign that started with the subjugation of the Iapodes and ended with the fall of Segestica. The information about the number of enemies should be considered with certain care, because historians who write about famous Roman victories tend to highlight them by exaggerating the numbers of defeated foes.

60 Menas or Menodorus was a slave freed by Gnaeus Pompey (the Great), and one of the leading generals of his son Sextus. In the maritime battle in 40 BC, he took Sardinia from Octavian's governor Marcus Lurius, but, two years later (38 BC), crossed over to Octavian's side and gave him back the island, earning himself equestrian status. Soon after (36 BC) he was once again on the side of Sextus Pompey, but, unhappy with his suspiciousness (which was, admittedly, justified), he changed sides once more (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 5, *passim*; cf. Plutarch, *Antonius*).

## Segestika i Siscija u rimskom posjedu

S tom epizodom završava izvješće naših izvora o panonskoj fazi Oktavijanovog iliričkog rata i počinje narativ o sljedećoj, delmat-skoj fazi. Segestika je sad čvrsto u rimskim rukama i povijesni je izvori odsad više ne spominju; uskoro će se spominjati samo Siscija (u kontekstu legijskog tabora), a nama ostaje da nagađamo kakva je bila sudbina osvojenog naselja na Pogorelcu,<sup>67</sup> koje je nakon pada bilo prisiljeno prihvatiti prvu rimsku posadu stacioniranu u Međuriječju. Logično bi bilo pretpostaviti da Oktavijan nije ostavio nekažnjanim to očito iskazivanje nepoštivanja stanja izvojevanog rimskom pobjedom. Ovom je prilikom Segestika zacijelo izgubila čitav opseg bedema, a Segestanci su bili strože kažnjeni (uobičajeni postupci su odvođenje u ropstvo, raseljavanje i novačenje mladića u auxilijarne jedinice); Segestika se više ne spominje možda upravo stoga što je ovom prilikom vjerojatno bila svedena na naselje manje važnosti.

S druge strane, već Strabon poznaje utvrdu Sisciju ("blizu Segestike, i na cesti za Italiju", 7.5,2), što upućuje na pomisao da je rimska posada ubrzo bila preseljena na tu novu lokaciju na suprotnoj obali Kupe, na položaj zvan Σισκία / *Siscia*. Velej Paterkul četrdesetak godina poslije Sisciju poznaje kao već uređeni veliki legijski tabor (2.113), a Kasije Dion spominje samo Sisciju, čak i u kontekstu u kojemu bi trebao govoriti o Segestici (49.37). U Plinijevo doba<sup>68</sup> Siscija je iz legijskog tabora evoluirala u vojničku koloniju, dok je od Segestike u pisanim izvorima ostalo očuvano samo ime (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,148); otuda možda i izostanak toponima Segestika u narativu Kasija Diona, stoljeće i pol nakon Plinija. Dion u svome izvješću koristi sebi suvremeni toponim Siscija, prouzročivši pritom svojevrsnu zbrku - ne možemo, naime, biti posve sigurni misli li Dion, imenujući Sisciju, zapravo na Segestiku na Pogorelcu (koje u njegovo doba više nema), ili je zajedno s imenom prenio i čitavu scenografiju iz 35. pr. Kr. na sebi suvremenu Sisciju na lijevoj obali Kupe, koja je u njegovo doba bila cvatuće središte u Gornjoj Panoniji. Pripovi-

*Illyr.* 4.23). The resistance persisted until the defenders realized that they would not get any help.<sup>61</sup> Namely, Octavian's legions intercepted and ambushed the reinforcements that had set out to help the Segestans; some perished, and some retreated (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23; Cassius Dio, 49.37). Only then did the Segestans lay down their weapons, proving themselves to Octavian's legions as tough nuts to crack over the thirty days of siege. Appian records Octavian's respect towards the Segestan heartiness - in one instance (*Illyr.* 4.17), Appian lists them among the communities that gave Octavian "the most trouble" in the Illyrian war,<sup>62</sup> and in another (*Illyr.* 4.24), when discussing the events following the fall of Segestica, he suggests that Octavian (because of their manifest bravery) treated the defeated mildly ("admiring their heartiness"). He did not execute or enslave them, but set them only a monetary fine. The subsequent punitive measure (and there must have been one) cannot be precisely determined - judging by the fate of Segestica, the Segestans were reduced to a politically (and economically?) insignificant Pannonian community.

The strategic importance of Segestica is seen from the fact that its fall made the "rest of Pannonia" surrender to the Romans (Cassius Dio, 49.37, 6). The author refers here primarily to the western part of the Interfluve,<sup>63</sup> of which Segestica was the key political, economic and strategic crossroad, and in terms of ethnicity to the Colapiani, a community that lived beside the Kupa River, and that found itself in the way of Octavian's legions on their march towards Segestica (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; Cassius Dio, 49.37, 1).<sup>64</sup> The others involved could have been communities around the Sava River: the Varciani upstream from Segestica that were, at this point, after the Iapodes and the Segestans were defeated, left stranded in a territory that was surrounded by the Romans; the Oseriates, who are not mentioned in the sources, with the center in Donja Dolina on the Sava River near Bosanska Gradiška; as well as the Iasi in the area around the Drava River.<sup>65</sup>

67 Usp. Zaninović 1986, 65; za arheološku situaciju na terenu: Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014.

68 Podsjetimo se: Strabon je suvremenik Oktavijanovog iliričkog pohoda (35. – 33. pr. Kr.), kao i Tiberijevog panonskog rata (12. – 9. pr. Kr.) i panonsko-dalmatinskog (Batonovog) ustanka (6.-9.). Velej Paterkul sudjeluje u gušenju toga ustanka kao jedan od Tiberijevih časnika, a u Sisciji je, prema vlastitom svjedočanstvu, bio osobno. Kasije Dion živi i piše u doba dinastije Severâ (2./3. st.) i vjerojatno također poznaje Sisciju iz prve ruke, jer je odradio jedan mandat kao namjesnik Gornje Panonije. Podatak kod Plinija Starijega datira se u Vespazijanovo doba i predstavlja jedan od najnovijih podataka koje je Plinije unio u svoju enciklopediju.

61 Appian says that these were "other Pannonians" (*Illyr.* 4.23), and Cassius Dio refers to these non-destined reinforcements as, simply, "the allies" (49.37, 6).

62 Appian classified the units confronted by Octavian between 35 and 33 BC based on the fierceness of their resistance into those that were defeated "with one strike", those defeated "with a little more effort", and those defeated "with the most trouble" (*Illyr.* 4.16-17). The people of Segestica were placed into the third category, along with the Salassi, Iapodes who lived north of Velika and Mala Kapela, the Delmatae, <daisioite> (on them, see following footnote) and the Paeonians. The list is geographically arranged; the communities are listed from west to east.

63 The true extent of Roman control in the Interfluve after Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum is actually not known - it could have been significantly larger than the territory Octavian conquered in battle. This assumption is pointed to by the, still unclear, <daisioite> mentioned by Appian (*Illyr.* 4.17), listed in other editions as <δαισιότες> or <Δαίσιοι τε> (cf. Šašel Kos 2005, 68) - these are probably the Daesitiates who had been directly or indirectly involved in Octavian's war in Illyricum.

64 As stated above, the inhabitants of *Segestica* and the Colapiani probably share a common ethnic identity - these are Pannonians (cf. Strabo, 7.5, 2; Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; cf. Cassius Dio, 49.37). On the inhabitants of Segestica as the Colapiani: Raunig 1996, 52; Božić 2001; Čučković 2004.

65 The Oseriates are only mentioned by Pliny the Elder in the alphabetical list of territorial communities in the province of Pannonia (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148). On their central settlement: Marić 1964; cf. Domić Kunić 2006, 75-81, 96-100.

jedajući, naime, o Oktavijanovoj opsadi grada (Segestike) Dion je podrobno opisao nešto kasnije učinjene Tiberijeve zahvate u konfiguraciju terena, koji se u stvarnosti tiču lijeve, siscijske obale Kupe: “danas (Kupa) okružuje čitav grad, jer ju je tako Tiberije oblikovao sagradivši veliki opkop kroz koji se vraća u svoje izvorno korito” (49.37,3).<sup>69</sup>

Rimska je posada, dakle, u neko doba nakon sukoba Fufija Gemina s pobunjenim Segestancima bila prebačena na lijevu obalu Kupe, na položaj zvan Siscija. Tu utvrdu spominje već Strabon, zajedno sa Sirmijem, strateškim pandanom na donjem toku Save: “Blizu Segestike, i na cesti za Italiju, smješteni su utvrda Siscija i Sirmij” (7.5,2). Sirmij, doduše, ne naziva utvrdom, bilo uslijed omaške ili možda stoga što taj grad u tom trenutku<sup>70</sup> još nije bio u rimskim rukama i uređen kao utvrda - Sirmij je po svoj prilici osvojio Tiberije tijekom panonskog rata, dvadesetak godina poslije (12.-9. pr. Kr.), kada je pod rimsku vlast došao preostali, istočni dio Međuriječja.<sup>71</sup> Iz narativa naših izvora zaključujemo da je Segestika zamrla nakon što ju je Oktavijan osvojio, odnosno da je bila porušena nakon oružane intervencije Fufija Gemina. To ne znači da naselje nije i dalje postojalo, no sasvim je izvjesno izgubilo svoju prijašnju važnost i veličinu, pretrpjevši Oktavijanovu opsadu i naknadno rušenje bedema. Stratešku ulogu Segestike sada preuzima Siscija na suprotnoj obali Kupe, prvo kao rimski vojni tabor, a potom (od 70. godine) kao vojnička kolonija.

U kolovozu 29. pr. Kr. u devetodnevnoj je svečanosti Oktavijan proslavio tri trijumfa - nad Ilirikom, nad Akcijem i nad Kleopatrom.<sup>72</sup> To je možda bio i službeni naziv tih trijumfa, očuvan samo u sažetku Livijeve *Povijesti*. Ilirički je trijumf, zaslužen četiri godine prije, sam Oktavijan bio odgodio zbog političkih i ratnih prilika koje su zahtijevale hitno rješenje. Znakovito je da je senat Oktavijanu izglasao trijumf već nakon japodske i panonske faze rata (35. pr. Kr.), a ne nakon delmatske (34. pr. Kr.) (Kasi-

Accepting the surrender of the city by the Segestans, Octavian fulfilled his original intention - he filled Segestica with 25 cohorts (10,000 to 12,000 men) under the command of Fufius Geminus.<sup>66</sup> This first Roman garrison on the territory of Sisak was situated within the walls of “the city” Romans had previously “partially destroyed” (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24); Geminus is only mentioned by Cassius Dio in reference to the later rebellion of the local population that almost managed to repossess Segestica and free the western part of the Interfluve (Cassius Dio, 49.38, 1 and 3; Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24). Perhaps this is why the Segestans were described by the poet Tibullus as treacherous (*Panegyri. Messallae*, 4.1, 108-109). What could one call a people that violated a deal (preventing the garrison from entering the city) and then, after it surrendered to the Romans, held arms against the victor?

### Segestica and Siscia in Roman possession

In the sources, this episode marks the conclusion of the Pannonian phase of Octavian's Illyrian war, and the beginning of the next, Delmatian phase. At this point, Segestica was firmly in Roman hands, and historical sources no longer mention it; soon only Siscia would appear (as a legionary camp), and it is only possible to guess what was the fate of the conquered settlement on Pogorelac that was forced to accommodate the first Roman garrison stationed in the Pannonian Interfluve.<sup>67</sup> It is logical to assume that Octavian did not fail to punish this obvious disrespect towards Roman victory. On this occasion, Segestica must have lost the entire perimeter of its walls, and the Segestans were severely punished (the usual procedures included enslavement, resettlement and recruiting young men for auxiliary units); perhaps Segestica is no longer mentioned simply because it was reduced to an unimportant settlement.

On the other hand, even Strabo knew about the Siscia fortress (“near Segestica, and on the road to Italy”, 7.5, 2), which suggests

69 Tragovi Tiberijevog opkopa jasno se vide na Sztariczkijevoj karti Siska iz 1783. godine (Vuković 2010, 122-123), i savršeno odgovaraju opisu kod Kasija Diona. Zahvaljujem kolegi Darku Periši što me je upozorio na tu dragocjenu pojedinost; riječ je, dakako, o pretpostavci koja se temelji na iščitavanju literarnih izvora i prepoznavanju situacije na terenu odnosno na starim kartama, a ne o tvrdnji koja ne dopušta daljnje ispravke. O Tiberijevom kanalu usp. i Radman Livaja 2007, 164-165. O ostacima Siscije kod starijih hrvatskih povjesničara još i u: Kuntić-Makvić, Segvić 1992 (Katančić), Kuntić-Makvić 1994 (Krčelić).

70 Ne možemo, naime, precizno datirati ovaj dio Strabonovog narativa o Panoniji. Strabon ga je mogao sastaviti nešto prije Tiberijevog panonskog rata, ali i nakon Tiberijevog osvajanja istočnog Međuriječja.

71 Usp. Domić Kunić 2006. Zanimljivo je uočiti da i Plinije Stariji različito rangira Sisciju, koju naziva kolonijom, od Sirmija, koji zove naseljem (*oppidum*), središtem općine Sirmijaca i Amantina (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,148). U Plinijevom slučaju riječ je ili o pogrešci ili pak o nedostatku valjanih informacija o Sirmiju, jer su i Siscija i Sirmij istodobno bili podignuti na rang kolonije, upravo u vrijeme kada je Plinije sastavljao svoje *Prirodoslovlje*; usp. Domić Kunić 2003, *passim*; Domić Kunić 2006, 108-110 (o osvajanju Sirmija); Domić Kunić 2004 (o Plinijevim izvorima).

72 “Vrativši se u Rim, Cezar (...) je proslavio tri trijumfa, jedan nad Ilirikom (*ex Illyrico*), drugi zbog pobjede kod Akcija (*ex Actiaca victoria*), treći nad Kleopatrom (*de Cleopatra*)” (Livije, *Per.* 133). Pomorska bitka kod rta Akcija, na ulazu u Ambrakijski zaljev (2. rujna 31. pr. Kr.), donijela je Oktavijanu pobjedu nad Markom Antonijem, a poraz Kleopatrinih egipatskih snaga i ostataka Antonijeve vojske kod Aleksandrije (1. kolovoza 30. pr. Kr.) označili su početak Oktavijanove premoći koja otada više nije imala suparnika.

66 Appian mentions a garrison of 25 cohorts (*Illyr.* 4.24), while Cassius Dio speaks of “small forces” (49.38, 1); cf. Radman Livaja 2007, 162. On Fufius Geminus: Wilkes 1969, 53 (note 4), 91 (note 4). On the destiny of that garrison: Wilkes 1969, 53.

67 Cf. Zaninović 1986, 65; on the archaeological situation in the field: Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014.

je Dion, 49.38,1).<sup>73</sup> Iako ga je suvremenik Livije nazvao iliričkim (ex *Illyrico*, *Per.* 133), a takvim ga je okarakterizirao i Apijan (Ἰλλυρικόν Ἰλλυρικόν, *Illyr.* 5.28) koji (podsjetimo se ponovo) vjerno slijedi Oktavijanov izvorni tekst, taj se trijumf službeno možda nazivao i delmatskim, jer je kao takav zabilježen u trijumfalnim fastima (*de Dalmatis*, *Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 344).<sup>74</sup>

Suetonije svjedoči o tome da je proslava trostrukog trijumfa trajala punih devet dana - svaki se slavio po tri dana (*Aug.* 22) - a Kasije Dion pridodaje da je trijumf zaslužen u Iliriku bio proslavljen prvi (51.21,5). Trijumfalnu svečanost koja je održana od 13. do 15. kolovoza 29. pr. Kr. opjevao je veliki Vergilije, prikazavši je kao reljef na štiti koji je Venera dala Eneji (*Aen.* 8.714-723). Osim trijumfom, ratni uspjesi u Iliriku bili su obilježeni i tropejem postavljenim negdje u provinciji - jedna od najvjerojatnijih (i najlogičnijih) lokacija je Siscija,<sup>75</sup> kao položaj najbliži ratnom poprištu i kao mjesto gdje boravi rimska posada, kojoj je taj tropej svakodnevni podsjetnik na veličinu i slavu Rima koji i sami predstavljaju.

Oktavijanovo osvajanje Segestike, a s njom i zapadnog dijela panonskog Međuriječja, imalo je dugoročne posljedice i po provinciju Ilirik (koja se sada protegnula sve do Drave), i po sam rimski imperij. Oktavijan je u Sisciji stekao bazu za daljnje napredovanje prema Dunavu, kao i za konačno zaokruživanje iliričkog teritorija. Legijski tablor, koji je bio začet u Segestici (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24; Kasije Dion, 49.37) a potom u punoj snazi niknuo na suprotnoj obali Kupe, bio je zamišljen kao ključna strateška točka za operacije u širem Podunavlju, a uskoro će se pokazati i ključnim uporištem za očuvanje samoga Ilirika. Kontrolu nad panonskim Međuriječjem Oktavijan August pojačao je riječnom flotilom, čiji se prapočeci naziru već u narativu o njegovoj opsadi Segestike (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22; usp. Kasije Dion, 49.37). *Classis Pannonica* patrolirala je panonskim rijekama, nadzirući tok Save, stratešku i prometnu okosnicu čitavog Međuriječja, a uz to je i opskrbljivala provincijalnu posadu provijantom i ostalim potrepnostima i po potrebi prevozila pojedine čete ili njihove detašmane.<sup>76</sup>

that the Roman garrison was soon moved to this new location on the opposite side of the Kupa, to the position called Σισκία / *Siscia*. About forty years later, Velleius Paterculus mentions *Siscia* as an already established legionary camp (2.113), and Cassius Dio only mentions *Siscia*, even in the context where he should be referring to Segestica (49.37). In the time of Pliny,<sup>68</sup> *Siscia* evolved from a legionary camp into a military colony, while all that remains of Segestica in written sources is its name (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148). This may explain the absence of the toponym Segestica in Dio's narrative a century and a half after Pliny. In his report, Cassius Dio uses the contemporary toponym *Siscia*, causing some confusion - it is not certain if Dio, when naming *Siscia*, is actually referring to the Segestica on Pogorelac (that was almost non-existent in his time), or if he, along with the name, also transferred the entire 35 BC scene to the *Siscia* on the left bank of the Kupa, which was a flourishing center in Pannonia Superior during his time. Namely, when discussing Octavian's siege of the city (Segestica), Dio thoroughly describes Tiberius' subsequent interventions into the terrain that, in reality, refer to the left, Siscian bank of the Kupa: "today (the Kupa) encircles the entire city, because Tiberius shaped it by constructing a large entrenchment making it return to its original bed" (49.37, 3).<sup>69</sup>

Some time after Fufius Geminus' conflict with the rebellious Segestans, the Roman garrison was moved to the left bank of the Kupa, to the position called *Siscia*. The fortress is already mentioned by Strabo, along with Sirmium, its strategic counterpart on the lower flow of the Sava River: "Near Segestica, and on the road to Italy, are the *Siscia* fortress and Sirmium" (7.5, 2). Whether by mistake, or perhaps because at that point<sup>70</sup> the city was still not under Roman control and defined or organized as a fortress, he does not refer to Sirmium as a fortress. Sirmium was probably captured by Tiberius in the Pannonian war about twenty years later (12-9 BC), when the rest of the Pannonian Interfluve, its eastern part, fell under Roman rule.<sup>71</sup> The narratives in the source-

73 I sama je vojna kampanja u Iliriku različito bila nazivana: u fastima grada Venusija (*Fasti Venusini*), zavičaja pjesnika Horacija, zabilježena je kao *bellum Hiluricum* (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 255, pod godinom 34. pr. Kr.), Plinije Stariji ga naziva *bella Pannonica* (*Nat. hist.* 7.148), a Suetonije *bellum Delmaticum* (*Aug.* 20).

74 Oktavijanov trijumf kao delmatski spominje i Suetonije (*Delmaticum*, *Aug.* 22), nadglednik carskog arhiva u Trajanovo doba i potom osobni tajnik cara Hadrijana. Zahvaljujući tim funkcijama na carskom dvoru, Suetonije je imao pristup (barem nekim) službenim dokumentima i osobnoj prepisci careva, pa tako vjerojatno i Oktavijanovoj.

75 Cambi 2010, 129-130. Dvije godine poslije, 27. pr. Kr., senat će Oktavijanu dodijeliti počasni naslov *augustus* (uzvišeni), i ta će titula odsad postati sastavnim dijelom njegova imena: *Caius Iulius Caesar Octavianus Divi filius Augustus*. Ta se promjena poštuje i u ovome radu - kad je riječ o događajima od 27. pr. Kr. nadalje, on više neće biti samo Oktavijan već Oktavijan August. Inače, on sam (kao ni izvori koji ga spominju) nije koristio ime Oktavijan, već Cezar - ime koje je i službeno stekao nakon adopcije, a koje mu je ujedno davalo legitimitet nasljednika Cezarove imovine i političke moći.

76 Usp. Domić Kunić 2003, 498, 548-549.

68 Strabo was a contemporary of Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum (35-33 BC), as well as of Tiberius' Pannonian war (12-9 BC) and the Pannonian-Dalmatian (Bato's) rebellion (AD 6-9). Velleius Paterculus participated in the crushing of that rebellion as one of Tiberius' officers and was, by his own account, personally in *Siscia*. Cassius Dio lived and wrote during the Severan dynasty (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD), and probably also knew *Siscia* first hand because he spent one term as a governor in Pannonia Superior. Pliny the Elder's information is dated to Vespasian's period and is among the most recent information Pliny included in his encyclopedia.

69 Traces of Tiberius's entrenchment are clearly visible on Sztariczki's AD 1783 map of Sisak (Vuković 2010, 122-123), and perfectly match Dio's description. I would like to thank Darko Periša for pointing this precious detail out. This, of course, is an assumption based on written sources and analyzing the situation in the field, as well as on old maps, and is not a claim that is in any way definite. On Tiberius's entrenchment cf. also Radman Livaja 2007, 164-165. On the remains of *Siscia* in the texts of previous Croatian historians, see more in: Kuntić-Makvić, Šegvić 1992 (Katančić), Kuntić-Makvić 1994 (Krčelić).

70 This part of Strabo's narrative on Pannonia cannot be precisely dated. Strabo could have composed it somewhat prior to Tiberius' Pannonian war, but also after Tiberius conquered the eastern Interfluve.

71 Cf. Domić Kunić 2006. It is interesting to note that Pliny the Elder also classified *Siscia* differently, calling it a colony, and Sirmium, which he called a settlement (*oppidum*), the center of the territorial community of the Sirmians and the Amantini (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148). In Pliny's case this is either a mistake or lack of accurate information about Sirmium, because *Siscia* and Sirmium were given colonial rank at the same time, precisely when Pliny was composing his *Natural History*; cf. Domić Kunić 2003, *passim*; Domić Kunić 2006, 108-110 (on the conquest of Sirmium); Domić Kunić 2004 (on Pliny's sources).

Kontrola novostečene Panonije i djelotvorno funkcioniranje njezine vojne posade ne bi bili mogući bez prikladnih komunikacija. Strabon spominje cestu kojom su Siscija i Sirmij bili povezani s Italijom (7.5.2).<sup>77</sup> Riječ je o prometnici s ishodištem u Akvileji, koja je pratila tok rijeke Save (danas je nazivamo "posavska magistrala") i koja je, usporedo s osvajanjem Međuriječja, prodirala sve dublje na istok, prema svojem krajnjem odredištu - Dunavu, uz koji će nakon osvajanja istočnog dijela Međuriječja niknuti *castella*, rimska vojna uporišta. Nakon što je s padom Segestike zapadno Međuriječje došlo u rimske ruke, ta je posavska prometnica doprla do segestanskog odnosno siscijskog područja.<sup>78</sup> Dvadesetak godina poslije, s Tiberijevim osvajanjem istočnog Međuriječja, ona će se produljiti sve do Sirmija, pa će je kasniji itinerari zabilježiti kao cestu *ab Hemonia per Sisciam Sirmi* (*Itin. Anton.* 259.11 - 260.2; *Tab. Peut.* 458-459). Ta je ključna panonska longitudinala povezivala sve važne strateške i prometne naseobine duž Save: Emonu, Nauport, Neviodun, Andautoniju, Sisciju i Sirmij,<sup>79</sup> a kod Tauruna, 45 tisuća koraka udaljenog od Sirmija (usp. Plinije Stariji, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,148), priključivala se na podunavski sustav cesta i tvorila dio komunikacijske mreže kojom je Rim prekrio čitav svoj imperij.

### Siscija - ključno rimsko uporište

Tijekom panonskog rata (12. – 9. pr. Kr.) u kojemu je Tiberije<sup>80</sup> u svojstvu Augustovog legata osvojio preostali, istočni dio panonskog Međuriječja, Siscija je sasvim sigurno bila glavni stožer rimskih snaga, iako se uopće ne spominje u izvorima koji se bave tim ratom. Ti su izvori i inače vrlo manjkavi i dopuštaju tek stvaranje okvirne slike o ratnim operacijama u donjoj Posavini i o njihovim rezultatima među kojima su najvažniji poraz Breuka i osvajanje Sirmija. Glavni naši izvori za Tiberijev panonski rat su Kasije Dion (54.31) i Velej Paterkul (2.96,2), i sami vrlo šturi.<sup>81</sup> Velej je obećao zasebno djelo o tome ratu, koje ili nije napisao, ili je propalo tijekom vremena. Šteta, jer je očito imao mnoštvo podataka o

es suggest that Segestica stagnated after Octavian conquered it, i.e. that it was destroyed after Fufius Geminus' military intervention. This does not mean that the settlement did not continue to exist, but it certainly lost its previous importance and size after surviving Octavian's siege and the latter destruction of the city walls. The strategic function of Segestica was given to Siscia on the opposite bank of the Kupa River, at first as a Roman military camp, and later (from AD 70) as a military colony.

In August of 29 BC, during nine days of festivities, Octavian celebrated three triumphs - over Illyricum, Actium and Cleopatra.<sup>72</sup> This was possibly the official name of the triumphs, preserved only in Livius' *History*. The Illyrian triumph, earned four years previously, was postponed by Octavian due to political and military events that required urgent action. It is significant that the Senate voted to give Octavian the triumph already after the Iapodian and Pannonian phases of the war (35 BC), and not after the Delmatian one (34 BC) (Cassius Dio, 49.38, 1).<sup>73</sup> Although Livy called it Illyrian (*ex Illyrico*, *Per.* 133), as did Appian (ἠρίαμβον Ἰλλυρικόν, *Illyr.* 5.28) who strictly followed Octavian's original text, the triumph was also called Delmatian, as that is how it was recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales* (*de Dalmatis*, *Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 344).<sup>74</sup>

Suetonius records that the celebrations of the triple triumph lasted for nine full days - each triumph was celebrated for three days (*Aug.* 22) - and Cassius Dio adds that the triumph in Illyricum was celebrated first (51.21, 5). The triumphal festivities that were held between August 13-15, 29 BC were recorded by the great Virgil, displaying them as a relief on the shield that Venus gave to Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.714-723). In addition to the triumph, the military successes in Illyricum were marked with a *tropaeum* placed somewhere in the province - one of the most probable (and logical) locations is Siscia,<sup>75</sup> being the position closest to the scene of battle and the place where the Roman troops were stationed, where the *tropaeum* would be an everyday reminder of the greatness and glory of Rome that the soldiers themselves represented.

77 Istu komunikaciju spominje i kasnoantički povjesničar Rufije Fest u svom sažetku rimske povijesti (*Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani*): "U doba Julija Oktavijana Cezara načinjena je cesta preko Julijskih Alpa" (*Brev.* 7); usp. Kovács 2014, 26.

78 Trgovački put s ishodištem u Akvileji, koji dijeli istu trasu s tom rimskom cestom, postojao je i prije rimskog osvajanja Panonije; o njemu svjedoči Strabon u narativu o kasnorepublikanskoj trgovini između Italije i šireg Podunavlja (4.6,10; 5.1,8; 7.5,2). O Oktavijanovim prometnicama u Panoniji: Bojanovski 1974; usp. Domic Kunić 2003, *passim*; Domic Kunić 2006, 101.

79 Važnije postaje između Siscije i Sirmija su Servitij, Marsonija, Certisija i Cibala. Postojali su i brojni priključci koji su "posavsku magistralu" spajali s drugim komunikacijskim trasama - primjerice s "podravskom magistralom", s cestom koja je preko zemlje Japoda izlazila na sjeverni Jadran te s dalmatinskim sustavom cesta.

80 Tiberije Klaudije Neron, Augustov posinak, u više se prilika iskazao kao vrlo sposoban vojskovođa. Rođen 42. pr. Kr., u vrijeme Oktavijanovog iliričkog rata bio je još dijete (njegovom poočimu Oktavijanu tada je tridesetak godina, Tiberiju tek sedam), panonski je rat poveo kao 30-godišnjak, a veliki panonsko-dalmatinski (Batonov) ustanak ugušio kada mu je bilo gotovo 50 godina.

81 Pojedini podaci o panonskom ratu nalaze se kod Strabona, Plinija Starijega i Suetonija, ugrađeni u narative o nekoj drugoj glavnoj temi. O Tiberijevom panonskom ratu općenito i o njegovim izvorima: Domic Kunić 2006.

72 "On returning to Rome, Caesar (...) celebrated three triumphs, one in Illyricum (*ex Illyrico*), the second because of the victory at Actium (*ex Actiaca victoria*), and the third over Cleopatra (*de Cleopatra*)" (Livy, *Per.* 133). The maritime battle at the cape of Actium, at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf (September 2, 31 BC), was where Octavian beat Mark Anthony, and the victory over Cleopatra's Egyptian forces and the remains of Anthony's armies near Alexandria (August 1, 30 BC) marked the beginning of Octavian's domination that has since been left unrivaled.

73 The military campaign in Illyricum was named differently: in the town of Venusia (*Fasti Venusini*), the homeland of the poet Horace, it was noted as *bellum Hiluricum* (*Inscr. It.* XIII, 1, 255, under the year 34 BC), Pliny the Elder called it *bella Pannonica* (*Nat. Hist.* 7.148), and Suetonius *bellum Delmaticum* (*Aug.* 20).

74 Octavian's Illyrian triumph was also referred to as Delmatian by Suetonius (*Delmaticum*, *Aug.* 22), a supervisor of the imperial archives in Trajan's time, and then the personal secretary to Emperor Hadrian. Thanks to these functions at the imperial court, Suetonius had access to (at least some) official documents and personal correspondence between emperors, probably also Octavian's.

75 Cambi 2010, 129-130. Two years later, in 27 BC, the Senate would give Octavian the honorary title of *augustus* (the illustrious one), and the title would since become an integral part of his name: *Caius Iulius Caesar Octavianus Divi filius Augustus*. The change is accepted in this paper - when it comes to events from 27 BC onwards, he will no longer be Octavian, but Octavian Augustus. Additionally, he (as well as the sources where he is mentioned) did not use the name Octavian, but Caesar - a name he officially acquired after the adoption, and which also gave him the legitimacy of inheriting Caesar's possessions and political power.

vojnim operacijama koje je predvodio njegov omiljeni zapovjednik, kojemu je na sljedećim stranicama *Rimske povijesti* ispisao panegirik.<sup>82</sup> Kod Apijana je posve izostao narativ o panonskom ratu, jer nije našao podataka o njemu (*Illyr.* 5.29), budući da Oktavijan August nije opisivao djela drugih zapovjednika, već samo ona vlastita (*Illyr.* 3.15). Ipak, sam je August spomenuo Tiberijeve vojne uspjehe u Panoniji, ne propustivši naglasiti da je Tiberije u to doba bio njegov podređeni legat: “Podložio sam vlasti rimskog naroda panonska plemena na koja, prije nego što sam postao pravakom, nikada nije nasrnula rimska vojska i koja je pobijedio Tiberije Neron, moj pastorak i u to vrijeme legat.” (*Res gestae*, 30).

Tiberijev panonski rat bio je, po mišljenju suvremenika, “dovoljno važan i strašan i zbog svoje blizine i prijetnje Italiji” (Velej Paterkul, 2.96,2). Izvješća Suetonija i Kasija Diona naznačuju i glavni vojni cilj - zemlju Breuka, najjače panonske zajednice u istočnom dijelu Međuriječja. Drugi jednako važan cilj bio je Sirmij, o kojemu naši izvori šute - o njegovom osvajanju zaključujemo posredno, iz izvješća o panonsko-dalmatinskom (Batonovom) ustanku tijekom kojega je Sirmij bio važno uporište rimskih snaga. Treći cilj naznačen je samo natpisom na podnožju jedne skulpture u svetištu Julio-Klaudijevaca u karijskom gradu Afrodizijadi - riječ je o Andizetima, istočnopanonskoj zajednici sa središtem u Mursi.<sup>83</sup> Iako zasad izostaju epigrafičke i literarne potvrde za ostale panonske zajednice s kojima se Tiberije vjerojatno sukobio, izvjesno je da je pod rimsku vlast došao ostatak Međuriječja, a neki oblik rimske kontrole uspostavljen je i u planinskom području između Save i Jadrana, koje se prepriječilo između novostečenog panonskog posjeda i stare stečevine na istočnoj obali Jadrana.<sup>84</sup> Vojne operacije i njihovi rezultati ne bi bili mogući da Tiberije nije imao čvrstu bazu u samome Međuriječju. Kao što već rekosmo, to je mogla biti samo Siscija, jedina znatna strateška točka tada već u rimskom posjedu, iz koje su bila moguća i logična kretanja trupa nizvodno Savom prema ratištu - zemlji Breuka, Andizeta, i Amantina čije je središte bio Sirmij. Sirmij (na donjem toku Save) će otada, zajedno sa Siscijom (na njezinom gornjem toku), biti zalag djelotvorne rimske kontrole i vlasti u panonskom Međuriječju. No, izvori šute i o Sisciji kao glavnom Tiberijevom sto-

Octavian's conquest of Segestica, and the western part of the Interfluve along with it, had long-lasting consequences for the province of Illyricum (that now stretched to the Drava River), and the emerging Roman Empire. In Siscia, Octavian acquired a base for future advancement towards the Danube, as well as for the final definition of Illyrian territories. The legionary camp founded in Segestica (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24; Cassius Dio, 49.37), and then fully erected on the opposite bank of the Kupa, was envisioned as the key strategic point for operations in the wider Danubian area, and would soon prove to be the key stronghold for controlling Illyricum. Octavian Augustus strengthened the control over the Pannonian Interfluve with a river flotilla that was already being formed during his siege of Segestica (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22; cf. Cassius Dio, 49.37). The *Classis Pannonica* patrolled the Pannonian rivers, and particularly the Sava river, the strategic and traffic axis of the entire Interfluve, supplied the provincial garrison with rations and other needed items, and also transferred units or their detachments when needed.<sup>76</sup>

Controlling the newly-conquered Pannonia and the efficiency of its military garrison would not have been possible without adequate communication routes. Strabo mentions a road that connected Siscia and Sirmium with Italy (7.5, 2).<sup>77</sup> This was a road that started in Aquileia and followed the Sava (today it is called the “Posavina highway”) and that, with the conquest of the Interfluve, went further to the east towards its final destination - the Danube River where numerous *castella*, Roman military strongholds, would be built. After the western Interfluve fell into Roman hands with the conquest of Segestica, this road through Posavina reached the Segestan, i.e. Siscian territory.<sup>78</sup> About twenty years later, when Tiberius conquered the eastern Interfluve, the road reached *Sirmium*, so later itineraries refer to it as the *ab Hemona per Sisciam Sirmi* (*Itin. Anton.* 259.11 - 260.2; *Tab. Peut.* 458-459). This key Pannonian longitudinal road connected all important strategic and traffic settlements along the Sava: Emona, Nauportus, Nevioudunum, Andautonia, Siscia and Sirmium,<sup>79</sup> and at Taurunum, 45 thousand steps away from Sirmium (cf. Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148), it joined with the Danubian road sys-

82 “Na drugome ću mjestu opisati narode Panonaca i plemena Delmata, smještaj njihove zemlje i njenih rijeka, broj i raspored njihovih snaga i mnoge slavne pobjede koje je tijekom toga rata izvojevao ovaj veliki zapovjednik. Moj sadašnji rad mora se držati zacrtanoga” (Velej Paterkul, 2.96,2-3). Velej je, naime, sastavio sažetak rimske povijesti, u kojemu nije bilo mjesta za takve pojedinosti. Svoju *Rimsku povijest* pisao je takoreći do kraja života; na više mjesta spominje konzulat svojeg prijatelja Marka Vinicija (*cos.* 30.), i ta godina predstavlja *terminus post quem* (ili *terminus in quo*) za dataciju toga djela. Velej je umro (točnije: bio pogubljen) već sljedeće godine, pa obećanu monografiju zacijelo nije ni stigao napisati. Tijekom Tiberijevog panonskog rata Veleju je bilo sedam godina; dvadesetak godina poslije sudjelovat će kao 25-godišnjak u gušenju Batonovog ustanka, kao jedan od Tiberijevih vojnih tribuna.

83 O Breucima: “Tiberije ih je (sc. Panonce) pokorio upustošivši veći dio njihove zemlje i učinivši mnoge nepravde stanovništvu, služeći se što je više mogao svojim saveznicima Skordiscima, koji su bili susjedi Panoncima i vrlo slično naoružani” (Kasije Dion, 54.31,3); “U panonskom ratu (Tiberije je pokorio) Breuke i Dalmate” (Suetonije, *Tib.* 9). O Sirmiju: Domić Kunić 2006, 108-110. O Andizetima: Domić Kunić 2006, 107-108; Smith 1988, 53-59, T. IX (2). Postoji i mišljenje da su se Andizeti (posvjedočeni) i Breuci (pretpostavljeni) našli među personificiranim narodima u Afrodizijadi nakon što su bili poraženi u Batonovom ustanku 8. godine, Kovács 2014, 61-62.

84 Tiberije je za postignuća u panonskom ratu bio nagrađen ovacijom ili “malim trijumfom”, koji je proslavio 16. siječnja 9. pr. Kr. (Velej Paterkul, 2.96,3; Kasije Dion, 54.36,4; *Inscr. It.* XIII, 2, 114).

76 Cf. Domić Kunić 2003, 498, 548-549.

77 The same communication is mentioned by the Late Roman historian Rufius Festus in his summary of Roman history (*Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani*): “At the time of Julius Octavian Caesar, a road was built over the Julian Alps” (*Brev.* 7); cf. Kovács 2014, 26.

78 The trade route starting in Aquileia existed before the Roman conquest of Pannonia, as attested to by Strabo in his narrative on Late Republican trade between Italy and the wider Danubian area (4.6, 10; 5.1, 8; 7.5, 2). On Octavian's roads in Pannonia: Bojanovski 1974; cf. Domić Kunić 2003, *passim*; Domić Kunić 2006, 101.

79 Important stations between Siscia and Sirmium were: Servitium, Marsonia, Certissia and Cibalia. There were also many points that connected the “Posavina highway” with other roads - i.e. the “Podravina highway”, the road that transversed the Iapodian territory and ended on the Adriatic coast, as well as to the road system in Dalmatia.



žeru za vojno napredovanje nizvodno Savom, i o Sirmiju kao jednom od njegovih tadašnjih glavnih ciljeva.

Tiberijev panonski stožer, dakle, mogao se nalaziti samo u Sisciji, na čijem je području Oktavijan August dvadesetak godina prije bio smjestio veliku posadu jačine dvije i pol legije (Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24; Kasije Dion, 49.38,1). Već Strabon Sisciju poznaje kao utvrdu (7.5,2), a Kasije Dion na neizravan je način potvrđuje kao rimsku bazu ubrzo nakon Oktavijanovog osvajanja Segestike. On, naime, spominje Tiberijeve građevinske zahvate koji su od Siscije učinili snažnu utvrdu (49.37,3). Istina, Dionov opis terena kao da se odnosi na Segestiku (Pogorelac) (koja je, sudeći prema Pliniju Starijemu, dotad već bila svedena na puki toponim) a ne na Sisciju na drugoj obali Kupe (koja je već odavno bila rimska kolonija), no to bi moglo značiti i da je toponim Siscija (mjesto na kojemu je niknuo legijski tabor) "progutao" susjedni toponim Segestiku (koji je već u Plinijevo doba, stoljeće i pol prije Dionovog, označavao tek riječni otok, bez naznake naselja). Ukoliko se opkop prikazan na prije spomenutoj Sztraczkijevoj karti Siska iz 1783. prepozna kao Tiberijev, onda je riječ o terenu koji je pripadao augustovskom legijskom taboru u Sisciji.<sup>85</sup> Datacija Tiberijevog opkopa nije točno određena, no može se staviti u uži vremenski okvir. Tiberiju je, naime, u vrijeme Oktavijanove opsade Segestike bilo sedam godina (što isključuje tridesete godine prije Krista), a dvadesetak godina poslije osobno je predvodio vojne operacije u Panoniji (12.-9. pr. Kr.) i sljedećih petnaestak godina poslije toga bio vrhovni zapovjednik rimske vojske u gušenju panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka (6.-9.). Prva od te dvije opcije je, čini se, realnija - Tiberije je vjerojatno početkom panonskog rata dodatno utvrdio i pojačao Sisciju kao svoj glavni stožer i ishodište odakle su kretale vojne akcije prema Breucima, Andizetima i Amantinima. Batonov ustanak buknuo je naglo i izvori naglašavaju upravo taj čimbenik posvemašnjeg iznenađenja; trebalo je djelovati brzo i efikasno, a ustanici su od početka željeli osvojiti Sisciju koja se nalazila na samom rubu ustankom zahvaćenog područja i teško da bi tada bilo vremena za opsežne građevinske radove. Siscija je, dapače, tada već bila čvrsto rimsko uporište.

tem and was part of the communication network that Rome covered its entire Empire with.

### Siscia - a key Roman stronghold

During the Pannonian war (12-9 BC), when Tiberius,<sup>80</sup> as Augustus' legate, conquered the remaining, eastern part of the Pannonian Interfluve, Siscia must have been the main headquarters of the Roman forces, although it is not mentioned in the sources dealing with the war. The sources are otherwise also lacking and only allow for the creation of a general picture of the military operations in the lower Posavina region and the achieved results, including the defeat of the Breuci and the conquest of Sirmium. The main sources on Tiberius' Pannonian war are Cassius Dio (54.31) and Velleius Paterculus (2.96, 2), in themselves very brief.<sup>81</sup> Velleius promised to write a separate work on the war, but he either did not, or it was lost over time. This is unfortunate, because he obviously had a lot of information about the military operations conducted by his favorite commander, for whom he wrote a panegyric on the following pages of *Roman History*.<sup>82</sup> Appian completely lacks the narrative on the Pannonian war because he had found no information about it (*Illyr.* 5.29), seeing as Octavian Augustus did not describe the achievements of other commanders, but only his own (*Illyr.* 3.15). However, Augustus himself mentioned Tiberius' military successes in Pannonia, not missing the opportunity to emphasize that, at the time, Tiberius was his subordinated legate: "I have submitted Pannonian tribes to the rule of the Roman people that had, before I became *princeps*, never been attacked by the Roman army, and that were defeated by Tiberius Nero, my adoptee and legate at the time." (*Res gestae*, 30).

According to his contemporaries, Tiberius' Pannonian war was, "important enough and fierce because of its vicinity and threat to Italy" (Velleius Paterculus, 2.96, 2). Suetonius and Cassius Dio's reports hint at the main military goal - the land of the Breuci, the strongest Pannonian community in the eastern part of the Interfluve. The other, equally important goal, was Sirmium, which is not mentioned in the sources - we know of its conquest indirect-

85 O problemu smještanja vojnog logora na Pogorelac odnosno na nasuprotnu obalu Kupe: Radman Livaja 2007, 161-164; o Oktavijanovom i Tiberijevom opkopu: Radman Livaja 2007, 162, 165-166.

80 Tiberius Claudius Nero, Augustus' adopted son, proved himself to be a capable commander on many occasions. Born in 42 BC, he was a child during Octavian's Illyrian war (his stepfather Octavian was about thirty at the time, and Tiberius was only seven); he led the Pannonian war as a thirty year old man, and crushed the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion when he was almost 50.

81 Some data on the Pannonian war can be found in Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and Suetonius, as parts of narratives about some other main topics. On Tiberius' Pannonian war in general and his sources: Domic Kunić 2006.

82 "In another instance, I will describe the people of Pannonia and the tribe of Delmatae, the placement of their land and its rivers, the number and layout of their forces and the many famous victories that this great commander won during the war. My present work must stay within the given guidelines" (Velleius Paterculus, 2.96, 2-3). Velleius had composed a summary of Roman history, which did not allow for such details. He wrote his *Roman History* almost until the end of his life; on numerous occasions he mentions the consulate of his friend Marcus Vinicius (*cos.* AD 30), and that year is the *terminus post quem* (or the *terminus in quo*) for the datation of this work. Velleius died (i.e. was executed) the following year, so he probably did not have time to write the promised monograph. During Tiberius' Pannonian war, Velleius was 7 years old; about twenty years later, at the age of 25, he participated in the crushing of Bato's rebellion as one of Tiberius' military tribunes.

Veľej Paterkul, koji je kao niži časnik sudjelovao u gušenju panonsko-dalmatinskog (Batonovog) ustanka, izravno svjedoči o tome da je Siscija (koju je i izričito spomenuo) bila glavna baza rimske vojske (Veľej Paterkul, 2.113).<sup>86</sup> Dapače, kratko je vrijeme tijekom ustanka ("nekoliko dana", kako kaže Veľej) Siscija bila najveća (točnije: brojčano najjača) vojna utvrda u čitavome Carstvu - ondje su se, naime, okupile goleme snage koje je Tiberije ubrzo potom djelomice rasporedio po istočnom rubu ustankom zahvaćenog područja. Ta golema ratna sila, procijenjena na stotinjak tisuća ljudi,<sup>87</sup> bila je posve u skladu s težinom i ozbiljnošću situacije, jer je postojala realna opasnost da Rim izgubi veći dio svog posjeda u Iliriku. Pogled na tabor koji doslovce vrvi rimskim vojnicima davao je i visok borbeni moral svima prisutnima, kako to izričito kaže Veľej Paterkul: "Svima je zadovoljština bila u toj činjenici i polagali su velike nade u pobjedu zbog svoje brojnosti" (2.113,1). Batonov rat, okarakteriziran kao "najteži od svih izvanjskih ratova poslije punskih" (Suetonije, *Tib.* 16),<sup>88</sup> završio je porazom ustanika zahvaljujući ponajprije Tiberijevim izvanrednim strateškim potezima, ali i činjenici da su u rimskim rukama čitavo vrijeme bila dva strateški ključna položaja na Savi - Siscija i Sirmij. U tri uzastopne ratne sezone rimske su snage uspjele ponovo staviti pod kontrolu prostor između Save i Jadrana. Siscija se (kao i Sirmij) stalno nalazila na samom rubu ustaničkog područja, a izvori svjedoče o tome da je ustanici nisu uspjele osvojiti.<sup>89</sup> Siscija, koja je dvadesetak godina prije bila polazišna točka za daljnji prodor u Međuriječje, ovaj se puta dokazala kao ključna strateška (u odnosu na ustanike) i obrambena (u odnosu na sjeveroistočni prilaz Italiji) utvrda u Panoniji.

Ostariji Oktavijan August s velikim je olakšanjem dočekao završetak ratnih operacija u Iliriku.<sup>90</sup> Pojedini legijski legati bili su primjereno odlikovani, a Tiberiju, vrhovnom zapovjedniku rimskih snaga, izglasan je trijumf koji je proslavio tek tri godine poslije, osujećen u međuvremenu nemilim događajima u Teutoburškoj

ly, based on the reports on the Pannonian-Dalmatian (Bato's) rebellion, during which Sirmium was an important Roman stronghold. The third goal is mentioned only on an inscription on the base of a sculpture in a Julio-Claudian sanctuary in the Carian city of Aphrodisias - the Andizetes, an eastern Pannonian community with a center in Mursa.<sup>83</sup> Although, so far, there are no epigraphic and literary confirmations for other Pannonian communities that Tiberius probably fought, it is likely that the rest of the Interfluve fell under Roman rule, and that some form of Roman control was established in the mountainous regions between the Sava River and the Adriatic Sea that found itself between the newly-acquired Pannonian territory and the old Roman estates on the eastern Adriatic coast.<sup>84</sup> These military operations and their results would not be possible had Tiberius not had a firm base in the Interfluve. As stated above, this could only have been Siscia, the only significant strategic point that was already Roman and that allowed for the possible, and logical, movement of Roman troops down the Sava towards the battlefield - the land of the Breuci, Andizetes, and the Amantini who were centered in Sirmium. Sirmium (on the lower flow of the Sava) would, from then, along with Siscia (on its upper flow), become the token of Roman control and rule in the Pannonian Interfluve. However, the sources are silent on Siscia being Tiberius' main headquarters for military advancement along the Sava, and on Sirmium being one of his main goals at the time.

Tiberius' Pannonian headquarters, therefore, could have only been in Siscia, where, about twenty years before, Octavian Augustus had placed a large garrison of two and a half legions (Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24; Cassius Dio, 49.38, 1). Already Strabo knew Siscia as a fortress (7.5, 2), and Cassius Dio indirectly confirms it as being a Roman base soon after Octavian conquered Segestica. He mentions Tiberius' building activities that turned Siscia into a mighty fortress (49.37, 3). True, Dio's description of the terrain seems to refer to Segestica (Pogorelac) (which, based on Pliny the Elder,

86 Kasije Dion, drugi ključni izvor za panonsko-dalmatinski ustanak, dvaput je spomenuo Sisciju - prvi put kao stožer vrhovnog zapovjednika Tiberija i njegovog legata Marka Valerija Mesale Mesalina (tada namjesnika Ilirika) u početnoj godini rata (6. godine) (55.30,4), a zatim u kontekstu sloma ustanka u Panoniji 8. godine; zahvaljujući Dionu, znademo i ime tadašnjeg zapovjednika siscijskog tabora (55.33,2); tog Manija Enija spomenut će Tacit na istoj dužnosti šest godina poslije, u Germaniji pod Germanikovim zapovjedništvom (*Ann.* 1.38).

87 Točnije, između 80 i 100.000 vojnika (Radman Livaja 2007, 162; nešto više od 100 tisuća vojnika: Džino 2006, 153, bilj. 50); usp. Szilágy 1953, 137, bilj. 103. Usporedbe radi, Trajan će za dački (osvajajući) rat imati na raspolaganju 200 tisuća ljudi (Szilágy 1953, 138).

88 Tijekom panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka Rim je možda prvi put postao svjestan ključnog strateškog položaja Panonije: postojala je realna opasnost da se rimski imperij upravo u tome prostoru rascijepi na zapadni i istočni dio, a bolno su bili svjesni i činjenice da se Panonija nalazila u susjedstvu same Italije; usp. Kovács 2014, 32.

89 Baton Desitijat je u prvoj godini ustanka uludo utrošio i vrijeme i energiju na napade na Salonu i Apoloniju, umjesto da je krenuo na (tada još) nedovoljno branjenu Sisciju (Hoti 1992, 140). Njezina je posada, naime, tada marširala uzvodno Dunavom prema zemlji Markomana (Kasije Dion, 55.29, 1).

90 U završnoj godini Batonovog ustanka Oktavijanu Augustu bile su 72 godine.

83 On the Breuci: "Tiberius conquered them (sc. Pannonians) by plundering most of their land and bringing much injustice to their people, making as much use as he could of his allies the Scordisci, who were similarly armed as their neighbouring Pannonians" (Cassius Dio, 54.31, 3); "In the Pannonian war (Tiberius conquered) the Breuci and the Dalmatae" (Suetonius, *Tib.* 9). On Sirmium: Domić Kunić 2006, 108-110. On the Andizetes: Domić Kunić 2006, 107-108; Smith 1988, 53-59, T. IX (2). There is also the opinion that the Andizetes (recorded) and the Breuci (suggested) were among the personified peoples in Aphrodisias after they were defeated in Bato's rebellion in AD 8, Kovács 2014, 61-62.

84 For his achievements in the Pannonian war, Tiberius was given ovations or a "small triumph" that he celebrated on 16 January AD 9 (Velleius Paterculus, 2.96, 3; Cassius Dio, 54.36, 4; *Inscr. It.* XIII, 2, 114).

šumi u Germaniji.<sup>91</sup> Senat je osim toga izglasao da se podignu "dva slavoluka u Panoniji" (Kasije Dion, 56.17,1); najlogičniji odabir mjesta su Siscija i Sirmij, iako u to ne možemo biti posve sigurni jer posve izostaju arheološke potvrde.<sup>92</sup>

### *Pax Romana*

Usljedilo je konačno administrativno uređenje iliričkog teritorija. Od prevelikog jedinstvenog Ilirika organizirane su dvije provincije, Gornji (Dalmacija) i Donji Ilirik (Panonija), uspostavljene su provincijske posade i poduzeta je opsežna gradnja prometnica. Panonsku posadu tada čine *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana* i *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>93</sup> Ne možemo biti sigurni u kojem je taboru, na vijest o smrti Oktavijana Augusta, 14. godine otpočela pobuna panonskih legija<sup>94</sup> - dio pritužbi odnosio se na "daleke zemlje" gdje nakon časnog otpusta isluženi legionari umjesto pristojnog posjeda dobivaju "muljevite baruštine ili zapuštene litice" (Tacit, *Ann.* 1.17). Močvara je bilo posvuda u Panoniji, pa i oko Siscije; meandrirajući tokovi Kupe i (naročito) Save kod Siscije upućuju na često plavljenje terena u prošlosti. Nije isključeno da se ljetni tabor panonske posade, koji je prvi bio zahvaćen pobunom, nalazio upravo u Sisciji - Kasije Dion daje naslutiti da je pobunu nezadovoljnika potaknula velika koncentracija vojnika na jednome mjestu, pogubna za djelotvorno održavanje discipline (57.4,1), a Velej Paterkul je nedugo prije toga bio posvjedočio da je Siscija bila kadra primiti velik broj ljudi (2.113,1). Zahvaljujući pak Druzovoj prisebnosti i uvjerljivosti, potpomognutima astronomskom pojavom (vojnike je, naime, uplašila iznenadna pomrčina Mjeseca - Tacit, *Ann.* 1.28; usp. Kasije Dion, 57.4,4), panonska se posada vratila u svoje tabore: "Najprije se vrati osma legija, zatim petnaesta; deveta je uz veliku viku tražila da se čeka Tiberijev odgovor. Naskoro, ostavši sama zbog odlaska ostalih, od svoje volje pretekne sudbinu koja ju je čekala" (Tacit, *Ann.* 1.30). Siscijska posada se, dakle, posljednja povukla - Tacitove riječi kao da upućuju na to da je pobuna panonskih legija počela upravo ovdje, i da se posada koja se prva pobunila ujedno i najteže umirila. Kako bilo, otada pa dalje više se ne čuje za nemire i nezadovoljstva - počinje faza mirnog razvoja iliričke provincije Panonije.

U nanovo umirenom Iliriku jedna od najprečih mjera bila je gradnja cesta. To su primarno bile *viae militares*, jer je dobra komunikacija među vojnim taborima bila važan preduvjet za održava-

was already reduced to a mere toponym by this time), and not Siscia on the other bank of the Kupa (that had already been a Roman colony for a while), but this could also mean that the toponym of Siscia (where the legionary camp was built) "swallowed" the neighboring toponym of Segestica (which had, already in Pliny's time, a century and a half before Dio, been used for a river island, with no reference to a settlement). If the entrenchment seen on Sztariczki's map of Sisak from 1783 proves to be Tiberius', then this is the terrain that belonged to Augustus' legionary camp in Siscia.<sup>85</sup> The datation of Tiberius' entrenchment is not precisely defined, but it can be placed in a narrow timeframe. During Octavian's siege of Segestica, Tiberius was seven years old (excluding the 30s BC), and, twenty years later, he personally commanded the military operations in Pannonia (12-9 BC), and spent the next fifteen or so years as the supreme commander of the Roman army in the crushing of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (AD 6-9). The first of the two options seems more realistic - at the beginning of the Pannonian war, Tiberius probably additionally fortified Siscia as his main headquarters and the point from where he conducted military actions towards the Breuci, Andizetes and Amantini. Bato's rebellion started abruptly, and all the sources highlight precisely the factor of complete surprise; it was necessary to act quickly and efficiently. From the beginning, the rebels had wanted to conquer Siscia, which was on the edge of rebel territory, so there would be no time for extensive construction works at that time. Furthermore, at the time, Siscia already was a tough Roman stronghold.

Velleius Paterculus, who had participated in the crushing of the Pannonian-Dalmatian (Bato's) rebellion as an officer or lower rank, directly testifies to the fact that Siscia (which he explicitly mentions) was the main base of the Roman army (Velleius Paterculus, 2.113).<sup>86</sup> In fact, for a short period of time during the rebellion ("several days", according to Velleius), Siscia was, in terms of the number of troops, the largest military fortress in the entire Empire - it was the gathering point of a huge force that was soon redistributed by Tiberius along the eastern part of the rebel territory. This gigantic military force, estimated to about a hundred thousand men,<sup>87</sup> was completely in line with the gravity and seriousness of the situation because there was a realistic possibility that Rome would lose a large portion of its territory in Illyricum. Looking at a camp that was literally brim-

91 Legatima koji su sudjelovali u panonsko-dalmatinskom ustanku bila su dodijeljena trijumfalna odličja (*insignia* ili *ornamenta triumphalis*) (Kasije Dion, 56.17,2; usp. Velej Paterkul, 2.112, 115 i 116). Tiberije je u Rim svečano ušao 16. siječnja 10., no trijumf je proslavio tek 23. listopada 12. "Tek što je Cezar (sc. Oktavijan August) bio okončao panonski i delmatski rat, kad je pet dana po završetku tako velikog djela tužno pismo iz Germanije donijelo vijest o umorstvu Vara i pokolju triju legija i isto tolikog broja ala i šest kohorata" (Velej Paterkul, 2.117,1).

92 Sisciju i Sirmij predlaže Fitz 1980, 153. U potpunosti se slažem s tim prijedlogom - ta dva ključna rimska uporišta najvjerojatnija su mjesta za smještaj spomenika koji veličaju rimsku pobjedu u ratu za ponovno pridobivanje Ilirika.

93 Kao mogući zimski tabor IX. hispanske legije predlaže se Sirmij, a XV. Apolonove - Siscija; ljetni tabor sve tri panonske legije možda je bila Siscija (Šašel 1974, col. 734; Šašel Kos 1995, 236-237). Inače, *IX Hispana* se tradicionalno smješta u Sisciju - usp. bilj. 96.

94 Istodobno s panonskim legijama bune se i legije u Germaniji, o čemu podrobno pripovijeda Tacit (*Ann.* 1.16-30). Panonsku je pobunu ugušio Tiberijev sin Druz Mlađi, a germansku Tiberijev adoptivni sin (inače nećak) Germanik.

85 On the problem of situating a military camp on Pogorelac, i.e. on the opposite bank of the Kupa River: Radman Livaja 2007, 161-164; on Octavian's and Tiberius' entrenchment: Radman Livaja 2007, 162, 165-166.

86 Cassius Dio, the second key source on the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising, mentioned Siscia twice - the first time as the headquarters of the supreme commander Tiberius and his legate Marcus Valerius Messalla Messallinus (the then governor of Illyricum) during the first year of the war (AD 6) (55.30, 4), and then in the context of crushing the rebellion in Pannonia in AD 8; thanks to Dio, the name of the then commander of the camp is Siscia is known (55.33, 2); the respective Manius Ennius will be mentioned by Tacitus as performing the same duty six years later in Germania, under the command of Germanicus (*Ann.* 1.38).

87 More precisely, between 80 and 100,000 soldiers (Radman Livaja 2007, 162; somewhat over 100,000 soldiers: Džino 2006, 153, note 50); cf. Szilágyi 1953, 137, note 103. In comparison, Trajan commanded 200,000 men in his first Dacian war (Szilágyi 1953, 138).

nje reda i mira u provinciji. Okosnica panonske cestovne mreže sastoji se od drevnog Jantarskog puta, koji je jednim svojim krajem doticao Karnunt na Dunavu, tekao duž zapadnog ruba panonskog teritorija i smjerao prema Akvileji, povezujući tako Italiju s gornjim Podunavljem, te dviju longitudinala koje su pratile tokove panonskih rijeka Drave i Save i završavale na Dunavu u krajnjem istočnom dijelu Međuriječja. Na jednoj od njih, danas zvanoj "posavska magistrala", Siscija je bila važno cestovno čvorište, na jednom od malobrojnih pogodnih prijelaza preko Save. Oktavijanovo osvajanje zapadnog Međuriječja omogućilo je povezivanje Akvileje, *caput viarum* u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Italije, sa Siscijom, a Tiberijevo osvajanje preostalog, istočnog dijela Međuriječja, kako već rekosmo, produljilo je tu panonsku longitudinalu do Sirmija. U antičkim je itinerarima ona zabilježena kao cesta *ab Hemona per Sisciam Sirmi* (*Itin. Anton.* 259.11 - 261.3; *usp. Tab. Peut.* 5.5 - 7.1), a u svojem zapadnom dijelu spajala je važna panonska središta, koja Strabon poznaje kao predrimski trgovišta. Usporedo s panonskim longitudinalama ("posavskom" i "podravskom" magistralom) grade se i dalmatinske transverzale s ishodištem u Saloni, takozvane Dolabeline ceste koje su počinjale kod salonitanskih *Porta Caesarea*, prolazile kroz Kliška vrata i zatim se zrakasto protezale kroz unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije prema sjeveru, odnosno prema provinciji Panoniji.<sup>95</sup> Na taj je način čitav ilirički prostor bio premrežen prometnicama i povezan s ostalim dijelom imperija u čvrstu cjelinu.

O Sisciji se sljedeći puta čuje tek od Plinija Starijega, koji je spominje kao koloniju (*Nat. hist.* 3.25,147). Tridesetak godina prije toga, za Klaudijeve vladavine, Siscija je ostala bez svoje posade: IX. hispanska legija, koja je ovdje boravila od kasnih Augustovih godina, odlazi s Klaudijem u Britaniju, i za Sisciju počinje civilna faza njezinog života.<sup>96</sup> Osvojivši uz podršku panonskih legija i pretorijskih mornara vlast u sukobu s Vitelijem, Vespazijan se Panoniji odužio tako što je poduzeo municipalizaciju širih razmjera: neke dotadašnje *civitates peregrinae* dobile su status municipija; dva ključna naselja u Posavini - Siscija na gornjem toku Save i Sirmij na njezinom donjem toku - uzdignuti su na rang kolonije deduk-

ming with Roman soldiers helped raise the moral of all persons present, as explicitly expressed by Velleius Paterculus: "All were satisfied by this fact and had great hopes for victory because of their large numbers" (2.113, 1). Bato's war, characterized as "the toughest of all foreign wars after the Punic wars" (Suetonius, *Tib.* 16),<sup>88</sup> ended with the rebels' defeat primarily thanks to Tiberius' excellent strategic moves, but also to the fact that, during the entire time, the Romans held the two key positions on the Sava River - Siscia and Sirmium. In the three subsequent war seasons, the Roman forces once again established control over the territory between the Sava River and the Adriatic. Siscia (as well as Sirmium) was constantly on the edge of rebel territory, and the sources testify to the fact that the rebels did not manage to capture it.<sup>89</sup> Siscia, that had, about twenty years before, been the starting point of campaigns aimed at the Interfluve, this time proved itself to be the key strategic (in relation to the rebels) and defensive (in relation to the northeastern route to Italy) fortress in Pannonia.

The aged Octavian Augustus saw the end of the military operations in Illyricum with great relief.<sup>90</sup> Some legionary legates were appropriately rewarded, and Tiberius, as the supreme commander of the Roman forces, was awarded a triumph that he celebrated three years later, prevented to do so sooner by the unfortunate events in the Teutoburg forest in Germania.<sup>91</sup> Apart from that, the Senate also decided to build "two triumphal arches in Pannonia" (Cassius Dio, 56.17, 1); the most logical places are Siscia and Sirmium, but their location is still unknown because there is no archaeological evidence.<sup>92</sup>

### **Pax Romana**

The final administrative organization of Illyricum ensued. The overly large Illyricum was divided into two provinces, Illyricum Superior (Dalmatia) and Inferior (Pannonia), provincial garrisons were established and the extensive construction of the road system began. At the time, the Pannonian army was comprised of

95 O rimskim cestama u Dalmaciji i Panoniji: Milotić 2010. O dalmatinskim cestama: Bojanovski 1974. One su i epigrafički evidentirane: *CIL* III 3198a + 3200; *CIL* III 3201 + 3198b (Salona). Prva dalmatinska transverzala (*a colonia Salonitana ad fines provinciae Illyrici*, *CIL* III 3198a + 3200) datirana je Tiberijevim tribunatom u godinu 17. Završavala je na Savi - povezivala je, dakle, Salonu s glavnom panonskom komunikacijom duž Save.

96 Hispanska je legija i prije toga, između 20. i 24. godine, bila odsutna iz Panonije, ratujući u Africi protiv Numidanina Takfarinata; stoga je Tacit, pripovijedajući o tadašnjim događajima u Carstvu, mogao reći da panonsku posadu čine dvije legije (*Ann.* 4.5; *usp. Ann.* 3.20-21 i 3.73-74 za Afriku). O panonskim legijama: Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1980, 131; Radman Livaja 2012, 169. Provincija Panonija postat će *provincia inermis* (bez legijske posade) tek u Trajanovo doba, s odlaskom posljednje panonske legije iz Petovija. O odlasku siscijske posade: Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1993, 206; Radman-Livaja 2015, 40-41; Šašel Kos 2015, 79.

88 During the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, Rome was, possibly for the first time, made aware of the key strategic position of Pannonia: there was a real threat for the Roman Empire to split right in that area into its western and eastern parts, and Rome was also painfully aware of the fact that Pannonia was the closest neighbour of the Roman Republic; cf. Kovács 2014, 32.

89 During the first year of the rebellion, Bato the Daesitiate wasted time and energy on attacking Salona and Apollonia, instead of attacking the (then) insufficiently defended Siscia (Hoti 1992, 140). Its garrison was, at the time, marching upstream along the Danube towards the territory of the Marcomanni (Cassius Dio, 55.29, 1).

90 In the last year of Bato's rebellion, Octavian Augustus was 72 years old.

91 The legates who participated in crushing of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion were assigned triumphal medals (*insignia or ornamenta triumphalia*) (Cassius Dio, 56.17, 2; cf. Velleius Paterculus, 2.112, 115 and 116). Tiberius triumphantly entered Rome on 16 January AD 10, but celebrated his victory on 23 October AD 12. "Five days after Caesar (sc. Octavian Augustus) ended the Pannonian and Dalmatian war, news arrived from Germania of Varus' death and the slaughter of three legions and as many *alae*, as well as six cohorts" (Velleius Paterculus, 2.117, 1).

92 Siscia and Sirmium are suggested by Fitz 1980, 153. The author completely agrees with this suggestion - these two key Roman strongholds are the most likely places to erect monuments glorifying the Roman victory in the war for the re-conquest of Illyricum.

cijom veterana panonskih legija, provincijalne riječne flotile i ravenatske pretorijske mornarice.<sup>97</sup> Plinije Stariji je, dakle, u svoje *Prirodoslovlje* ubacio sebi suvremeni podatak o Sisciji kao koloniji; začudo, Sirmij još naziva središtem teritorijalne općine (*civitas Sirmiensem et Amantinorum*, *Nat. hist.* 3.25,148) - informacija o Sirmiju kao koloniji možda nije u Rim stigla istom brzinom kao i ona o Sisciji, ili Pliniju iz nekog razloga ona nije bila važna. Kako bilo, Siscija otad nosi službeno ime *Colonia Flavia Siscia* i uvrštena je u Vespazijanov *tribus Quirina*, o čemu svjedoče brojni kameni spomenici. Ager kolonije graničio je s teritorijem novoosnovanog municipija Andautonije i s teritorijem jednog municipija koji se prostirao južno od Siscije i pripadao provinciji Dalmaciji.<sup>98</sup> Siscija je svoj procvat (a vrlo vjerojatno i carev interes) dugovala svojem iznimnom strateškom položaju koji joj je omogućavao da bude glavno središte za opskrbu podunavskog limesa, za trgovinu žitom (strateški važne namirnice) i za preradu rude koja je stizala iz bosanskih rudogorja u širem južnom susjedstvu.<sup>99</sup> Dedukcijom veterana u Posavinu Vespazijan je osim toga bez sumnje htio dodatno zaštititi taj prometno i strateški iznimno važan riječni tok, kao i "posavsku magistralu" koja je bila jedna od najvažnijih kopnenih poveznica između zapadnog i istočnog dijela rimskog imperija. U Augustovo doba ta je cesta dosegala do Siscije, u Tiberijevo doba do Sirmija, a Vespazijan ju je povezao s kastelima na Dunavu, produživši je do Tauruna.<sup>100</sup> Na taj je način bio zaštićen čitav rimski posjed u bivšem Iliriku.

U stoljećima koja su uslijedila opetovano se dokazivao ključni strateški i prometni položaj Siscije, nasljednice panonske Segestike, no ta tema prelazi ovdašnje okvire. Namjera ovoga rada bila je da se što zornije, viđeno iz rimske perspektive, prikažu okolnosti vezane uz ulazak Segestike (i Siscije) u rimsku ekumenu.

legions *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana*, and *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>93</sup> It is not clear which legionary camp, upon the news of Augustus' death, was the center of the rebellion of Pannonian legions in AD 14<sup>94</sup> - some complaints referred to "distant lands" where the honorably discharged retired legionaries got "muddy ponds or crumbling cliffs" (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.17) instead of proper land. There were marshes all over Pannonia, including the area around Siscia; the meandering flows of the Kupa and (especially) the Sava River near Siscia point to frequent flooding in the past. It is possible that the summer camp of the Pannonian army, which was the first to join the rebellion, was located precisely in Siscia - Cassius Dio suggests that the rebellion was encouraged by the large concentration of soldiers in one place that was detrimental to efficient discipline (57.4, 1), and Velleius Paterculus testified immediately prior that Siscia could accommodate a large number of people (2.113, 1). Thanks to Drusus' awareness and persuasion, helped by an astronomic event (the soldiers were frightened by a sudden eclipse of the Moon - Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.28; cf. Cassius Dio, 57.4, 4), the Pannonian army returned to its camps: "First the eighth legion returned, then the fifteenth; the ninth noisily demanded to wait for Tiberius' response. Soon, being left alone after the others departed, the legion willfully overtook its fate" (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.30). Therefore, the Siscian garrison was the last to retreat - Tacitus' words seem to suggest that the rebellion of the Pannonian legions had started precisely there, and that the garrison which first rebelled was also the last to settle down. In any case, since that time there were no more records of unrest and dissatisfaction - the peaceful phase of the development of the Illyrian province of Pannonia began.

One of the most urgent operations in the, once again pacified, Illyricum, was the construction of roads. These were primarily *viae militares*, because good communication between military camps was a necessary precondition for preserving peace and order in the province. The backbone of the Pannonian road network included the ancient Amber route, which reached Carnuntum on the Danube and continued along the western edge of Pannonian territory towards Aquileia, connecting Italy and the upper Danube area, as well as two longitudinal roads that followed the Pannonian Sava and Drava rivers and ended at the Danube in the easternmost part of the Interfluvium. Siscia was an important crossroad on one of them, today called the "Posavina highway", because it was one of the few places where it was possible to cross the Sava River. After Octavian's conquest of the

97 Riječ je o zajednicama u južnom i zapadnom dijelu Panonije: Neviodun, središte Latobika, postaje *municipium Latobicorum*, *Aquae Balizae*, središte Jasa, postaje *municipium Iasorum*, a municipalni rang je dobila i Andautonija, središte Varcijana. O dedukciji mornara: Mócsy 1959, 122-123. Među tim mornarima vrlo je visok udjel Panonaca (odnosno stanovnika provincije Panonije), Domić Kunić 1996a, 98. O podršci Vespazijanu govori Tacit, *Hist.* 3.12. Siscija i Sirmij postaju kolonije 70. ili 71. godine.

98 Nagada se da bi to mogao biti inače nepotvrđeni *municipium Metulum*, bivše japodsko središte, ukoliko je točno Brunšmidovo čitanje zavjetnog natpisa iz okolice Josipdola u Lici (*CIL* III 10060): Aurelije Maksim, centurion legije *II Adiutrix*, dao je u Dioklecijanovo doba zavjet Jupiteru Najboljem Najvećem i mjesnom geniju, odnosno *Gen/io loci m(municipii) Met(ulensium)* (čitanje prema J. Brunšmidu), Brunšmid 1907, 90-92, br. 203; Zaninović 1986, 64.

99 O ključnoj ulozi Siscije: Zaninović 1986, 65.

100 Bojanovski 1984, 253-254.

93 Sirmium is suggested as a possible winter camp of the *IX Hispana*, and Siscia as the camp of *XV Apollinaris*; the summer camp of all three Pannonian legions might have been in Siscia (Šašel 1974, col. 734; Šašel Kos 1995, 236-237). *IX Hispana* is traditionally placed in Siscia - cf. note 96.

94 Contemporaneously with the Pannonian legions, the legions in Germania rebelled, as discussed in detail by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.16-30). The Pannonian rebellion was crushed by Tiberius' son Drusus, and the one in Germania by Tiberius' adopted son (in fact, his nephew), Germanicus.

western Interfluve, it was possible to connect Aquileia, the *caput viarum* of the northeastern part of Italy, and Siscia, and Tiberius' conquest of the remaining, eastern part of the Interfluve, as stated above, extended this Pannonian longitudinal road to Sirmium. Roman itineraries note it as the road *ab Hemona per Sisciam Sirmi* (*Itin. Anton.* 259.11 - 261.3; cf. *Tab. Peut.* 5.5 - 7.1), and, in its western part, it connected important Pannonian centers that were known to Strabo as pre-Roman trade centers. Contemporarily to the Pannonian longitudinal roads (the "Posavina" and the "Podravina" highways), the Dalmatian transversal roads were also built, starting in Salona with the, so called, Dlabella's road that went from the *Porta Caesarea* in Salona, passed through the Klis gates and then radially spread into the inner parts of the province of Dalmatia towards the north, that is, towards the province of Pannonia.<sup>95</sup> In this way, the entire Illyrian territory was crisscrossed with roads and was connected with other parts of the Empire.

The next mention of Siscia was made by Pliny the Elder who called it a colony (*Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 147). About thirty years before that, during Claudius' rule, Siscia lost its garrison: *IX Hispana*, which had been staying there since Augustus' late years, left for Britannia with Claudius, and Siscia saw the beginning of its civilian life.<sup>96</sup> After seizing power from Vitellius with the help of Pannonian legions and praetorian sailors, Vespasian paid Pannonia back by conducting large-scale municipalization: some of the former *civitates peregrinae* obtained municipal status; two key settlements in the Posavina region - Siscia on the upper flow of the Sava, and Sirmium on the lower - were elevated to colonial rank through the deduction of veterans from Pannonian legions, provincial river flotillas and the praetorian navy from Ravenna.<sup>97</sup> Pliny the Elder, therefore, included contemporary information on Siscia being a colony in his *Natural History*; surprisingly, Sirmium is still called the center of a territorial community (*civitas Sirmiensiium et Amantinorum*, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25, 148) - the news of Sirmium becoming a colony might not have reached Rome as fast as the one about Siscia, or Pliny did not find it important

95 On Roman roads in Dalmatia and Pannonia: Milotić 2010. On roads in Dalmatia: Bojanovski 1974. They have been epigraphically recorded: *CIL* III 3198a + 3200; *CIL* III 3201 + 3198b (Salona). The first Dalmatian transversal road (*a colonia Salonitana ad fines provinciae Illyrici*, *CIL* III 3198a + 3200) was dated by Tiberius' tribunate to AD 17. It ended on the Sava River - it connected, therefore, Salona with the main Pannonian communication route along the Sava River.

96 The legion *IX Hispana* was previously, between 20 and 24, not in Pannonia, but was waging war in Africa against Tacfarinas the Numidian; therefore Tacitus, when speaking about the current events in the Empire, could say that the Pannonian garrison was made up of two legions (*Ann.* 4.5; cf. *Ann.* 3.20-21 and 3.73-74 for Africa). On the Pannonian legions: Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1980, 131; Radman Livaja 2012, 169. The province of Pannonia would become *provincia inermis* (without a legionary garrison) only during Trajan's period, when the last Pannonian legion left Poetovio. On the departure of the legion from Siscia: Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1993, 206; Radman-Livaja 2015, 40-41; Šašel Kos 2015, 79.

97 These are communities in the southern and the western part of Pannonia: Nevioudunum, the center of the Latobici, became *municipium Latobicorum*, Aquae Balizae, the center of the Iasi, became *municipium Iasorum*, and municipal rank was also given to Andautonia, the center of the Varciani. On the deduction of sailors: Mócsy 1959, 122-123. These sailors included a large portion of Pannonians (i.e. the inhabitants of the province of Pannonia), Domić Kunić 1996a, 98. On supporting Vespasian, see Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.12. Siscia and Sirmium became colonies in AD 70 or 71.

for some reason. In any case, Siscia was, since that moment, officially called *Colonia Flavia Siscia*, and was listed in Vespasian's *Quirina tribus*, as attested to by numerous stone monuments. The colony's ager bordered the territory of the newly-founded *municipium* of Andautonia, and the territory of a *municipium* that was south of Siscia and belonged to the province of Dalmatia.<sup>98</sup> Siscia owed its prosperity (and probably the Emperor's interest) to its exceptional strategic position that allowed it to be the main trade center for supplying the Danube *limes*, trading wheat (a strategically important trade good), and processing ores that came from the ore-rich mountains in Bosnia, to the south.<sup>99</sup> By deducting the veterans to the Posavina region, Vespasian undoubtedly also wanted to additionally protect this river due to its strategic importance and role as a line of traffic and communications, as well as the "Posavina highway" that was one of the most important mainland connections between the western and the eastern parts of the Roman Empire. In Augustus' time, the road reached Siscia, in Tiberius' Sirmium, and Vespasian connected it to the *castella* on the Danube, extending it to Taurunum.<sup>100</sup> In this way, it was possible to protect the entire Roman territory in the former province of Illyricum.

In the centuries that followed, the key strategic position of Siscia on important lines of traffic and communication, the successor of the Pannonian Segestica, was repeatedly confirmed, but that topic exceeds the scope of this paper. The purpose of this paper was to show, from the Roman perspective, the circumstances related with the entry of Segestica (and Siscia) into the Roman *oecumene*.

98 There are guesses that it might be the otherwise unconfirmed *municipium Metulum*, the former center of the Iapodes, if Brunšmid's reading of the inscription from the surroundings of Josipdol in Lika (*CIL* III 10060) is correct: Aurelius Maximus, a centurion of legion *II Adiutrix*, gave a vow to Jupiter the Best and the Greatest, and to local genius, i.e. *Gen/io loci m(unicipii) Met(ulensium)*, during Diocletian's time (read according to J. Brunšmid), Brunšmid 1907, 90-92, no. 203; Zaninović 1986, 64.

99 On the key role of *Siscia*: Zaninović 1986, 65.

100 Bojanovski 1984, 253-254.

## CITIRANI IZVORI

### Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.22<sup>101</sup>

Iako su prije toga Rimljani dvaput bili napali segestansku zemlju, nisu polučili ni taoce niti išta drugoga, uslijed čega su Segestanci postali vrlo obijesni. Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) je krenuo na njih kroz zemlju Peonaca (sc. Panonaca), koju Rimljani još nisu bili pokorili. Peonija je šumovita zemlja koja se pruža od Japoda do Dardanaca. Peonci ne žive u gradovima, nego raštrkani diljem zemlje i u selima, prema srodstvu. Ne okupljaju se na vijećanje i nemaju zajedničkih vođa. Imaju 100.000 boraca, ali se ovi ne okupljaju u jednu cjelinu, jer nemaju zajedničke uprave. Kad je Cezar krenuo na njih, oni su se sklonili u šume i poubijali vojnike koji su zaoštajali. Dok se god Cezar nadao da će se oni dragovoljno predati, nije uništavao njihova sela i polja. Kako nitko od njih nije dolazio pregovarati, on je vatrom i mačem pustošio zemlju osam dana, sve dok nije došao do zemlje Segestanaca. Ona je također peonska, uz rijeku Savu, na kojoj je smješten čvrsti grad utvrđen rijekom i vrlo širokim opkopom koji ga okružuje. Zbog toga je Cezar osobito želio posjedovati ga kao prikladnu opskrbnu bazu za rat protiv Dačana i Bastarna s druge obale Iстера koji se ondje naziva Dunavom, a malo niže postaje Ister. Sava utječe u njega, pa je Cezar dao sagraditi brodove na Savi, da bi mu prevozili opskrbu na Dunav.

### Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.23

Zbog toga je Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) želio osvojiti Segestu. Dok se približavao, Segestanci su poslali (glasnike) da doznaju što želi. On je odgovorio da želi ondje smjestiti posadu i preuzeti 100 talaca kako bi se mogao sigurno poslužiti gradom kao opskrbnom bazom za rat protiv Dačana. Zatražio je i onoliko hrane koliko mu mogu pribaviti. Tamošnji poglavari su bili spremni s njime se u tome nagoditi, ali je puk bio bijesan, no ipak je pristao dati taoce, možda zbog toga što to nisu bila njihova djeca, nego djeca poglavarâ. No, kada je stigla posada, nisu mogli podnijeti da je vide, nego su u bijesnom nasrtaju zatvorili gradska vrata i postavili se na bedem. Stoga je Cezar premostio rijeku i opkolio mjesto palisadama i opkopima pa je, opkolivši ih, podigao dva nasipa. Segestanci su poduzimali česte napade i, ne mogavši ih nadvladati, bacali na njih odozgora baklje i vatru u velikim količinama. Kada su im drugi Peonci (sc. Panonci) poslali pomoć, Cezar je to pojačanje predusreo iz zasjede, dio uništio a ostale nagnao u bijeg. Nakon toga više nitko od Peonaca nije im pritekao u pomoć.

### Apijan, *Illyr.* 4.24

Tako su Segestanci, izdržavši čitav tijek opsade, tridesetoga dana bili silom nadvladani, i tek tada su prvi puta počeli moliti za milost. Diveći im se zbog njihove srčanosti i smilovavši se njihovim molbama, Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) ih nije poubijao niti prognao, nego im je umjesto toga nametnuo globu. Srušio je dio bedema i u grad smjestio posadu od 25 kohorti. To učinivši otišao je u Rim, namjeravajući se vratiti u Iliriju na proljeće. No, počele su kružiti glasine da su Segestanci poubijali posadu i on je već sredinom zime krenuo natrag. No, ustanovio je da su glasine bile lažne, pa ipak ne bez povoda. Posada se bila našla u opasnosti jer su

## CITED SOURCES

### Appian, *Illyr.* 4.22<sup>101</sup>

Although the Romans had previously twice invaded the country of Segestica, they took neither hostages nor anything else, due to which the Segestani became very arrogant. Caesar (sc. Octavian) advanced against them through the country of the Paeones (sc. Pannonians), which was also not under Roman authority at that time. The country of the Paeones is wooded and extends from the Iapodes to the Dardanians. These Paeones did not live in cities, but rather according to clans throughout the countryside and in villages. They did not gather for consultation, nor did they have collective leaders. The total of men capable of fighting was 100,000, but because of the absence of a common government they were not united into a single unit. When Caesar approached them, they took refuge in the forests and killed those soldiers who did not keep in step. As long as Caesar hoped that they would surrender of their own free will, he did not order the destruction of either their villages or their fields. As they did not come to negotiate, he ordered everything to be burnt and destroyed, which continued for eight days until he entered the country of the Segestani. This is also a part of the Paeonian region along the Sava River; a fortified town also lies along the river, which is protected as much by the river as by an extremely large ditch. Caesar particularly wished to take possession of the town for this reason, as he intended to utilize it as a supply base for a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnae, who live on the other side of the Ister. The river there is called the Danube, and somewhat lower it becomes the Ister. The Savus flows into it; Caesar had ships built on this river to transport provisions to the Danube.

### Appian, *Illyr.* 4.23

For these reasons Caesar (sc. Octavian) wanted to seize Segesta. As he was approaching the town, the Segestani sent messengers to ask what he wanted. He replied that he wished to quarter a military garrison and take one hundred hostages, so that he could safely use the town as a supply base in the war against the Dacians. He also requested that they bring him as much food as they could provide. The local leaders were prepared to comply with him in this matter, but the population was infuriated; they endured the delivery of the hostages, probably because they were not their children but rather those of the leaders. However, they could not bear the sight of the garrison when it approached, and in an enraged assault they again shut the gates and placed themselves on the walls. Caesar then built a bridge across the river and constructed palisades and ditches on all sides. When he had thus confined them, he had two ramparts erected. The Segestani attacked them repeatedly, but since they could not occupy them, they threw torches and great quantities of fire onto them from above. As help was approaching from other Paeones, Caesar intercepted them in an ambush; some of them he killed, others fled and none of the Paeones sent aid after this.

### Appian, *Illyr.* 4.24

The Segestani endured the entire period of siege and on the thirtieth day they were subjugated with force; only then did they be-

101 Engleski prijevod Apijanovog teksta preuzet od Šašel Kos 2005.

101 English translation of Appian's text is taken from Šašel Kos 2005.



je Segestanci iznenada opkolili, i u neočekivanom metežu mnogi su poginuli. No, sljedećega dana napali su i porazili Segestance. Cezar je stoga krenuo protiv Dalmata, drugog ilirskog plemena, koje graniči s Taulantijima.

#### Apijan, *Illyr.* 5.28

Tako je Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) pokorio sva ilirska područja koja su se oduprla Rimljanima, ali i one dijelove zemlje koji dotad još nisu bili pod rimskom vlašću. Senat mu je odobrio ilirski trijumf koji je proslavio poslije, zajedno s trijumfima za pobjedu nad Antonijem.

#### Kasije Dion, 49.36<sup>102</sup>

Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) protiv Panonaca nije imao nikakvih pritužbi, niti su mu oni ikako naudili, nego je želio pružiti svojim vojnicima vježbu i poduprijeti ih na trošak stranog naroda, jer je svaku demonstraciju protiv slabije strane smatrao pravednom ako se sviđa čovjeku koji je moćniji oružjem. Panonci žive blizu Dalmacije, duž same obale Iстера, od Norika do europske Misije, i vode najbjeđniji život od svih ljudi. Jer nemaju sreće što se tiče tla niti podneblja, ne uzgajaju masline i ne prave vino osim u vrlo malim količinama, a i to nevaljale kakvoće, jer je zima vrlo oštra i zauzima veći dio godine, nego piju, kao i jedu, ječam i proso. Zbog svega toga se smatraju najhrabrijima od svih za koje mi znamo, jer su vrlo srčani i krvožedni, kao ljudi koji ne posjeduju ništa što čini častan život vrijednim. To znam ne samo prema pričanju ili čitanju, nego sam doznao iz vlastitog iskustva kao njihov negdašnji namjesnik, jer sam nakon zapovjedništva u Africi i Dalmaciji (zapovjedništvo u Dalmaciji je neko vrijeme imao i moj otac) bio postavljen u ono što je poznato kao Gornja Panonija, i otuda točno poznajem sve tamošnje uvjete o kojima pišem. Njihovo ime dolazi od činjenice da su njihove tunike s rukavima napravljene tako da se zajedno sašiju komadi stare odjeće koju oni režu na vrpce na vrlo osobit način i zovu ih *πάννοι*. To je njihovo ime, bilo da je razlog taj koji sam naveo ili neki drugi. No, neki su ih Grci, u nepoznavanju istine, zvali Peoncima, a to ime, iako bez sumnje staro, ipak se ne primjenjuje na tu zemlju nego na Rodope, u blizini današnje Makedonije, sve do mora. Stoga ću i ja narod toga područja zvati Peoncima, ali one druge Panoncima, jednako kao što se oba ta naroda sami nazivaju, a i Rimljani također (ih tako zovu).

#### Kasije Dion, 49.37

Protiv tog je naroda (sc. Panonaca), dakle, Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) u to doba poveo pohod. Prvo nije uopće razarao ni pljačkao, iako su oni napustili svoja sela u nizini; nadao se da će ih učiniti svojim podanicima po njihovoj vlastitoj želji. Ali zatim su ga oni uznemiravali dok je napredovao prema Sisciji i on se razljutio, spalio im zemlju i uzeo sav plijen koji je mogao. Kad je došao blizu grada, domaći su u prvi čas poslušali svoje vođe, nagodili se s njim i dali svoje taoce, ali su poslije zatvorili gradska vrata i podvrgnuli se opsadi. Jer iako su imali i jake bedeme, svo povjerenje polagali su u dvije plovne rijeke. Jedna imenom Kolops protječe mimo samog opsega bedema i ulijeva se u Savu nedaleko otuda; danas okružuje čitav grad, jer ju je tako Tiberije oblikovao sagradivši veliki opkop kroz koji se vraća u svoje izvorno korito. No tada je između Kolopsa s jedne strane, koji je protjecao mimo samih be-

gin to beg for mercy. Caesar (sc. Octavian) expressed recognition of their bravery and, taking pity on those who had implored, he neither had them killed nor exiled, but rather only imposed a monetary fine; he had a part of the town walled off and stationed a military detachment of twenty-five cohorts in it. Having completed that, he left for Rome, to return to Illyria again in the spring. As a rumour was circulating that the Segestani had killed the garrison, he set off on the journey as early as mid-winter. He ascertained that the end of the rumour was fictitious, but that grounds for worry had actually existed. The soldiers had found themselves in danger, as the Segestani had suddenly surrounded them and many had lost their lives in the unexpected chaos; the following day they attacked and defeated the Segestani. Caesar consequently set off against the Dalmatae, also one of the Illyrian peoples who have a border with the Taulantii.

#### Appian, *Illyr.* 5.28

Thus Caesar (sc. Octavian) conquered all the Illyrian regions that had resisted the Romans, but also those parts of the country which had not previously been under their authority. The Senate approved him an Illyrian triumph, which he celebrated later together with those for the victory over Antony.

#### Cassius Dio, 49.36<sup>102</sup>

Caesar (sc. Octavian) had no complaint to bring against Pannonians, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them at the expense of an alien people, for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker party as just, when it pleased the man who was their superior in arms. The Pannonians dwell in Dalmatia along the very bank of the Ister from Noricum to Mysia and lead the most miserable existence of all mankind. For they are not well off as regards either soil or climate; they cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and a wretched quality at that, since the winter is very rigorous and occupies the greater part of their year, but drink as well as eat both barley and millet. For all that they are considered the bravest of all men of whom we have knowledge; for they are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty, as men who possess nothing that makes an honourable life worth while. This I know not from hearsay or reading only, but I have learned it from actual experience as once their governor, for after my command in Africa and in Dalmatia (the latter position my father also held for a time) I was appointed to what is known as Upper Pannonia, and hence it is with exact knowledge of all conditions among them that I write. Their name is derived from the fact that their sleeved tunics are made by stitching together pieces of old clothes which they cut up into strips in a way peculiar to themselves and call *πάννοι*. This is their name, whether the reason be what I have stated or some other; but certain of the Greeks in ignorance of the truth have called them Paeones, an appellation which, though no doubt old, does not, however, apply to that country, but rather to Rhodope, close to the present Macedonia, as far as the sea. Therefore I also shall call the people of the latter district Paeones, but the others Pannonians, just as both they themselves and the Romans do.

102 Engleski prijevod teksta Diona Kasija preuzet je iz Loeb izdanja (prevoditelj Earnest Cary).

102 English translation of Dio Cassius' text is taken from the Loeb edition (translated by Earnest Cary).

dema, i Save s druge, koja je tekla nedaleko otuda, bio ostavljen prazan prostor koji je bio utvrđen palisadom i jarkom. Cezar je osigurao brodove koje su napravili saveznici u okolici, doteglivši ih preko Iстера u Savu i njezinim tokom u Kolops, napao je neprijatelja zajedno sa svojom pješadijom i brodovljem i poveo nekoliko riječnih bitaka. A barbari su zauzvrat pripremili neke lađe napravljene od jednog komada debla, kojima su se odvažili na sukob. I tako su na rijeci ubili Menasa, Sekstovog oslobođenika, uz mnoge druge, dok su na kopnu odlučno odbijali napadača, sve dok nisu ustanovili da su neki njihovi saveznici pali u zasjedu i bili uništeni. Tada su izgubili srčanost i predali se. I kad su tako bili zarobljeni, ostatak Panonije je bio naveden na predaju.

#### **Kasije Dion, 49.38**

Nakon toga je ostavio Fufija Gemina ondje s malim snagama, a sam se vratio u Rim. Trijumf koji mu je bio dodijeljen odgodio je, ali je dozvolio kipove Oktaviji i Liviji i pravo uprave njihovim poslovima bez nadzornika, a istu je sigurnost i nepovredivost uživao kao tribun. Ugledavši se na oca, pošao je da povede pohod i u Britaniju, i već je napredovao u Galiju poslije zime u kojoj su Antonije po drugi put i Lucije Libon postali konzulima, kad su se neka novopokorena plemena i Delmati zajedno s njima digli na pobunu. Iako je bio istjeran iz Siscije, Gemin je ipak u nekoliko bitaka natrag zadobio Panoniju. A Valerije Mesala je porazio Salase i druge koji su im se pridružili u pobuni. Poduzeti su pohodi protiv Delmata - prvo Agripa, a zatim i Cezar. Većinu njih su oni sami potčinili nakon što su prošli mnoga strašna iskušenja; primjerice, Cezar je bio ranjen, nekim vojnicima su se morali dati obroci ječma umjesto pšenice, a u slučaju drugih, koji su napustili svoja mjesta, svaki deseti je bio kažnjen smrću. S ostalim plemenima ratovao je Statilije Tauro.

#### **Kasije Dion 50.28,4**

“Protiv Tauriska, Japida, Delmata i Panonaca vi ste se sami ovdje prisutni borili s mnogo žara, često da biste zauzeli nekoliko bedema i jalovu zemlju, i potčinili ste sva ta plemena iako su, što je opće poznato, vrlo ratoborna”.

#### **Kasije Dion, 51.21,5**

Što se tiče trijumfa, Cezar (sc. Oktavijan) je proslavio prvog dana svoje pobjede nad Panoncima i Delmatima, Japidima i njihovim susjedima, i nekim Keltima i Galatima.

#### **Kasije Dion, 55.29,1**

Kad je Tiberije krenuo u svoj drugi pohod protiv Kelta, a Valerije Mesalin, namjesnik Delmacije i Panonije u to doba, bio poslan s njime, povevši i većinu vojske, i njima (sc. Delmatima) je bilo naloženo da pošalju čete.

#### **Plinije Stariji, Nat. hist. 3.25,147**

U njoj (sc. Panoniji) su kolonije Emona i Siscija. Slavne i plovne rijeke koje utječu u Dunav su Drava koja iz zemlje Noričana teče silovito, i Sava koja iz Karnskih Alpa teče mirno; između njih je prostor od 120.000 koraka. Drava teče kroz zemlju Sereta, Serapila, Jasa i Andizeta, Sava kroz zemlju Kolapijana i Breuka. To su glavna plemena.

#### **Plinije Stariji, Nat. hist. 3.25,148<sup>203</sup>**

Osim njih, tu su Arvijati, Azali, Amantini, Belgiti, Katari, Kornakati, Eravisci, Herkunijati, Latovici, Oserijati, Varcijani, planina Kludij kojoj su sprijeda Skordisci a straga Taurisci. Na Savi je otok

#### **Cassius Dio, 49.37**

It was against this people (sc. Pannonians), then, that Caesar (sc. Octavian) at that time conducted a campaign. At first he did not devastate or plunder at all, although they abandoned their villages in the plain; for he hoped to make them his subjects of their own free will. But when they harassed him as he advanced to Siscia, he became angry, burned their country, and took all the booty he could. When he drew near the city, the natives for the moment listened to their leaders and made terms with him and gave hostages, but afterwards they shut their gates and underwent a siege. For while they possessed strong walls, yet they placed their whole confidence in two navigable rivers. The one called the Colops flows past the very circuit of the wall and empties into the Savus not far distant; it has now encircled the entire city, for Tiberius gave it this shape by constructing a great canal through which it comes back to its original channel. But at that time between the Colops on the one hand, which flowed past the very walls, and the Savus on the other, which flowed at a little distance, a gap had been left which had been fortified with palisades and ditches. Caesar secured boats made by the allies in that vicinity, and after towing them through the Ister into the Savus, and through that stream into the Colops, he assailed the enemy with his infantry and ships together, and had some naval battles on the river. For the barbarians prepared in turn some boats made of single logs, with which they risked a conflict; and thus on the river they killed Menas, the freedman of Sextus, besides many others, while on the land they vigorously repulsed the invader, until they ascertained that some of their allies had been ambushed and destroyed. Then they lost heart and yielded; and when they had been captured in this manner, the remainder of Pannonia was induced to capitulate.

#### **Cassius Dio, 49.38**

After this he left Fufius Geminus there with a small force and himself returned to Rome. The triumph which had been voted to him he deferred, but granted to Octavia and Livia statues, the right of administering their own affairs without a guardian, and the same security and inviolability as the tribunes enjoyed. In emulation of his father he had set out to lead an expedition into Britain also, and had already advanced into Gaul after the winter in which Antony for the second time and Lucius Libo became consuls, when some of the newly-conquered people and Dalmatians along with them rose in revolt. Geminus, although expelled from Siscia, nevertheless recovered Pannonia by a few battles; and Valerius Messalla overthrew the Salassi and the others who had joined them in rebellion. Against the Delmatae campaigns were made, first by Agrippa and later by Caesar also. The most of them they themselves subjugated after undergoing many terrible experiences; for example, Caesar was wounded, rations of barley had to be given out to some of the soldiers instead of wheat, and in the case of others who had deserted their posts every tenth man was put to death. With the remaining tribes Statilius Taurus carried out the war.

#### **Cassius Dio 50.28,4**

“And yet I can tell you of no greater prize that is set before you than to maintain the renown of your forefathers, to preserve your own proud traditions, to take vengeance on those who are in revolt against us, to repel those who insult you, to conquer and rule all mankind, to allow no woman to make herself equal to a man. Against the Taurisci and Iapydes and Delmatae and Panno-

Metubarb, najveći među riječnim otocima. Druge rijeke vrijedne spomena su Kolapis, koja kod Siscije utječe u Savu dvama tokovima i ondje čini otok koji zovu Segestika; druga rijeka je Bakuntij koja u Savu utječe kod naselja Sirmija, gdje je općina Sirmijaca i Amantina.

#### Strabon, 4.6,10<sup>104</sup>

Iza Japoda je Segestika, grad u nizini mimo kojeg protječe rijeka Sava koja utječe u Ister. Položaj grada je po prirodi dobro odbran za rat protiv Dačana. Okra je najniži dio Alpa u tome području u kojemu Alpe dopiru do zemlje Karna; preko nje se roba iz Akvileje prevozi na kolima do (naselja) zvanog Nauport, putem ne mnogo duljim od četiri stotine stadija. Odatle se odvozi rijekama sve do Ister i područja u onom dijelu zemlje. Naime, rijeka (sc. Korkoras) ondje protječe uz Nauport, dolazeći iz Ilirije; plovna je i utječe u Savu, pa se roba lako prevozi do Segestike i do zemlje Panonaca i Tauriska. I Kolapis utječe u Savu blizu toga grada; obje su rijeke plovne i teku iz Alpa.

#### Strabon, 5.1,8

Akvileju, (grad) od svih najbliži kutu zaljeva (sc. Jadranskog mora), osnovali su Rimljani kao utvrdu prema barbarima koji su živjeli iznad. Ondje je put kroz unutrašnjost za trgovačke brodove, i to rijekom Natison, dug više od 60 stadija. Akvileja je bila prepuštena kao emporij onim ilirskim plemenima koja žive blizu Ister; ovi na kola natovaruju i prevoze u unutrašnjost morske plodove, vino spremljeno u drvenim posudama i maslinovo ulje, dok oni prvi (sc. Italci) u zamjenu dobivaju robove, stoku i kože.

#### Strabon, 7.5,2

Ostali dio zemlje drža Panonci sve do Segestike i Ister na sjeveru i istoku, iako se njihovo područje pruža i dalje u drugim smjerovima. Grad Segestika koji pripada Panoncima na otoku je nekoliko rijeka, svih plovnih, i po prirodi je povoljan kao baza za ratne pohode protiv Dačana, jer leži ispod onog dijela Alpa koji se proteže sve do zemlje Japoda (...). I odatle također teku rijeke koje u Segestiku dovoze mnoštvo robe i iz drugih zemalja i iz Italije. Jedna prelazi planinu Okru od Akvileje do Nauporta, naselja Tauriska, kamo se dovoze kola; udaljenost je 350 stadija, iako neki kažu 500. (...) Blizu Nauporta je rijeka Korkoras koja prima tovar. Ta rijeka utječe u Savu, Sava u Dravu a Drava u Noar u blizini Segestike. Odmah ispod Nauporta Noar se obogaćuje vodom iz Kolapisa koji teče od Albijskih planina kroz zemlju Japoda i susreće se s Dunavom blizu zemlje Skordiska. Tim se rijekama većinom putuje prema sjeveru. (...) Blizu Segestike, i na cesti za Italiju, smješteni su utvrda Siscija i Sirmij.

#### Strabon, 7.5,10

Čitava zemlja smještena iznad (obale) je planinska, hladna i podložna snijegu, osobito sjeverni dio, tako da ondje vlada oskudica vinove loze, ne samo na uzvisinama nego i u ravnici. To su planinske udoline koje zauzimaju Panonci; na jug oni se pružaju sve do zemlje Dalmata i Ardijejaca, na sjeveru završavaju na Isteru, a na istoku graniče sa zemljom Skordiska, to jest sa zemljom koja se pruža duž planina Makedonaca i Tračana.

nians you yourselves who are now present battled most zealously, often to win a few walls and a barren land; and you subdued all these people, though they are admittedly most warlike”.

#### Cassius Dio, 51.21,5

As for the triumph, Caesar (sc. Octavian) celebrated on the first day his victories over the Pannonians and Delmatae, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and some Celts and Galatians.

#### Cassius Dio, 55.29,1

But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Celts, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Delmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Delmatae, too, were ordered to send a contingent.

#### Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25,147<sup>103</sup>

In it (sc. Pannonia) are the colonies of Emona and Siscia. The following rivers, both known to fame and adapted for commerce, flow into the Danube; the Draus, which rushes from Noricum with great impetuosity, and the Savus, which flows with a more gentle current from the Carnic Alps, there being a space between them of 120 miles. The Draus runs through the Serretes, the Serapilli, the Iasi, and the Andizetes; the Savus through the Colapiani and the Breuci: these are the principal peoples.

#### Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.25,148

Besides them there are the Arviates, the Azali, the Amantini, the Belgites, the Catari, the Cornacates, the Eravisci, the Hercuniates, the Latovici, the Oseriates, the Varciani, and, in front of Mount Claudius, the Scordisci, behind it the Taurisci. In the Savus there is the island of Metubarbis, the greatest of all the islands formed by rivers. Besides the above, there are these other rivers worthy of mention: the Colapis, which flows into the Savus near Siscia, where, dividing its channel, it forms the island which is called Segestica; and the river Bacuntius, which flows into the Savus at the town of Sirmium, where we find the state of the Sirmienses and the Amantini.

#### Strabo, 4.6,10<sup>104</sup>

After the Iapodes comes Segestica, a city in the plain, past which flows the river Savus, which empties into the Ister. The situation of the city is naturally well-suited for making war against the Daci. The Odra is the lowest part of the Alps in that region in which the Alps join the country of the Carni, and through which the merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus, over a road of not much more than four hundred stadia; from here, however, it is carried down by the rivers as far as the Ister and the districts in that part of the country; for there is, in fact, a river (sc. Corcoras) which flows past Nauportus; it runs out of Illyria, is navigable, and empties into the Savus, so that the merchandise is easily carried down to Segestica and the country of the Pannonii and Taurisci. And the Colapis too joins the Savus near the city; both are navigable and flow from the Alps.

103 Engleski prijevod Plinijevog teksta preuzet sa: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D3%3Achapter%3D25> (prevoditelj: John Bostock, H. T. Riley).

104 Engleski prijevod Strabonovog teksta preuzet iz Loeb izdanja (prevoditelj: Horace Leonard Jones)

103 English translation of Pliny's text is taken from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D3%3Achapter%3D25> (translated by John Bostock, H. T. Riley).

104 English translation of Strabo's text is taken from the Loeb edition (translated by Horace Leonard Jones).

**Suetonije, Aug. 20<sup>105</sup>**

Što se tiče vanjskih ratova, u svemu ih je samo dva osobno vodio: dalmatski još kao mlad čovjek, a poslije pobjede nad Antonijem kantabrijski. (...) Ostale je ratove vodio preko svojih legata, ali tako da je kod nekih, na primjer u Panoniji i Germaniji, ili češće dolazio k vojsci ili se nalazio negdje u blizini, odlazeći iz Rima sve do Ravene, Mediolana ili Akvileje.

**Suetonije, Aug. 22**

Dva puta je (sc. Oktavijan August) u malom trijumfu ušao u Rim, prvi put poslije filipškoga, drugi put poslije sicilskoga rata. Kurulski je trijumf proslavio tri puta: dalmatski, akcijski i aleksandrijski, a svaki se slavio po tri uzastopna dana.

**Suetonije, Tib. 21**

“Zbogom, predragi Tiberije, i sretan ti uspjeh! Ti vojuješ za mene i za naše drugove. Predragi i, tako mi sreće, prehrabri mužu i perfektni generale, zbogom!”

“Krasna li plana tvoje ljetne vojne! Ja sam doista uvjeren, dragi Tiberije, da se u tolikim teškoćama svake vrste i kod tolike nemarnosti vojnika nitko nije mogao razboritije vladati nego što si se ti vladao. I oni koji su s tobom bili, svi priznaju da se na tebe može primijeniti ovaj stih: *Jedan je čovjek nama svom budnošću državu spaso!*”

“Ako se što dogodi o čemu treba ozbiljnije razmišljati, ili ako se što uznemirujem, čeznem veoma, tako mi Jupitera, za mojim dragim Tiberijem, i dolaze mi na pamet ovi Homerovi stihovi: *Bude l' me pratio on, iz ognja gorućeg oba / Mi bismo mogli se vratit, jer znade promislit bolje.*”

“Kad slušam i čitam da si već smršavio od neprestanih napora, bog me ubio ako me ne hvata jeza u čitavu tijelu. Molim te da se štediš, kako ne bismo na glas o tvojoj bolesti ja i tvoja mati umrli, a rimski narod došao u opasnost za opstanak svoje države.”

“Nije važno da li sam ja zdrav ili ne, ako ti ne budeš zdrav.”

“Bogove molim da nam te sačuvaju i da ti sada i ubuduće dadu zdravlje, ako već nisu zamrzili rimski narod.”

**Velej Paterkul, 2.96,2<sup>106</sup>**

Na drugome ću mjestu opisati narode Panonaca i plemena Dalmata, smještaj njihove zemlje i njenih rijeka, broj i raspored njihovih snaga i mnoge slavne pobjede koje je tijekom toga rata izvojevao ovaj veliki zapovjednik. Moj sadašnji rad mora se držati zacrtanoga.

**Velej Paterkul, 2.112,1-2**

U prvj godini rata po svom sretnom ishodu, slučaju i pokušaju zapamćeno je Mesalino djelo. Taj je čovjek (...) postavljen na čelo Ilirika razbio i u bijeg natjerao više od dvadeset tisuća neprijate-

**Strabo, 5.1.8**

Aquileia, which is nearest of all to the recess of the Gulf (sc. Adriatic sea), was founded by the Romans as a fortress against the barbarians who were situated above it; and there is an inland voyage thither for merchant-vessels, by way of the river Natiso, for a distance of more than sixty stadia. Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister; the latter (sc. Italics) load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive-oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides.

**Strabo, 7.5.2**

The remainder of the country in question is held by the Pannonii as far as Segestica and the Ister, on the north and east, although their territory extends still farther in the other directions. The city Segestica, belonging to the Pannonians, is at the confluence of several rivers, all of them navigable, and is naturally fitted to be a base of operations for making war against the Dacians; for it lies beneath that part of the Alps which extends as far as the country of the Iapodes (...). And thence, too, flow rivers which bring down into Segestica much merchandise both from other countries and from Italy. For if one passes over Mount Ocra from Aquileia to Nauportus, a settlement of the Taurisci, whither the wagons are brought, the distance is three hundred and fifty stadia, though some say five hundred. (...) Near Nauportus there is a river, the Corcoras, which receives the cargoes. Now this river empties into the Savus, and the Savus into the Dravus, and the Dravus into the Noarus near Segestica. Immediately below Nauportus the Noarus is further increased in volume by the Colapis, which flows from the Albian Mountain through the country of the Iapodes and meets the Danuvius near the country of the Scordisci. The voyage on these rivers is, for the most part, towards the north. (...) Near Segestica, and on the road to Italy, are situated both Siscia, a fort, and Sirmium.

**Strabo, 7.5.10**

But the whole of the country situated above this (sc. the seaboard) is mountainous, cold, and subject to snows, especially the northerly part, so that there is a scarcity of the vine, not only on the heights but also on the levels. These latter are the mountain-plains occupied by the Pannonians; on the south they extend as far as the country of the Dalmatae and the Ardiaei, on the north they end at the Ister, while on the east they border on the country of the Scordisci, that is, on the country that extends along the mountains of the Macedonians and the Thracians.

**Suetonius, Aug. 20<sup>105</sup>**

He carried on but two foreign wars in person: in Dalmatia, when he was but a youth, and with the Cantabrians after the overthrow of Antony. (...) His other wars he carried on through his generals, although he was either present at some of those in Pannonia and Germany, or was not far from the front, since he went from the City as far as Ravenna, Mediolanum, or Aquileia.

105 Engleski prijevod Suetonijevog teksta preuzet sa: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/home.html> (prevoditelj: J. C. Rolfe).

106 Engleski prijevod Veleja Paterkula preuzet sa: [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius\\_Paterculus/home.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius_Paterculus/home.html) (prevoditelj: Frederick W. Shipley).

105 English translation of Suetonius' text is taken from <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/home.html> (prevoditelj: J. C. Rolfe).

Ija s dvadesetom legijom i polupopunjenom zbog iznenadne pobune i opkoljen neprijateljskom vojskom, te je zbog toga počašćen trijumfalnim ukrasima.

#### Velej Paterkul, 2.113

Kada su se dvije vojske ujedinile, to jest čete koje su služile pod Cezarom (sc. Tiberijem) i one koje su mu došle kao pojačanje, i sada je u jednom taboru bilo združeno deset legija, više od 70 kohorti, 14 konjaničkih ala i više od 10.000 veterana, a uz to velik broj dragovoljaca i brojna kraljeva konjica - jednom riječju, veća vojska nego što je ikad bila prikupljena na jednome mjestu od građanskih ratova - svima je zadovoljština bila u toj činjenici i polagali su velike nade u pobjedu zbog svoje brojnosti. Ali vojskovođa, koji je bio najbolji sudac poduzetog tijeka događaja, pretpostavljajući da će se pokazati djelotvornost i, kako smo često vidjeli da čini u svim svojim ratovima, slijedeći pravac koji je zasluživao odobravanje radije nego onaj koji su trenutačno odobrali, nakon što je vojsku koja je nedugo prije bila stigla držao tek nekoliko dana da joj omogući da se oporavi od marša, odlučio je poslati je natrag, jer je vidio da je prevelika da se održava i da nije baš dobro prilagođena djelotvornoj kontroli. I tako ju je poslao natrag odakle je i došla, otprativši je s vlastitom vojskom dugim i vrlo iscrpljujućim maršem, čija se težina jedva može opisati. Njegov je cilj u tome bio, s jedne strane da se nitko ne usudi napasti njegove ujedinjene snage, a s druge da ujedinjene neprijateljske snage spriječi da napadnu odjeljenje koje odlazi, svaki narod u strahu za vlastito područje. Tada se vratio u Sisciju početkom vrlo oštrem zime, te je svoje legate, od kojih sam ja bio jedan, postavio na čelo odjeljenja svojih zimskih tabora.

#### Velej Paterkul, 2.114,4

Onu divlju momčad od toliko tisuća ljudi, koja je malo prije ropstvom prijetila Italiji, a koja je skupila oružje što ga je upotrebljavala kod rijeke Batina i bacila se sva pred noge zapovjednika, te Batona i Pineta, najčuvenije vojskovođe, jednoga zarobljena, a drugoga koji se dragovoljno predao, opisat ćemo, kako se nadam, u pravim knjigama.

#### Vergilije, Aen. 8.714-723<sup>107</sup>

Cezar se uvozi u Rim, da trostruki proslavi trijumf, / bozima italiskima prikazuje besmrtni zavjet: / Trista golemih hrama po čitavom rasutih gradu. / Radost, pljeskanje, igre po ulicama se ore; / Kolo je gospođa u svakom u hramu, pred svakim oltar, / a pred oltarima leže na zemlji zaklati junci. / Cezar na snježanom pragu pred Febom sjajnijem sjedi, / pregleda narodâ dare, na dovratnike ih vješa / gizdave; svladani puci u povorci stupaju dugoj, / jezikom razlikuju i oružjem se i rukom.

#### Suetonius, Aug. 22

He (sc. Octavian Augustus) twice entered the City in an ovation, after the war of Philippi, again after that in Sicily, and he celebrated three regular triumphs for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria, all on three successive days.

#### Suetonius, Tib. 21

“Fare thee well, Tiberius, most charming of men, and success go with you, as you war for me and for the Muses. Fare thee well, most charming and valiant of men and most conscientious of generals, or may I never know happiness.”

“I have only praise for the conduct of your summer campaigns, dear Tiberius, and I am sure that no one could have acted with better judgment than you did amid so many difficulties and such apathy of your army. All who were with you agree that the well-known line could be applied to you: *One man alone by his foresight has saved our dear country from ruin.*”

“If anything comes up that calls for careful thought, or if I am vexed at anything, I long mightily, so help me Heaven, for my dear Tiberius, and the lines of Homer come to my mind: *Let him but follow and we too, though flames round about us be raging, / Both may return to our homes, since great are his wisdom and knowledge.*”

“When I hear and read that you are worn out by constant hardships, may the Gods confound me if my own body does not wince in sympathy; and I beseech you to spare yourself, that the news of your illness may not kill your mother and me, and endanger the Roman people in the person of their future ruler.”

“It matters not whether I am well or not, if you are not well.”

“I pray the Gods to preserve you to us and to grant you good health now and forever, if they do not utterly hate the people of Rome.”

#### Velleius Paterculus, 2.96,2<sup>106</sup>

In another place I shall describe the tribes of the Pannonians and the races of Delmatae, the situation of their country and its rivers, the number and extent of their forces, and the many glorious victories won in the course of this war by this great commander; my present work must keep to its design.

#### Velleius Paterculus, 2.112,1-2

An exploit of Messalinus in the first summer of the war, fortunate in its issue as it was bold in undertaking, must here be recorded for posterity. This man (...) was in command in Illyricum, and, at the sudden outbreak of the rebellion, finding himself surrounded by the army of the enemy and supported by only the twentieth legion, and that at but half its normal strength, he routed and put to flight more than twenty thousand, and for this was honoured with the ornaments of a triumph.

107 Hrvatski prijevod: Tomo Maretić (1896); Engleski prijevod Vergilijevog teksta preuzet sa: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0054%3Abook%3D8%3Acard%3D152> (prevoditelj: Theodore C. Williams)

106 English translation of Velleius Paterculus' text is taken from: [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius\\_Paterculus/home.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius_Paterculus/home.html) (translated by Frederick W. Shipley).

**Velleius Paterculus, 2.113**

When the two armies were united, that is to say the troops which had served under Caesar (sc. Tiberius) and those which had come to reinforce him, and there were now gathered together in one camp ten legions, more than seventy cohorts, fourteen troops of cavalry and more than ten thousand veterans, and in addition a large number of volunteers and the numerous cavalry of the king - in a word a greater army than had ever been assembled in one place since the civil wars - all were finding satisfaction in this fact and reposed their greatest hope of victory in their numbers. But the general, who was the best judge of the course he pursued, preferring efficiency to show, and, as we have so often seen him doing in all his wars, following the course which deserved approval rather than that which was currently approval, after keeping the army which had newly arrived for only a few days in order to allow it to recover from the march, decided to send it away, since he saw that it was too large to be managed and was not well adapted to effective control. And so he sent it back whence it came, escorting it with his own army on a long exceedingly laborious march, whose difficulty can hardly be described. His purpose in this was, on the one hand, that no one might dare to attack his united forces, and, on the other, to prevent the united forces of the enemy from falling upon the departing division, through the apprehension of each nation for its own territory. Then returning himself to Siscia, at the beginning of a very hard winter, he placed his lieutenants, of whom I was one, in charge of the divisions of his winter quarters.

**Velleius Paterculus, 2.114,4**

I hope to describe in detail how those fierce warriors, many thousand in number, who had but a short time before threatened Italy with slavery, now brought the arms they had used in rebellion and laid them down, at a river called the Bathinus, prostrating themselves one and all before the knees of the commander; and how of their two supreme commanders, Bato and Pinnes, the one was made a prisoner and the other gave himself up.

**Vergil, *Aen.* 8.714-723<sup>107</sup>**

But Caesar in his triple triumph passed / the gates of Rome, and gave Italia's gods, / for grateful offering and immortal praise, / three hundred temples; all the city streets / with game and revel and applauding song / rang loud; in all the temples altars burned / and Roman matrons prayed; the slaughtered herds / strewed well the sacred ground. The hero, throned / at snow-white marble threshold of the fane / to radiant Phoebus, views the gift and spoil / the nations bring, and on the portals proud / hangs a perpetual garland: in long file / the vanquished peoples pass, of alien tongues, / of arms and vesture strange.

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107 English translation of Vergil's text is taken from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0054%3Abook%3D8%3Acard%3D152> (prevoditelj: Theodore C. Williams).

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# SEGESTANSKI RATNICI — NALAZI NAORUŽANJA I KONJSKE OPREME LATENSKE KULTURE IZ SISKA

## SEGESTAN WARRIORS — FINDS OF WEAPONS AND HORSE-RIDING EQUIPMENT OF THE LA TÈNE CULTURE FROM SISAK

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*Među arheološkom građom iz Siska, pronađenoj u rijeci Kupi ili bez podataka o kontekstu nalaza, nalazi se tridesetak predmeta koji se mogu definirati kao dijelovi naoružanja i konjske opreme iz razdoblja mlađega željeznog doba. Većina navedenih predmeta, među kojima su korice mača, pojasne kopče, vrhovi kopalja, noževi te kopča, razvodnik, dugmad konjske opreme i ostruga, nosi karakteristike latenske kulture čiji se utjecaji prepoznaju i u drugim aspektima materijalne kulture segestanske zajednice. S druge strane, noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, zabilježeni na prostoru od jugoistočnih Alpa, preko sjeveroistočnog Jadrana i zaleđa do zapadnog Balkana, predstavljaju autohtoni element u naoružanju segestanskih ratnika u 1. stoljeću pr. Kr.*

*The archaeological finds from Sisak, recovered from the Kupa River, and those with no information about the context of discovery, include about thirty finds that can be defined as weapons and parts of horse-riding equipment from the Late Iron Age. Most of the mentioned finds, especially the sword scabbard, belt buckles, spearheads, knives and clasps, a strap separator, buttons that were part of horse-riding equipment or spurs, bear the characteristics of the La Tène culture, an occurrence that can also be recognized in other aspects of the material culture of the Segestan community. On the other hand, Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives have been recorded over the territory covering the southeastern Alps, the northeastern Adriatic and its hinterland, and the western Balkans, and represent an autochthonous element in the armament of Segestan warriors of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.*

**Ključne riječi:**  
mlađe željezno doba, latenska kultura, Segest(ik)a, oružje, konjska oprema

**Key words:**  
Late Iron Age, La Tène culture, Segest(ica), weapons, horse-riding equipment

### Uvod

Drugu polovicu posljednjega tisućljeća prije Krista na prostoru zapadne i središnje Europe prepoznatljivom materijalnom ostavštinom obilježila je latenska kultura koja se pripisuje brojnim zajednicama keltskoga porijekla. Prvi importi ranolatenskih predmeta, prije svega fibula, na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske, pa tako i u Sisku, zabilježeni su u završnoj fazi razvoja starijega željeznog doba, te svjedoče o uspostavljenim kontaktima sa sjevernim dijelovima Karpatske kotline gdje je ova kultura potvrđena već početkom 4. stoljeća. pr. Kr.

Tijekom druge polovice 4. st. pr. Kr. dolazi do naseljavanja zajednica kojima se pripisuje keltsko porijeklo i na područje južne Panonije, čime započinje razdoblje mlađega željeznog doba. Pri-

### Introduction

Throughout western and central Europe, the second half of the first millennium BC saw the permeation of recognizable material legacy of the La Tène culture that is ascribed to numerous communities of Celtic origin. The first imports of Early La Tène objects, primarily fibulae, within the territory of northern Croatia, including Sisak, were recorded in the final phases of the Early Iron Age. These finds testify to the pre-established connections with the northern parts of the Carpathian basin where the La Tène culture was present at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

During the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, communities that are ascribed of Celtic origin began to settle into the southern Panonian territory, thereby marking the beginning of the Late Iron

stiglo je stanovništvo ondje zateklo brojne lokalne zajednice. Iz njihovog susreta tijekom daljnjega kontinuiranog razvoja nastaju novi politički i etnički entiteti čija će se imena od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. početi pojavljivati u antičkim pisanim izvorima, najčešće tijekom njihovih sukoba s nadolazećim rimskim vojnim snagama.<sup>1</sup> Tako su prema antičkim pisanim izvorima prostor sjeverozapadne Hrvatske naseljavali Taurisci, dok su istočno i južno od njih kontinuirani kulturni razvoj nastavile panonske zajednice, primjerice Breuci u srednjoj Posavini te Kolapijani naseljeni u Pokuplju i južnom dijelu Bele Krajine. U antičkim se izvorima navodi da su područje Siska naseljavali panonski Segestani, koje vjerojatno možemo prepoznati u stanovnicima istaknutoga mladeželnodobnog naselja Segest(ik)e, smještenoga na sjeveroistočnom dijelu položaja Pogorelac na desnoj obali Kupe, kao i nedavno otkrivenoga naselja s lijeve strane rijeke.

S keltskim naseljavanjem i nastupom latenske kulture zabilježena je pojava novih oblika u materijalnoj kulturi: oružane i konjske opreme, predmeta nošnje i nakita, a šire se i nova, dotad nepoznata tehnološka znanja kao što su uporaba lončarskoga kola i kovanje novca.

S područja grada Siska poznati su brojni predmeti koji se mogu pripisati tradiciji latenske kulture iz svih faza njenoga razvoja od 4. do 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., od kojih se brojem ističu različiti oblici fibula, posebno onih kasnolatskih. U ovome radu detaljnije će biti obrađeni poznati mladeželnodobni primjerci naoružanja tipični za srednjoeuropsku latensku kulturu, iako se među naoružanjem nalaze i određeni autohtoni elementi, primjerice noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, karakteristični za prostor između zapadnoga Balkana, sjevernoga dijela istočnojadranske obale te jugoistočnoalpskoga područja. Prisutnost ovih predmeta na području današnjega grada Siska potvrđuje kontakte koje su stanovnici mladeželnodobnoga naselja ostvarili sa susjednim, ali i udaljenim zajednicama.

Ranolatenski predmeti naoružanja i konjske opreme sa sisačkog područja zasad su nepoznati, ali iz toga vremena potječu rijetki oblici brončanih fibula ili nakita kao što su dvije zoomorfne fibule koje u relativno-kronološkome smislu datiraju u LT B1 stupanj iako u lokalnom, južnapanonskom kontekstu, pripadaju kraju starijega želznog doba.<sup>2</sup> Jednako su malobrojni i oblici karakteristični za stupanj LT B2, odnosno vrijeme kada je već došlo do keltskoga naseljavanja južnih dijelova Panonske nizine te razvoja materijalne ostavštine koja pripada srednjoeuropskoj latenskoj kulturi. Tako se ovom vremenu mogu pripisati slučajni nala-

Age. The new population encountered diverse local communities, and their encounters during the continual development created new political and ethnic entities whose names would appear in Roman written sources from the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, mostly due to their conflicts with the oncoming Roman military troops.<sup>1</sup> According to the written sources, northwestern Croatia was settled by the *Taurisci*, while to the east and south, the Pannonian communities, for example *Breuci* in the central Sava River valley, and the *Colapiani* on the Kupa River valley and the southern parts of White Carniola, continued their cultural development. Ancient sources report that the territory of Sisak was settled by the Pannonian Segestans, whom can probably be recognized as the inhabitants of the noted Late Iron Age settlement of *Segest(ica)*, situated on the northeastern part of the Pogorelac position on the right bank of the Kupa River, as well as of the recently discovered settlement of the left riverbank.

The Celtic settlement and the emergence of the La Tène culture brought new forms of material culture: military and horse-riding equipment, attire and jewelry, and new technological knowledge such as the use of a potter's wheel and the minting of coins.

The territory of Sisak yielded numerous finds that can be ascribed to the La Tène culture tradition from all of its phases of development between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, including different types of fibulas, especially those dated to the Late La Tène phase. This paper discusses known Late Iron Age finds of weapons typical of the central European La Tène culture, although the finds also include certain autochthonous elements, such as Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives, characteristic of the territory between the western Balkans, the northern part of the eastern Adriatic coast, and the southeastern Alpine region. The presence of these finds within modern Sisak confirms the contacts that the inhabitants of the Late Iron Age settlement had with the neighbouring and indeed more distant communities.

There are, so far, no Early La Tène weapons and horse-riding equipment from Sisak, but there are some rare finds of bronze fibulas and jewelry from the same period, such as two zoomorphic fibulas that can be relatively dated to the LT- B1 phase, although, in the local southern Pannonian context, they belong to the end of the Early Iron Age.<sup>2</sup> Equally rare are the forms typical of the LT B2 phase, i.e. a time when the Celts had already settled the southern parts of the Pannonian plain and when the material culture ascribed to the central European La Tène culture appeared. The chance find of an iron Duchcov type fibu-

1 Za podatke o protopovijesnim zajednicama na jugoistočnoalpskom i jugozapadnapanonskom prostoru u antičkim pisanim izvorima vidjeti: Šašel 1976; 1984; Šašel-Kos 1986; 2000; 2005; 2005a; Božić 1987. Potrebno je naglasiti da se podaci iz antičkih izvora najčešće odnose na razdoblje u kojemu rimska država dolazi u kontakt s autohtonim stanovništvom, kao i na razdoblje neposredno nakon uključivanja u okviru rimske države, odnosno drugu polovicu 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i 1. stoljeće. Sama prisutnost rimske države utjecajala je na arhitekture moći te društvenu i političku dinamiku u pograničnoj zoni, pa su kolektivni identiteti koje su zabilježili antički pisci odraz situacije jasno definirana vremenskog okvira. Pokušaj povezivanja kolektivnih identiteta (Kolapijani, Breuci itd.) s arheološkim kulturama starijega želznog i kasnobrončanodobnog razdoblja metodološki je dvojbeno.

2 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. XXII: 1; Burkowsky 2004, 58, kat. br. 67.

1 On data about the proto-historic communities on the southeastern Alpine and southwestern Pannonian territories in ancient written sources, see: Šašel 1976; 1984; Šašel-Kos 1986; 2000; 2005; 2005a; Božić 1987. It is necessary to point out that the data from ancient sources mostly refers to the period when the Roman state came into contact with the indigenous population, as well as to the period right before they were included into the Roman territory, i.e. to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD. Roman presence itself influenced the architecture of power, as well as the social and political dynamics in the bordering zones, therefore the collective identities recorded by Roman authors are a reflection of a situation in a clearly defined time frame. Attempting to connect the collective identities (the *Colapiani*, the *Breuci*, etc.) with archaeological Early Iron and Late Bronze Age cultures is methodologically questionable.

2 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. XXII: 1; Burkowsky 2004, 58, cat. no. 67.

zi željezne fibule tipa Duchcov,<sup>3</sup> kao i ulomak brončane narukvice s okomitim rebrima koja je ukrašena tehnikom pseudofiligrana.<sup>4</sup>

Među predmetima iz Siska srednjem se latenu (LT C = 280. – 150. godina pr. Kr.) može pripisati manja brončana fibula s dvije veće kuglice i spiralom sastavljenom od četiri navoja povezanih izvana, koja predstavlja karakterističan oblik ženske nošnje stupnjeva LT C1 – LT C2,<sup>5</sup> kao i plava staklena narukvica s pet rebara kao istaknuti predmet ženskoga srednjolatenskog nakita.<sup>6</sup> Zbog nedostatka arheološkog konteksta za opisane rano- i srednjolatenške nalaze nije moguće izvoditi pouzdanije zaključke, osim da ti nalazi upućuju na kontakte s područjima na kojima je prevladavala latenska materijalna kultura. Oni su također i jasan dokaz naseljenosti područja današnjega Siska u početnoj fazi mlađega željeznog doba, što su, uostalom, potvrdili i recentni rezultati sustavnih iskopavanja na Pogorelcu.<sup>7</sup>

Arheološka slika znatnije se promijenila s početkom kasnoga latena. U to se razdoblje datira najveći broj dosad poznatih slučajnih nalaza latenske kulture s područja Siska koji su najvećim dijelom prikupljeni tijekom jaružanja rijeke Kupe. To su različiti oblici fibula,<sup>8</sup> zatim kopče tipa Laminci koje predstavljaju karakterističan dio ženske kasnolatenške nošnje, posebno kod Skoriska i u susjednom istočnom dijelu Karpatske kotline,<sup>9</sup> ulomci staklenih narukvica,<sup>10</sup> itd. Za razliku od prethodnih stupnjeva razvoja, kasnolatenška materijalna ostavština na prostoru južne Panonije najvećim je dijelom poznata iz istraživanja naselja. Upravo se jedno od takvih istaknutih naselja u južnopanonskoj komunikacijskoj mreži nalazilo na prostoru današnjeg Siska, s poznatim ostacima na obje strane rijeke Kupe.<sup>11</sup> Iz Siska potječu i nalazi koji se mogu datirati u posljednju fazu razvoja latenske kulture (LT D2 = 80. – 15. godina pr. Kr.), odnosno u vrijeme koje u svojim završnim desetljećima već obuhvaća i fazu rimskoga osvajanja i uspostave novoga političkog i administrativnog poretka. To su pojedini oblici fibula kao što su one tipa Alezija,<sup>12</sup> tipa Idrija,<sup>13</sup> tipa Jezerine<sup>14</sup> ili tipa Gorica.<sup>15</sup>

Sukladno znatno većem broju kasnolatenškog materijala, i broj predmeta naoružanja i konjske opreme osjetno je veći nego u prijašnjem razdoblju. Najbrojniji su različiti oblici vrhova kopaljica, slijede već spomenuti noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, ali i nekoliko pojasnih kopči i predmeta konjske opreme.

la,<sup>3</sup> as well as a fragment of a bronze bracelet with vertical ribs decorated by pseudo-filigree<sup>4</sup> can be dated to the same period.

The Middle La Tène (LT C = 280-150 BC) finds from Sisak include a smaller bronze fibula with two larger knobs and a spiral comprised of four coils connected with external chord, and which is characteristic of female attire of the LT C1-LT C2 phases,<sup>5</sup> as well as a blue glass bracelet with five ribs, a noted example of Middle La Tène jewelry.<sup>6</sup> Due to the lack of archaeological context for the described Early and Middle La Tène finds, it is not possible to draw reliable conclusions, but only to say that the finds point to contacts with territories where the La Tène material culture prevailed. They are also clear pieces of evidence of the settlement in the area of modern Sisak during the first phase of the Late Iron Age, as additionally attested to by the results of recent systematic excavations done at Pogorelac.<sup>7</sup>

The archeological image changed more significantly at the beginning of the Late La Tène. The largest number of known chance finds of the La Tène culture from Sisak, mostly collected from the Kupa riverbed, is dated to this period. These include different forms of fibulas,<sup>8</sup> Laminci type buckles that are characteristic of the Late La Tène female attire, especially of the *Scordisci* and the neighboring eastern part of the Carpathian basin,<sup>9</sup> glass bracelet fragments,<sup>10</sup> and so on. Unlike the previous phases, the Late La Tène of southern Pannonia is mostly known from excavating settlements. Precisely one such noted settlement in the southern Pannonian communication network was situated in today's Sisak, on both banks of the Kupa River.<sup>11</sup> Sisak also yielded finds that can be dated to the last phase of the La Tène culture (LT D2 = 80-15 BC), that is, to a period that in its last decades had already encompassed the Roman conquest and thus the creation of a new political and administrative order. These finds include certain forms of fibulas like the Alesia,<sup>12</sup> Idria,<sup>13</sup> Jezerine,<sup>14</sup> and Gorica<sup>15</sup> types.

Accordingly, the quantity of Late La Tène material and the number of finds of weapons and horse-riding equipment is significantly larger than before. The most numerous finds include different kinds of spearheads, the aforementioned Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives, as well as several belt buckles and pieces of horse-riding equipment.

3 Burkowsky 2004, 58, kat. br. 68.

4 Burkowsky 2001, 8, T. I: 4; 2004: 62, kat. jed. 83.

5 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, sl. 3: 1; Bieger 2003, 4-16, Sl. 2-3; Dizdar 2013, 235-241.

6 Dizdar 2006, 85-86, T. 6: 3.

7 Drnić 2015a; Drnić, Groh 2018.

8 Majnarić Pandžić 1970, 102, T. 55: 1-2, 5; Burkowsky 2004, kat. br. 64-66, 69, 73, 77-78; Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012; Burkowsky 2015, 18, kat. br. 18-21.

9 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 56, 59, 64, T. I: 9, T. V: 6; 1990; Burkowsky 2004, 62, kat. br. 84; Drnić 2009; Guštin 2011b, 128, Sl. 9; 2011a, 243-249, Sl. 6; Burkowsky 2015, 19, kat. br. 25.

10 Dizdar 2006, 76, T. 6: 1-2.

11 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015a; Drnić, Groh 2018.

12 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 62-65; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 198-201.

13 Božić 2008, 87-110; Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 65.

14 Drnić 2013; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 192-196, Karta 3.

15 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 57-61, Map 1, Figs. 5-6; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 196-197, Karta 4.

3 Burkowsky 2004, 58, cat. no. 68.

4 Burkowsky 2001, 8, Pl. I: 4; 2004: 62, cat. no. 83.

5 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Fig. 3: 1; Bieger 2003, 4-16, Fig. 2-3; Dizdar 2013, 235-241.

6 Dizdar 2006, 85-86, Pl. 6: 3.

7 Drnić 2015a; Drnić, Groh 2018.

8 Majnarić Pandžić 1970, 102, Pl. 55: 1-2, 5; Burkowsky 2004, cat. no. 64-66, 69, 73, 77-78; Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012; Burkowsky 2015, 18, cat. no. 18-21.

9 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 56, 59, 64, Pl. I: 9, Pl. V: 6; 1990; Burkowsky 2004, 62, cat. no. 84; Drnić 2009; Guštin 2011b, 128, Fig. 9; 2011a, 243-249, Fig. 6; Burkowsky 2015, 19, cat. no. 25.

10 Dizdar 2006, 76, Pl. 6: 1-2.

11 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015a; Drnić, Groh 2018.

12 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 62-65; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 198-201.

13 Božić 2008, 87-110; Dizdar, Tonc 2013: 65.

14 Drnić 2013; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 192-196, Map 3.

15 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 57-61, Map 1, Figs. 5-6; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 196-197, Map 4.

## Naoružanje

### Korice mača

Najstariji predmet naoružanja latenske kulture iz Siska predstavlja ulomak korica s vrhom okova V-oblika koji potječe iz rijeke Kupe, a datiran je u LT C1 stupanj (Sl. 1).<sup>16</sup> Ulomak korica pripada skupini GSA 5A1 koja se često pojavljuje u ratničkim grobovima s karakterističnim čakaniranim pojasima te umbima tipa IVC s trapezoidnim krilima i poprečnim rebrom na srednjem dijelu, što ih datira u mlađi dio LT C1 stupnja.<sup>17</sup> Istovremeni su nalazi s prostora sjeverozapadne Hrvatske poznati još iz ratničkoga groba u Vojakovcu nedaleko od Križevaca<sup>18</sup> te iz uništenih grobova u Malunju kod Jastrebarskog.<sup>19</sup> Veći broj istovjetnih korica mačeva zabilježen je u ratničkim grobovima Tauriska. Tako su u grobu 10A s groblja u Dobovi pronađene korice s okovom (njem. *Ortband*) skupine GSA 5 ukrašene parom zmajeva tipa III, dok *ortband* ima ravan most sa stražnje strane i okrugle pločice s motivom trojnoga zavoja s prednje strane.<sup>20</sup> U ratničkom grobu 6 iz Brežica s ostacima kola pronađene su korice ukrašene motivima vitica i ribljega mjehura. *Ortband* ima ravan most sa stražnje strane i ukrašene okrugle pločice, dok se sam vrh *ortbanda* nije sačuvao, no pripada skupini GSA 5.<sup>21</sup> Na najvećem do sada istraženom groblju Tauriska na Kapiteljskoj njivi u Novom Mestu u ratničkom grobu 394, s čakaniranim pojasom i umbom, pronađene su slične korice skupine GSA 5B s rebrom po sredini prednje strane. *Ortband* s prednje strane ima okrugle pločice s ukrasom koncentričnih kružnica, dok je sa stražnje strane ravan most.<sup>22</sup> I na području koje su naseljavali Skordisci zabilježene su korice skupine GSA 5 koje, prema lokalnoj kronološkoj podjeli, pripadaju stupnju Beograd 2a, istovremenom sa srednjoeuropskim stupnjem LT C1.<sup>23</sup> To potvrđuju nalazi iz uništenih ratničkih grobova iz Dalja odakle su poznati koplje, umbo i čakanirani pojas,<sup>24</sup> te s Vučedola u kojemu se uz mač u koricama grupe GSA 5 nalazio i središnji okov štita tipa V.<sup>25</sup> Mačevi u koricama s *ortbandom* skupine GSA 5A1 potječu iz uništenih grobova iz Zemuna<sup>26</sup> i Sotina,<sup>27</sup> a isti primjerci poznati su iz dvojnog ratničkog groba s Plavinačkoga potoka u Ritopeku. Dugi *ortband* s okruglim pločicama i ravnim mostom također pripada skupini GSA 5A1.<sup>28</sup> Najveći broj ratničkih grobova Skordiska iz LT C1 stupnja poznat je s groblja Beograd-Karaburma, pa su tako u grobu 29 pronađene korice s *ortbandom* skupine GSA 5B,<sup>29</sup> a istovremeni su grobovi 26, 41, 324 s oštećenim koricama te grob 325.<sup>30</sup> U gro-

## Weapons

### Sword scabbard

The oldest weapon of the La Tène culture from Sisak is a fragment of sword scabbard with a V-shaped chape-end that was found in the Kupa River and dated to the LT C1 phase (Fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> The fragment belongs to the GSA 5A1 group that often appears in warrior graves with characteristic belt chains made out of flat links and type IVC shield bosses with trapezoidal wings and a transversal rib on the central part. These technological stylisations all date to the later part of the LT C1 phase.<sup>17</sup> Contemporaneous finds from northwestern Croatia include those from the warrior grave at Vojakovac near Križevci<sup>18</sup> and those from the disrupted graves at Malunje near Jastrebarsko.<sup>19</sup> A larger number of similar scabbards were noted in the warrior graves of the *Taurisci*. Grave 10A from the necropolis at Dobova yielded scabbards with a chape-end of the GSA 5 group, decorated with a pair of dragons type III, the chape-end having a straight bridge on the back and round plates with triskel on the front.<sup>20</sup> Warrior grave 6 from Brežice, which contained the remnants of a wagon, also included scabbard decorated with vines and fish bladder motifs. The chape-end has a straight bridge on the back and is decorated with rounded plates, and although the tip was not preserved, the find was ascribed to the GSA 5 group.<sup>21</sup> At the largest necropolis of the *Taurisci* excavated so far, the warrior grave 394 of Kapiteljska njiva in Novo Mesto, which yielded a belt made of flat rings and a boss, also included similar scabbard ascribed to the GSA 5B group with a central rib on the front. On its front, the chape-end has round plates decorated with concentric circles, and on the reverse, there is a straight bridge.<sup>22</sup> The territory occupied by the *Scordisci* also yielded GSA 5 type scabbards that are, according to local chronology, ascribed to the Belgrade 2a phase, contemporaneous with the central European LT C1 phase.<sup>23</sup> This is attested to by finds from the disrupted warrior graves from Dalj that yielded a boss and belt made of flat rings,<sup>24</sup> and by those from Vučedol, where a sword in GSA 5 type scabbard was found alongside a shield boss of a V type.<sup>25</sup> Sword scabbards with GSA 5A1 type chape-ends were found in disrupted graves from Zemun<sup>26</sup> and Sotin,<sup>27</sup> and similar ones were found in the double warrior grave from Plavinački potok in Ritopek. A long chape-end with circular plates and a straight bridge is also ascribed to the GSA 5A1 group.<sup>28</sup> The largest number of LT C1 warrior graves of

16 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. LVI: 7. Na T. XXXVI: 2 pod nalazištem Sotin prikazan je spomenuti ulomak korica iz Siska.

17 Lejars 1994, 23, 35-36, 49.

18 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 49, T. IV: 12, T. XLVI: 1-3, 7, T. XLVII: 2-4.

19 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34, T. XX: 1.

20 Guštin 1981, 225, Sl. 1: 2, T. 47.

21 Guštin 1984b, 115, T. 4: 1.

22 Križ 2005, 92, T. 71: 3.

23 Božić 1981, 318, Pl. 2; Guštin 1984a, 324; Popović 1994, 53-54, Map 1; Drnić 2015b, 36-37, 125, Karta 3.

24 Jenny 1932, 238-240, Fig. 1: 1-2, Sl. 2: 2, Sl. 3: 1-2, 5, Sl. 4.

25 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 50, T. XLVIII: 1.

26 Majnarić-Pandžić 1966, 5-6, T. I, T. III.

27 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 43, T. XXXII: 1.

28 Todorović 1975, 79, Sl. 1-2.

29 Todorović 1972, T. XII, XLI.

30 Todorović 1972, T. X, XVI.

16 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. LVI: 7. Pl. XXXVI: 2, the aforementioned scabbard from Sisak is represented under site Sotin.

17 Lejars 1994, 23, 35-36, 49.

18 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 49, Pl. IV: 12, Pl. XLVI: 1-3, 7, Pl. XLVII: 2-4.

19 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34, Pl. XX: 1.

20 Guštin 1981, 225, Fig. 1: 2, Pl. 47.

21 Guštin 1984b, 115, Pl. 4: 1.

22 Križ 2005, 92, Pl. 71: 3.

23 Božić 1981, 318, Pl. 2; Guštin 1984a, 324; Popović 1994, 53-54, Map 1; Drnić 2015b, 36-37, 125, Map 3.

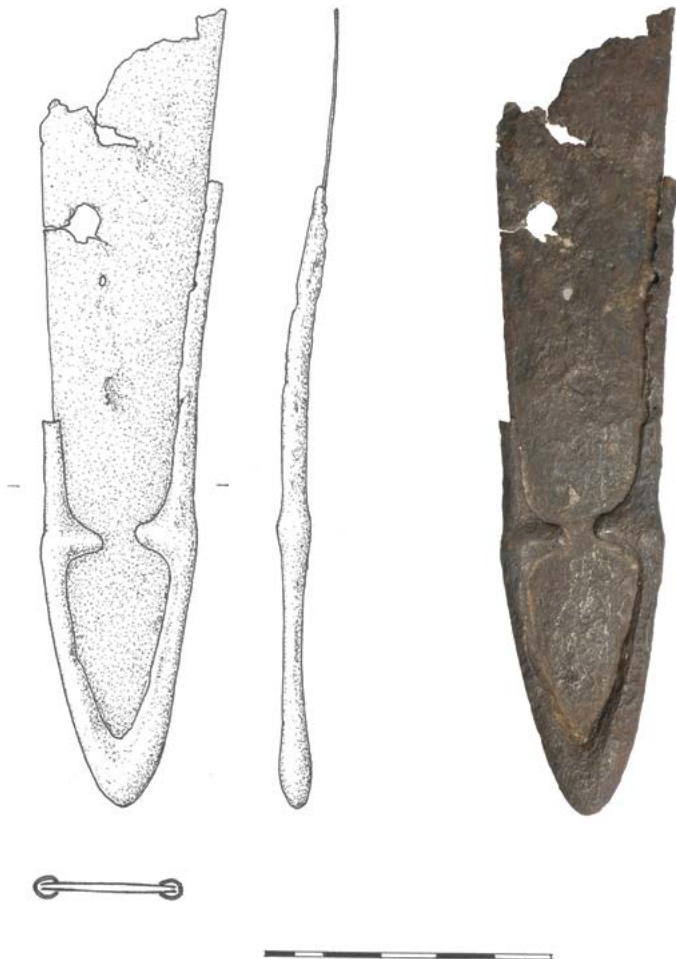
24 Jenny 1932, 238-240, Fig. 1: 1-2, Fig. 2: 2, Fig. 3: 1-2, 5, Fig. 4.

25 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 50, Pl. XLVIII: 1.

26 Majnarić-Pandžić 1966, 5-6, Pl. I, Pl. III.

27 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 43, Pl. XXXII: 1.

28 Todorović 1975, 79, Figs. 1-2.

**Sl. 1.**

Donji dio korica latenskog mača s okovom tipa GSA 5A1  
(crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)

**FIG. 1.**

The lower part of the La Tène sword scabbard of the GSA 5A1 type  
(drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

the *Scordisci* was discovered at the Beograd-Karaburma necropolis, where grave 29 yielded a scabbard with a GSA 5B type chape-end,<sup>29</sup> and contemporaneous graves include number 26, 41 and 324 with damaged scabbards, as well as grave 325.<sup>30</sup> Grave 1 from Brestovik, with a belt made of flat rings, yielded a sword in scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons type III, and a chape-end ascribed to the GSA 5B group.<sup>31</sup>

**Knives**

Among the Sisak finds, a knife (germ. *Hiebmesser*) was uncovered, adorning a longer blade and a straight upper side that turns into a curved handle with a semi-sphere at the tip (Fig. 2: 2).<sup>32</sup> Knives of this type are defined as the Brežice 6 type that appeared on the southeastern Alpine region and across the entire Carpathian basin throughout the LT B2-C2 phases. Considering their morphological characteristics, and especially the straight upper side of the blade, the finds from Sisak can be approximated to the Middle La Tène. These knives are often found in graves along with food, mainly animal remains, so it can be assumed that they were primarily used to cut meat. An action such as carving meat could have had certain ritual connotations in the context of burial rites.<sup>33</sup>

A knife with a ring at the end of the handle of rectangular cross-section can be ascribed to the Late La Tène period (Fig. 2: 1).<sup>34</sup> These knives, similar to those of the older Dürrnberg type, were probably used to cut meat, as attested to by finds from graves, both of the *Taurisci*<sup>35</sup> and the *Scordisci*,<sup>36</sup> that are dated to the LT D1 phase. The possibility that these knives were used as weapons is suggested by rare finds of bent blades from southeastern Pannonia (the knives from grave 3 at Sotin<sup>37</sup> and those from Hrtkovci<sup>38</sup>), that are interpreted as part of funerary rituals that were mostly conducted with weapons (swords in scabbards, spears, shield bosses). However, the finds from Sotin and Hrtkovci stand alone, and the possibility that these knives could have been a part of military equipment will be disproved by future research.

The material from Sisak includes four long knives with slightly curved blades and gauges on the side opposite the blade (so-called Blutrine) (Fig. 3: 1-4; Fig. 5: 1-2),<sup>39</sup> that D. Balen-Letunić (2006)

29 Todorović 1972, Pl. XII, XLI.

30 Todorović 1972, Pl. X, Pl. XVI.

31 Popović 1994, 52, Figs. 1-4, 21.

32 Burkowsky 2004, 25, 57, cat. no. 63.

33 Schönfelder 2010; Dizdar 2013, 130-133, 138-142, Figs. 42-43, Map 12; Drnić 2015b, 70-73.

34 Drnić 2015a, 96, cat. no. 8.

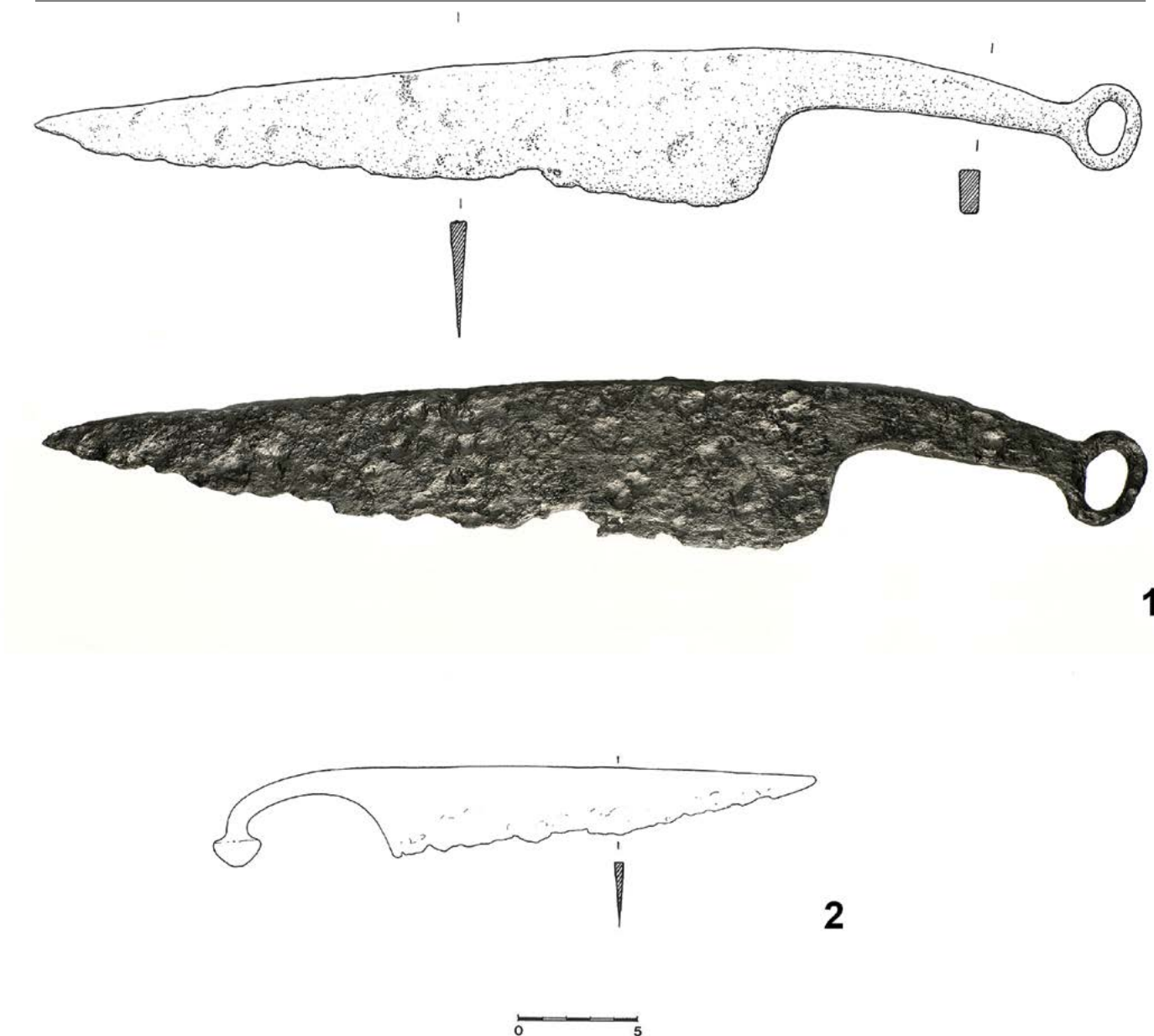
35 Božič 1999, 198.

36 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, 67, Pl. IV: 3; Božič 1981, 320, Pl. 3: 35; Drnić 2015b, 74, Pl. 32: 5, and so on.

37 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, 67, Pl. IV: 3.

38 Dautova Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 49, 87, Fig. 24, cat. no. 32.

39 Two finds are at the Sisak City Museum (Burkowsky 2004, 25, 56, cat. no. 60-61; Burkowsky 2015, 16, cat. no. 6), one is at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, Pl. 1: 2) and one is at the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Fig. 3: 4) (Mráv 2010, 214, cat. no. 6). This find has a reconstructed handle with wooden plates attached with two rivets, so it is unclear if there is a third perforation that is characteristic of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type. The handle ends with an oval plate, and there is no gauge on the curved blade.



SL. 2.

1. Kasnolatenski nož s obručem na završetku drške; 2. Srednjolatenski nož tipa Brežice 6 (crtež: M. Galić, K. Rončević; snimio: I. Krajcar)

FIG. 2.

1. A Late La Tène knife with a ring at the end of the handle; 2. A Middle La Tène knife of the Brežice 6 type (drawing: M. Galić, K. Rončević; photo: I. Krajcar)

bu 1 iz Brestovika, s čakaniranim pojasom, pronađen je mač u koricama koje su ukrašene parom zmajeva tipa III, dok ortband pripada skupini GSA 5B.<sup>31</sup>

### Noževi

Iz Siska potječe nož (njem. *Hiebmesser*) s duljim sječivom ravnoga hrpta koji prelazi u povijenu dršku koja završava s polukuglicom (Sl. 2: 2).<sup>32</sup> Noževi ovoga oblika izdvojeni su kao tip Brežice 6, a rasprostranjeni su na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru i po cijeloj Karpatskoj kotlini tijekom LT B2-C2 stupnjeva. S obzirom na morfološke karakteristike, osobito ravan hrbat sječiva, sisački se primjerak vjerojatno može datirati u srednji laten. Ovi se noževi če-

defined as the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type.<sup>40</sup> At the transition point between the the blade and the wide plate-like handle are three holes for rivets. These knives have cross hilts made out of iron or a copper alloy (Fig. 5: 1-2), and the handle ends with an oval plate. These finds were recorded on the territory of the southeastern Alps (the Ljubljanica River, Strmec nad Belo Cerkvijo), the northern Adriatic (Osor) and its hinterland (Prozor, Obrovac, the Cetina River spring), the Una River valley (Jezerine, Ribič), and southwestern Pannonia (Sisak, Zagreb, Botovo) (Map 1/list of sites).

Several finds were recorded outside the defined, conditionally stated, main distribution area. The first one was found in

31 Popović 1994, 52, sl. 1-4, 21.

32 Burkowsky 2004, 25, 57, kat. br. 63.

40 Božič 1999, 211; Balen-Letunić 2006; Blečić Kavur 2015, 229, Fig. 88.

sto nalaze u grobovima uz priloženu hranu, prvenstveno ostatke dijelova životinja, pa se može pretpostaviti da je njihova primarna funkcija vjerojatno bila sječenje mesa, što je u kontekstu pogrebnog rituala moglo imati određene ritualne konotacije.<sup>33</sup>

Razdoblju kasnog latena može se pripisati masivni nož s obručem na kraju blago povijene drške pravokutnog presjeka (Sl. 2: 1).<sup>34</sup> Ovi su noževi, slično onima starijima tipa Dürrnberg, vjerojatno služili za rezanje mesa, o čemu svjedoče nalazi iz grobova datiranih u LT D1 stupanj, kako kod Tauriska<sup>35</sup> tako i kod Skordiska.<sup>36</sup> Na moguće korištenje spomenutih noževa kao naoružanja upućivali bi rijetki nalazi savijenoga sječiva s prostora jugoistočne Panonije (noževi iz groba 3 iz Sotina<sup>37</sup> te iz Hrtkovaca<sup>38</sup>), što se tumači kao dio pogrebnoga rituala koji je uglavnom bio namijenjen naoružanju (mačevi u koricama, koplja, umba). Ipak, nalazi iz Sotina i Hrtkovaca zasad ostaju usamljeni, a mogućnost da su ovi noževi mogli biti dio ratničke opreme rasvijetlit će neka nova istraživanja.

Među sisačkim materijalom nalaze se četiri duga noža s blago zakrivljenim sječivom na kojemu se uz hrbat nalaze žljebovi (tzv. *blutrine*) (Sl. 3: 1-4; Sl. 5: 1-2),<sup>39</sup> a koje je D. Balen-Letunić (2006) definirala kao tip Pritoka - Bela Cerkev.<sup>40</sup> Kod ovih se noževa na prijelazu sječiva u široku pločastu dršku s tri rupe za zakovice nalaze poprečno položene križnice izrađene od željeza ili bakrene slitine (Sl. 5: 1-2), dok se na završetku drške nalazi ovalna pločica. Ovi predmeti zabilježeni su na prostoru jugoistočnih Alpa (rijeka Ljubljanica, Strmec nad Belo Cerkvijo), sjevernog Jadrana (Osor) i njegovog zaleđa (Prozor, Obrovac, izvor Cetine), Pounja (Jezerine, Ribič) te u jugozapadnoj Panoniji (Sisak, Zagreb, Botovo) (Karta 1/popis nalazišta).

Nekoliko primjeraka zabilježeno je izvan definiranog, uvjetno matičnog prostora rasprostiranja. Prvi je pronađen u Šoderici kod Botova i jedini je primjerak zabilježen u krajevima sjeverno od rijeke Save.<sup>41</sup> Nož iz Kupinova u Srijemu potječe iz nepoznate grobne cjeline s uništenog groblja latenske kulture, a jedan objavljeni primjerak pronađen je u kontekstu groblja i kulturnog mjesta Kamenjača u Brezi kod Sarajeva.<sup>42</sup> Ipak, iako je nož iz Kamenjače oblikom vrlo blizak tipu Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, čini se da pojedini detalji odudaraju od uobičajenog oblika. Primjerice, čini se da je ovalna pločica na završetku drške naknadno pričvršćena na tra-

Šoderica near Botovo, and is the only example north of the Sava River.<sup>41</sup> The knife from Kupinovo in Syrmia was recovered from an unknown grave unit at the disrupted La Tène necropolis, and one published knife was found in the context of the necropolis and ritual place at Kamenjača in Breza near Sarajevo.<sup>42</sup> However, although the knife from Kamenjača resembles the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type in shape, it appears that certain details diverge from the usual form. For example, it seems that the oval plate at the end of the handle was subsequently fastened to a ribbon-like handle, and there are two narrow parallel gauges on the upper side of the blade. The iron hilt-end is somewhat different from those on the known examples of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type, although none of them are completely equal. Due to the state of preservation of the find, it is impossible to establish the number of perforations on the ribbon-like handle. Despite the expressed dilemma, the possibility of the knife from Kamenjača belonging to the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type should not be discarded, and after the restoration process, which is currently under way, is completed, it will be possible to make a more accurate determination.

Sisak probably yielded one damaged find with a curved blade that was recently "discovered" in the Radauš family private collection (Fig. 3: 5). It is shorter than the other finds from Sisak and has no characteristic gauges on the blade. Due to the state of preservation, it cannot be determined if it had a cross hilt-end and an oval plate at the end of the handle. Namely, the territory where Pritoka - Bela Cerkev knives were found also yielded finds with similarly shaped blades and handles, but without the characteristic details (namely the cross hilt-ends and the oval plate on the handle), and the smaller stature, measuring between 30 and 35 cm in length (Jezerine - graves 288 and 400; Ribič - grave 120; Prozor - grave 71/cremation burial 2) (Map 1). An interesting example was found at Novo Mesto - Okrajno glavarstvo. Specifically, the handle is shaped like those on the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev finds, but the blade is only twelve centimeters long.<sup>43</sup>

When it comes to the context of discovery of the Sisak finds, three were recovered from the Kupa River (Fig. 3: 1-2, 4), a fact that could indicate a certain ritual discarding of weapons in water, that is well attested to on the territory of the southeastern

33 Schönfelder 2010; Dizdar 2013, 130-133, 138-142, sl. 42-43, Karta 12; Drnić 2015b, 70-73.

34 Drnić 2015a, 96, kat. jed. 8.

35 Božić 1999, 198.

36 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, 67, T. IV: 3; Božić 1981, 320, T. 3: 35; Drnić 2015b, 74, T. 32: 5 i dr.

37 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, 67, T. IV: 3.

38 Dautova Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 49, 87, sl. 24, kat. br. 32.

39 Dva primjerka nalaze se u Gradskom muzeju Sisak (Burkowsky 2004, 25, 56, kat. br. 60-61; Burkowsky 2015, 16, kat. br. 6), po jedan u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu (Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, T. 1: 2) i Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum-u (Sl. 3: 4) (Mráv 2010, 214, kat. br. 6). Ovaj primjerak ima rekonstruiranu dršku s drvenim pločicama koje su pričvršćene s dvije zakovice pa nije jasno postoji li i treća perforacija karakteristična za tip Pritoka - Bela Cerkev. Na završetku drške ovalna je pločica, a na zakrivljenom sječivu nema žlijeba.

40 Božić 1999, 211; Balen-Letunić 2006; Blečić Kavur 2015, 229, sl. 88.

41 Arheologija Torčeca 2016, 77, kat. br. 28.

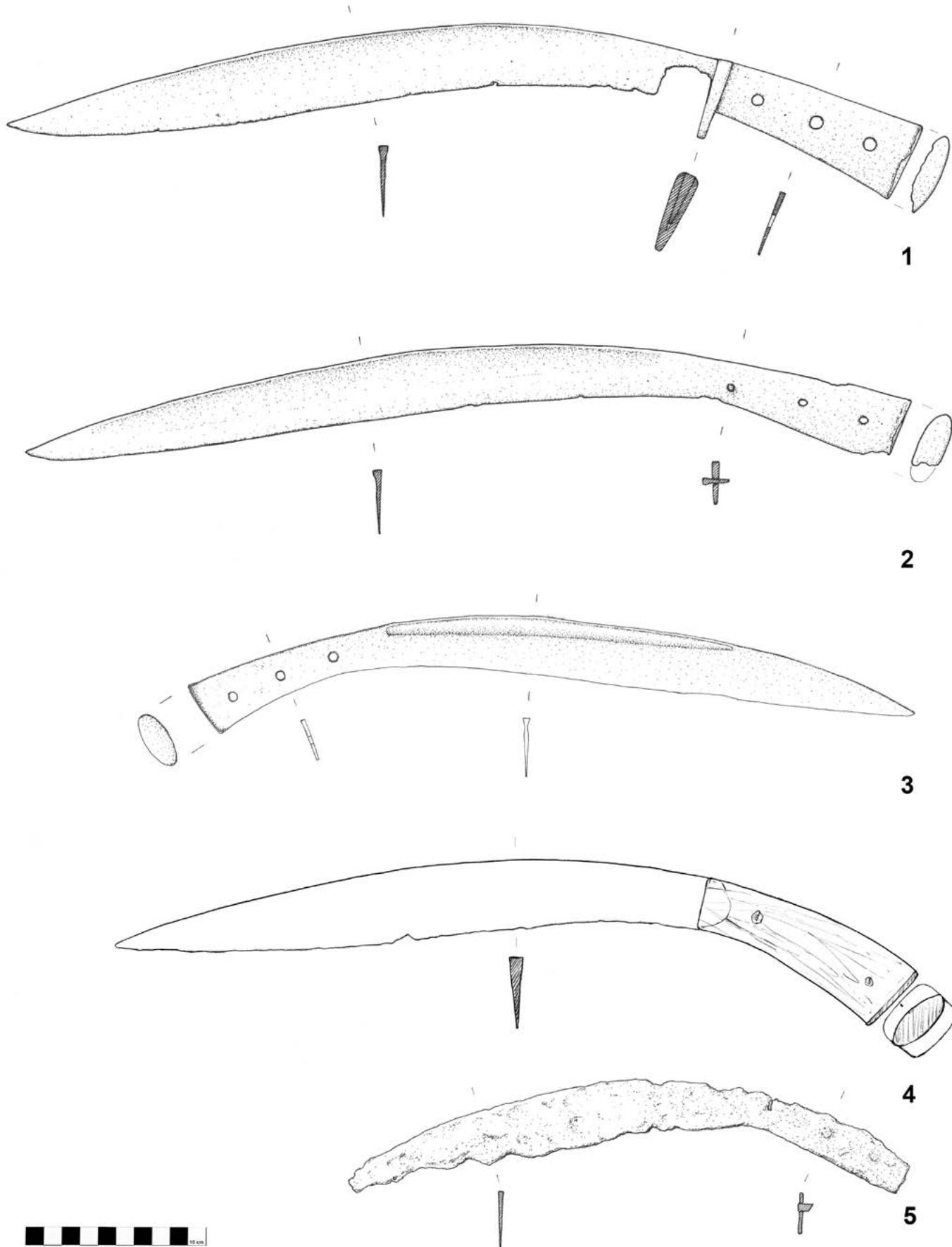
42 Božić 1984b, 82, sl. 23: 2. Iz Kamenjače u Brezi potječe ukupno pet vrlo sličnih noževa koji su u postupku restauracije. Na informacijama zahvaljujemo kolegici Ani Marić iz Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu.

41 Arheologija Torčeca 2016, 77, cat. no. 28.

42 Božić 1984b, 82, Fig. 23: 2. A total of five very similar knives were found at Kamenjača in Breza, and are currently undergoing restoration. The authors would like to thank colleague Ana Marić from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

43 Božić 2008, 168, Pl. 20: 2.





SL. 3. Noževi tipa Pritoka – Bela Cerkev iz Siska (crtež: M. Galić, Z. Mráv)

FIG. 3. Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type of knives from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić, Z. Mráv)

kastu dršku, a uz hrbat se nalaze dva uska, paralelna žljeba. Željezni graničnik nešto je drugačiji nego na poznatim primjercima tipa Pritoka – Bela Cerkev, iako niti na njima nisu zabilježena dva u potpunosti istovjetna primjerka. Zbog stanja u kojemu se predmet nalazi, nije moguće utvrditi broj perforacija na trakastoj drški. Unatoč navedenim nedoumicama, ne bi trebalo odbaciti mogućnost da nož iz Kamenjače ipak pripada tipu Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, a nakon provedenog postupka restauracije, koji je trenutačno u tijeku, bit će moguća sigurnija determinacija ovoga predmeta.

Iz Siska vjerojatno potječe i jedan oštećeni primjerak savijenog sječiva koji je nedavno „otkriven“ u privatnoj zbirci obitelji Radauš (Sl. 3: 5). On je kraći od ostalih sisačkih primjerala i nema karakteristične žljebova na sječivu, a zbog stupnja očuvanosti ne može se zaključiti je li imao križnicu i ovalnu pločicu na završetku drške. Naime, na prostoru na kojemu nalazimo noževe Pritoka - Bela Cerkev zabilježeni su i primjerci sličnog oblika sječiva i drške, ali bez karakterističnih detalja (križnica, ovalna pločica na dršci), i manjih dimenzija dužine između 30 i 35 cm (Jezerine - grobovi 288 i 400; Ribić - grob 120; Prozor - grob 71/žarni grob 2) (Karta 1). Zanimljiv primjerak potječe s lokaliteta Novo mesto - Okrajno glavarstvo. Naime, drška mu je oblikovana kao na primjercima Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, ali dužina sječiva iznosi samo dvanaest centimetara.<sup>43</sup>

Što se konteksta nalaza sisačkih primjerka tiče, čak tri potječu iz rijeke Kupe (Sl. 3: 1-2, 4) što bi moglo upućivati na određeni ritual polaganja oružja u vodu, dobro posvjedočen na prostoru jugoistočnih Alpa i južne Panonije.<sup>44</sup> Kao potvrda ovoj tezi mogla bi poslužiti čak četiri primjerka prikupljena iz rijeke Ljubljanice, a nož s nepoznatoga nalazišta iz AMZ-a također nosi odlike vodenoga nalaza (nedostatak patine na križnici od bakrene slitine) (Sl. 5: 2). Također, moguće je kako je vodeni nalaz bio i spomenuti podravski primjerak tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev pronađen prilikom kopanja pijeska na Šoderici kod Botova. Jedan sisački nož (Sl. 3: 3) navodno potječe iz istraživanja koja je 1912. proveo Narodni muzej na položaju Pogorelac,<sup>45</sup> gdje se nalazilo spomenuto naselje iz starijeg i mlađeg željeznog doba, ali provjerom prilično oskudne terenske dokumentacije koju je vodio tadašnji kustos i voditelj istraživanja Vladimir Tkalčić, nije pronađen spomen navedenog predmeta. Kontekst nalaza noža iz privatne zbirke Radauš je nepoznat.

Alps and southern Pannonia.<sup>44</sup> Further evidence supporting this hypothesis can be found in the four finds collected from the Ljubljana River, and a knife from an unknown site kept at Archaeological museum in Zagreb that also has the characteristics of a water find (lack of patina on the copper alloy cross hilt-end) (Fig. 5: 2). Additionally, it is possible that another find was recovered from water, the aforementioned Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knife from the Drava River valley that was discovered while extracting gravel at Šoderica near Botovo. One knife from Sisak (Fig. 3: 3) was supposedly found in the 1912 excavations conducted at Pogorelac by the National Museum<sup>45</sup> at the location where the abovementioned Early and Late Iron Age settlement was situated. However, a modern revision of the brief field documentation kept by then curator and head of excavations, Vladimir Tkalčić, did not reveal any mention of this find. The context of the discovery of the knife kept in the private collection of the Radauš family is also unknown.

The dating of Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives into the LT D2 phase, suggested by D. Božič, is based on several finds from grave units, such as a grave from Strmac nad Belo Cerkvijo<sup>46</sup> and grave 237 from Jezerine near Pritoka which, apart from the knife, included a Gorica type fibula.<sup>47</sup> However, as already noted by D. Balen-Letunić, most of these finds do not originate from clearly defined archaeological contexts, so it is impossible to neglect the possibility that the knives could have been used in the LT D1 phase as well. An indirect confirmation of this assumption can be found in the fact that conceptually similar knives with triangular blades, which will be discussed below, appeared in the LT D1 phase (Sotin-Zmajevac, grave 3<sup>48</sup>), and stayed in use during the LT D2 phase, until the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC (Nadleški hrib,<sup>49</sup> Ribić - grave 78<sup>50</sup>).

Although Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives make up a very homogenous group, individual finds do display certain morphological differences, primarily in the shape of the blade. For example, most finds have a blade that widens in the center, such as the two differently shaped knives from Sisak and Sotin (Fig. 4), meaning that the striking point is in the center of the blade, while the same is placed at the front of the blade on finds from Sisak (Fig. 3: 1-3) and Jezerine (grave 274) that have a narrower blade.

43 Božič 2008, 168, T. 20: 2.

44 Gaspari 2007; Drnić 2014 i dr. Naravno, zbog nepotpunih informacija o detaljnijem kontekstu nalaza ovih noževa, jednako je moguće kako su ovi predmeti dospjeli u rijeku Kupu sasvim slučajno, osobito ako se u obzir uzme neposredna blizina željeznodobnog naselja.

45 Balen-Letunić 2006, 65.

44 Gaspari 2007; Drnić 2014, and so on. Naturally, due to incomplete data on the details surrounding the discovery of these knives, it is equally possible that the finds made their way into the Kupa River accidentally, especially if the close proximity of the Iron Age settlement is taken into consideration.

45 Balen-Letunić 2006, 65.

46 Stare 1973, Pl. 7: 3, Pl. 8: 2; Pl. 11: 6, Pl. 14, Pl. 73; Božič 1999, 211. This is an exceptionally rich find of a luxuriously equipped warrior burial with a bimetal Novo Mesto type helmet, an iron sword in a bronze scabbard decorated by punching, a circular shield boss and an iron knife of the mentioned type. It must have been one of the most significant grave units dated to the LT D2 phase representing the weaponry of the time on the territory of the southeastern Alps and southwestern Pannonia.

47 Radimský 1893, 278-279, Pl. 2: 2, Pl. 12: 7; Pl. 20: 18; Radimský 1895, 116-117, Fig. 274-276.

48 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, Pl. 4: 2.

49 This find was discovered in a Roman military fortress dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and to the Augustan period (Laharnar 2016).

50 Čurčić 1900, 638, Fig. 14; Marić 1968, Pl. 21: 37-39.



SL. 4.

1. Nož iz Siska; 2. nož iz Sotina  
(crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)

FIG. 4.

1. The knife from Sisak; 2. The knife from Sotin  
(drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

Datacija noževa tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev u stupanj LT D2, koju je predložio D. Božič, zasniva se na nekoliko primjeraka iz grobnih cjelina, kao što su grob iz Strmca nad Belo Cerkvijo<sup>46</sup> te grob 237 iz Jezerina kod Pritoke u kojemu se, uz nož, nalazila i fibula tipa Gorica.<sup>47</sup> Ipak, kao što je već primijetila D. Balen-Letunić, većina ovih predmeta ne potječe iz jasno definiranih arheoloških konteksta, pa stoga ne bi trebalo u potpunosti isključiti njihovu uporabu već i u stupnju LT D1. Kao indirektna potvrda ovoj tezi mogla bi poslužiti činjenica da se konceptijski bliski noževi s trokutastim sječivom, o kojima će nešto više biti rečeno u nastavku, pojavljuju već od stupnja LT D1 (Sotin-Zmajevac, grob 3<sup>48</sup>), a nastavljaju se koristiti u stupnju LT D2 do u drugu polovicu 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Nadleški hrib,<sup>49</sup> Ribič - grob 78<sup>50</sup>).

Iako noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev čine prilično homogenu skupinu, među pojedinim primjercima ipak postoje određene morfološke razlike, prvenstveno u oblikovanju sječiva. Primjeri-

The material from Sisak also includes the previously mentioned knife of a shape that is somewhat different than the typical examples of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type (Fig. 4: 1). Namely, its blade widens in the center, and the tongue on the handle has five perforations for rivets, unlike the handles of Pritoka - Bela Cerkev knives that have three. Additionally, the find from Sisak does not have the characteristic oval thickening at the end of the handle. The closest analogy for this find comes from the Middle Danube region, from Sotin, that yielded a similarly shaped knife (Fig. 4: 2).<sup>51</sup> A knife with an equal handle, but with a somewhat different blade was recorded with the finds from the disrupted La Tène necropolis at Kupinovo.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev knives, the territories of the southeastern Alps, southern Pannonia and the western Balkans also yielded knives with triangular blades.<sup>53</sup> Some examples of this type were also recorded outside this area, in southern Hungary (Pécs-Hőerőmű, grave 3), and even in Lower Austria (Oberleiser-

46 Stare 1973, T. 7: 3, T. 8: 2; T. 11: 6, T. 14, T. 73; Božič 1999, 211. Radi se o izuzetnome nalazu bogato opremljenoga ratničkog groba s bimetalnom kacigom tipa Novo mesto, željeznim mačem u brončanim koricama s ukrasom izrađenim na proboj, okruglim umbom te željeznim nožem spomenutoga tipa. To je zasigurno jedna od najznačajnijih grobnih cjelina iz faze LT D2 koja predstavlja naoružanje toga vremena na jugoistočnoalpskom i jugozapadnopanonskom prostoru.

47 Radimský 1893, 278-279, T. 2: 2, T. 12: 7; T. 20: 18; Radimský 1895, 116-117, Sl. 274-276.

48 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, T. 4: 2.

49 Ovaj primjerak potječe iz rimske vojne utvrde koja je datirana u drugu polovicu 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i u augustovsko razdoblje (Laharnar 2016).

50 Čurčić 1900, 638, Sl. 14; Marić 1968, T. 21: 37-39.

51 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 94, Pl. 36: 8.

52 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 83, Pl. 13: 13; Drnić 2015b, 75, cat. no. 138, Pl. 32: 2.

53 Dizdar, Potrebica 2014, 363-365, Fig. 4-6.

ce, većina primjeraka ima prošireno sječivo u središnjem dijelu, kao kod dva oblikom nešto drugačijih noževa iz Siska i Sotina (Sl. 4), što udarno težište postavlja u sredinu oštrice, dok se kod pojedinih primjeraka s nešto užim sječivom iz Siska (Sl. 3: 1-3) i Jezerina (grob 274) ono nalazi u prednjem dijelu sječiva.

Među sisačkim materijalom nalazi se i jedan već prije spomenuti nož koji ponešto odudara od tipičnih primjeraka tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev (Sl. 4: 1). Naime, njegovo se sječivo proširuje u središnjem dijelu, a na jezičcu za dršku nalazi se pet rupa za zakovice, za razliku od drški noževa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev koji ih imaju tri. Također, na sisačkom primjerku nedostaje karakteristično ovalno zadebljanje na završetku drške. Najbližu analogiju ovome predmetu nalazimo na prostoru srednjeg Podunavlja, u nožu iz Sotina koji je slično oblikovan (Sl. 4: 2),<sup>51</sup> dok je ista drška, ali s nešto drugačije izvedenim sječivom, zabilježena na primjerku s uništenog latenskog groblja u Kupinovu.<sup>52</sup>

Osim noževa tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, na prostoru jugoistočnih Alpa, južne Panonije i zapadnog Balkana korišteni su i noževi s trokutasto oblikovanim sječivom,<sup>53</sup> a pojedini primjerci zabilježeni su i izvan ovoga prostora, u južnoj Mađarskoj (Pécs - Hőerőmű, grob 3) te čak Donjoj Austriji (Oberleiserberg) (Karta 1).<sup>54</sup> Njihova sječiva nisu zakrivljena, budući da im je oštrica ravna (osim na primjerku iz Oberleiserberga), a trakasto oblikovan jezičac za dršku koso je postavljen u odnosu na sječivo, što stvara dojam zakrivljenosti. Način oblikovanja sječiva na ovim noževima sličan je onome na navedenim primjercima zabilježenima na prostoru između istočne jadranske obale i srednje Posavine (tip III prema Parović-Pešikan s primjercima iz Gostilja, Mahrevića i Donje Doline), no njihove su drške ravne i ponekad s masivnim okruglim zadebljanjima na završetku. Primjerak pronađen u grobu 75 s groblja u Prozoru ima nešto drugačije oblikovan nastavak za nasad drške koji je uzak i pravokutnog presjeka.<sup>55</sup>

Kako se rasprava o noževima tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev ne bi zadržala isključivo na morfologiji predmeta i njihovoj dataciji, potrebno je nešto reći i o porijeklu ovog oružja koje sasvim sigurno ne predstavlja utjecaj latenske materijalne kulture. Naime, na širokom prostoru jugoistočnih Alpa, južne Panonije i zapadnog Balkana u razdoblju kasnog latena (LT D) zabilježen je trend korištenja dugih noževa koji se na osnovi pojedinih morfoloških karakteristika mogu podijeliti u nekoliko skupina (Karta 1).<sup>56</sup> U okvirima lokalnih manifestacija latenske kulture (mokrnoška skupina, grupa Beograd) taj se fenomen poklapa sa smanjenjem broja prilaganih mačeva, koji u stupnju LT D1 postaju uglavnom konjaničko oružje, u odnosu na ukupan broj grobova ratnika. S druge strane, duge noževe nalazimo i u grobovima zajednica koje su egzistirale na periferiji latenskog kompleksa, primjerice Japoda,

berg) (Map 1).<sup>54</sup> The blades of these knives are not curved, seeing as their cutting edges are straight (apart from the find from Oberleiserberg), and the triangular tongue for the handle is slanted in relation to the blade, creating the impression of curvature. The way in which these blades were shaped resembles the aforementioned examples from the territory between the eastern Adriatic coast and the central Sava River valley (type III according to Parović-Pešikan, with finds from Gostilj, Mahrević and Donja Dolina), but their handles are straight and sometimes have massive rounded and thickened ends. The find from grave 75 from the necropolis at Prozor has a somewhat different protrusion for the handle which is narrow and has a rectangular cross-section.<sup>55</sup>

To steer the discussion about the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives away from mere morphology and datation, it is necessary to refer to the origin of these weapons that surely does not represent the influences of the La Tène material culture. Namely, on the wider territory of the southeastern Alps, southern Panonia and the western Balkans, the Late La Tène (LT D) period was marked by a trend of using long knives that can, based on their morphological characteristics, be divided into several groups (Map 1).<sup>56</sup> Within the scope of local manifestations of the La Tène culture (the Mokronog group, the Belgrade group), this phenomenon overlaps with the reduction of swords in graves, weapons that were mostly used by the cavalry in the LT D1 phase, in relation to the total number of warriors. On the other hand, long knives are found in the graves of communities that existed on the periphery of the La Tène complex, for example the Iapodes, who, in earlier periods, mostly did not use weapons as grave goods (Jezerine near Pritoka, Ribić, Golubić, Prozor).<sup>57</sup>

D. Balen-Letunić emphasizes that the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives represented a continuation of the long tradition of using military knives on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, not only since the Early Iron, but since the Late Bronze Age.<sup>58</sup> Also, there is a similarity between this type and the knives from the sites of Sanski Most and Donja Dolina that M. Parović-Pešikan defined as type II,<sup>59</sup> as corroborated by A. Gaspari and M. Mlinar.<sup>60</sup> These knives have a triangular forged tongue with holes for rivets and a slightly curved blade. The transition from the handle to the blade has a saddle-like hilt-end the likes of which were recorded on the aforementioned knives from Kupinovo<sup>61</sup> and Sotin (Fig. 4: 2). These knives were discovered in graves dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

On the other hand, certain authors connect most known Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives, as well as those with triangular blades, to knives with curved blades known as *sica* that are characteristic of Dacian and Thracian territories. For example, in a recently published paper, M. Karwowski concludes that all Late La Tène

51 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 94, T. 36: 8.

52 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 83, T. 13: 13; Drnić 2015b, 75, kat. br. 138, T. 32: 2.

53 Dizdar, Potrebića 2014, 363-365, Sl. 4-6.

54 Karwowski 2016, 79-82, Fig. 8. Primjerak iz Oberleiserberga nešto je drugačiji jer mu je oštrica konveksno oblikovana, za razliku od ostalih sličnih mu noževa čije su oštrice uglavnom ravne.

55 Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, 41, T. 35: 1.

56 Guštin 1984a, 346, Sl. 29, Popis 6.

54 Karwowski 2016, 79-82, Fig. 8. The find from Oberleiserberg is a bit different because its blade is convex, unlike similar knives that mostly have straight blades.

55 Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, 41, Pl. 35: 1.

56 Guštin 1984a, 346, Abb. 29, Liste 6.

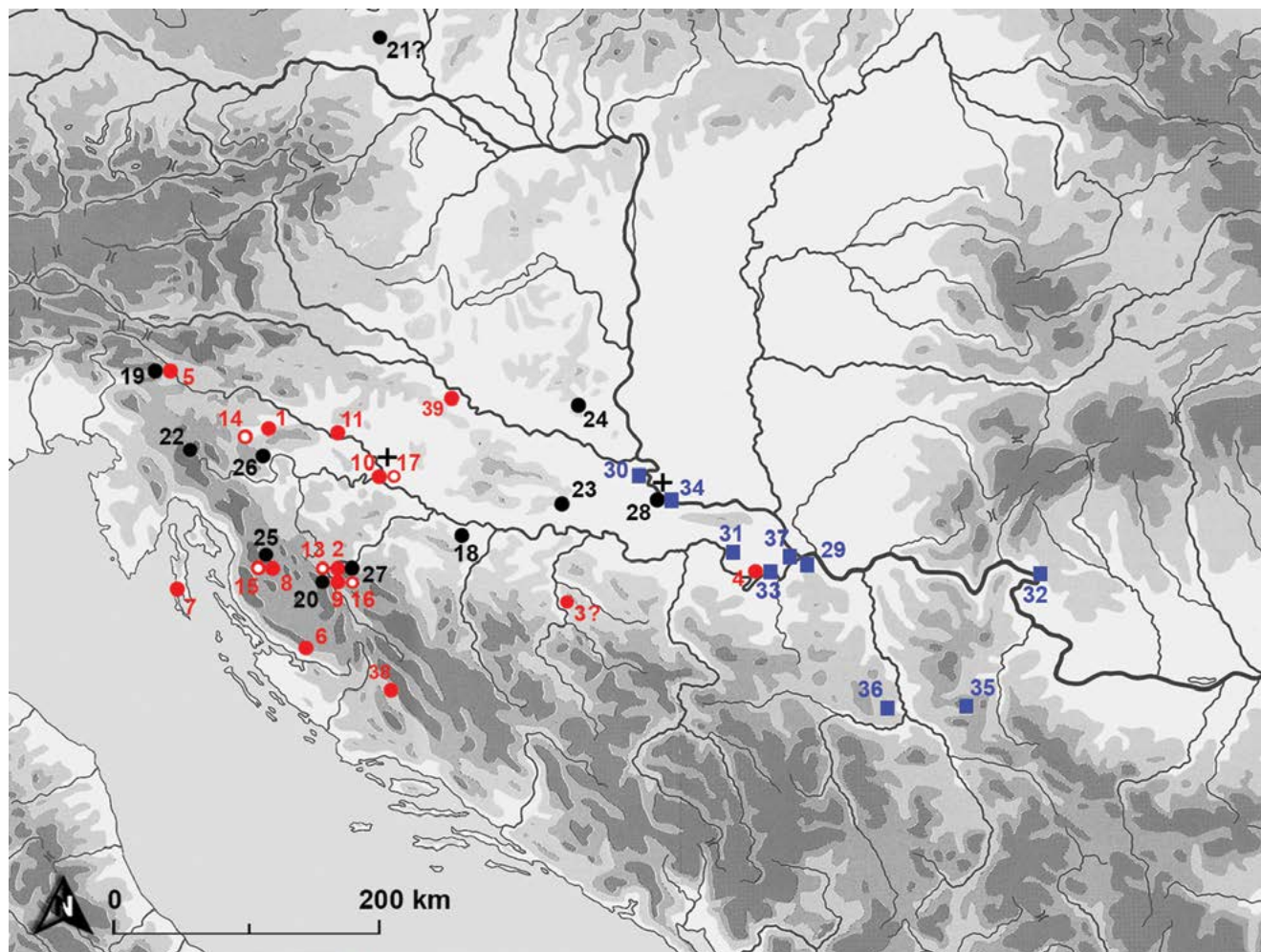
57 Marić 1968, 34; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 416, Fig. 25: 11.

58 Balen-Letunić 2006, 65.

59 Parović-Pešikan 1982, 35-39, Pl. 3.

60 Gaspari, Mlinar 2005, 180.

61 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 83, Pl. 13: 13; Drnić 2015b, 75, cat. no. 138, Pl. 32: 2.



KARTA 1.

Rasprostranjenost kasnolatenskih noževa:

1. tip Pritoka - Bela Cerkev (crveni krug);
2. zakrivljenih sječiva manjih dimenzija od tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev (crveno- bijeli krug);
3. noževi iz Siska i Sotina (Sl. 4) (crni križić);
4. noževi s trokutastim sječivom (crni krug);
5. tip *sica* i lokalne jugoistočnoapanonske varijante (plavi kvadrat)

MAP 1.

The distribution of Late La Tène knives:

1. The Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type (red circle);
2. Knives with curved blades smaller than those of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type (red-white circle);
3. Knives from Sisak and Sotin (Fig. 4) (black +);
4. Knives with triangular blades (black circle);
5. The *sica* type and local, southern Pannonian variants (blue square)

kod kojih u ranijim razdobljima oružje uglavnom nije predstavljalo grobne priloge (Jezerine kod Pritoke, Ribić, Golubić, Prozor).<sup>57</sup>

D. Balen-Letunić pretpostavila je kako noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev predstavljaju nastavak duge tradicije korištenja bojnih noževa na prostoru istočne jadranske obale i njenog zaleđa, ne samo od starijeg željeznog doba, nego već od kasnog brončanog doba.<sup>58</sup> Također, prilično je uočljiva sličnost ovoga tipa s noževima s lokaliteta Sanski Most i Donja Dolina koje je M. Parović-Pešikan definirala kao tip II,<sup>59</sup> na što su već upozorili A. Gaspari i M. Mlinar.<sup>60</sup> Njih odlikuju trakasto raskovan jezičac s rupama za zakovice i blago savijeno sječivo. Na prijelazu drške u sječivo nalazi se sedlasto oblikovana križnica kakva je zabilježena na spo-

knives with curved blades from southern Pannonia, the southeastern Alps and the western Balkans were created under the influence of the Dacian *sica*<sup>62</sup> that appeared as an autochthonous element in the Late Iron Age material culture across southeastern Alpine territories. M. Karwowski infers such as the result of contacts between the warrior elites of the *Scordisci* and the same social group on the territory of the Padea - Panagjurski Kolonii group. These knives are, apart from a practical function, also ascribed a certain ritual/religious function, seeing as they are often decorated with solar symbols and depictions of birds of prey, and it is possible that they represented a status symbol of the warrior aristocracy that could have been the bearer of certain religious functions in the structure of the Dacian society.<sup>63</sup>

57 Marić 1968, 34; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 416, sl. 25: 11.

58 Balen-Letunić 2006, 65.

59 Parović-Pešikan 1982, 35-39, T. 3.

60 Gaspari, Mlinar 2005, 180.

62 Karwowski 2016, 80-81, e.g. describing the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type: "...stylistically they are reminiscent of type IV *sicae* of Z. *Woźniak*". A similar generalization can be seen on the map depicting the distribution of *sica* type knives published by D. Topal and V. Bubulic (Топал, Бубулич 2016).

63 Rustoiu 2007, 69-71; Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 340-343.

menutim noževima iz Kupinova<sup>61</sup> i Sotina (Sl. 4: 2). Prilagani su u grobove datirane u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr.

S druge strane, pojedini su autori većinu poznatih noževa tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev, ali i one s trokutasto oblikovanim sječivom, doveli u vezu s noževima zakrivljenog sječiva poznatim pod terminom *sica*, karakterističnima za dački i trački prostor. Primjerice, u nedavno objavljenom radu M. Karwowski zaključuje kako svi noževi zakrivljenih sječiva iz južne Panonije, jugoistočnih Alpa i zapadnog Balkana iz razdoblja kasnog latena nastaju pod utjecajem dačkih *sica*<sup>62</sup> koje se u to vrijeme pojavljuju kao aloh-toni element u mladeželznodobnoj materijalnoj kulturi jugoistočnopanonskog prostora kao posljedica kontakata ratničkih elita Skordiska s istom društvenom grupacijom na području kulture Padea - Panagjurski Kolonii. Ovim se noževima, osim funkcionalne, pridaje i određena ritualna/religijska funkcija s obzirom na to da su često ukrašeni solarnim simbolima i prikazima ptica grabljivica, a moguće je da su predstavljali i statusni simbol ratničke aristokracije koja je u strukturi dačkog društva mogla biti nositelj i određenih religijskih funkcija.<sup>63</sup>

Činjenica je kako je na prostorima jugoistočnih Alpa, južne Panonije te zapadnog i srednjeg Balkana, uključujući i istočnu jadransku obalu, postojala tradicija korištenja jednosječnih mačeva/bojnih noževa još iz starijeg željeznog doba (*mahaire*, *falkate*).<sup>64</sup> Ta je tradicija nastavljena i u mlađem željeznom dobu, doduše na nešto užem području zapadnog i središnjeg Balkana, što potvrđuju primjerci koje je M. Parović-Pešikan definirala kao tip III i datirala ih u 3.-2. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>65</sup> Jedan takav nož s ravnim sječivom i masivnim okruglim zadebljanjem na završetku drške, koji je ujedno i najsjeverniji primjerak ovoga tipa, pronađen je u rijeci Savi kod Donje Doline, zajedno s nekoliko predmeta koji potječu iz kasnog latena i početka rimskog razdoblja.<sup>66</sup> Nejasna slika o uporabi ovog tipa oružja u razdoblju između 4. i 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. odraz je nedostatka grobova ratnika s prostora zapadnog Balkana i jadranskog zaleđa, dok na prostoru jugoistočnih Alpa i južne Panonije u stupnjevima LT B2-C2 nalazimo tipične latenske setove naoružanja (mač s pojasnom garniturom, koplje, štit i ponekad kaciga) koji u tom razdoblju ne uključuju bojne noževe zakrivljenog sječiva.<sup>67</sup>

Unatoč navedenim nepoznicama, stoljetna tradicija korištenja i znatna morfološka različitost upućuju na problematičnost teze o utjecaju dačkih *sica* na razvoj svih bojnih noževa zakrivlje-

It is a fact that, on the territory of the southeastern Alps, southern Pannonia and the central Balkans, including the eastern Adriatic coast, there was a tradition of using single-bladed swords/battle knives since the Early Iron Age (*mahaire*, *falcata*).<sup>64</sup> The tradition was continued into the Late Iron Age, on a somewhat smaller territory of the western and central Balkans, as attested to by finds that M. Parović-Pešikan. They are defined as type III and dated into the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.<sup>65</sup> One such knife with a straight blade and a massive round thicker part at the tip of the handle was discovered in the Sava River near Donja Dolina, being the northernmost find, alongside several Late La Tène and early Roman finds.<sup>66</sup> The unclear picture of the usage of this type between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC is the result of a lack of warrior graves in the western Balkans and the Adriatic hinterland, seeing as, in phases LT B2-C2, the territory of the southeastern Alps and southern Pannonia yielded typical La Tène sets of weapons (a sword with a belt, a spear, a shield, and sometimes a helmet) that, in that period, did not include battle knives with a curved blade.<sup>67</sup>

Despite the listed unknowns, the cent.-old tradition of use, as well as the significant morphological diversity, points to problems with the hypothesis about the influence the Dacian *sica* had on the development of all battle knives with a curved blade of the Late La Tène period within the discussed territory. Namely, certain Dacian/Thracian influences in southeastern Pannonia are unquestionable, but they were phased out in the areas west of the Danube, on a territory that was, conditionally speaking, the western territory of the *Scordisci* - southwestern Pannonia and the western Balkans. It is the geographical area where the influence was reduced to several known objects, such as the, so called, bits of the Thracian type (Werner XVI), and somewhat younger examples with round elements, such as the ones from Sisak<sup>68</sup> and Orešac,<sup>69</sup> or a silver bracelet from Psarjevo.<sup>70</sup> This is supported by the fact that the *sica* type and its local derivatives were not recorded west of the Croatian-Serbian Danube region valley (where there are records of knives with triangular blades and a knife of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type (Map 1)), with Syrmia as a zone of overlap. Regarding the origin of the find from Slatina in Rožna dolina, the territory of the Mokronog group, that A. Rustuiu and M. Karwowski list as the westernmost example, authors stress the problematic nature of the find and express certain possibilities that it originated from southeastern Panno-

61 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 83, T. 13; Drnić 2015b, 75, kat. br. 138, T. 32: 2.

62 Karwowski 2016, 80-81, npr. opisujući tip Pritoka - Bela Cerkev navodi "... stylistically they are reminiscent of type IV *sicae* of Z. Woźniak". Sličnu generalizaciju nalazimo i na karti rasprostranjenosti noževa tipa *sica* u nedavno objavljenom radu D. Topal i V. Bubulić (Топал, Бубулич 2016).

63 Rustoiu 2007, 69-71; Sirbu, Borangic 2016, 340-343.

64 Guštin 1974; Teržan 1977; Parović-Pešikan 1982; Gaspari, Mlinar 2005; Blečić-Kavur, Miličević Capek 2011, 64-65; Blečić-Kavur 2015, 119-122, sl. 46.

65 Parović-Pešikan 1982, 39-42, 45, T. 4.

66 Drnić 2014, 203-204, Fig. 3.

67 Iznimka bi mogle biti *mahaire* tipa Ljubljanića zabilježene na prostoru srednje i zapadne Slovenije, iako njihovo datiranje u mlade željezno doba nije još adekvatno riješeno (Guštin 1974, 81, note 16; Gaspari, Mlinar 2004, 179).

64 Guštin 1974; Teržan 1977; Parović-Pešikan 1982; Gaspari, Mlinar 2005; Blečić-Kavur, Miličević Capek 2011, 64-65; Blečić-Kavur 2015, 119-122, Fig. 46.

65 Parović-Pešikan 1982, 39-42, 45, Pl. 4.

66 Drnić 2014, 203-204, Fig. 3.

67 An exception could be seen in the *mahaire* of the Ljubljanića type that have been recorded on the territory of central and western Slovenia, although the question of their datation into the Late Iron Age has not been completely resolved (Guštin 1974, 81, note 16; Gaspari, Mlinar 2004, 179).

68 Božić 2018, in this volume.

69 Most finds from Orešac, mostly parts of wagons, that are being kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb were published in Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, 312, Pl. 24, 316, Pl. 28: 1-2 and later in Schönfelder 2001, but not the bit with characteristic round elements with four spikes each (Božić 2018, in this volume).

70 Majnarić-Pandžić 2008; Drnić, Franjić 2014, 88, Pl. 1: 7.



**Sl. 5.**  
 Različiti tipovi noževa iz kasnolatenskog razdoblja:  
 1-2. tip Pritoka - Bela Cerkev (Sisak, nepoznato nalazište),  
 3. nož s trokutastim sječivom (Sotin),  
 4-5. sice (Kupinovo, Zemun)  
 (snimio: I. Krajcar, B. Suntešić)

**FIG. 5.**  
 Different types of Late La Tène knives:  
 1-2. The Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type (Sisak, unknown site),  
 3. A knife with a triangular blade (Sotin),  
 4-5. Sice (Kupinovo, Zemun)  
 (photo: I. Krajcar, B. Suntešić)

nog sječiva iz kasnolatenskog razdoblja na navedenom prostoru. Naime, određeni dački/trački utjecaji u jugoistočnoj Panoniji su neosporni, ali ti utjecaji prilično blijede u krajevima zapadno od Dunava, na prostoru koji, uvjetno rečeno, predstavlja zapadni teritorij Skordiska, dok se na prostoru jugozapadne Panonije i zapadnog Balkana svode na nekoliko poznatih predmeta, kao što su žvale tzv. tračkog tipa (Werner XVI) ili nešto mlađi primjerci s okruglim obrazinama iz Siska<sup>68</sup> i Orešca,<sup>69</sup> te srebrna narukvica iz Psarjeva.<sup>70</sup> S ovom slikom u potpunosti korelira i činjenica da *sice* ili njihove lokalne izvedenice nisu zabilježene zapadno od hrvatsko-srpskog Podunavlja (gdje nalazimo noževe s trokutastim sječivom i jedan primjerak tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev (Karta 1), sa Srijemom kao zonom preklapanja. U vezi porijekla primjerka iz Slatine u Rožnoj dolini, s prostora mokronoške skupine, koji A. Rustoiu i M. Karwowski navode kao najzapadniji primjerak, već su i autori upozorili na problematičnost nalaza i iznijeli određenu mogućnost da potječe iz jugoistočne Panonije.<sup>71</sup> Stoga, određene pojavnosti koje se manifestiraju u drugoj polovici 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr., a čije ishodište možemo potražiti na istoku Karpatske kotline, mogle su predstavljati impuls, ali nikako i novost u kulturnom krugu čije su ratničke elite stoljećima koristile konceptijski slično oružje.

Za kraj, usporedimo li tri opisane skupine noževa, vidljivo je kako su noževi tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev u prosjeku najduži, dok su *sice* i njihove lokalne izvedenice znatno kraće, što ih u komparativno/funkcionalnom smislu čini manje učinkovitim oružjem u odnosu na prve dvije grupe koje su korištene u kulturnom krugu kojemu pripada i sisačka željeznodobna zajednica (Sl. 5-6). Još jedna razlika između noževa tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev i onih s trokutasto oblikovanim sječivom u odnosu na *sice* jest potpuni nedostatak bilo kakvog ukrasa na njihovim sječivima.

Iako njihovi zašiljeni vrhovi upućuju da su mogli biti korišteni i za ubadanje, osnovna namjena opisanih noževa, na što ukazuje zakrivljenost hrpta, bila je sječenje. Dužina između 35 i 55 cm nije prikladna za konjaničko oružje što ove noževe definira prvenstveno kao pješачko oružje korišteno u bliskoj borbi. Naravno, zbog svoje multifunkcionalnosti mogli su biti korišteni i u svakodnevnom životu u svojstvu

nia.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, certain indications that manifested in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC can be traced back to the east of the Carpathian basin. These incidences could have represented an impulse, but certainly not a novelty within cultural circles where warrior elites had been using conceptually similar weapons for centuries.

Finally, if the three described groups of knives are compared, it becomes clear that the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives are, on average, the longest, while the *sice* and their local derivatives are significantly shorter. In the sense of comparisons and functions, this makes the *sica* knives less efficient weapons in relation to the first two groups that were used by the same cultural circle that included the Iron Age population of Sisak (Fig. 5-6). Another difference between the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives and knives with a triangular blade in relation to *sice* is the complete lack of decorations on the blades.

Even though their pointy tips suggest that they might have been used for stabbing, the basic function of the described knives, as indicated by the curvature of the blade, was cutting. A length of between 35 and 55 cm is not suitable for cavalry weapons, defining these knives primarily as weapons used by the infantry in close combat. Of course, due to their multi-functionality, they could have also been used in everyday life as tools, as suggested by some ethnological and modern examples, as is the case with the morphologically very similar *Kukri* knives from Nepal.<sup>72</sup>

### Spears

Spearheads, especially those without a clear archaeological context, are often regarded as simple utilitarian objects that cannot, due to their morphological characteristics, be typologically and chronologically analyzed in detail. However, it is a fact that most finds do provide enough information for chronological and cultural attribution (the material used, the shape, relations between individual constructive elements like the blade and the socket, decorations). Spearheads and javelins from Sisak that are kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Sisak City

68 Božič 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

69 Veći dio predmeta iz Orešca, uglavnom dijelovi kola, koji se čuvaju u fundusu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, objavljen je u Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, 312, Pl. 24, 316, Pl. 28: 1-2 i kasnije u Schönfelder 2003, ali ne i žvale s karakterističnim okruglim elementima s po četiri trna (Božič 2018, u ovoj knjizi).

70 Majnarić - Pandžić 2008; Drnić, Franjić 2014, 88, Pl. 1: 7.

71 Gaspari, Krempeš, Brišnik 2004, 268-269, 274, 277, karta 2, T. 2: 4; Rustoiu 2007, 69. Potreban je i određeni oprez pri definiranju pojedinih predmeta kao *sice*, uzimajući u obzir samo jedan element – zakrivljenost sječiva i zanemarujući ostale, uključujući i kronološke odrednice. Postoje slučajevi kada su noževi od petnaestak centimetara, iz grobova datiranih u stupnjeve LT B2 i LT C1, okarakterizirani kao *sice* (Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 170, Tab. 2). Naime, ako se nakratko vratimo definiciji A. Rustoiua koji ove predmete određuje kao oružje s izvjesnom simboličkom i ritualnom funkcijom, postaje jasno kako primjerci od petnaestak centimetara zasigurno nisu bili oružje, osobito u kontekstu kasnog latena kada mačevi dosežu dužinu od metra, a vrhovi kopalja nerijetko i preko pola metra. Nadalje, većina tih noževa manjih dimenzija ne nosi nikakav ukras koji bi upućivao na njihovu simboličku ulogu kao pokazatelja statusa ili potencijalne uloge u ritualu. Činjenica je kako postoji nekoliko primjeraka manjih dimenzija koji sadrže pojedine elemente koji potvrđuju da su predložci za njihovu izradu zaista bile *sice* u pravom smislu te riječi, kao što su to jednostavan ukras na nožu iz Dalja (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 89, T. XXIV: 10) i karakteristični narebreni graničnik na sotinskom primjerku (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, T. 4: 4; Božič 1981, T. 9: 9).

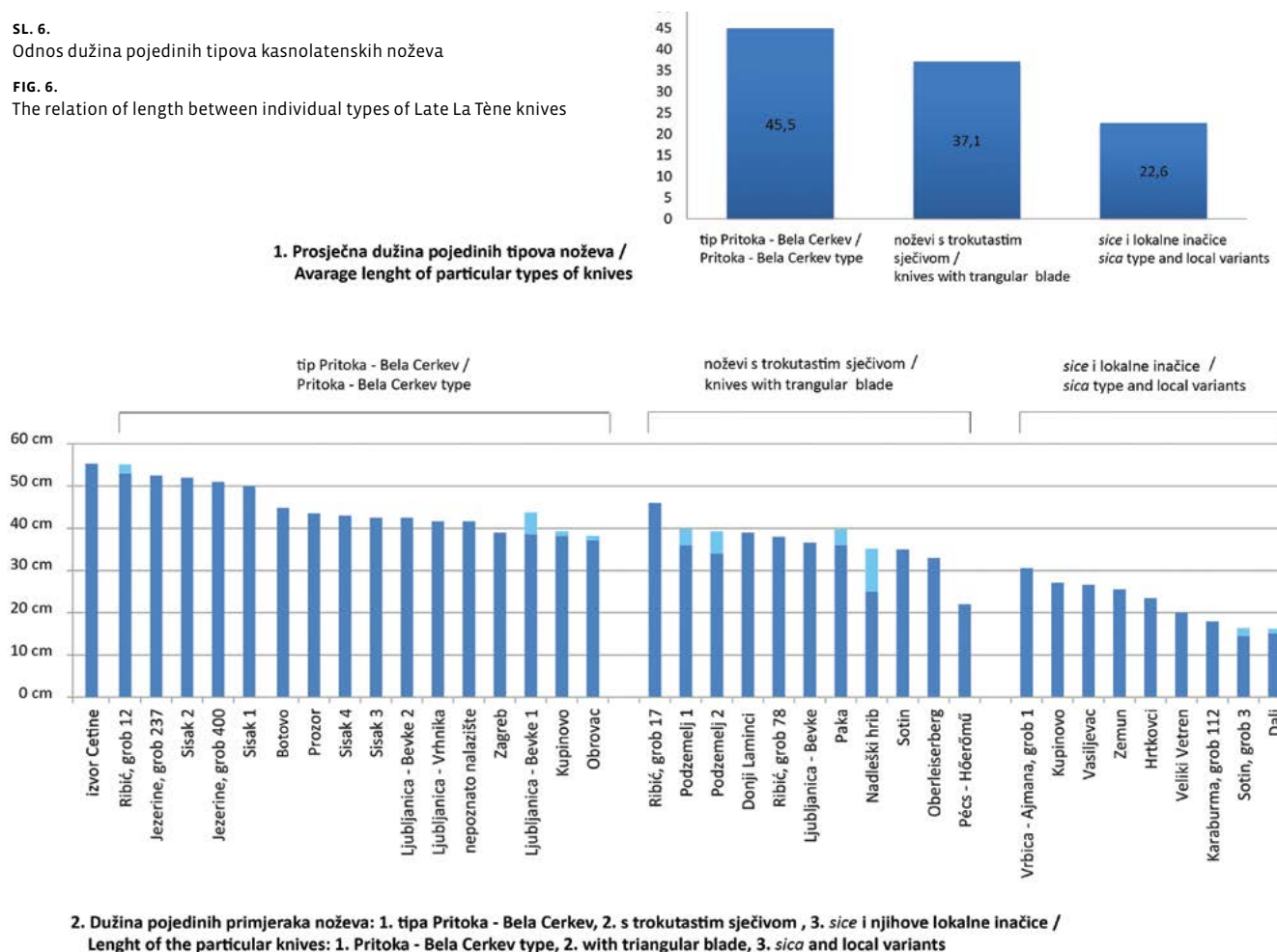
71 Gaspari, Krempeš, Brišnik 2004, 268-269, 274, 277, Map 2, Pl. 2: 4; Rustoiu 2007, 69. It is necessary to define certain finds as *sice* with caution, considering only one element - blade curvature, and neglecting the others, including chronological indicators. In some cases, knives that are about fifteen centimeters long, from graves dated to phases LT B2 and LT C1, had been characterized as *sice* (Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 170, Tab. 2). Namely, briefly going back to A. Rustoiu's definition of these finds as weapons with a certain symbolic and ritual function, it becomes clear that fifteen-centimeter-long pieces were certainly not weapons, especially in Late La Tène when swords reached a meter in length, and spearhead often half a meter. Furthermore, most of these smaller knives do not have any decorations indicating their symbolic role as a marker of status symbols or their ritualistic role. It is a fact that there are several examples of smaller knives that do have some elements confirming that they were modeled based on the *sice* in the full sense of the word, such as the simple decorations found on the knife from Dalj (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 89, Pl. XXIV: 10) and the characteristic ribbed delimiter on the find from Sotin (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, Pl. 4: 4; Božič 1981, Pl. 9: 9).

72 [https://www.academia.edu/8835205/Kukri\\_101\\_-\\_What\\_is\\_a\\_Kukri\\_Khukuri\\_Knife\(20.04.217\)](https://www.academia.edu/8835205/Kukri_101_-_What_is_a_Kukri_Khukuri_Knife(20.04.217)).



SL. 6.  
Odnos dužina pojedinih tipova kasnolatenskih noževa

FIG. 6.  
The relation of length between individual types of Late La Tène knives



oruđa, što nam potvrđuju pojedini etnološki i suvremeni primjeri, kao što je slučaj s morfološki vrlo bliskim nepalskim Kukrijima.<sup>72</sup>

### Koplja

Iako se vrhovi kopalja, osobito oni bez jasnog arheološkog konteksta, nerijetko smatraju jednostavnim, utilitarnim predmetima, čije morfološke karakteristike uglavnom ne dozvoljavaju detaljnije tipološko-kronološke analize, činjenica je da većina primjeraka ipak sadrži dovoljno informacija na osnovi kojih je moguća njihova vremenska i kulturna determinacija (vrsta materijala, oblik, odnosi pojedinih konstrukcijskih elemenata kao što su list i nasadnik, ukras). Vrhovi kopalja i sulica koji potječu iz Siska, a čuvaju se u fundusima Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Gradskog muzeja Sisak, čine veliku i heterogenu skupinu koja vremenski pokriva razdoblje od gotovo 3000 godina, od kasnog brončanog doba do ranog novog vijeka, s najvećim brojem primjeraka, razumljivo, iz rimskog razdoblja.<sup>73</sup> Većina ovih predmeta potječe iz rijeke Kupe, a za određeni broj vrhova kopalja arheološki kontekst, nažalost, nije poznat. Među ovim predmetima izdvojena je skupina koja se na osnovi morfoloških karakteristika može datirati u razdoblje mlađeg željeznog doba, s nizom analognih predmeta na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru i u južnoj Panoniji kada su ovi krajevi činili graničnu zonu latenskog kompleksa (mokra-

Museum make up a large heterogeneous group that can be dated to a period spanning over 3000 years, from the Bronze Age to the Early Modern Period, and most of them are, understandably, Roman.<sup>73</sup> Most of these were discovered in the Kupa River, and unfortunately, there is no accurate archaeological context for a certain number of spearheads. A group was selected among these finds that can, by their morphological characteristics, be dated to the Late Iron Age period, based on a series of analogous finds from the southeastern Alpine and southern Pannonian regions that were then on the border of the La Tène cultural complex (the Mokronog group, the Belgrade group), or were under its strong influences, as is the case with the Iron Age *Segest(ic)a*. A relatively large number of spearheads from this region that has a clearly defined contexts, mostly graves, allows for well-founded typological and chronological analyses for the period between the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC (phases LT B2-LT D2).<sup>74</sup>

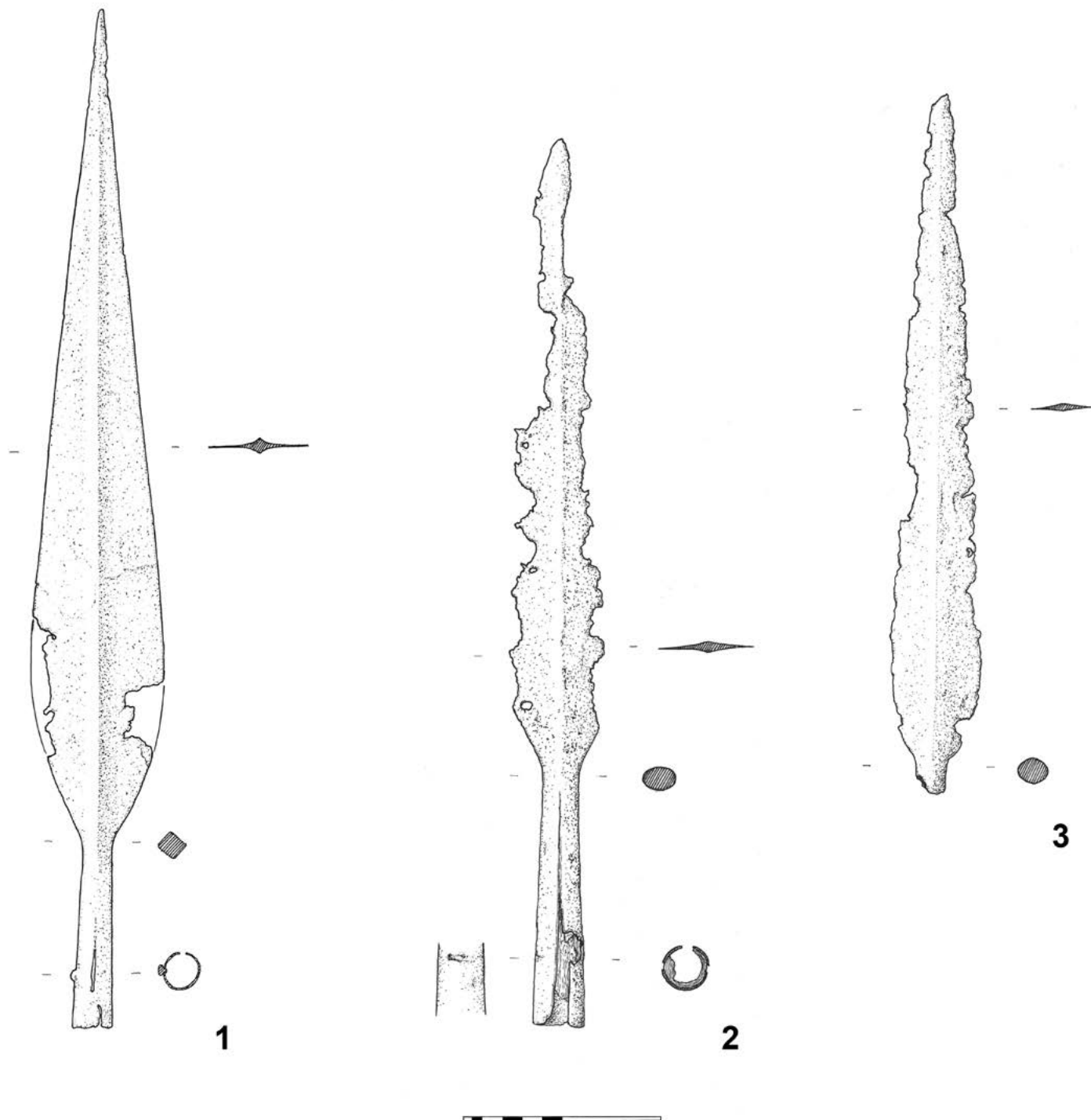
At first glance of the material from Sisak, the lack of the earliest forms used in the LT B2 phase (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) becomes clear. These forms have a wide blade with a pronounced central rib of rhombic cross-section. There are also no forms characteristic of the LT C1 phase that have a slightly narrower blade, and were used during the

72 [https://www.academia.edu/8835205/Kukri\\_101\\_-\\_What\\_is\\_a\\_Kukri\\_Khukuri\\_Knife](https://www.academia.edu/8835205/Kukri_101_-_What_is_a_Kukri_Khukuri_Knife) (20.04.217).

73 Vinski Gasparini 1973, 184, T. 74C: 4; Burkowsky 2004, kat. br. 57-59; Radman-Livaja 2004, 27-32, T. 2: 8-9, T. 3-9; Radman-Livaja, Drnić 2016.

73 Vinski Gasparini 1973, 184, Pl. 74C: 4; Burkowsky 2004, cat. no. 57-59; Radman-Livaja 2004, 27-32, Pl. 2: 8-9, Pl. 3-9; Radman-Livaja, Drnić 2016.

74 Božič 1981; Božič 1987; Božič 1999; Dizdar 2013, 142-152; Drnić 2015c, etc.



SL. 7.  
Vrhovi kopalja iz Siska (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 7.  
The spearheads from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić)

noška skupina, grupa Beograd) ili su bili pod njegovim snažnim utjecajem, kao što je slučaj i sa željeznodobnom Segest(ik)om. Relativno veliki broj vrhova kopalja s navedenog prostora s dobro definiranim kontekstima, prvenstveno iz grobova, dozvoljava dobro utemeljene tipološke analize za razdoblje od druge polovice 4. do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. (stupnjevi LT B2 – LT D2).<sup>74</sup>

Ono što je među sisačkim materijalom na prvi pogled uočljivo jest nedostatak ranijih oblika korištenih u stupnju LT B2 (druga

3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC. The spearhead shown on Fig. 7: 1 could have been used until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, in the LT C2 phase. It has a short socket and a long, forged blade with a central rib of rhombic cross-section. It is 51.8 cm long - a basic difference between spearheads of the LT C2-LT D phases and the earlier, as well as the younger (Roman) finds. During the defined period, there was a significant increase in length and, proportionally, the mass of spearheads, which is definitely a reflection of certain changes in the way in which wars were

74 Božić 1981; Božić 1987; Božić 1999; Dizdar 2013, 142-152; Drnić 2015c i dr.

polovica 4. i početak 3. stoljeća pr. Kr.), koje odlikuje širok, raskovan list s naglašenim središnjim rebrom rombičnog presjeka. Nedostaju i oblici karakteristični za LT C1 stupanj s nešto užim listovima, korišteni tijekom 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. Vrh koplja koji je mogao biti u uporabi od kraja 3. i u prvoj polovici 2. stoljeća pr. Kr., odnosno u stupnju LT C2, primjerak je prikazan na Sl. 7: 1. On ima kratak nasadnik i dugi, raskovan list sa središnjim rebrom rombičnog presjeka. Dužina mu iznosi 51,8 cm, što je osnovna karakteristika koja razlikuje vrhove kopalja LT C2 – LT D stupnjeva od starijih, ali i mlađih (rimskodobnih) primjeraka. U navednom razdoblju dolazi do znatnog povećanja dužine, a proporcionalno i mase vrhova kopalja, što zasigurno odražava određene promjene u načinu ratovanja koje su, među ostalim, uključivale i naglašeniju uporabu konjice, o čemu će nešto više biti rečeno u poglavlju o predmetima konjske opreme. Primjerci slični sisačkom vrhu koplja zabilježeni su na nizu jugoistočnoalpskih i južnopanonskih lokaliteta, kao što su grobovi LT 12 na Velikom polju u Zvonimirovu<sup>75</sup> te grob 9 iz Slatine u Rožnoj dolini<sup>76</sup> koji su datirani u LT C2 stupanj, dok su mu morfološki još bliskiji nešto mlađi primjerci iz stupnja LT D1 iz groba 13 s beogradske Karaburme<sup>77</sup> i groba 3 s položaja Sotin-Zmajevac.<sup>78</sup> Stoga smo skloniji sisački primjerci datirati u kasnolatsko razdoblje, odnosno drugu polovicu 2. i 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.

Na dva prilično oštećena primjerka (Sl. 7: 2-3) nalazi se slabije naglašeno rebro, odnosno prijelaz između središnjeg rebra i lista nešto je blaži nego kod prethodno opisanog vrha koplja, što bi moglo predstavljati razvojni oblik prema kopljima s rombičnim presjekom lista.<sup>79</sup> Primjerci slično oblikovanog lista zabilježeni su u nekoliko grobnih cjelina mokronoške skupine, primjerice u grobu 239 s Kapiteljske njive u Novome mestu<sup>80</sup> te grobu LT 4 iz Zvonimirova.<sup>81</sup> Slabije naglašena središnja rebra nalaze se i na pojedinim primjercima iz kasnolatskog razdoblja (LT D1-D2), a veći broj potječe iz grobova s položaja Beletov vrt u Novome mestu.<sup>82</sup> Iako su nešto kraći, kao vrlo bliske sisačkim primjercima možemo istaknuti vrhove kopalja iz grobova 140 i 187 s trokutasto oblikovanim listovima (s najvećom širinom u prvih 10-20% dužine) i slabo naglašenim središnjim rebrima.<sup>83</sup> Važno je istaknuti kako se slabo naglašeno središnje rebro pojavljuje i na vrhovima kopalja kakva je koristila rimska vojska,<sup>84</sup> što je važno uzeti u ob-

waged that must have, among other things, included a more pronounced use of cavalry, as will be shown in the chapter on finds of horse-riding equipment. Finds similar to the spearhead from Sisak have been recorded on a series of southeastern Alpine and southern Pannonian sites, such as LT 12 graves at Veliko polje in Zvonimirovo<sup>75</sup> and grave 9 from Slatina in Rožna dolina<sup>76</sup> that have been dated to the LT C2 phase. Morphologically even more similar, although somewhat younger, examples from the LT D1 phase were recorded in grave 13 from Belgrade Karaburma<sup>77</sup> and grave 3 from Sotin-Zmajevac.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the authors are more prone to date the find from Sisak into the Late La Tène period, i.e. to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.

Two significantly damaged finds (Fig. 7: 2-3) have a less pronounced rib, i.e. the transition between the central rib and the blade is somewhat less noticeable than those on the previously described spearhead type, a feature that could be a transitional form into spears with a blade of rhombic cross-section.<sup>79</sup> Finds with a similarly shaped blade were recorded in several grave units of the Mokronog group, for example grave 239 at Kapiteljska njiva in Novo Mesto,<sup>80</sup> and grave LT 4 at Zvonimirovo.<sup>81</sup> Less pronounced central ribs are also found on some finds dated to the Late La Tène period (LT D1-D2), and a larger number was found in graves from Beletov vrt in Novo Mesto.<sup>82</sup> Although they are shorter, finds similar to those from Sisak, with triangular blades and a poorly pronounced central ribs, were recorded in graves 140 and 187 (the largest width in the first 10-20% of the length).<sup>83</sup> It is important to note that poorly pronounced central ribs also appear on spearheads used by the Roman army,<sup>84</sup> which is especially important when studying the material from Sisak, seeing as the city housed large numbers of Roman troops over certain periods.<sup>85</sup> However, the difference between the described finds and the younger Roman spearheads is their length. Namely, the length of the better-preserved find (Fig. 7: 2) is 45 cm (blade length of 31.5 cm), while the length of the blade on the spearhead that has no mount is 5 cm greater (Fig. 7: 3), making it is possible to conclude that this spearhead was of equal, or even greater length than the first find. The listed lengths, ranging between 45 and 50 cm, are not characteristic of Roman spearheads and seldom appear in contexts that can be connected to

75 Dizdar 2013, 451, T. 21: 3.

76 Pirkmajer 1991, Sl. 18, T. 8: 51.

77 Todorović 1972, 14, T. 5, grob 13: 4.

78 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, T. 4: 8.

79 Nažalost, često je teško jasno odrediti pojedine konstrukcijske detalje (jače/slabije naglašeno rebro, slabo naglašeno rebro/rombičan presjek), osobito kada je riječ o oštećenim primjercima. Problem nastaje i u interpretacijama koje su zasnovane na predmetima objavljenim na lošim crtežima i fotografijama, pa dio materijala, osobito onaj iz starijih objava, nije prikladan za detaljnije tipološke analize. Naravno, u obzir je potrebno uzeti i određenu subjektivnost prilikom interpretacija koje nisu zasnovane na metričkim ili jasno definiranim parametrima.

80 Križ 2005, 88, T. 64: 5.

81 Dizdar 2013, 145, T. 7.

82 Knez 1992.

83 Knez 1992, 54, 63, T. 51: 1, T. 67: 2.

84 Luik 2002, 227, Sl. 180:131-132; Bishop, Coulston 2006, sl. 24: 2-3, sl. 38: 12-13, i dr.

75 Dizdar 2013, 451, Pl. 21: 3.

76 Pirkmajer 1991, Fig. 18, Pl. 8: 51.

77 Todorović 1972, 14, Pl. 5, grave 13: 4.

78 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, Pl. 4: 8.

79 Unfortunately, it is often difficult to clearly define individual details of construction (more/less pronounced ribs, poorly represented ribs/rhombic cross-section), especially when dealing with damaged finds. A problem also appears with interpretations that were based on finds published on poorly-executed drawings and photographs, so some of the material, especially those from older publications, is not suitable for more detailed typological analyses. Naturally, it is necessary to consider a certain level of subjectivity applied to interpretations that are not based on metric or clearly defined parameters.

80 Križ 2005, 88, Pl. 64: 5.

81 Dizdar 2013, 145, Pl. 7.

82 Knez 1992.

83 Knez 1992, 54, 63, Pl. 51: 1, Pl. 67: 2.

84 Luik 2002, 227, Abb. 180:131-132; Bishop, Coulston 2006, Fig. 24: 2-3, Fig. 38: 12-13, and so on.

85 Radman-Livaja 2004; Radman-Livaja 2018 (in this volume).

zir pri analizi materijala iz Siska gdje je u pojedinim razdobljima bio stacioniran velik broj rimskih trupa.<sup>85</sup> Ipak, ono što razlikuje opisane primjerke od mladih, rimskih vrhova kopalja jest njihova dužina. Naime, dužina bolje sačuvanog primjerka (Sl. 7: 2) iznosi 45 cm (dužina lista 31,5 cm), dok je dužina lista drugog vrha koplja kojemu nedostaje nasadnik veća za 5 cm (Sl. 7: 3), na osnovi čega se može zaključiti kako je ovaj vrh koplja bio jednake ili čak veće dužine od prvog primjerka. Navedene dužine, između 45-50 cm, nisu karakteristične za vrhove rimskih kopalja i rijetko se pojavljuju u kontekstima koje možemo dovesti u vezu s rimskom vojskom (grobovi s oružjem, logori). Komparativni materijal iz grobova s prostora Slovenije (Verdun pri Stopičah,<sup>86</sup> Ljubljana-Kongresni trg),<sup>87</sup> Hrvatske (Sveta Trojica) i Srbije (Beograd-Karaburma<sup>88</sup>) pokazuje da dužina većine vrhova kopalja iznosi između 20 i 35 cm, iako je nekoliko primjeraka većih dimenzija (40-50 cm) zabilježeno u Verdunu (grobovi 84, 228 i 246)<sup>89</sup> te grobu 44 s Karaburme, što bi upućivalo na nastavak željeznodobne tradicije koja se, uostalom, odražava u samom grobnom ritualu polaganja oružja. Slična situacija poznata je s drugih lokaliteta, primjerice na Magdalensbergu gdje dužina najdužeg primjerka iznosi 37,5 cm,<sup>90</sup> dok prosječna dužina poznatih vrhova kopalja iz nekoliko vojnih logora iz 1. st. i prve polovice 2. stoljeća s rajnskog i dunavskog limesa, kao što su primerice Rheingönheim,<sup>91</sup> Haltern,<sup>92</sup> Aislingen i Burghöfe,<sup>93</sup> iznosi 20 – 30 cm.

Skupinu od pet primjeraka čine vrhovi kopalja s dugim listom rombičnog presjeka, karakteristični za kasnolatsko razdoblje (LT D) (Sl. 8: 1, Sl. 9). Velik broj sličnih predmeta, definiranih kao tip 2,<sup>94</sup> prisutan je u grobovima ratnika s prostora jugoistočne Panonije u koje je polagano od jednog do četiri komada tipološki često različitih vrhova kopalja. U kasnolatskom razdoblju (LT D1) nastavlja se trend produžavanja vrhova kopalja, započeo u stupnju LT C2, pa pojedini primjerci nerijetko dosežu dužinu veću od 50 cm i težinu između 500 i 700 grama (Karaburma - grob 13, Kupinovo i dr.).<sup>95</sup> Dva sisačka primjerka vrlo su oštećena. Prvi ima duži nasadnik i izduženo oblikovan list kojemu nedostaje gornja polovica (Sl. 9: 2), a drugom primjerku, nešto kraćeg nasadnika i (vjerojatno) trokutasto oblikovanog lista, također nedostaje vrh (Sl. 9: 4).

Ostali vrhovi kopalja uglavnom su dobro očuvani i morfološki su komparativni s opisanim jugoistočnopanonskim primjercima, a i

the Roman army (graves with weapons, camps). Comparative material from graves in Slovenia (Verdun pri Stopičah,<sup>86</sup> Ljubljana-Kongresni trg<sup>87</sup>), Croatia (Sveta Trojica) and Serbia (Beograd-Karaburma<sup>88</sup>) shows that the length of most spearheads is between 20 and 35 cm, although some longer finds (40-50 cm) were recorded at Verdun (graves 84, 228 and 246),<sup>89</sup> as well as grave 44 at Karaburma, indicating a continuation of Iron Age traditions that was, among other things, reflected in the burial ritual of depositing weapon as grave goods. A similar situation was recorded at other sites, for example at Magdalensberg, where the longest find measures 37.5 cm,<sup>90</sup> while the average length of known spearheads from several military camps dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. along the Roman *limes* on the Rhine and the Danube, such as Rheingönheim,<sup>91</sup> Haltern,<sup>92</sup> Aislingen and Burghöfe,<sup>93</sup> is 20-30 cm.

One group of finds includes five spearheads with long blades of rhombic cross-section, characteristic of the Late La Tène period (LT D) (Fig. 8: 1, Fig. 9). A large number of similar finds, defined as type 2,<sup>94</sup> were recorded in warrior graves from southeastern Pannonia that included between one and four, often typologically very dissimilar, spearheads. The Late La Tène period (LT D1) displays a continuation of the trend of increasing spearhead length that started in the LT C2 phase, so some finds often exceed 50 cm in length, weighing between 500 and 700 grams (Karaburma - grave 13, Kupinovo, etc.).<sup>95</sup> The two finds from Sisak are significantly damaged. The first one has a longer socket and an elongated blade that is missing the upper half (Fig. 9: 2), and the other, with a somewhat shorter socket and (probably) a triangular blade, is also missing the tip (Fig. 9: 4).

Other spearheads are mostly well-preserved and are morphologically comparable to the described southern Pannonian finds, and their dimensions (Fig. 8: 1– 57.1 cm, Fig. 9: 3-61 cm, Fig. 9: 1-48.2 cm) also fit into the described group of finds. Spearheads with a rhombic cross-section were also recorded on the territory of the Mokronog group (grave 71 at Beletov vrt, Strmec nad Bela Cerkev, Malunje),<sup>96</sup> but most do not exceed 40 cm in length. Therefore, it seems that the origin, or at least influences on the production of the described finds from Sisak should be sought in southeastern Pannonia.<sup>97</sup>

85 Radman-Livaja 2004; Radman-Livaja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

86 Breščak 2015.

87 Gaspari 2015.

88 Todorović 1972.

89 Breščak 2015, 88, 91-92, T. 17: 10, T. 28: 1, T. 29: 5.

90 Dolenz 1998, 64-66, T. 5-6.

91 Ulbert 1969, T. 46.

92 Harnecker 1997, 90, T. 75-76.

93 Ulbert 1959, T. 27, 53.

94 Drnić 2015b, 49-50, sl. 11; Drnić 2015c, 116-118, Sl. 2, 4.

95 Todorović 1972, 14, T. V, grob 13: 5-6; Drnić 2015b, 49, kat. br. 72, 75-76, T. 20: 1, T. 21: 1-2.

86 Breščak 2015.

87 Gaspari 2015.

88 Todorović 1972.

89 Breščak 2015, 88, 91-92, Pl. 17: 10, Pl. 28: 1, Pl. 29: 5.

90 Dolenz 1998, 64-66, Pl. 5-6.

91 Ulbert 1969, Pl. 46.

92 Harnecker 1997, 90, Pl. 75-76.

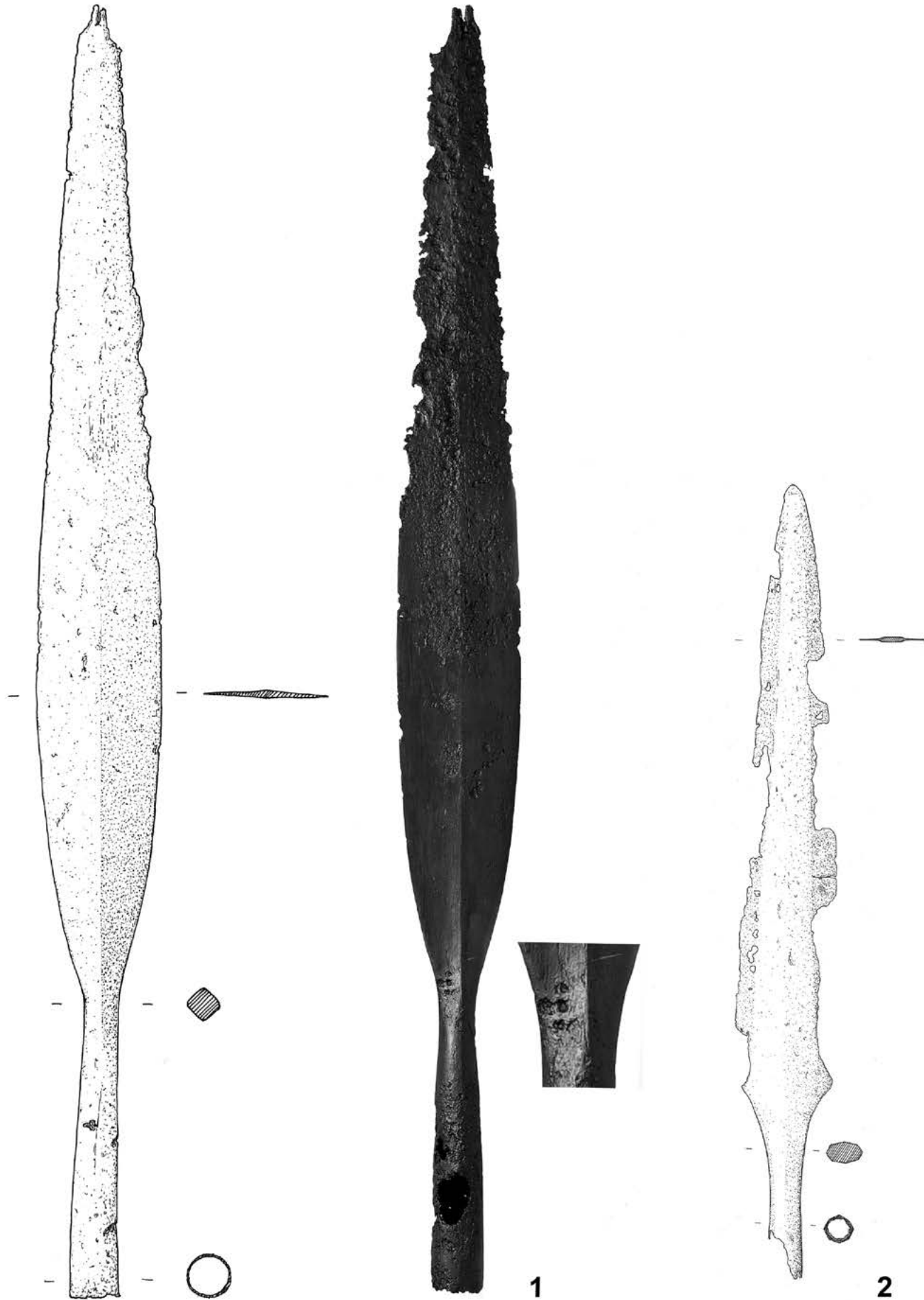
93 Ulbert 1959, Pl. 27, 53.

94 Drnić 2015b, 49-50, Fig. 11; Drnić 2015c, 116-118, Fig. 2, 4.

95 Todorović 1972, 14, Pl. V, grave 13: 5-6; Drnić 2015b, 49, cat. no. 72, 75-76, Pl. 20: 1, Pl. 21: 1-2.

96 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, Pl. 20: 3; Dular 1991; Knez 1992, Pl. 27: 4.

97 The connections between the Iron Age settlement in today's Sisak and southeastern Pannonia are attested to by other finds, e.g. Sarmatian type coins (Bilić 2018, in this volume), Osijek type belt buckle (Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, cat. no.15) and three belt buckles of the Laminci type (Majnarić-Pandžić 1990; Burkowsky 2004, 27; cat. no. 84; Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, cat. no.13).



**Sl. 8.**  
Vrhovi kopalja iz Siska: 1. rombičnog presjeka lista,  
2. raskovanih rubova lista (crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)

**FIG. 8.**  
Spearheads from Sisak: 1. With a blade of rhombic cross-section,  
2. With forged blade ends (drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

njihove se dimenzije (Sl. 8: 1– 57,1 cm, Sl. 9: 3 – 61 cm, Sl. 9: 1 – 48,2 cm) također uklapaju u opisanu grupu predmeta. Vrhovi kopalja rombičnog presjeka prisutni su i na prostoru mokronoške skupine (grob 71 s Beletovog vrta, Strmec nad Belo cerkvijo, Malunje),<sup>96</sup> ali njihova dužina uglavnom ne prelazi 40 cm. Stoga se čini da porijeklo ili barem utjecaj na proizvodnju opisanih sisačkih primjerka treba tražiti na prostoru jugoistočne Panonije.<sup>97</sup>

Zanimljiv detalj nalazi se na primjerku prikazanom na Sl. 8: 1. Naime, na prijelazu nasadnika u list nalazi se žig u obliku tri okomito postavljene točke. Iako su žigovi znatno brojniji na latenskim mačevima, osobito onima iz LT C2 stupnja, u nekoliko su slučajeva zabilježeni i na vrhovima kopalja. Tako se na primjercima iz groba 3 s lokaliteta Sotin–Zmajevac<sup>98</sup> te na slučajnom nalazu iz Zemuna nalaze žigovi u obliku dva mlada mjeseca.<sup>99</sup> Interpretacije tih žigova variraju kod pojedinih autora, a za razdoblje mlađeg željeznog doba najvjerojatnija se čini ona o apotropejskoj funkciji ovih znakova.<sup>100</sup>

Posljednji vrh koplja također je znatno oštećen i nedostaje mu završetak nasadnika (Sl. 8: 2). List mu ima raskovane rubove, što je karakteristika grupe predmeta s prostora jugoistočne Panonije (tip 4.1 i 4.2). Ovaj se oblik smatra karakterističnim za materijalnu ostavštinu Skordiska koju rijetki nalazi iz grobnih cjelina datiraju u LT D stupanj,<sup>101</sup> pa stoga sisački primjerak predstavlja najzapadniji nalaz ovog tipa vrha kopalja. Iako oštećen, može se ustvrditi da je njegov nasadnik blago fasetiran, što je zabilježeno i na primjercima iz Brestovika<sup>102</sup> i Kupinova.<sup>103</sup> Taj se detalj dovodi u vezu s primjercima korištenim na samom kraju mlađeg željeznog (stupanj LT D2) doba i početkom rimske vladavine na ovom prostoru. Čak desetak vrhova kopalja s uskim listovima rombičnog presjeka i fasetiranih nasadnika poznato je iz Siska<sup>104</sup> s komparativnim materijalom na prostoru od Švicarske i sjeverne Italije, preko Slovenije do srednjeg Podunavlja, datiranim od sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. do sredine 1. stoljeća.<sup>105</sup>

### Pojasne kopče

Srednjolatenskoj fazi razvoja materijalne ostavštine iz Siska može se pripisati brončana kopča s trokutastim presjekom obruča i širim ovalnim produžetkom ukrašenim s dvije koncentrične kružnice (Sl. 10: 1). Na kraju ovoga produžetka nalazi se kuglica sa žljebovima na vrhu, dok je s unutrašnje strane ukras u obliku motiva trokuta koji sa svake strane ima po jednu koncentričnu kružnicu. Ova kompozicija shematizirani je prikaz ljudskoga lica, nezabilježen na poznatim latenskim kopčama ovoga tipa, sa žljebovima koji predstavljaju kosu, širokim trokutastim nosom i očima ispod kojih se naziru usta.

An interesting detail was noted on the find shown on Fig. 8: 1. Namely, the transition between the socket and the blade has a stamp in the form of three perpendicularly positioned dots. Although stamps are significantly more frequent on La Tène swords, especially those from the LT C2 phase, several cases were also recorded on spearheads. Finds from grave 3 at Sotin-Zmajevac,<sup>98</sup> and the chance find from Zemun have stamps in the form of two crescents.<sup>99</sup> Interpretations of these stamps vary among authors, and, for the Late Iron Age period, it seems that the one about the apotropaic function of these markings seems most probable.<sup>100</sup>

The last spearhead is also significantly damaged and lacks the end of the socket (Fig. 8: 2). Its blade has forged edges characteristic of southern Pannonian finds (types 4.1 and 4.2). This form is considered to be characteristic of the material culture of the *Scordisci* that was dated to the LT D phase based on rare grave finds,<sup>101</sup> so the one from Sisak is the westernmost find of this type of spearhead. Although damaged, it can be defined as having a slightly faceted socket, a feature also noted on finds from Brestovik<sup>102</sup> and Kupinovo.<sup>103</sup> This detail is connected to finds used at the very end of the Late Iron Age (the LT D2 phase) and the beginning of Roman rule on this territory. About ten spearheads with thin rhombic blades and faceted sockets were recorded in Sisak,<sup>104</sup> and comparative material, dated to between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent., was recorded on the area spanning from Switzerland and northern Italy, across Slovenia and into Middle Danube region.<sup>105</sup>

### Belt buckles

A bronze buckle with a ring of triangular cross-section and a wider oval extension decorated with two concentric circles (Fig. 10: 1) can be ascribed to the Middle La Tène phase of the material legacy from Sisak. The end of this extension has a knob with gauges at the tip, while the inner side is decorated with a triangular motif that has one concentric circle on each side. This composition is a schematic depiction of a human face that has never before been recorded on La Tène buckles of this type, with the gauges representing a wide triangular nose and eyes under which there is a barely detectable mouth.

The closest comparison for the find from Sisak is a bronze buckle from the Dvorišče SAZU position in Ljubljana, discovered in mixed archaeological layers. The ring of this buckle has a rhombic cross-section, and its tongue-like extension is decorated with two concentric circles, with a third one on the knob at the end of the hook of the clasp.<sup>106</sup> A similar bronze buckle was discovered

97 O vezama željeznodobnog naselja na prostoru današnjeg Siska s jugoistočnom Panonijom svjedoče i drugi nalazi, primjerice novac srijemskog tipa (Bilić 2018, u ovoj knjizi), pojasna kopča tipa Osijek (Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, kat. br.15) i čak tri pojasne kopče tipa Laminci (Majnarić-Pandžić 1990; Burkowski 2004, 27; kat. br. 84; Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, kat. br.13).

98 Božić 1981, T. 9: 3.

99 Majnarić-Pandžić 1966, 6, 8, T. 5: 2, T. 6: 1-3; Drnić 2015c, Sl. 8: 5.

100 Dulęba 2009; Deutscher 2012, 305-318; Dizdar 2013, 83-89; Drnić 2015b, 24-28.

101 Drnić 2015b, 51, karta 5; Drnić 2015c, 118-120, Sl. 7.

102 Popović 1994, 52, Sl. 23.

103 Drnić 2015b, 52, kat. br. 90-91, T. 24: 4-5.

104 Radman-Livaja, Drnić 2016.

105 Pernet, Schmid-Sikimić 2008; Breščak 2015, grob 14 - 86, T. 14: 1, grob 84 - 88-89, T. 84: 10, grob 131 - 90, T. 24: 2, grob 228 - 91-92, T. 28: 1.

98 Božić 1981, Pl. 9: 3.

99 Majnarić-Pandžić 1966, 6, 8, Pl. 5: 2, Pl. 6: 1-3; Drnić 2015c, Fig. 8: 5.

100 Dulęba 2009; Deutscher 2012, 305-318; Dizdar 2013, 83-89; Drnić 2015b, 24-28.

101 Drnić 2015b, 51, Map 5; Drnić 2015c, 118-120, Fig. 7.

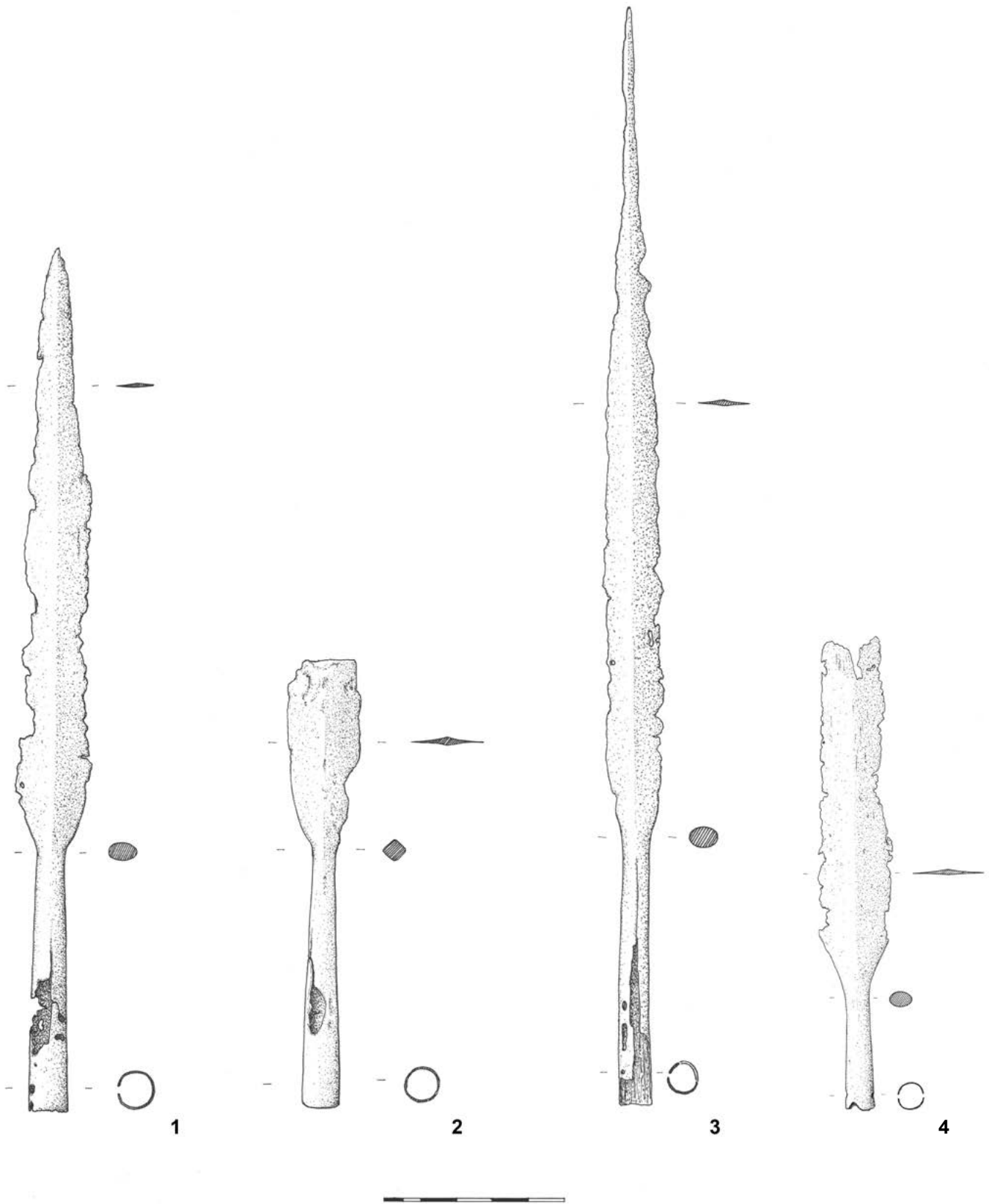
102 Popović 1994, 52, Fig. 23.

103 Drnić 2015b, 52, cat. no. 90-91, Pl. 24: 4-5.

104 Radman-Livaja, Drnić 2016.

105 Pernet, Schmid-Sikimić 2008; Breščak 2015, grave 14-86, Pl. 14: 1, grave 84-88-89, Pl. 84: 10, grave 131-90, Pl. 24: 2, grave 228-91-92, Pl. 28: 1.

106 Puš 1977, 122, Fig. 2.



SL. 9. Vrhovi kopalja iz Siska rombičnog presjeka lista (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 9. Spearheads with rhombic cross-sections from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić)

Najbliža usporedba sisačkom primjerku brončana je kopča iz Ljubljane, iz Dvorišča SAZU, pronađena u pomiješanim arheološkim slojevima. Obruč ove kopče ima rombičan presjek, a jezičasti produžetak ukrašen je dvjema koncentričnim kružnicama, dok se još jedna nalazi na kuglici kojom završava kukica za zakopčavanje.<sup>106</sup> Slična brončana kopča je otkrivena je i u Forminu, ali njen je obruč više srcoliko oblikovan.<sup>107</sup> Brončana kopča potječe i iz jednoga, vjerojatno uništenoga, groba ratnika datiranog u LT C2 iz Amara u Karniji. Na kuglici se također nalazi motiv trokuta, izveden žljebljenjem.<sup>108</sup>

S obzirom na oblik produžetka, kopča iz Siska nalikuje primjercima koje je G. Bataille definirao kao tip 4C i datirao u stupanj LT C2.<sup>109</sup> Ove kopče, koje se znatno češće izrađuju od željeza, predstavljaju dijelove pojasnih garnitura sastavljenih od različitoga broja obruča te se u velikom broju pojavljuju na grobljima Tauriska tijekom stupnja LT C2.<sup>110</sup> Posebno su brojne na groblju u Zvonimirovu u srednjoj Podravini gdje su prisutne različite kombinacije kopči i obruča.<sup>111</sup> Stoga nalaz brončane kopče iz Siska upućuje na moguće nošenje mačeva u koricama i tijekom mlađe faze srednjeg latena, o čemu svjedoči i ulomak nešto starijih korica pronađen u rijeci Kupi (Sl. 1).

Razdoblju kasnog latena mogu se pripisati dvije brončane pojase kopče u obliku palmete (Sl. 11: 1-2).<sup>112</sup> S obzirom na podjelu na dvije varijante, prva se kopča (Sl. 11: 1) pripisuje tipu Vinji Vrh za koji je karakteristično da palmeta počinje odmah iza ušice za završetak remena. Kopče ovoga tipa najčešće se nalaze južno od Dunava.<sup>113</sup> Palmetaste kopče prvi je detaljno opisao J. Werner smatrajući da predstavljaju sjevernoitalski import.<sup>114</sup> Ipak, nedavno se pojavilo i mišljenje da ove kopče mogu biti dio konjske opreme, budući da se u paljevinskom grobu 20 na groblju Hoppstädten-Weiserbach pojavljuju u paru.<sup>115</sup> Analiza nalaza s opiduma u Manchingu pokazala je kako su palmetaste kopče prvenstveno rasprostranjene kod istočnih Kelta, ali i zapadno od Alpa, pri čemu se prepoznaje jedna inačica za koju je karakterističan ukras s koncentričnim kružnicama ispunjenim emajlom, koja je poznata s njemačkih i čeških nalazišta.<sup>116</sup>

Detaljnu podjelu palmetastih kopči predložio je D. Božič. On ih datira u LT D1 te, s obzirom na nalaz samo jedne kopče u Akvileji, zaključuje kako one nisu proizvod s prostora sjeverne Italije, već im porijeklo treba tražiti u srednjoj Europi, odakle je poznat najveći broj primjeraka. Kopče varijante Vinji Vrh u najvećem su broju zabilježene na nalazištima u jugoistočnim Alpama

at Formin, but it has a more heart-shaped ring.<sup>107</sup> Another bronze buckle was found in a, probably disrupted, grave dated to the LT C2 phase in Amara in *Carnia*. The knob also has a gauged triangular motif.<sup>108</sup>

Considering the shape of the extension, the buckle from Sisak resembles the finds that G. Bataille defined as type 4C dated to the LT C2 phase.<sup>109</sup> These buckles, significantly more often made out of iron, represent parts of belts composed of a different number of rings, and often appear in the necropolises of the *Taurisci* of the LT C2 phase.<sup>110</sup> They are especially frequent at the Zvonimirovo necropolis in the central Drava Valley, where they appear in different combinations of buckles and rings.<sup>111</sup> Therefore, the bronze buckle from Sisak indicates the possibility of carrying scabbarded swords during the later phase of the Middle La Tène, a suggestion additionally attested to by a find of somewhat older scabbard discovered in the Kupa River (Fig. 1).

Two bronze buckles shaped as *palmette* (Fig. 11: 1-2) can be ascribed to the Late La Tène period.<sup>112</sup> Considering the division into two variants, the first buckle (Fig. 11: 1) was ascribed to the Vinji Vrh type, characterized by the *palmette* starting right behind the hoop at the end of the belt. Buckles of this type are most often found south of the Danube.<sup>113</sup> *Palmette*-shaped buckles were first described by J. Werner who saw them as imports from northern Italy.<sup>114</sup> Recently, the opinion appeared that these buckles could be parts of horse-riding equipment, seeing as a pair of them was found in incineration grave 20 at the Hoppstädten-Weiserbach necropolis.<sup>115</sup> The analysis of finds from the *oppidum* at Manching showed that the *palmette*-shaped buckles were primarily used by the eastern Celts, but also west of the Alps, with a variant discovered at sites in Germany and the Czech Republic<sup>116</sup> that is characterized by decorative concentric circles filled with enamel.

A more detailed division of *palmette*-shaped buckles was suggested by D. Božič. He dated them to the LT D1 phase and, seeing as only one was found in *Aquileia*, concluded that they were not produced in northern Italy, but somewhere in central Europe where most of them were discovered. Buckles of the Vinji Vrh variant were mostly discovered at sites in the southeastern Alps and the upper Sava River valley, from where the aforementioned buckle probably made its way to *Aquileia*.<sup>117</sup> The study of bronze *palmetto*-like buckles conducted by R. Gleser confirmed the existence of three groups, so they were, based on the finds in the previously mentioned grave 20 from the Hoppstädten-

106 Puš 1977, 122, sl. 2.

107 Pahič 1966, 287, T. 15: 11.

108 Righi 2001, 114, 122, sl. 6: 8.

109 Bataille 2001, 454, sl. 3.

110 Guštin 1984a, 331; Božič 1987, 875; 1999, 210; 2011, 452.

111 Dizdar 2013, 177-182.

112 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. XXX: 7-8; Božič 1998, 149, sl. 13: 2.

113 Božič 1998, 148-149, sl. 13, sl. 19; 2001, 183-184, sl. 4; Gleser 2004, 232-237, Sl. 4.

114 Werner 1979, 157.

115 Sievers 2013, 167.

116 van Endert 1991, 25-26, Abb. 2.

107 Pahič 1966, 287, Pl. 15: 11.

108 Righi 2001, 114, 122, Fig. 6: 8.

109 Bataille 2001, 454, Fig. 3.

110 Guštin 1984a, 331; Božič 1987, 875; 1999, 210; 2011, 452.

111 Dizdar 2013, 177-182.

112 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. XXX: 7-8; Božič 1998, 149, Fig. 13: 2.

113 Božič 1998, 148-149, Fig. 13, Fig. 19; 2001, 183-184, Fig. 4; Gleser 2004, 232-237, Fig. 4.

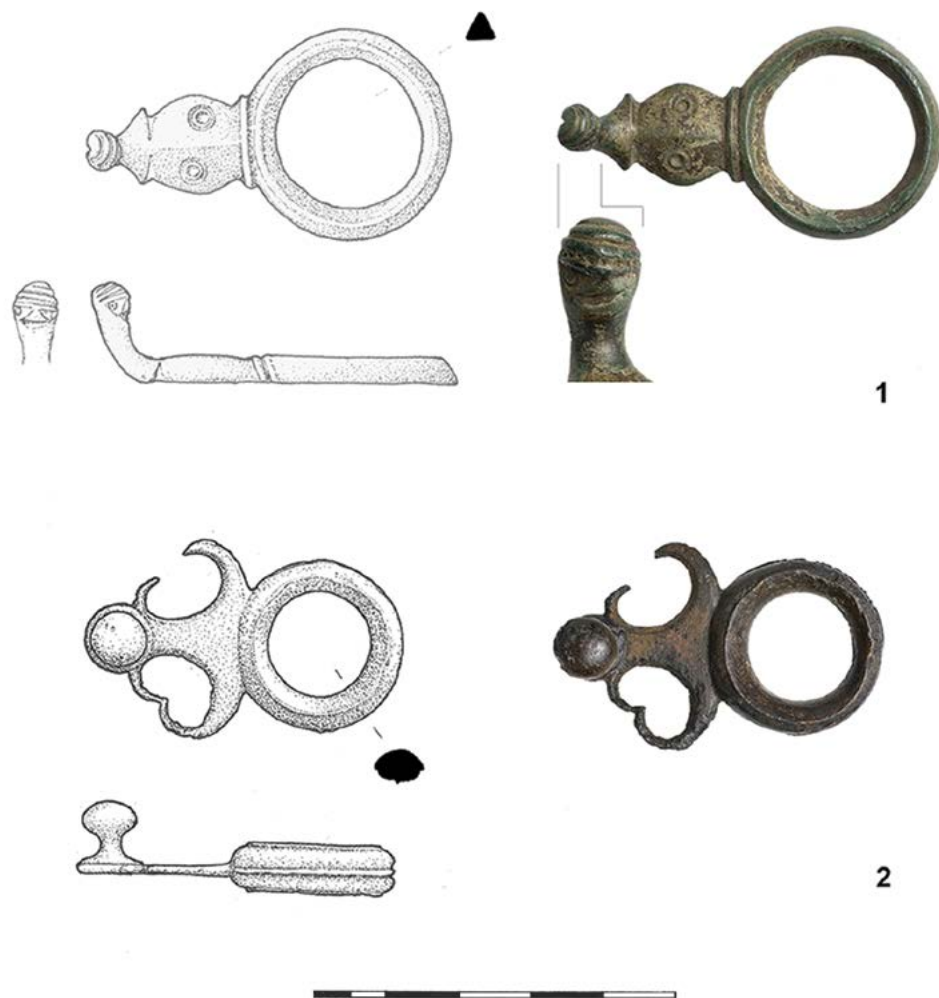
114 Werner 1979, 157.

115 Sievers 2013, 167.

116 van Endert 1991, 25-26, Fig. 2.

117 Božič 1993, 145; Božič 1998, 148-148; Božič 1999, 211; Božič 2001, 183-184. Finds of buckles of the Vinji Vrh variant: Sisak, Vinji Vrh, *Aquileia*, Gracarca, Magdalensberg, Uttendorf, Devín and Villeneuve.





Sl. 10. Pojasne kopče iz Siska (crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)

FIG. 10. Belt buckles from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

i gornjoj Posavini, odakle je spomenuta kopča vjerojatno došla do Akvileje.<sup>117</sup> Studija brončanih palmetastih kopči koju je proveo R. Gleser, pokazala je postojanje tri skupine, pa su na osnovi nalaza u spomenutom grobu 20 s groblja Hoppstädten-Weiserbach one datirane u LT D1b.<sup>118</sup> Posljednja istraživanja pokazuju kako se palmetaste kopče u najvećem broju nalaze na područjima Boja, Norika i Tauriska te se zadržava njihova datacija u LT D1, pri čemu se smatra kako se njihova produkcija odvijala u istaknutim centrima na istočnokeltskom području (npr. Hrazany, Stradonice, Manching).<sup>119</sup> Predmetima iz Siska prostorno su bliski nalazi s Magdalensberga odakle potječu dvije kopče, od kojih je jedna kraća s palmetom koja ide odmah iz ušice i pripada spomenutom tipu Vinji Vrh, dok je druga kopča dulja i ima srednji neukrašeni dio.<sup>120</sup> S Devína u Slovačkoj potječe jedna palmetasta kopča tipa Vinji Vrh, slična onoj iz Siska s palmetom koja ide odmah iza uši-

Weiserbach necropolis, dated to the LT D1b phase.<sup>118</sup> The latest research shows that *palmette*-shaped buckles are most often found on the territory of the *Boii*, *Norici*, and *Taurisci*, and that they should be dated to the LT D1 phase, meaning that they were produced in the noted centers on eastern Celtic territories (e.g. Hrazany, Stradonice, Manching).<sup>119</sup> The finds from Sisak closely resemble those from Magdalensberg where two buckles were discovered, one shorter with a *palmette* that starts right behind the hoop and is ascribed to the Vinji Vrh type, and the other, longer, with no decorations on its central part.<sup>120</sup> The Devín site in Slovakia yielded only one *palmette*-shaped buckle of the Vinji Vrh type, similar to that from Sisak, with a *palmette* that starts right behind the hoop, but with a longer lowest petal.<sup>121</sup> Similar buckles were found at Drösing<sup>122</sup> and Jedenspeigen.<sup>123</sup> House 16 from the Gellérthegey *oppidum* yielded a buckle with an un-

117 Božič 1993, 145; Božič 1998, 148-148; Božič 1999, 211; Božič 2001, 183-184. Nalazišta kopči varijante Vinji Vrh: Sisak, Vinji Vrh, Aquileia, Gracarca, Magdalensberg, Uttendorf, Devín i Villeneuve.

118 Gleser 2004, 232-237, Sl. 4.

119 Čambal 2004, 32-33, Sl. 3; Pierrevelcin 2009, 225-226, Sl. 1; Lauber 2012, 726-727, Sl. 5; Schulze-Forster 2015, 51, T. 10: 222.

120 Deimel 1987, 269, T. 71: 2-3.

118 Gleser 2004, 232-237, Fig. 4.

119 Čambal 2004, 32-33, Fig. 3; Pierrevelcin 2009, 225-226, Fig. 1; Lauber 2012, 726-727, Fig. 5; Schulze-Forster 2015, 51, Pl. 10: 222.

120 Deimel 1987, 269, Pl. 71: 2-3.

121 Pieta, Zachar 1993, 197, Fig. 115: 10.

122 Stuppner 1990, 199, Fig. 463.

123 Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001, 617, Fig. 568.

ce, samo je najdonja latica nešto jače izvučena.<sup>1221</sup> Slične su kopče poznate iz Drösinga<sup>1222</sup> i Jedenspeigena.<sup>1223</sup> S opiduma Gellérthegey iz kuće br. 16 potječe kopča sa srednjim neukrašenim dijelom,<sup>1224</sup> kakva je pronađena i na lokalitetu Velemszentvid.<sup>1225</sup> S Oberleiserberga potječe kopča s neukrašenim srednjim dijelom, dok je druga ukrašena motivom koncentrične kružnice,<sup>1226</sup> a takva je poznata i s oppiduma u Bratislavi.<sup>1227</sup> Upravo su s Manchinga poznate opisane palmetaste kopče s kraćom palmetom i okruglim središnjim dijelom koji je ukrašen motivom koncentrične kružnice i okruglim udubljenjem u sredini koji su ispunjeni crvenim emajlom.<sup>1228</sup> Na lokalitetu Staré Hradisko pronađena je kopča s neukrašenim srednjim dijelom, dok se ušica za remen nije sačuvala. S istog nalazišta ima i drugih oblika kopči.<sup>1229</sup> I na opidumu Stradonice brojni su nalazi palmetastih kopči, od kojih jedna ima srednji neukrašeni dio,<sup>1230</sup> dok dvije kopče također imaju neukrašeni srednji dio i kratku palmetu.<sup>1231</sup> Kopča s neukrašenim srednjim dijelom potječe i s naselja Chorvátsky Grob i na ušici za remen ima vodoravni žlijeb.<sup>1232</sup> Na osnovi navedenih usporedbi, za palmetaste kopče iz Siska može se ustvrditi kako pripadaju sastavnom dijelu ostavštine latenske kulture.

Jedan od karakterističnih oblika LT D2 stupnja predstavlja slučaj nalog brončane prstenaste kopče s duljim i uskog jezičastim produžetkom koji na kraju ima okomito postavljen trn koji završava s kuglicom, dok se sa strane nalaze po dva spojena krilca koja čine srcolike praznine od kojih je jedna strana oštećena (Sl. 10: 2). Po sredini obruča, u ravnini s jezičastim produžetkom, nalazi se žlijeb u kojem je nisko rebro.<sup>1233</sup> Kopče ovoga oblika datirane su u LT D2 stupanj i pojavljuju se u grobovima s naoružanjem.<sup>1234</sup>

Dosad su izdvojene dvije varijante kopči za koje je zajedničko da se dugme nalazi na kraju dugoga i uskog jezička. Za prvu su varijantu karakteristična krilca jako savijena prema unutra (npr. Mihovo 1657/5, Magdalensberg), dok kopče druge varijante imaju još jedan par krilaca koji se spaja s prvim tako da nastaje srcolika šupljina (npr. Verdun 37, Sisak). Kopče iz Zemplína i jedna kopča s Magdalensberga pripadaju zasebnoj podvarijanti. Ove se kopče pojavljuju na nalazištima od jugoistočnoalpskog područja do istočne Njemačke, odnosno sve do Baltika, te su datirane u LT D2.<sup>1235</sup> Za spomenuto datiranje važan je nalaz brončane kopče u ratničkome grobu 37 na groblju iz Verduna. Obruč ima žlijeb po sredini s vanjske strane, a krilca na mjestu spajanja imaju

decorated central part, similar to the one found at Velemszentvid. Oberleiserberg yielded a buckle with an undecorated central part,<sup>1224</sup> similar to the one found at Velemszentvid.<sup>1225</sup> Oberleiserberg yielded a buckle with an undecorated central part, and one decorated with a concentric circle,<sup>1226</sup> similar to the one from the Bratislava *oppidum*.<sup>1227</sup> Precisely Manching yielded the described *palmette*-shaped buckles with a shorter *palmette* and a round central part decorated with concentric circle and circular gauges in the middle that are filled with enamel.<sup>1228</sup> The site of Staré Hradisko yielded a buckle with an undecorated central part and an unpreserved hoop for the belt. The same site also yielded other types of buckles.<sup>1229</sup> The *oppidum* of Stradonice yielded many *palmette*-shaped buckles, one with an undecorated central part,<sup>1230</sup> and two with undecorated central part and short *palmette*.<sup>1231</sup> A buckle with an undecorated central part and a horizontal gauge on the belt hoop was also found at the Chorvátsky Grobi settlement.<sup>1232</sup> Based on the given comparisons, it is possible to claim that the *palmette*-shaped buckles from Sisak are an integral part of the La Tène culture.

One of the characteristic forms of the LT D2 phase is represented by a chance find of a bronze ring-like buckle with a longer narrow tongue-like extension that has a perpendicularly positioned spine with a small knob at its tip, and two connected wings at the sides that create heart-shaped cavities, one of which is damaged (Fig. 10: 2). The middle of the hoop, in line with the tongue-like extension, has a gauge with a short rib running through it.<sup>1233</sup> Buckles of this type were dated to the LT D2 phase and appear in graves alongside military equipment.<sup>1234</sup>

So far, two variants of buckles sharing a common trait have been defined - a knob at the end of a long narrow tongue. The first variant is characterized by very inward-facing wings (e.g. Mihovo 1657/5, Magdalensberg), while the second variant has an additional pair of wings that connects the first pair, creating a heart-shaped cavity (e.g. Verdun 37, Sisak). The buckles from Zemplín and one from Magdalensberg are ascribed to a special sub-variant. These buckles appear on sites spanning from the southeastern Alpine regions to eastern Germany and the Baltic, and were dated to the LT D2 phase.<sup>1235</sup> The bronze buckle from warrior grave 37 at the Verdun necropolis is especially important for this data. Its hoop has a gauge in the middle of the outer surface, and

121 Pieta, Zachar 1993, 197, Sl. 115: 10.

122 Stuppner 1990, 199, Sl. 463.

123 Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001, 617, Sl. 568.

124 Bónis 1969, 144, 197, Sl. 100: 1.

125 Miske 1908, T. XLV: 24.

126 Kern 1996, 388, Sl. 8.

127 Pieta, Zachar 1993, 170, Sl. 96: 4; Čambal 2004, 32, T. LXXVI: 1.

128 van Endert 1991, 25, T. 7: 198-199.

129 Meduna 1961, 4, T. 9: 1.

130 Pič 1903, T. XIX: 20.

131 Pič 1903, T. XIX: 18, 28.

132 Pieta 2010, 46, Sl. 18: 14.

133 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. XXX: 2; Werner 1979, 147, Sl. 4: 14.

134 Božič 1999, 211-212; 2008, 122-123.

135 Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 244, Sl. 9; Schulze-Forster 2015, 56, T. 11: 257, Sl. 35.

124 Bónis 1969, 144, 197, Fig. 100: 1.

125 Miske 1908, Pl. XLV: 24.

126 Kern 1996, 388, Fig. 8.

127 Pieta, Zachar 1993, 170, Fig. 96: 4; Čambal 2004, 32, Pl. LXXVI: 1.

128 van Endert 1991, 25, Pl. 7: 198-199.

129 Meduna 1961, 4, Pl. 9: 1.

130 Pič 1903, Pl. XIX: 20.

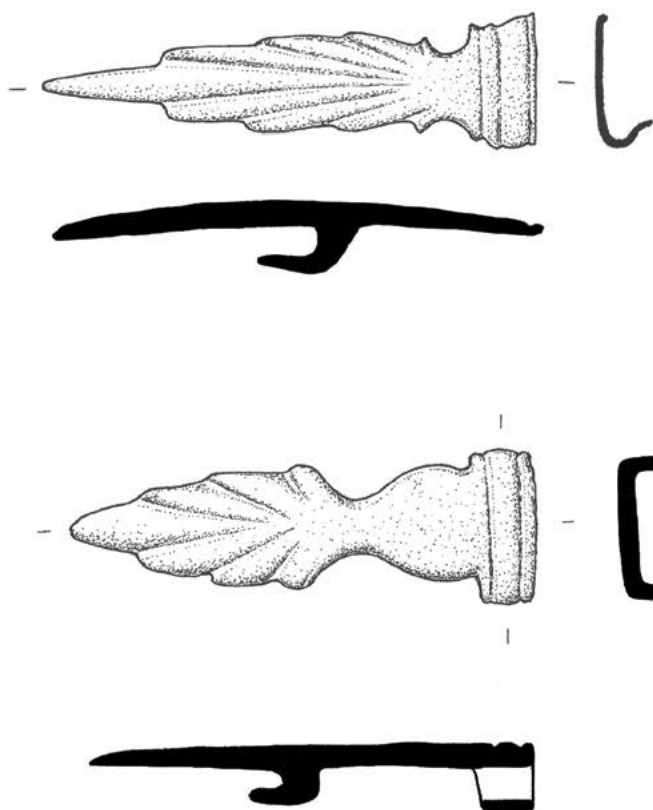
131 Pič 1903, Pl. XIX: 18, 28.

132 Pieta 2010, 46, Fig. 18: 14.

133 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. XXX: 2; Werner 1979, 147, Fig. 4: 14.

134 Božič 1999, 211-212; 2008, 122-123.

135 Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 244, Fig. 9; Schulze-Forster 2015, 56, Pl. 11: 257, Fig. 35.



Sl. 11. Palmetaste pojasne kopče iz Siska (crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)



1



2

FIG. 11. Palmette-shaped belt buckles from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

manje zadebljanje.<sup>136</sup> Kopča iz groba 1657/5 iz Mihova, pronađena s naoružanjem, ima krilca uz obruč, spojena s jezičastim produžetkom, pri čemu je na krajevima krilaca kružni završetak. Na kraju produžetka je trn s kuglicom, a po sredini tijela je, čini se, žlijeb.<sup>137</sup> S Magdalensberga su poznate dvije brončane kopče s glatkim obručima. Jedna kopča sa svake strane ima po jedno krilce, jezičasti dio nešto je širi, dok druga kopča ima uži jezičasti produžetak i sačuvan sam početak oba krilca uz obruč, no čini se kako se s jedne strane uz dugme nazire manje izbočenje.<sup>138</sup> Slična je i kopča iz istovremenoga paljevinskog groba 108 iz Zemlína s ostacima korica mača. Kopča ima nešto širi jezičasti produžetak koji završava kuglicom. Sa svake strane je po jedno krilce koje se na kraju račva. Kod dugmeta se nalazi po jedno malo izbočenje sa svake strane, odnosno krilca se ne spajaju.<sup>139</sup> Kopča iz muškoga groba 136 s istoga groblja ima nešto dulji jezičasti produžetak, kraća krilca i uz dugme sa svake strane mala izbočenja. U grobu su pronađeni i obruči, vjerojatno od pojasne garniture.<sup>140</sup>

S obzirom na spomenute usporedbe, za kopču iz Siska možda se može pretpostaviti kako je služila za zakopčavanje pojasa o ko-

the wings are slightly thicker at the point where they connect.<sup>136</sup> The buckle from grave 1657/5 at Mihovo, discovered alongside weapons, has wings with circular ends right along the hoop that connect to the tongue-like extension. The end of the extension has a tang with a knob, and the central part of the body appears to have a gauge.<sup>137</sup> Magdalensberg yielded two bronze buckles with smooth hoops. One has a singular wing on both sides, and a somewhat wider tongue, while the other has a longer tongue-like extension and only the beginning of the two wings close to the hoop, but it seems that there is a small protrusion next to the knob on one side.<sup>138</sup> A similar buckle was found in the contemporaneous incineration grave 108 at Zemlín, along with the remains of a sword scabbard. This buckle has a somewhat wider tongue-like protrusion that ends in a knob. It has a single wing on either side that bifurcates at the end. Next to the knob there is a small protrusion on either side, meaning that the wings were not connected.<sup>139</sup> The buckle from male grave 136 from the same necropolis has a longer tongue-like extension, shorter wings and small protrusions on either side of the knob. The grave also yielded hoops, probably from a belt.<sup>140</sup>

136 Božič 2008, 122-123, sl. 25: 6; Breščak 2015, 78, T. 11: 3.

137 Windl 1975, 58, 274, T. XXV: 9.

138 Deimel 1987, 92, T. 79: 13-14.

139 Budinský-Krička, Schmiedlová 1990, 261, T. XV: 32; Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 226, Sl. 3: 3.

140 Budinský-Krička, Schmiedlová 1990, 267, T. XVIII: 26.

136 Božič 2008, 122-123, Fig. 25: 6; Breščak 2015, 78, Pl. 11: 3.

137 Windl 1975, 58, 274, Pl. XXV: 9.

138 Deimel 1987, 92, Pl. 79: 13-14.

139 Budinský-Krička, Schmiedlová 1990, 261, Pl. XV: 32; Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 226, Fig. 3: 3.

140 Budinský-Krička, Schmiedlová 1990, 267, Pl. XVIII: 26.

jem je visio mač, ali s obzirom na dataciju u stupanj LT D2 (80. -15. godina pr. Kr.), pitanje je tko je mač mogao nositi – ratnik iz segestanske zajednice koji je sudjelovalo u obrani svoga naselja ili netko tko se nalazio na strani napadača, možda pripadnik rimskih savezničkih snaga koje su pristigle s jugoistočnoalpskoga prostora?

### Konjska oprema

Iz Siska potječe i nekoliko karakterističnih kasnolatenskih predmeta koji se pripisuju konjskoj opremi, dok zasad nisu pronađeni dijelovi kola ili predmeta konjske opreme iz ranijih faza razvoja latenske kulture.

U razdoblju mlađeg željeznog doba na području rasprostiranja latenske kulture u pojedinim su istaknutim grobovima ratnika bili prisutni predmeti koji pripadaju dijelovima kola i konjskoj opremi. Najčešće se radi o grobovima iz ranog i srednjeg latena, pri čemu Sisku prostorno najbliže primjere predstavljaju dva groba (6 i 55) s groblja u Brežicama koja su datirana u LT C1 stupanj.<sup>141</sup> S područja rasprostiranja Skordiska izdvaja se grob s ostacima kola i konjske opreme iz Odžaka u južnoj Bačkoj koji se, na osnovi priloga naoružanja, datira u LT C2 stupanj.<sup>142</sup> Tijekom kasnoga latena (LT D1) na naseljima, posebno na istaknutim srednjoeuropskim opidima, zabilježena je pojava brojnih dijelova konjske opreme, dok je znatno manji broj poznat iz istovremenih grobova na jugoistočnoapanonskom te jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru. Zanimljivo je kako se uglavnom ne radi o priložima cjelovite konjske opreme, već su u grobove, poput groba 92 s Karaburme, položeni samo pojedini predmeti koji na simboličkoj razini (*pars pro toto*) predstavljaju pokopanog ratnika kao konjanika. Na istom groblju istražen je i oštećeni ukop konja (grob 16) s brončanim obručastim i željeznim žvalama tračkoga tipa.<sup>143</sup> O kasnolatenskoj konjskoj opremi svjedoče brojni nalazi naoružanja i konjske opreme vjerojatno kulturnoga karaktera s Velikog Vetrena u Srbiji.<sup>144</sup> Pored opisanog razvoja u naoružanju koji se, među ostalim, odražava i u produžavanju mačeva, što upućuje na istaknutu ulogu ratnika-konjanika unutar ratničke strukture kasnolatenskih zajednica, na isti zaključak navode i nalazi ostruga, primjerice iz groba 1 s položaja Sotin-Zmajevac.<sup>145</sup>

Kasnolatenskoj konjskoj opremi iz Siska pripisuje se brončana kopča s pravokutnim okvirom i zoomorfno oblikovanim trnom (Sl. 12: 1).<sup>146</sup> Za ovu se kopču, s obzirom na tipološke karakteristike, pretpostavlja da pripada konjskoj opremi<sup>147</sup> te je pripisana tipu A s jednostavnim trnom i svrstana je u istu skupinu s kopčama koje su najčešće izradene od željeza.<sup>148</sup> Kod Skordiska se po-

Considering the given comparisons, it can be assumed that the belt buckle from Sisak was used to fasten a belt used to fasten a sword, but seeing as it was dated to the LT D2 phase (80-15 BC), the question of who swung the sword remains unanswered - a warrior from the Segestan community who participated in the defense of his settlement, or someone who was on the side of the attackers, possibly a member of the Roman alliance that arrived from the southeastern Alpine territory?

### Horse-riding equipment

Sisak also yielded several typical Late La Tène finds that are defined as parts of horse-riding equipment, with no confirmed finds of wagons or parts of horse-riding equipment from earlier phases of the La Tène culture.

On the territory of the La Tène culture, the Late Iron Age yielded some notable warrior graves with parts of wagons and horse-riding equipment uncovered. Most often, these are Early and Middle La Tène graves, whereby two graves (6 and 55) from the Brežice necropolis, dated to the LT C1 phase,<sup>141</sup> are the closest to Sisak. On territory of the *Scordisci*, a grave with the remains of a wagon and horse-riding equipment from Odžaci in southern Bačka stands out, and can be, based on weapons, dated to the LT C2 phase.<sup>142</sup> Numerous pieces of horse-riding equipment were recorded in Late La Tène (LT D1) settlements, while a notably smaller number was recorded in contemporaneous graves on southeastern Alpine and southeastern Pannonian territories. It is interesting that these mostly do not include complete sets of horse-riding equipment, but only individual finds, like the one in grave 92 at Karaburma, that, on a symbolic level (*pars pro toto*) symbolize the buried warrior as a horse rider. The same necropolis yielded a damaged burial of a horse (grave 16) with bronze hoop-like bits, and iron bits of the Thracian type.<sup>143</sup> Late La Tène horse-riding equipment is attested to by many finds of weapons and horse-riding equipment of probable cultural character from Veliki Vetren in Serbia.<sup>144</sup> Apart from the described development of weaponry that is, among other things, reflected through the elongation of swords, indicating a more pronounced role of warriors-riders within the military structure of the Late La Tène community. The same conclusion is indicated by finds of spurs, for example those from grave 1 at Sotin - Zmajevac.<sup>145</sup>

A bronze buckle with a rectangular frame and a zoomorphic spine (Fig. 12: 1)<sup>146</sup> is also defined as Late La Tène horse-riding equipment,<sup>147</sup> and was ascribed to type A with a simple spine, the same group with buckles that were often made out of iron.<sup>148</sup> The *Scordisci* used similar, contemporaneous, bronze and iron buck-

141 Guštin 1984b, 115-120, sl. 1, 2-4, T. 2-3; Guštin 1985; Božič 1987, 875, 888; Božič 1999, 210. U najnovijim istraživanjima u Brežicama otkriven je novi nalaz groba ratnika s ostacima kola: Černe, Črešnar 2014.

142 Guštin 1984b, 121-127, sl. 3, T. 5-7.

143 Todorović 1972, 15-16, 30-31, T. VI, T. XXVI-XXIX; Božič 1984a, 133-136. Za nalaze kasnolatenske konjske opreme na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru npr. groblje Roje kod Moravčah: Knez 1977; Werner 1984.

144 Stojić 2003.

145 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 57, T. III: 2; Božič 1984a, 137-139, sl. 3.

146 Werner 1979, 142, Fig. 2: 7; Drnić 2015a, 96, kat. jed. 10.

147 Božič 2001, 185; Schönfelder 2002, 239-240, Sl. 149.

148 Bockius 1991, 284-286, Sl. 2; Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2011, 162-165, Sl. 4-5.

141 Guštin 1984b, 115-120, Fig. 1, 2-4, Pl. 2-3; Guštin 1985; Božič 1987, 875, 888; Božič 1999, 210. The latest excavations at Brežice yielded a new find of a warrior grave with the remains of a wagon: Černe, Črešnar 2014.

142 Guštin 1984b, 121-127, Fig. 3, Pl. 5-7.

143 Todorović 1972, 15-16, 30-31, Pl. VI, Pl. XXVI-XXIX; Božič 1984a, 133-136. For finds of Late La Tène horse-riding equipment in the southeastern Alps, e.g. the Roje kod Moravčah necropolis: Knez 1977; Werner 1984.

144 Stojić 2003.

145 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 57, Pl. III: 2; Božič 1984a, 137-139, Fig. 3.

146 Werner 1979, 142, Fig. 2: 7; Drnić 2015a, 96, cat. no. 10.

147 Božič 2001, 185; Schönfelder 2002, 239-240, Fig. 149.

148 Bockius 1991, 284-286, Fig. 2; Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2011, 162-165, Fig. 4-5.

javljuju slične i istovremene brončane i željezne kopče koje na uglovima okvira imaju izbočenja, a datirane su u stupanj LT D1. Takve su kopče pronađene u Dalju<sup>149</sup> te u već spomenutom najbogatijem ratničkom grobu 92 na Karaburmi u kojem željezna zoomorfna kopča s izbočenjima u uglovima i dva mala spojena dugmeta kao *pars pro toto* predstavlja konjsku opremu.<sup>150</sup> S Velikog Vetrena potječu brojne željezne kopče i samo jedna brončana koja na uglovima također ima spomenuta kuglasta izbočenja, od kojih su dva ukrašena motivom križa.<sup>151</sup>

Konjskoj opremi pripada i trolisni razvodnik s punim srednjim dijelom (Sl. 12: 2). Tom su razvodniku slična dva trolisna razvodnika s trokutastom šupljinom u sredini, pronađena na Velikom Vetrenu.<sup>152</sup> Trolisni razvodnik s dugmetom na središnjem dijelu pronađen je i u Donjoj Dolini.<sup>153</sup> S opiduma Velemszentvid potječu dva razvodnika s trokutastom šupljinom,<sup>154</sup> dok su na lokalitetu Staré Hradisko zabilježena oba oblika; dva razvodnika s punom sredinom i četiri s trokutastom prazninom.<sup>155</sup> I na opidumu Stradonice pronađen je razvodnik s trokutastim šupljim dijelom u sredini.<sup>156</sup> Potrebno je spomenuti kako se slični trolisni privjesci pojavljuju na prostoru od istočne Francuske, preko sjeverne Italije i jugoistočnoalpskoga područja sve do Slovačke, s većim brojem primjeraka na grobljima Este i Most na Soči koji se datiraju od kasnoga halštata do kasnoga latena.<sup>157</sup>

Na srednjoeuropskim su opidumima zabilježeni slični trolisni razvodnici s izbočenjem u središnjem dijelu koje može biti ukrašeno različitim motivima ispunjenima crvenim emajlom: trojnog zavoja, mreže, trokrake zvijezde, tri polukruga. Razlika se može primijetiti ovisno o tome nalazi li se okrugla pločica u ravnini s polukružnim izbočenjima ili je postavljena na mjestu njihova dodira.<sup>158</sup> Isto tako, s nalazišta iz sjeverne Srbije potječe brojna konjska oprema poput dugmadi s ravnim obodom i izbočenim središnjim dijelom koji je najčešće ukrašen motivom trojnoga zavoja, kao i trolisni razvodnici s tri perforirana lista polukružnog oblika i središnjom okruglom izbočenom pločicom ukrašeno motivom trojnoga zavoja. Središnja pločica postavljena je na mjestima gdje se listovi dodiruju.<sup>159</sup>

Konjskoj opremi iz Siska pripadaju i različiti oblici dugmadi. Jedno dugme ima širi obod i neukrašenu izbočenu bradavicu, dok su s donje strane dvije ušice, pri čemu se sa svake strane žlijeba nalazi nisko rebro (Sl. 12: 5). Slična dugmad šireg oboda i s manjim izbočenjem, koje može biti ukrašeno motivom mreže, datirana je

les with protrusions on the edges of the frame that were dated to the LT D1 phase. Such buckles were discovered at Dalj,<sup>149</sup> and in the aforementioned rich warrior grave 92 at Karaburma, where an iron zoomorphic buckle with protrusions on the corners and two small linked knobs represent *pars pro toto* horse-riding equipment.<sup>150</sup> Veliki Vetren yielded numerous iron buckles, and one bronze one that also has the mentioned circular protrusions at the angles, two of which have decorative crosses.<sup>151</sup>

The horse-riding equipment from Sisak also includes a threefoil-shaped strap separator with a full central part (Fig. 12: 2). This find is similar to two threefoil-shaped strap separators with triangular cavities from Veliki Vetren.<sup>152</sup> A threefoil-shaped separator with a knob in the center was also found at Donja Dolina.<sup>153</sup> The Velemszentvid *oppidum* yielded two strap separators with triangular cavities,<sup>154</sup> and the site of Staré Hradisko yielded two forms: two strap separators with a full center and four with triangular cavities.<sup>155</sup> The Stradonice *oppidum* also yielded a strap separator with a central triangular cavity.<sup>156</sup> It is necessary to mention that similar triangular pendants appear on the territory spanning from eastern France, over northern Italy and the south-eastern Alps, all the way to Slovakia, with larger numbers recorded at the Este and Most na Soči necropolises that were dated to a period between the Late Hallstatt and the Late La Tène.<sup>157</sup>

Central European *oppida* yielded similar threefoil-shaped strap separators with protrusions on the central part that are sometimes decorated with different motifs filled with red enamel: a triskele, net, three-pointed star, three semicircles. A difference can be seen depending on whether the circular plate is in line with the semicircular protrusions or if it is at the point where they meet.<sup>158</sup> Additionally, sites in northern Serbia yielded various parts of horse-riding equipment: buttons with a straight edge and a convex central part that is most often decorated with triskele motifs, and threefoil-shaped strap separators with three semicircular perforated blades and a central round convex plate decorated with a triskele. The central plate is at the spot where the blades connect.<sup>159</sup>

The horse-riding equipment from Sisak also includes different forms of buttons. One button has a wider edge and an undecorated smaller nipple, with two small hoops on the underside, and a short rib on either side of the gauge (Fig. 12: 5). Similar buttons with a wider edge and a small protrusion, sometimes decorated with a

149 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 22, T. VIII: 8.

150 Todorović 1972, 31, T. XXVII: 14.

151 Stojić 2003, 33-34, Sl. 32.

152 Stojić 2003, 49, Sl. 184-185.

153 Truhelka 1904, 75, T. XXXVII: 18.

154 Miske 1908, T. XXXVIII: 20-21.

155 Meduna 1961, 5, T. 3: 6-7; 1970, T. 4: 9; Čizmař 2002, 217, Sl. 22: 5-8.

156 Pič 1903, T. XIII: 42.

157 Warneke 1999, 86-89. Usp. trolisni predmet s rupicom u središnjem dijelu iz ženskog kosturnog groba XXXIV s grede M. Petrovića ml., koji je datiran u horizont zmijolikih fibula: Truhelka 1904, 97, T. XLVII: 14.

158 Božić 1993, 140-141 Sl. 3, Sl. 6; 2001, 184-185, Sl. 8; Schönfelder 2002, 268-270, Sl. 169; Čizmař 2002, 216, Sl. 18, 20.

159 Stojić 2001, 51-55, Sl. 1-36.

149 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 22, Pl. VIII: 8.

150 Todorović 1972, 31, Pl. XXVII: 14.

151 Stojić 2003, 33-34, Fig. 32.

152 Stojić 2003, 49, Fig. 184-185.

153 Truhelka 1904, 75, Pl. XXXVII: 18.

154 Miske 1908, Pl. XXXVIII: 20-21.

155 Meduna 1961, 5, Pl. 3: 6-7; 1970, Pl. 4: 9; Čizmař 2002, 217, Fig. 22: 5-8.

156 Pič 1903, Pl. XIII: 42.

157 Warneke 1999, 86-89. A comparable threefoil-shaped item with a hole in the middle originates from the female skeletal grave XXXIV from M. Petrovića Jr, field, that was dated to the phase of serpentine fibulae: Truhelka 1904, 97, Pl. XLVII: 14.

158 Božić 1993, 140-141 Fig. 3, Fig. 6; 2001, 184-185, Fig. 8; Schönfelder 2002, 268-270, Fig. 169; Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 18, 20.

159 Stojić 2001, 51-55, Fig. 1-36.

u LT D1 i predstavlja široko rasprostranjen oblik. Dugmad većeg promjera s donje strane ima obično po dvije ušice, dok ona manja imaju samo jednu. Inače, mrežasti motiv može biti ispunjen emajlom.<sup>160</sup> Radi se o čestom obliku konjske opreme na istočno-keltskom području,<sup>161</sup> pa tako i kod Tauriska, o čemu svjedoči nalaz iz Savinje u Celju odakle potječe dugme s manjom bradavicom koja je ukrašena motivom mreže, dok su s donje strane dvije ušice.<sup>162</sup> Tako je dugme pronađeno i na nekropoli Novo mesto–Okrajno glavarstvo.<sup>163</sup> Dugme s opiduma Trenčianske Bohuslavice ima malu neukrašenu bradavicu, dok se s donje strane nalazi samo jedna asimetrično postavljena mala ušica.<sup>164</sup> Drugo je dugme ukrašeno motivom reže i ima dvije ušice s donje strane.<sup>165</sup>

Iz Siska potječu i dva dugmeta s duljom ušicom s donje strane, od kojih je jedno ukrašeno motivom trojnoga zavoja (Sl. 12: 3).<sup>166</sup> Iz Savinje u Celju su dva dugmeta koja na izbočenom srednjem dijelu imaju motiv trokake zvijezde i uski obod, kao i dulju ušicu s donje strane.<sup>167</sup> Dugmad s Velikoga Vetrena također ima uski obod, zatim malu ušicu s donje strane, dok je središnji dio ukrašen motivom trojnoga zavoja.<sup>168</sup> Brojni su nalazi dugmadi u sjevernoj Srbiji s izbočenim srednjim dijelom koji je najčešće ukrašen motivom trojnoga zavoja te užim ili širim obodom uz čiji rub može biti žlijeb, dok su s donje strane dvije ušice ili jedna dulja ušica s rupicom.<sup>169</sup> I s opiduma Staré Hradisko potječe dugme ukrašeno motivom trojnoga zavoja na srednjem izbočenom dijelu i sa širim obodom, dok je s donje strane dulja ušica.<sup>170</sup> Drugo dugme na srednjem dijelu ima ukras trokake zvijezde i nešto užu obod, a s donje strane je također dulja ušica s rupicom.<sup>171</sup>

Inače, znatno su češća dugmad s polukružno izbočenim srednjim dijelom, užim ili širim obodom te dvije ušice s donje strane. Jedno takvo dugme potječe s Kuzelina i ukrašeno je na srednjem izbočenom dijelu.<sup>172</sup> Opisana dugmad često ima srednji dio ukrašen motivom trojnoga zavoja, trokake zvijezde ili mreže. S donje strane su dvije polukružne ušice. Ovakva je dugmad zabilježena na nalazištima Tauriska i Skordiska kao i sjeverno i istočno od Alpa, posebno na oppidima srednje Europe.<sup>173</sup>

Dijelu opreme konjanika pripada i nalaz željezne ostruge iz jaružanja Kupe u Sisku (Sl. 13). Radi se ostrugi s polukružnim lukom poluovalnoga presjeka, kratkim šiljastim trnom te masivnom dugmadi okrugloga i pločastoga oblika. Ostruga je u prvoj objavi datirana u drugu polovicu 1. st. pr. Kr. do sredine 1. st., odnosno

net motif, were dated to the LT D1 phase and represent a widely distributed form. Larger buttons usually have two small hoops on the underside, and the smaller ones only have one. The net motif can be filled with enamel.<sup>160</sup> This is a common form of horse-riding equipment on eastern Celtic territories,<sup>161</sup> including that of the *Taurisci*, as attested to by the find from Savinja in Celje that has a smaller button decorated with a net and two hoops on the underside.<sup>162</sup> Such a button was discovered at the Novo Mesto–Okrajno glavarstvo necropolis.<sup>163</sup> The button from the Trenčianske Bohuslavice *oppidum* has a small undecorated protrusion, and one asymmetrically placed hoop on the underside.<sup>164</sup> Another button is decorated with a net motif and has two hoops on the underside.<sup>165</sup>

Sisak also yielded two buttons with longer hoops on the underside, one of which is decorated with a triskele motif (Fig. 12: 3).<sup>166</sup> Savinja in Celje yielded two buttons with three-pointed star motifs on the convex central part and longer hoops on the underside.<sup>167</sup> The buttons from Veliki Vetren also have a narrow edge, a small hoop on the underside and triskele motifs on the central part.<sup>168</sup> Northern Serbia yielded numerous finds of buttons that have a convex central part most often decorated with triskele motif, a wide or narrow edge with or without a gauge, and two or one longer hoops with a hole on the underside.<sup>169</sup> The Staré Hradisko *oppidum* also yielded a button decorated with a triskele motif on the central convex part, with a longer hoop on the underside.<sup>170</sup> Another button has a three-pointed star on the central part, a somewhat narrower edge and a longer hoop with a hole on the underside.<sup>171</sup>

Usually, buttons with a semicircular convex central part, a narrow or wide edge and two hoops on the underside are significantly more common. One such button, with decorations the central convex part, was found at Kuzelin.<sup>172</sup> The described buttons often have central parts decorated with triskele motif, three-pointed stars, or nets, with two semicircular hoops on the underside. Such buttons were recorded at sites of both the *Taurisci* and the *Scordisci*, as well as north and east of the Alps, especially at central European *oppida*.<sup>173</sup>

The iron spur discovered during the cleaning of the Kupa riverbed in Sisak is also a part of horse-riding equipment (Fig. 13). The spur has a semicircular arch of a semi-oval cross-section, a short pointy spine and massive round and plate-like knobs. In the first publication, the spur was dated to the period between the sec-

160 Božič 1993, 139-140, sl. 2, sl. 5; 2001, 184, sl. 5.

161 Čizmař 2002, 216, Sl. 21; Schönfelder 2002, 268, Sl. 168.

162 Lazar 1996, 281, T. 2: 10.

163 Božič 2008, 169, T. 20: 14.

164 Pieta 2010, 46, Sl. 16: 4.

165 Pieta 2010, 255, Sl. 113: 6.

166 Drnić 2015, 100, kat. jed. 29.

167 Lazar 1996, 281, T. 2: 6-7.

168 Stojčić 2003, 47, sl. 168-177.

169 Stojčić 2001, 51-55.

170 Meduna 1961, 9, T. 7: 17; Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 19: 6.

171 Meduna 1961, 9, T. 7: 21; Čizmař 2002, 216, Sl. 19: 5.

172 Sokol 2001, 17, Sl. 1: 4.

173 Božič 1993, 139-141, sl. 2, sl. 5; 2001, 184-185, sl. 2: 2, sl. 5; Čizmař 2002, 216, Sl. 21.

160 Božič 1993, 139-140, Fig. 2, Fig. 5; 2001, 184, Fig. 5.

161 Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 21; Schönfelder 2002, 268, Fig. 168.

162 Lazar 1996, 281, Pl. 2: 10.

163 Božič 2008, 169, Pl. 20: 14.

164 Pieta 2010, 46, Fig. 16: 4.

165 Pieta 2010, 255, Fig. 113: 6.

166 Drnić 2015, 100, cat. no. 29.

167 Lazar 1996, 281, Pl. 2: 6-7.

168 Stojčić 2003, 47, Fig. 168-177.

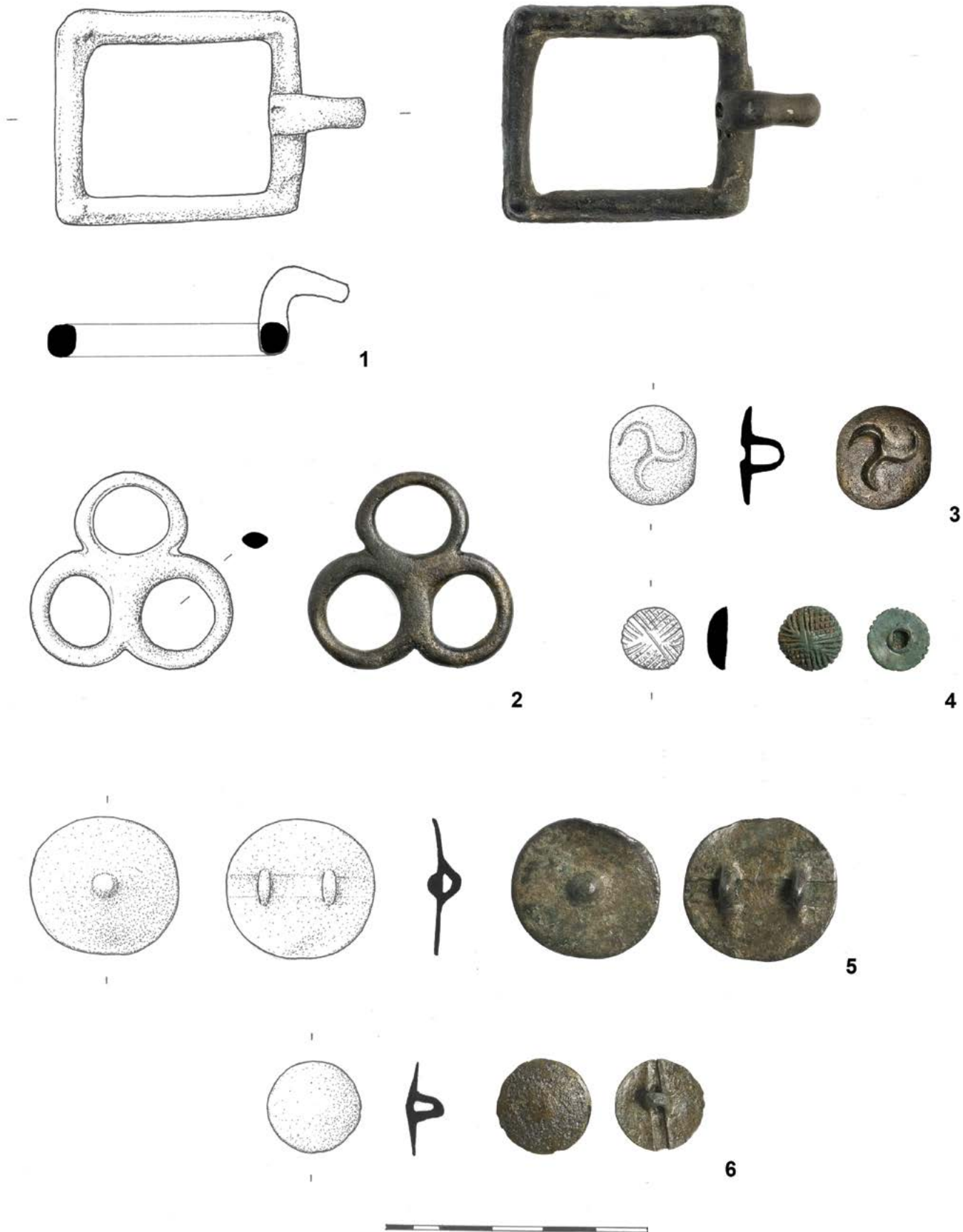
169 Stojčić 2001, 51-55.

170 Meduna 1961, 9, Pl. 7: 17; Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 19: 6.

171 Meduna 1961, 9, Pl. 7: 21; Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 19: 5.

172 Sokol 2001, 17, Fig. 1: 4.

173 Božič 1993, 139-141, Fig. 2, Fig. 5; 2001, 184-185, Fig. 2: 2, Fig. 5; Čizmař 2002, 216, Fig. 21.



Sl. 12. Elementi konjske opreme iz Siska (crtež: M. Galić; snimio: I. Krajcar)

FIG. 12. Elements of horse-riding equipment from Sisak (drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)

u kasni laten do u ranorimsko razdoblje.<sup>174</sup> Opisana ostruga iz Siska oblikom odgovara kasnolatskim oblicima, o čemu svjedoče i nalazi iz grobova u kojima se uvijek nalazi po jedna ostruga, primjerice grob 1 s pozicije Sotin–Zmajevac.<sup>175</sup> Na osnovi oblika, ostruga iz Siska može se pripisati tipu 1 varijanti 1 koji je široko rasprostranjen tijekom kasnoga latena, posebno u jugoistočnom dijelu Karpatske kotline.<sup>176</sup> Nalaz željezne ostruge u rijeci Kupi u Sisku, s obzirom na brojne usporedbe, može datirati u kasni laten (LT D), kada se istovremeno pojavljuje i veći broj predmeta konjske opreme, što ukazuje na istaknutu ulogu ratnika-konjanika u južnopanonskim zajednicama tijekom druge polovice 2. i u 1. st. pr. Kr.

Kasnolatskoj materijalnoj ostavštini iz Siska može se pripisati i brončana zakovica s niskom polukuglastom glavicom koja je podijeljena na četiri polja, pri čemu su po dva nasuprotna ukrašena na isti način, žljebovima unutar kojih je bio crveni emajl (Sl. 12: 4). S donje strane nalazila se željezna zakovica oko čijega se korijena sačuvalo zadebljanje. Zakovica se, prema tipologiji V. Challet, može pripisati varijanti 1a, s glavicom podjeljenom na četiri ukrašena polja koja je datirana u LT D1 stupanj.<sup>177</sup> Prema podjeli M. Schönfeldera sisački primjerak pripada tipu 2d,<sup>178</sup> dok se prema posljednjoj tipološkoj podjeli J. Laubera može uvrstiti u tip 5, odnosno tip 2b s obzirom na presjek, koji je karakterističan za kasnolatsko razdoblje na prostoru srednje Europe.<sup>179</sup> Primjerice, ukrašena brončana zakovica potječe iz Savinje u Celju,<sup>180</sup> a u većem su broju poznate iz Manchinga gdje često imaju sačuvani trn, a također su datirane u kasni laten.<sup>181</sup> Brojne usporedbe za zakovicu iz Siska zabilježene su i na opidumu Stradonice.<sup>182</sup>

Ove zakovice nalazimo na dijelovima konjske opreme i kola, ali i na predmetima ženske nošnje ili naoružanja. Primjerice, na kacigi tipa Novo mesto iz rijeke Save kod Donje Varoši nalaze se brojne zakovice s križnim udubljenjima,<sup>183</sup> dok su na zatiljnom štitniku kacige iz Save kod Sesveta sačuvane zakovice koje imaju ukras poput zakovice iz Siska.<sup>184</sup>

## Zaključak

Osim opisanih slučajnih nalaza naoružanja, konjske opreme i dijelova nošnje, o važnosti sisačkog prostora u razdoblju mlađeg željeznog doba svjedoče i rezultati novih zaštitnih istraživanja koja su posljednjih godina provedena na položaju naselja smještenoga na lijevoj obali rijeke Kupe, kao i sustavna istraživanja koja su započela na Pogorelcu. Sve dosad prikupljene spoznaje upućuju na izniman karakter ovoga naselja smještenog na sjecištu važnih komunikacija koje su prolazile južnim dijelom Panonske nizine i vodile prema sjevernom Jadranu i zapadnom Balkanu.

ond half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent., that is between the Late La Tène and the Early Roman period.<sup>174</sup> The described spur from Sisak has a shape resembling that of the Late La Tène, as attested to by finds from graves that always contain one spur, for example grave 1 from Sotin-Zmajevac.<sup>175</sup> Based on its shape, the spur from Sisak can be ascribed to type 1, variant 1, that was widely distributed during the Late La Tène, especially in the southeastern part of the Carpathian basin.<sup>176</sup> The find of an iron spur in the Kupa River in Sisak can, based on numerous analogies, be dated to the Late La Tène (LT D), contemporaneous with the appearance of an increasing number of horse-riding equipment, pointing to the important role of warriors-riders in the southern Pannonian communities during the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.

The Late La Tène material remains from Sisak also include a bronze rivet with a short semi-spherical head divided into four fields, whereby pairs of opposite ones are equally decorated, and gauges filled with red enamel (Fig. 12: 4). The underside of the find contained an iron rivet, preserved only in the thicker part around the root. The rivet can, according to V. Challet's typology, be ascribed to variant 1a, dated to the LT D1 phase, with a head divided into four decorated fields.<sup>177</sup> Based on M. Schönfelder's division, the find from Sisak belongs to type 2d,<sup>178</sup> and, based on the latest typological division by J. Lauber, can be ascribed to type 5, that is, type 2b, based on the cross-section that is characteristic of the Late La Tène period in central Europe.<sup>179</sup> For example, a decorated bronze rivet was found at Savinja in Celje,<sup>180</sup> and many are known from Manching, where they often have a preserved spine, and that were also dated to the Late La Tène.<sup>181</sup> Numerous analogies for the rivet from Sisak were also recorded at the Stradonice *oppidum*.<sup>182</sup>

These rivets are found on parts of horse-riding equipment and wagons, but also on items of female attire or weapons. For example, the Novo Mesto type helmet found in the Sava River near Donja Varoš has many rivets with cross-like gauges,<sup>183</sup> and the back part of the helmet discovered in the Sava River near Sesvete has rivets that are decorated in the same fashion as those from Sisak.<sup>184</sup>

## Conclusion

Apart from the described chance finds of weapons, horse-riding equipment and parts of attire, the importance of the Sisak territory during the Late Iron Age is attested to by the results of new rescue excavations that were conducted in the last few years

174 Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, 104, T. 55: 389.

175 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 57, 65, T. III: 2; Božić 1984a, 138-139, sl. 3.

176 Filipović 2009, 178-179, sl. 8, Karta 1.

177 Challet 1992, 121, Sl. 76.

178 Schönfelder 2002, 216-218, Sl. 135.

179 Lauber 2012, 736, Sl. 20: 527.

180 Lazar 1996, 281, T. 2: 9.

181 van Endert 1991, 102-103, T. 37: 611-613.

182 Pič 1903, T. IX: 14, 21.

183 Mihaljević, Dizdar 2007, 122, 126, sl. 1-8.

184 Sokol 2001, 17, sl. 2.

174 Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, 104, Pl. 55: 389.

175 Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 57, 65, Pl. III: 2; Božić 1984a, 138-139, Fig. 3.

176 Filipović 2009, 178-179, Fig. 8, Map 1.

177 Challet 1992, 121, Fig. 76.

178 Schönfelder 2002, 216-218, Fig. 135.

179 Lauber 2012, 736, Fig. 20: 527.

180 Lazar 1996, 281, Pl. 2: 9.

181 van Endert 1991, 102-103, Pl. 37: 611-613.

182 Pič 1903, Pl. IX: 14, 21.

183 Mihaljević, Dizdar 2007, 122, 126, Figs. 1-8.

184 Sokol 2001, 17, Fig. 2.



S obzirom na zapise u antičkim povijesnim vrelima, mlađeželjeznodobnim nalazima oduvijek se pridavala određena pozornost te ih se pokušavalo povezati sa zajednicama koje ti izvori spominju. Tako se za nalaze latenske kulture iz Siska pretpostavilo kako se mogu pripisati autohtonom panonskom stanovništvu,<sup>185</sup> odnosno zajednici Segestana, bliskoj većoj zajednici Kolapijana koji su, uz opće prihvaćene latenske oblike nakita, nošnje i oružja, očuvali određene elemente vlastite autohtone materijalne kulture.<sup>186</sup> To se prvenstveno odražava u produkciji keramičkoga posuđa među kojim prevladavaju oblici koji upućuju na ostavštinu lokalnog panonskog naslijeđa. Sve to potvrđuje složenost odnosa autohtonog panonskog stanovništva i pridošlih 'nositelja' latenske kulture kojima se pripisivalo keltsko porijeklo. Naime, u srednjoj je Posavini, kamo se može smjestiti i područje Siska, proces latenizacije trajao tijekom čitavoga mlađeg željeznog doba, dok do neke snažnije keltizacije, odnosno naseljavanja većih skupina keltskoga porijekla, vjerojatno nikada nije niti došlo. U svoju materijalnu kulturu stanovnici Segest(ik)e uključivali su pojedine tehnološki ili vizualno dojmljive predmete latenske kulture, poput nekih dijelova naoružanja, konjske opreme te predmeta koji su činili žensku nošnju i nakit. Ipak, ne može se u potpunosti isključiti mogućnost dolaska pridošlica u jedno tako važno naselje koje je predstavljalo istaknuti centar trgovine i proizvodnje u koji su se slijevala dobra iz susjednih, ali i udaljenih područja i preko kojega se odvijala dinamična razmjena ljudi, dobara i ideja.

Važno je istaknuti da su na prostoru Siska zabilježeni predmeti iz svih faza razvoja latenske kulture, pri čemu su oni kasnolateniski najbrojniji. Zanimljivo je da veći broj opisanih predmeta potječe iz vodenoga konteksta, odnosno iz rijeke Kupe te se na osnovi usporedbi, prije svega s nalazima iz rijeke Ljubljanice,<sup>187</sup> barem za neke od njih može pretpostaviti da su u vodu dospjeli kao dio rituala. Ipak, pri ovakvim interpretacijama nužan je oprez jer je u sisačkom slučaju kod nalaza iz Kupe mogućnost slučajnog deponiranja predmeta u vodu znatno veća (budući da Kupa teče uz samo željeznodobno naselje) nego kod nalaza iz Ljubljanice, gdje su mjesta nalaza izrazito udaljena od naselja. Novija istraživanja pokazuju kako se, pored dominantnih keramičkih oblika, pojedini dijelovi nošnje i predmeti nakita, ali i novca mogu očekivati i unutar dobro datiranih nasebinskih slojeva i struktura, što će imati veliku važnost u budućim proučavanjima kronostratigrafskoga razvoja istaknutog mlađeželjeznodobnog naselja smještenoga na području današnjeg Siska.<sup>188</sup>

Unatoč znatnom napretku u istraživanju ovoga naselja, socijalna struktura njegovih stanovnika u pojedinim fazama razvoja ostaje nam još prilično nepoznata, osim povijesnog podataka koji navodi Apijan o postojanju plemstva (*prôteúontes*) i naroda (*demos*),<sup>189</sup> ali on se odnosi samo na završno razdoblje života željeznodobne zajednice u drugoj polovici 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. Također, ovaj podatak treba promatrati u kontekstu antičke historiogra-

on the settlement situated on the left bank of the Kupa River, as well as the systematic excavations at Pogorelac. All of the insight gained points to the exceptional character of this settlement, situated on the intersection of important communication routes that passed through southern Pannonia and went towards the northern Adriatic and the western Balkans.

Considering the notes in Roman historical sources, Late Iron Age finds were always given certain attention and were connected to the communities mentioned in the sources. That is how it was assumed that the finds of the La Tène culture from Sisak could be attributed to the autochthonous Pannonian inhabitants,<sup>185</sup> that is to the Segestan community that was close to the, larger, community of the *Colapiani* who, along with the generally accepted La Tène forms of jewelry, attire and weapons, preserved certain elements of their own autochthonous material culture.<sup>186</sup> This was primarily reflected in the production of pottery, dominated by forms that reflect local Pannonian heritage. All of this attests to the complexity of the relations between the autochthonous Pannonian communities and the newcomers who 'carried' the La Tène culture and who were considered to be of Celtic origin. Namely, in the central Sava River valley, including Sisak, the process of attaining the La Tène culture lasted throughout the entire Late Iron Age, while a stronger Celtization, i.e. the settling of larger groups of Celtic origin, probably never even occurred. The inhabitants of *Segest(ica)* included certain technologically or visually impressive elements of the La Tène culture, such as parts of weaponry, horse-riding equipment and objects that made up the female attire and jewelry, into their material legacy. However, the possibility that some newcomers arrived into such an important settlement, a notable trade and production center, cannot be excluded, as goods from the neighboring and more distant lands arrived to this place marked by a dynamic exchange of people, goods and ideas.

It is important to highlight that the territory of Sisak yielded finds from all phases of the La Tène culture, whereby Late La Tène ones are the most numerous. It is interesting that the largest number of the described finds were found in water context making comparisons possible with specific regard to finds from the Ljubljanica River,<sup>187</sup> to assume that were discarded as part of a ritual. However, such interpretations require caution because, in the case of Sisak and the finds from the Kupa River, there is a larger possibility that the finds accidentally made their way into the water (seeing as the Kupa flows right along the Iron Age settlement) than in Ljubljanica where the finds were discovered far from the settlements. More recent excavations revealed that, apart from the dominant pottery forms, certain parts of attire and jewelry, as well as coins, can be expected within well-dated settlement layers and structures, a fact that will play a major part in the future research and the chronological and strati-

185 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65.

186 Šašel 1984; Božič 2001.

187 Gaspari 2002; Gaspari 2007.

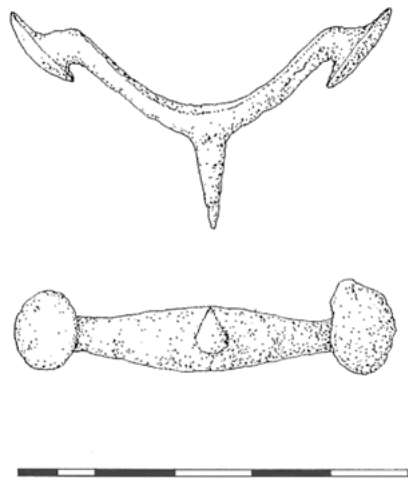
188 Primjerice, novac na položaju Frankopanska b.b. (Škrkulja 2018, u ovoj knjizi), šuplja čunjasta fibula i fibule tipa Beletov vrt, Gorica i Podzemelj na položaju Željeznički kolodvor (Jerončić, Paro, Kristović 2018, u ovoj knjizi)

189 Appian, III. 22.

185 Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65.

186 Šašel 1984; Božič 2001.

187 Gaspari 2002; Gaspari 2007.



fije, odnosno etnografije koja ima tendenciju stereotipiziranja i pojednostavljenije društvene stvarnosti. Stoga o položaju ratničke elite u segestanskoj zajednici možemo samo nagađati na osnovi paralela u susjednim mlađeželjeznodobnim zajednicama, primjerice onoj mokronoškoj gdje se ratnički status često iskazivao i u pogrebnom ritualu prilaganjem oružja u grobove. S druge strane, na japodskom prostoru s kojim je segestanska zajednica dijelila određene elemente materijalne kulture taj se običaj, i to u prilično reduciranom obliku, pojavljuje tek u 1. stoljeću prije Krista, vjerojatno kao posljedica utjecaja latenske kulture.

Na području Siska dosad, nažalost, nisu pronađeni grobovi ili kulturna mjesta, kakvi su poznati na susjednim područjima gdje je pronađena velika količina oružja i konjske opreme, iz čega bi bilo moguće detaljnije rekonstruirati naoružanje segestanske ratničke elite iz razdoblja mlađeg željeznog doba. Poznati primjerci naoružanja potječu iz rijeke Kupe ili im u potpunosti nedostaju precizniji podaci o kontekstu nalaza. Iz sporadičnih nalaza može se zaključiti kako su tipični latenski mačevi korišteni od stupnja LT C1, što potvrđuje nalaz dijela korica Lejarsove grupe 5, dok indirektnu potvrdu o korištenju mačeva i u mlađim stupnjevima LT C2 – LT D2 predstavljaju kopče pojasnih garnitura koje su služile za nošenje korica mača (Sl. 10). Nešto su brojniji vrhovi kopalja koji odražavaju sličnosti s primjercima zabilježenim u grobovima stupnjeva LT C2 – D2 s prostora mokronoške skupine te grupe Beograd u jugoistočnoj Panoniji. Među kasnolatskom materijalnom ostavštinom brojni su noževi tipa Pritoka – Bela Cerkev, kao uostalom i kod susjednih japodskih i mokronoških zajednica, a nekoliko predmeta koji pripadaju konjskoj opremi predstavljaju tipične latenske izrađevine iz stupnja LT D1. Tada se znatno povećao broj tih predmeta u srednjoj Europi, što bi moglo upućivati na veću ulogu konjanika u društvenoj strukturi, kao i na veću ulogu konjice u ratovanju. Iz dostupnih nam arheoloških podataka, naoružanje segestanskih ratnika koji su se 35. godine pr. Kr., kako nam navode pisani izvori, suprotstavili nadirućim rimskim legijama činili su noževi zakrivljenog sječiva tipa Pritoka – Bela Cerkev,

Sl. 13.  
Željezna ostruga iz Siska (?) (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 13.  
Iron spur from Sisak (?) (drawing: M. Galić)

graphic studies of the development of the important Late Iron Age settlement situated in today's Sisak.<sup>188</sup>

Despite the significant advances in the study of this settlement, the social structure of its inhabitants in certain phases remain pretty unclear despite the historical data listed by Appian about the existence of nobility (*prôteúontes*) and the commons (*dem-os*).<sup>189</sup> However, he only refers to the final phases of life in the Iron Age community in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC. Additionally, this data should be studied in the context of Roman historiography, in which ethnography has a tendency to stereotype and simplify social reality. Therefore, the position of the warrior elite in the Segestan community can only be speculated about based on parallels in the neighboring Late Iron Age communities, for example the Mokronog group where the warrior status was often emphasized in burial rituals by depositing weapons as grave goods. On the other hand, on the Iapodian territory, with which the Segestan community shared certain elements of material culture, this custom appeared in a pretty reduced form, only in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, probably as the result of influences from the La Tène culture.

The territory of Sisak, unfortunately, did not yield any graves or ritual places that would allow for a more detailed reconstruction of the weaponry used by the Segestan warrior elite of the Late Iron Age, unlike the neighboring regions that yielded large amounts of weapons and horse-riding equipment. Known examples of weapons were retrieved from the Kupa River or lack precise data about the place of discovery. The sporadic finds lead to the conclusion that typical La Tène swords were used from the LT C1 phase, as suggested by the find of the scabbard ascribed to Lejar's group 5, with indirect confirmations of swords use in the younger LT C2-LT D2 phases in the form of belts used to fasten scabbards (Fig. 10). Somewhat more numerous are finds of spearheads similar to those from graves of the LT C2-D2 phases from the territory of the Mokronog and Belgrade groups in southeastern Pannonia. The Late La Tène material remains include numerous knives of the Pritoka – Bela Cerkev type, also common in the neighboring Iapodian and Mokronog groups, and several finds that were parts of horse-riding equipment that can be seen as typical La Tène products of the LT D1 phase, a time when the number of such finds rose significantly in Central Europe, possibly pointing to an increasing role of cavalry in the social structure and war. The available archaeological data suggests that the weapons used by Segestan warriors, who, in 35 BC, as listed in the written sources, opposed the invading Roman legions, included knives with curved blades of the Pritoka – Bela Cerkev type, spears with long tips on narrow blades of rhombic

188 For example, the coins from the Frankopanska b.b. position (Škrgulja 2018, in this volume), a hollow boat-shaped fibula and fibulas of the Beletov vrt, Gorica and Podzemelj types from the Railway station position (Jerončić, Paro, Kristović 2018, in this volume)

189 Appian, III. 22.

koplja s dugim vrhovima uskog lista s rombičnim presjekom ili blago naglašenim središnjim rebrom, a možda i latenski mačevi oblika karakterističnog za LT D2 stupanj. Izvori koji opisuju tijek opsade, nažalost, ne sadrže detalje o ratničkoj opremi i naoružanju ratnika koji su sudjelovali u obrani Segest(ik)e.

cross-sections or a slightly pronounced central rib, and possibly La Tène swords typical of the LT D2 phase. The sources that describe the siege, unfortunately, do not contain details on the military equipment and weapons used by the warriors who participated in the defense of *Segest(ica)*.

# POPIS NALAZIŠTA (KARTA 1):

## 1. Nalazišta noževa Pritoka – Bela Cerkev

1. Bela Cerkev–Vinji vrh (Stare 1973, 77, inv. br. 4584, 4586, 4587, T. 50: 7-8, T. 51: 9, T. 52: 2)
2. Jezerine kod Pritoke, grob 99 (Radimský 1893, 242, sl. 49); grob 237 (Radimský 1893, 278-279, T. 2: 2, T. 12: 7, T. 20: 18; Radimský 1895, 116-117, sl. 274-276); grob 400 (Radimský 1893, 410-411, T. 2: 1-4, T. 3: 1; Radimský 1895, 156, sl. 468, 470-471)
3. Kamenjača kod Breze (Božič 1984b, 82, sl. 23: 2)
4. Kupinovo (Jovanović 1987, 835, sl. 42: 18; Drnić 2015b, 75, kat. br. 139, T. 32: 3)
5. Ljubljanič-Vrhnika, Bevke (Gaspari 2002, 290-291, T. 10: 4-6)
6. Obrovac (Stipčević 1960, 88-90, sl. 1-2)
7. Osor (Blečić Kavur 2015, 229, sl. 88)
8. Prozor (Drechsler-Bižić 1956, 47, T. 1: 3; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, T. 2: 2)
9. Ribić, grob 12 (Čurčić 1898, 631, sl. 4; Čurčić 1900, 7, sl. 4; Marić 1968, T. 10: 13-16; T. 7: 57-58)
10. Sisak (Burkowsky 2004, 25, 56, kat. br. 60-61; Burkowsky 2015, 16, kat. br. 6; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, T. 1: 2; Mráv 2010, 214, kat. br. 6)
11. Zagreb (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 87, T. 21: 3; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, T. 2: 1)
12. nepoznato nalazište (Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, T. 1: 1)
38. izvor Cetine, gomila 14/grob 41 (Marović 1959, 52, sl. 32: 1)
39. Botovo-Šoderica (Arheologija Torčeca 2016, 77, kat. br. 28)

## 2. Noževi zakrivljenog sječiva manjih dimenzija

13. Jezerine, grob 288 (Radimský 1893, 379-380, T. 2: 3; Radimský 1895, 133, sl. 358); grob 400 (Radimský 1893, 410-411)
14. Novo mesto-Okrajno glavarstvo (Božič 2008, 168, T. 20: 2)
15. Prozor, grob 71 (Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, T. 34: 3)
16. Ribić, grob 120 (Čurčić 1900, 640, sl. 19)
17. Sisak (zbirka obitelji Radauš)

# LIST OF SITES (MAP 1):

## 1. Finds of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type knives

1. Bela Cerkev-Vinji vrh (Stare 1973, 77, inv. no. 4584, 4586, 4587, Pl. 50: 7-8, Pl. 51: 9, Pl. 52: 2)
2. Jezerine near Pritoka, grave 99 (Radimský 1893, 242, Fig. 49); grave 237 (Radimský 1893, 278-279, Pl. 2: 2, Pl. 12: 7, Pl. 20: 18; Radimský 1895 116-117, Fig. 274-276); grave 400 (Radimský 1893, 410-411, Pl. 2: 1-4, Pl. 3: 1; Radimský 1895, 156, Fig. 468, 470-471)
3. Kamenjača near Breza (Božič 1984b, 82, Fig. 23: 2)
4. Kupinovo (Jovanović 1987, 835, Fig. 42: 18; Drnić 2015b, 75, cat. no. 139, Pl. 32: 3)
5. Ljubljanič-Vrhnika, Bevke (Gaspari 2002, 290-291, Pl. 10: 4-6)
6. Obrovac (Stipčević 1960, 88-90, Figs. 1-2)
7. Osor (Blečić Kavur 2015, 229, Fig. 88)
8. Prozor (Drechsler-Bižić 1956, 47, Pl. 1: 3; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, Pl. 2: 2)
9. Ribić, grave 12 (Čurčić 1898, 631, Fig. 4; Čurčić 1900, 7, Fig. 4; Marić 1968, Pl. 10: 13-16; Pl. 7: 57-58)
10. Sisak (Burkowsky 2004, 25, 56, cat. no. 60-61; Burkowsky 2015, 16, cat. no. 6; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, Pl. 1: 2; Mráv 2010, 214, cat. no. 6)
11. Zagreb (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 87, Pl. 21: 3; Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, Pl. 2: 1)
12. unknown site (Balen-Letunić 2006, 65, 69, Pl. 1: 1)
38. Cetina River spring, tumulus 14/grave 41 (Marović 1959, 52, Fig. 32: 1)
39. Botovo-Šoderica (Arheologija Torčeca 2016, 77, cat. no. 28)

## 2. Finds of knives with a smaller curved blade

13. Jezerine, grave 288 (Radimský 1893, 379-380, Pl. 2: 3; Radimský 1895, 133, Fig. 358); grave 400 (Radimský 1893, 410-411)
14. Novo Mesto-Okrajno glavarstvo (Božič 2008, 168, Pl. 20: 2)
15. Prozor, grave 71 (Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, Pl. 34: 3)
16. Ribić, grave 120 (Čurčić 1900, 640, Fig. 19)
17. Sisak (the Radauš family collection)

**3. Nalazišta noževa s trokutasto oblikovanim sječivom**

18. Donji Laminci (Truhelka 1901, 901, 27–28, T. 6: 1)
19. Ljubljana (Gaspari 2002, 290, T. 10: 3; Gaspari 2007, 150, Fig. 2: 2; Gaspari 2009, 254, cat. no. 37b)
20. Golubić, grob 40 (Raunig 1968, 88, T. 3: 8)
21. Oberlaiserberg (Karwowski 2016, 79-80, Fig. 8)
22. Nadleški hrib (Laharnar 2016, 87, Fig. 27: 24)
23. Paka (Dizdar, Potrebica 2014, 263, Fig. 4)
24. Pécs-Hőerőmű (Maráz 2008, Fig. 10: 1)
25. Prozor, grob 75 (Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, 41, T. 35: 1)
26. Podzemelj (Dular 1978, T. 22: 1; Božić 2001, 187, Fig. 17: 1).
27. Ribić, grob 17 (Čurčić 1900, 632, sl. 6), grob 78 (Čurčić 1900, 638, sl. 14)
28. Sotin, grob 3 (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, T. 4: 2; Božić 1981, T. 9: 8)

**4. Sice i lokalne jugoistočnopanonske izvedenice**

29. Beograd-Karaburma, grob 112 (Todorović 1972, 35, T. 34: 6)
30. Dalj (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 89, T. XXIV: 10)
31. Hrtkovci (Dautova Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 89, sl. 53, kat. br. 60)
32. Mala Vrbica-Ajmana (Stalio 1986, 33, Fig. 42)
33. Kupinovo (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 85, T. XVI: 5-8; Drnić 2015b, 150, T. 32: 4, T. 33: 1)
34. Sotin-Zmajevac, grob 3 (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, T. 4: 4; Božić 1981, T. 9: 9)
35. Vasiljevac na planini Rtanj (Milojević, Milanović 2015, 40, T. 1: 11, sl. 2)
36. Veliki Vetren (Stojić 2003, 92, kat. br. 311)
37. Zemun (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 98, T. 46: 6; Drnić 2015b, 73)

**3. Finds of knives with triangular blades**

18. Donji Laminci (Truhelka 1901, 901, 27–28, Pl. 6: 1)
19. Ljubljana (Gaspari 2002, 290, Pl. 10: 3; Gaspari 2007, 150, Fig. 2: 2; Gaspari 2009, 254, cat. no. 37b)
20. Golubić, grave 40 (Raunig 1968, 88, Pl. 3: 8)
21. Oberlaiserberg (Karwowski 2016, 79-80, Fig. 8)
22. Nadleški hrib (Laharnar 2016, 87, Fig. 27: 24)
23. Paka (Dizdar, Potrebica 2014, 263, Fig. 4)
24. Pécs-Hőerőmű (Maráz 2008, Fig. 10: 1)
25. Prozor, grave 75 (Drechsler-Bižić 1972-1973, 41, Pl. 35: 1)
26. Podzemelj (Dular 1978, Pl. 22: 1; Božić 2001, 187, Fig. 17: 1).
27. Ribić, grave 17 (Čurčić 1900, 632, Fig. 6), grave 78 (Čurčić 1900, 638, Fig. 14)
28. Sotin, grave 3 (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, Pl. 4: 2; Božić 1981, Pl. 9: 8)

**4. Sicae and local southern Pannonian derivatives**

29. Beograd - Karaburma, grave 112 (Todorović 1972, 35, Pl. 34: 6)
30. Dalj (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 89, Pl. XXIV: 10)
31. Hrtkovci (Dautova Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 89, Fig. 53, cat. no. 60)
32. Mala Vrbica-Ajmana (Stalio 1986, 33, Fig. 42)
33. Kupinovo (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 85, Pl. XVI: 5-8; Drnić 2015b, 150, Pl. 32: 4, Pl. 33: 1)
34. Sotin-Zmajevac, grave 3 (Majnarić-Pandžić 1972-1973, 58, Pl. 4: 4; Božić 1981, Pl. 9: 9)
35. Vasiljevac at the Rtanj mountain (Milojević, Milanović 2015, 40, Pl. 1: 11, Fig. 2)
36. Veliki Vetren (Stojić 2003, 92, cat. no. 311)
37. Zemun (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 98, Pl. 46: 6; Drnić 2015b, 73)

# KATALOG

## 1. Korice mača (AMZ, P-15759) (Sl. 1)

**Opis:** Vrh korica mača s okovom u obliku slova V.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 13,5 cm; šir. 3 cm

**Objava:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, T. 56: 7.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-Pogorelac, slučajni nalaz (?)

## 2. Nož (AMZ, A-2253) (Sl. 2: 1)

**Opis:** Masivni nož trokutastog sječiva i blago povijene drške pravokutnog presjeka koja završava ovalnim obručem.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 44,5 cm; šir. sječiva 6,8 cm.

**Objava:** Drnić 2015a, 96. kat. br. 9.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-Kupa, slučajni nalaz

## 3. Nož (GMS, AZN 3136) (Sl. 2: 2)

**Opis:** Nož inačice Brežice 6 tipa Dürnberg trokutasto oblikovanog sječiva ravnog hrpta koji prelazi u povijenu dršku s kuglicom na završetku.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 25 cm; šir. sječiva 3,7 cm

**Objava:** Burkowsky 2004, 57, kat. br. 63; Burkowsky 2015, 95, kat. br. 8.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

## 4. Nož (GMS, 510:SIK 3158) (Sl. 3: 1)

**Opis:** Dugi nož tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev zakrivljenog sječiva na kojemu se uz hrbat nalaze žlijebovi. Na prijelazu sječiva u široku pločastu dršku s tri rupe za zakovice nalazi se željezni graničnik, a na završetku ovalna pločica.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 52 cm; šir. sječiva 4 cm

**Objava:** Burkowsky 2004, kat. br. 60; Burkowsky 2015, kat. br. 6.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

## 5. Nož (GMS, AZP 160) (Sl. 3: 2)

**Opis:** Dugi nož tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev zakrivljenog sječiva na kojemu se uz hrbat nalaze žlijebovi. Na prijelazu sječiva u široku pločastu dršku s tri rupe za zakovice nedostaje graničnik, a na završetku se nalazi ovalna pločica.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 50 cm; šir. sječiva 3,5 cm

**Objava:** Burkowsky 2004, kat. br. 61; Burkowsky 2015, kat. br. 6.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

# CATALOGUE

## 1. Sword scabbards (AMZ, P-15759) (Fig. 1)

**Description:** The tip of a sword scabbard with a V-shaped hoop.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 13.5 cm; w. 0.7 cm

**Bibliography:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, Pl. 56: 7.

**Context:** Sisak-Pogorelac, stray find

## 2. Knife (AMZ, A-2253) (Fig. 2: 1)

**Description:** A massive knife with a triangular blade and a slightly bent handle of rectangular cross-section that ends in an oval hoop.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 44.5 cm; blade w. 6.8 cm

**Bibliography:** Drnić 2015a, 96, cat. no. 9.

**Context:** Sisak-Pogorelac, stray find

## 3. Knife (GMS, AZN 3136) (Fig. 2: 2)

**Description:** A knife of the Brežice 6 variant of the Dürnberg type with a triangular blade with a straight upper part that curves towards the handle that has a sphere at the end.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 25 cm; blade w. 3.7 cm

**Bibliography:** Burkowsky 2004, 57, cat. no. 63; Burkowsky 2015, 95, cat. no. 8.

**Context:** Sisak-Kupa River, stray find

## 4. Knife (GMS, 510:SIK 3158) (Fig. 3: 1)

**Description:** A long knife of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type with a curved blade and gauges along the upper part. There is a cross hilt at the transition between the blade and the wide plate-like handle that has three holes for rivets, and an oval plate at the end.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 52 cm; blade w. 4 cm

**Bibliography:** Burkowsky 2004, 57, cat. no. 63; Burkowsky 2015, 95, cat. no. 8.

**Context:** Sisak-Kupa River, stray find

## 5. Knife (GMS, AZP 160) (Fig. 3: 2)

**Description:** A long knife of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type with a curved blade and gauges along the upper part. The cross hilt is missing at transition between the blade and the wide plate-like handle that has three holes for rivets. There is an oval plate at the end of the handle.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 50 cm; blade w. 3.5 cm

**Bibliography:** Burkowsky 2004, cat. no. 61; Burkowsky 2015, cat. no. 6.

**Context:** Sisak-Kupa River, stray find

**6. Nož (AMZ, P-15765) (Sl. 3: 3)**

**Opis:** Dugi nož tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev zakrivljenog sječiva na kojemu se uz hrbat nalaze žlijebovi. Na prijelazu sječiva u široku pločastu dršku s tri rupe za zakovice nedostaje graničnik, a na završetku se nalazi ovalna pločica.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 43 cm; šir. sječiva 3, 5 cm

**Objava:** Balen- Letunić 2006.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**7. Nož (MNM, RR 62.11.1) (Sl. 3: 4)**

**Opis:** Dugi nož tipa Pritoka - Bela Cerkev zakrivljenog sječiva. Na prijelazu sječiva u dršku nedostaje graničnik, a zbog recentne drvena obloge nije moguće utvrditi točan izgled drške.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 43 cm; šir. sječiva 3,1 cm

**Objava:** Mráv 2010, 214, kat. br. 6.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**8. Nož (AMZ) (Sl. 3: 5)**

**Opis:** Nož zakrivljenog sječiva i trakaste drške na kojoj su sačuvane dvije zakovice.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 30,5 cm; šir. sječiva 3,6 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak (?), Zbirka Radauš

**9. Nož (GMS, AZN 176) (Sl. 4: 1)**

**Opis:** Nož zakrivljenog sječiva proširenog u središnjem dijelu na kojemu se uz hrbat nalaze žlijebovi. Na trakastoj drški nalazi se pet perforacija za zakovice od kojih su tri sačuvane.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 38 cm; šir. sječiva 3,7 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**10. Nož (AMZ, P-5097) (Sl. 4: 2)**

**Opis:** Nož s konkavno oblikovanim hrptom ispod kojeg se nalazi široki žlijeb i ovalnom oštricom te trakasto oblikovanim jezičkom na kojem su sačuvane tri zakovice za pričvršćivanje drške. Na prijelazu sječiva i drške na obje strane se nalazi graničnik.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 39; šir. sječiva 3,4 cm

**Objava:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, T. 36: 8.

**Kontekst:** Sotin, slučajni nalaz

**6. Knife (AMZ, P-15765) (Sl. 3: 3)**

**Description:** A long knife of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type with a curved blade and gauges along the upper part. The cross hilt is missing at transition between the blade and the wide plate-like handle that has three holes for rivets. There is an oval plate at the end of the handle.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 43 cm; blade w. 3.5 cm

**Bibliography:** Balen-Letunić 2006, Pl. 1: 2.

**Context:** Sisak-Kupa River, stray find

**7. Knife (MNM, RR 62.11.1) (Fig. 3: 4)**

**Description:** A long knife of the Pritoka - Bela Cerkev type with a curved blade. The cross hilt is missing at the transition between the blade and the handle. It is impossible to determine the shape of the handle due to the recent wooden plates.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 43 cm; blade w. 3.1 cm

**Bibliography:** Mráv 2010, 214, cat. no. 6.

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**8. Knife (AMZ) (Fig. 3: 5)**

**Description:** A knife with a curved blade and a ribbon-like handle with two preserved rivets.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 30.5 cm; blade w. 3.6 cm

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak, Radauš family collection

**9. Knife (CMS, AZN 176) (Fig. 4: 1)**

**Description:** A knife with a blade that curves at the middle part that also has gauges along the upper side. The ribbon-like handle has five perforations for rivets. Three rivets are preserved.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 38 cm; blade w. 3.7 cm

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**10. Knife (AMZ, P-5097) (Sl. 4: 2)**

**Description:** Nož s konkavno oblikovanim hrptom ispod kojeg se nalazi široki žlijeb i ovalnom oštricom te trakasto oblikovanim jezičkom na kojem su sačuvane tri zakovice za pričvršćivanje drške. Na prijelazu sječiva i drške na obje strane se nalazi graničnik.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 39 cm; blade w. 3.4 cm

**Bibliography:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, Pl. 36: 8.

**Context:** Sotin, stray find

**11. Vrh koplja (AMZ, A-2291) (Sl. 7: 1)**

**Opis:** Dugi vrh koplja s raskovanim, u donjem dijelu oštećenim listom i središnjim rebrom rombičnog presjeka. Na kraćem nasadniku se nalazi jedna perforacija u kojoj je sačuvana zakovica s polukuglastom glavicom.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 51,8 cm; šir. lista 7,2 cm; duž. nasadnika 9,8 cm.

**Objava:** Drnić 2015a, Fig. 6: 5.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz.

**12. Vrh koplja (AMZ, A-2269) (Sl. 7: 2)**

**Opis:** Dugi vrh koplja s raskovanim, oštećenim listom s blago naglašenim središnjim rebrom rombičnog presjeka. U oštećenom nasadniku su vidljivi ostatci drvene drške.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 44,8 cm; šir. lista 5 cm; duž. nasadnika 13,6 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**13. Vrh koplja (AMZ, A-2266) (Sl. 7: 3)**

**Opis:** Vrh koplja s raskovanim, oštećenim listom s blago naglašenim središnjim rebrom rombičnog presjeka. Nasadnik nedostaje.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 35,7 cm; šir. lista 4,8 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**14. Vrh koplja (AMZ, P-21550) (Sl. 8: 1)**

**Opis:** Dugi vrh koplja s listom rombičnog presjeka koje prelazi u kraći nasadnik. Vrh lista nedostaje, a na prijelazu lista u nasadnike se nalazi žig u obliku tri okomito položene točke.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 57 cm; šir. lista 5,9 cm; duž. nasadnika 14,2 cm

**Objava:** Drnić 2015a, Fig. 6: 5.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**15. Vrh koplja (GMS, AZN 105) (Sl. 8: 2)**

**Opis:** Vrh koplja trakastog presjeka lista raskovanih stranica. Oštećeni nasadnik je fasetiran

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 25,5 cm; šir. lista 4,5 cm.

**Objava:** Burkowsky 2004, kat. br. 57

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**16. Vrh koplja (AMZ, A-2270) (Sl. 9: 1)**

**Opis:** Dugi vrh koplja uskog lista rombičnog presjeka.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 47,8 cm; šir. lista 4 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**11. Spearhead (AMZ, A-2291) (Fig. 7: 1)**

**Description:** A long spearhead with a forged sheet and a central rib of rhombical cross-section. The lower part of the sheet is damaged. The shorter mount has one perforation with a preserved rivet that has a semispherical head.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 51.8 cm; blade w. 7.2 cm; socket l. 9.8 cm.

**Bibliography:** Drnić 2015a, Fig. 6: 5.

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**12. Spearhead (AMZ, A-2269) (Fig. 7: 2)**

**Description:** A long spearhead with a forged sheet and a central rib of rhombical cross-section. The lower part of the sheet is damaged. The shorter mount has one perforation with a preserved rivet that has a semispherical head.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 51.8 cm; blade w. 7.2 cm; socket l. 9.8 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**13. Spearhead (AMZ, A-2266) (Fig. 7: 3)**

**Description:** A spearhead with a damaged forged sheet with a slightly accentuated central rib of rhombical cross-section. The mount is missing.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 35.7 cm; blade w. 4.8 cm

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**14. Spearhead (AMZ, P-21550) (Fig. 8: 1)**

**Description:** A long spearhead with a sheet of rhombical cross-section and a shorter mount. The tip of the sheet is missing. The transition between the mount and the sheet has a stamp in the form of three perpendicularly positioned dots.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 57 cm; blade w. 5.9 cm; socket l. 9.8 cm.

**Bibliography:** Drnić 2015a, Fig. 6: 5.

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**15. Spearhead (CMS, AZN 105) (Fig. 8: 2)**

**Description:** A spearhead of ribbon-like cross-section and a forged sheet. The damaged mount is faceted.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 25.5 cm; blade w. 4.5 cm.

**Bibliography:** Burkowsky 2004, cat. no. 57.

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find



**17. Vrh koplja (AMZ, A-2268) (Sl. 9: 2)**

**Opis:** Vrh koplja s listom rombičnog presjeka kojemu nedostaje gornji dio i dugačkim nasadnikom.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 24,7 cm; šir. lista 4,2 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**18. Vrh koplja (GMS, 510: SIK 29777) (Sl. 9: 3)**

**Opis:** Dugi vrh koplja uskog lista rombičnog presjeka raskovanih stranica.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 61 cm; šir. lista 4,1 cm.

**Objava:** Burkowsky 2015, kat. br. 1

**Kontekst:** Sisak-Pogorelac, slučajni nalaz

**19. Vrh koplja (GMS) (Sl. 9: 3)**

**Opis:** Vrh koplja uskog lista rombičnog presjeka kojemu nedostaje vrh i kratkog nasadnika.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** duž. 25,2 cm; šir. lista 3,9 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**20. Pojasna kopča (AMZ, P-20642) (Sl. 10: 1)**

**Opis:** Pojasna kopča s obručem trokutastog presjeka na koje se nastavlja ovalno oblikovani nastavak ukrašen dvjema koncentričnim kružnicama koji završava trokutastim proširenjem i kukicom za zakapčanje sa stiliziranim prikazom ljudske glave.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** duž. 5,1 cm; šir. 3 cm.

**Objava:** neobjavljena.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**21. Pojasna kopča (AMZ, P-18925) (Sl. 10: 2)**

**Opis:** Pojasna kopča s obručem ovalnog presjeka i rebrom na gornjoj strani. Nastavak je oblikovan s dvije srcoliko oblikovane perforacije te trnom za zakapčanje koji završava kuglastim zadebljanjem.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** duž. 4,6 cm; šir. 2,9 cm.

**Objava:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, T. 30: 3.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**16. Spearhead (AMZ, A-2270) (Fig. 9: 1)**

**Description:** A long spearhead with a narrow sheet of rhombical cross-section.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 47.8 cm; blade w. 4 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**17. Spearhead (AMZ, A-2268) (Fig. 9: 2)**

**Description:** A spearhead with a sheet of rhombical cross-section and a long mount. The upper part is missing.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 24.7 cm; blade w. 4.2 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**18. Spearhead (CMS, 510: SIK 29777) (Fig. 9: 3)**

**Description:** A long spearhead with a narrow sheet of rhombical cross-section and forged sides.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 25.2 cm; blade w. 3.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** Burkowsky 2015, cat. no. 1

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**19. Spearhead (CMS) (Fig. 9: 4)**

**Description:** A spearhead with a short mount and a sheet that has a rhombical cross-section and is missing the tip.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** l. 25.2 cm; blade w. 3.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**20. Belt buckle (AMZ, P-18925) (Fig. 10: 1)**

**Description:** A belt buckle with hoops that have a triangular cross-section. The rest of it is oval and is decorated with two concentric circles that end in a triangular expansion and a hook for fastening that is shaped as a stylized human head.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** l. 5.1 cm; w. 3 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**21. Belt buckle (AMZ, P-18925) (Fig. 10: 2)**

**Description:** A belt buckle with a hoop that has an oval cross-section and a rib on the upper side. The rest of it is composed of two heart-shaped perforations and a tang for fastening that has a thicker spherical end.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** l. 4.6 cm; w. 2.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, Pl. 30: 3.

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**22. Pojasna kopča (AMZ, P-18923) (Sl. 11: 1)**

**Opis:** Pojasna kopča s pravokutnom ušicom za pričvršćivanje organskog dijela pojasa na koju se izravno nastavlja palmetasto oblikovani dio na čijem se stražnjem dijelu nalazi kukica za zakapčanje pojasa.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** duž. 6,7 cm.

**Objava:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. 30: 7; Božič 1998, 149, Fig. 13: 2.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**23. Pojasna kopča (AMZ, P-18924) (Sl. 11: 2)**

**Opis:** Pojasna kopča s pravokutnom ušicom za pričvršćivanje organskog dijela pojasa na koju se nastavlja zvonoliko proširenje koje prelazi u masivniju palmetu na čijem se stražnjem dijelu nalazi kukica za zakapčanje pojasa.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** duž. 6,1 cm.

**Objava:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. 30: 8; Gleser 2004, Abb. 3: 2.

**Kontekst:** Sisak, slučajni nalaz

**24. Kopča (AMZ, P-17186) (Sl. 12: 1)**

**Opis:** Kopča konjske opreme s pravokutnim okvirom i zoomorfno oblikovanim trnom.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** duž. 4,8 cm; šir. 4,1 cm

**Objava:** Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, kat. br. 16; Drnić 2015a, kat. br. 10.

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**25. Razvodnik (AMZ, A-6023) (Sl. 12: 2)**

**Opis:** Razvodnik konjske opreme sastavljen od tri obruča.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** pr. 3,9 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**26. Dugme (AMZ, A-6099) (Sl. 12: 3)**

**Opis:** Dugme konjske opreme s motivom triskela na prednjoj i ušicom na stražnjoj strani.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** pr. 1,9 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**22. Belt buckle (AMZ, P-18923) (Fig. 11: 1)**

**Description:** A belt buckle with a rectangular loop for fastening the organic part of the belt that is connected to a palmette-shaped part with a hook for fastening at the back.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** l. 6.7 cm; w. 1.8 cm.

**Bibliography:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. 30: 7; Božič 1998, 149, Fig. 13: 2.

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**23. Belt buckle (AMZ, P-18924) (Fig. 11: 2)**

**Description:** A belt buckle with a rectangular loop for fastening the organic part of the belt, which spreads into a bell-like extension that turns into a palmette. The palmette has a hook for fastening at the back.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** l. 6.1 cm; w. 2.1 cm.

**Bibliography:** Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, T. 30: 8; Gleser 2004, Abb. 3: 2.

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**24. Buckle (AMZ, P-17186) (Fig. 12: 1)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – buckle with a rectangular frame and a zoomorphic tang.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** l. 4.8 cm; w. 4.1 cm.

**Bibliography:** Balen, Drnić, Mihelić 2012, cat. no. 16; Drnić 2015a, cat. no. 10.

**Context:** Sisak, stray find

**25. Separator (AMZ, A-6099) (Fig. 12: 3)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – separator composed of three hoops (threefoil-shaped).

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** dia. 3.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**26. Button (AMZ, A-6099) (Fig. 12: 3)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – button with a triskelion on the front side and a loop on the back.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** dia. 1.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**27. Zakovica (AMZ, A-5989) (Sl. 12: 4)**

**Opis:** Zakovica s polukuglastom glavicom koja je ukrašena žlijebovima izvedenim u obliku borove grančice i mreže. Žlijebovi su bili ukrašeni crvenim emajlom. S donje strane nalazila se željezna zakovica.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina, emajl

**Dimenzije:** pr. 1,2 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**28. Dugme (AMZ) (Sl. 12: 5)**

**Opis:** Dugme konjske opreme s bradavicom na prednjoj i dvije ušice na stražnjoj strani.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** pr. 2,9 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**29. Dugme (AMZ, A-6099) (Sl. 12: 6)**

**Opis:** Dugme konjske opreme s glatkom prednjom stranom i ušicom na stražnjoj strani.

**Materijal:** bakrena slitina

**Dimenzije:** pr. 1,9 cm

**Objava:** neobjavljeno

**Kontekst:** Sisak-rijeka Kupa, slučajni nalaz

**30. Ostruga (AMZ, A-17431) (Sl. 13)**

**Opis:** Ostruga s polukružnim lukom poluovalnoga presjeka, kratkim trnom i dugmadi okrugloga oblika.

**Materijal:** željezo

**Dimenzije:** šir. 9,9 cm

**Objava:** Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, 104, T. 55: 389.

**Kontekst:** Sisak (?), slučajni nalaz

**27. Rivet (AMZ, A-5989) (Fig. 12: 4)**

**Description:** A rivet with a semicircular head decorated with gauges in the shape of a pine branch and a net. The gauges contained red enamel. There was an iron rivet on the bottom.

**Material:** copper alloy, enamel

**Dimensions:** dia. 1.2 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**28. Button (AMZ) (Fig. 12: 5)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – button with a protrusion on the front side and two loops on the back.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** dia. 2.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**29. Button (AMZ, A-6099) (Fig. 12: 6)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – button with a smooth front side and a loop on the back.

**Material:** copper alloy

**Dimensions:** dia. 1.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**Context:** Sisak-River Kupa, stray find

**30. Button (AMZ, A-17431) (Sl. 13)**

**Description:** Horse-riding equipment – button with a smooth front side and a loop on the back.

**Material:** iron

**Dimensions:** w. 9.9 cm.

**Bibliography:** Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, 104, Pl. 55: 389.

**Context:** Sisak (?), stray find

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# MLAĐEŽELJEZNODOBNI I RANOCARSKI NALAZI S POZICIJA DUNAVSKI LLOYD I FRANKOPANSKA B.B. U SISKU

## LATE IRON AGE AND EARLY IMPERIAL FINDS FROM THE DUNAVSKI LLOYD AND FRANKOPANSKA B.B. POSITIONS IN SISAK

Rosana Škrkulja

*U radu se daje pregled mlađeželjeznodobnih i rimskih ranocarskih naseobinskih horizonata na pozicijama Dunavski Lloyd i Frankopanska b.b. u Sisku. Obje pozicije se nalaze na lijevoj obali Kupe, a nalazi prikupljeni ovim istraživanjima daju nam uvid u materijalnu kulturu mlađeželjeznodobnog naselja te početke organizacije rimskog naselja. Na Dunavskom Lloyd, ispod sloja razaranja koji povezujemo s opsadom Segestike, pronađeni su ostaci kasnolatenskih objekata. Neposredno iznad sloja razaranja istraženi su slojevi datirani od srednjeaugustovskog razdoblja do kraja 1. stoljeća. Krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća na lokalitetu je podignuta monumentalna građevina. Pokretni nalazi sugeriraju da se pozicija Dunavski Lloyd nalazila unutar ranocarskog vojnog logora. U Frankopanskoj b.b. pronađena je latenska keramičarska peć, bez naseobinskih struktura. Iz ranocarskog razdoblja potječu pokretni nalazi te ostaci vapnene podnice, datirani u 1. stoljeće. Krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća na ovoj poziciji podignut je zidani objekt s hipokastom.*

*The paper gives an overview of the Late Iron Age and early Imperial settlement phases at the Dunavski Lloyd and Frankopanska b.b. positions in Sisak. Both are positioned on the left bank of the Kupa river in Sisak, and the findings give us an insight into the material culture of the Late La Tène settlement and the beginnings of the early Roman imperial settlement. At the Dunavski Lloyd site, the traces of the Late La Tène structures were found underneath the destruction layer. Above the destruction layer finds dating from middle Augustan period to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD have been found. The movable finds suggest that the position was located within the early Imperial military camp. At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, a large building was erected at the site. At the Frankopanska b.b. site, a La Tène pottery kiln was unearthed, but no building remains were found. To the early Roman Imperial period belong fragments of pottery and a fibula, as well as the remains of a lime floor. At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, here as well, a large building with hypocaust was erected.*

**Ključne riječi:**

Segestika, Siscija, mlade željezno doba, ranocarsko razdoblje, keramika tankih stijenki, terra sigillata, vojni logor, rimska vojska

**Key words:**

Segestica, Siscia, Late Iron Age, Early Roman Imperial period, thin walled pottery, terra sigillata, military camp, Roman army

Pozicije Dunavski Lloyd i Frankopanska b.b. smještene su na lijevoj obali Kupe, unutar stare gradske jezgre grada Siska. Na oba lokaliteta provedena su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja pod vodstvom Gradskog muzeja Sisak u kojima su otkrivene strukture datirane od mlađeg željeznog doba do recentnog razdoblja. Ovaj rad daje kratak pregled nalaza koji su vezani za predrimsko razdoblje i ranu fazu rimske okupacije ovoga prostora.

The Dunavski Lloyd and Frankopanska b.b. positions are located at the left bank of the Kupa river, in the center of modern Sisak. At both sites, rescue excavations were conducted, which revealed finds dating back from the Late Iron Age to the modern period. This paper gives a brief overview of the finds from the pre-Roman and early Roman occupation phase.



## Pozicija Dunavski Lloyd

Lokalitet Dunavski Lloyd nalazi se na lijevoj obali Kupe, pedesetak metara istočno od današnjeg korita rijeke. Zaštitno arheološko istraživanje provedeno je 2010. godine, a prethodilo je izgradnji nove poslovne zgrade trgovačkog društva Dunavski Lloyd. Istraženi su kulturni slojevi do dubine od oko 3,5 metra na površini od oko 300 m<sup>2</sup>. Najstariji pripadaju mlađem željeznom dobu, a najmlađi 20. stoljeću. Rezultati istraživanja već su ranije djelomično objavljeni u katalogu izložbe *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja Gradskog muzeja Sisak 2000. – 2010.*<sup>1</sup> u kojemu je predstavljen kraći pregled cjelokupne iskopane građe koja je podijeljena na željeznodobni, rimski i recentni horizont. Dio predmeta objavljen je i u katalogu izložbe *35. prije Krista* koja je postavljena povodom 2050. obljetnice rimskog osvajanja Segestike.<sup>2</sup> U ovom su radu detaljnije opisani nalazi iz posljednje faze predrimskog naselja te početak rimskog naselja, zaključno s krajem 1. stoljeća.

## Mlađeželjeznodobni horizont

Najstariji nalazi na lokalitetu datirani su u mlađe željezno doba kojemu pripadaju ostaci arhitekture i pokretni arheološki nalazi. Ostaci željeznodobne arhitekture nalazili su se ispod sloja gara koji se protezao čitavom iskopanom površinom. Sastojali su se od ostataka ognjišta i hodnih površina, otisaka greda, spaljenih greda i dasaka, rupa od stupova i komada kućnog lijepa (Sl. 1). Na različitim dijelovima lokaliteta pronađeni su ostaci ukupno triju ognjišta na osnovu čega se može pretpostaviti da su se na istraženoj površini nalazila najmanje tri objekta. Opisane strukture nalazile su na sloju pjeskovite gline. U probnom rovu je ispod razine sloja s opisanim latenskim nalazima bilo nekoliko slojeva pjeskovite gline, ukupne debljine oko 1 metar. U njemu nisu pronađeni ostaci struktura, a malobrojni pokretni nalazi (ulomci keramike) pripadaju mlađem željeznom dobu.<sup>3</sup> Kao što je već spomenuto, strukture iz mlađeželjeznodobnog horizonta su devastirane do razine sloja na kojem su stajale, odnosno u koji su bile ukopane, a objekti su razrušeni i spaljeni, moguće i prilikom opsade Segestike 35. godine pr. Kr. Iznad sloja gara, debljine 5 - 15 cm, nalazili su se slojevi iz ranocarorskog razdoblja.

## Pokretni nalazi

Među pokretnim nalazima najbrojniji su ulomci keramičkih posuda, zatim piramidalni utezi za tkalački stan, ostaci keramičkih špula te komadi kućnog lijepa. Predmeti od drugih materijala su slabije zastupljeni, a pronađeno je tek nekoliko metalnih predmeta, od čega je najbrojniji novac. Od prepoznatljivih metalnih predmeta pronađeni su ostaci noža (Sl. 2), fibula, brončani obruč sa čvorastim zadebljanjima (Sl. 5), te dva listolika vrha koplja (Sl. 3). Dio ovih predmeta može se smjestiti u kontekst predrimskog naselja, a ostali su pronađeni u slojevima iznad sloja razaranja i vjerojatno su korišteni i u ranorimskom razdoblju.

## The Dunavski Lloyd position

The Dunavski Lloyd is situated on the left bank of the Kupa river, some 50 metres from the river bed. The rescue excavation at the site took place in 2010, preceding the construction of the new building of the Dunavski Lloyd Ltd. The size of the excavated area was around 380 metres squared, and the average depth of cultural layers was 3.5 metres. The findings range from the Iron Age to the modern era. The results were published in the exhibition catalogue *Rescue excavations of the City Museum Sisak 2000-2010.*<sup>1</sup> In that publication, an overview of the finds was presented, divided chronologically ranging from Iron Age, Roman and recent phases. Some objects were published in the catalogue of the exhibition *35 BC*, which was set on the occasion of the 2050 years from the Roman conquest of Segestica.<sup>2</sup> Here, the finds from the last phase of the pre-Roman settlement and the beginning of the Roman occupation are presented in more detail.

## Late Iron Age phase

The oldest finds on the site date back to the late Iron Age. They consist of the architectural remains and movable objects. The remains of architecture were positioned underneath a layer of ash that stretched over the whole excavation area. They consisted of hearths and floors, beam-imprints, burnt beams and planks, post holes and pieces of daub (Fig. 1). There were three hearths in different positions, pointing to the existence of at least three structures in the excavated area. The above described features were situated on the layer of sandy clay. In the trial trench, underneath that layer, there were a few layers of sandy clay, 1 metre in depth. No features were found in that trench and there was a rarity of movable finds dated to the Late Iron Age.<sup>3</sup> The Late Iron Age structures were raised to the ground, possibly during the siege of Segestica in 35 BC. Above the layer of ash, there was a thick layer of approximately 5-15 centimetres deep, in which sporadic early Roman Imperial deposits were found.

## Movable finds

The majority of movable finds are pottery sherds, however there are also few loom-weights, spool fragments and pieces of daub. Objects made of other materials are not numerous; there were few metal objects, mostly coins. Of recognizable metal finds, there is a fragment of a knife (Fig. 2), a fibula, a knotted bronze ring (Fig. 5) and two leaf shaped spearheads (Fig. 3). Some of these finds were recovered in the pre-Roman layers, the rest were deposited above the layer of ash and it is possible that they were used during the early Imperial period.

In the layers underneath the ash a few fibula parts were found, too small to determine their type. In the ashes, an iron knife (Fig. 2) and a spearhead (Fig. 3) were found. The knife has a triangular tang with one rivet.<sup>4</sup> Analogies are found at Karaburma<sup>5</sup> and Ver-

1 Baćani *et al.* 2012.

2 Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015.

3 Istraživanje je prekinuto prije dosegnute dubine geološkog sloja. Najdublja točka iskopa u probnom rovu nalazila se na 97,07 m/nmV.

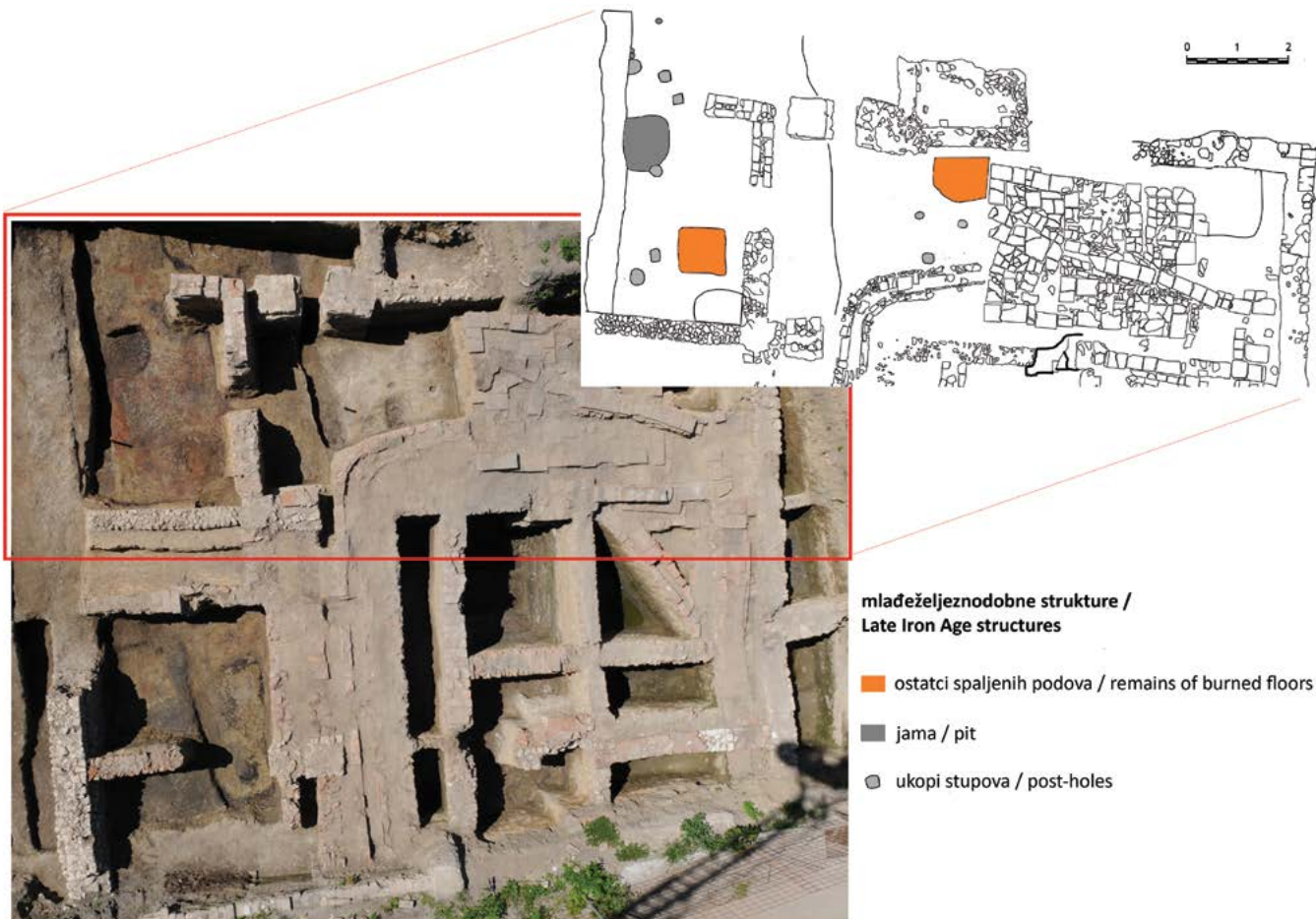
1 Baćani *et al.* 2012.

2 Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015.

3 The lowest point was at 97,07 m.

4 Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, cat. no. 13.

5 Todorović 1972, Pl. XI: 1 (grave 28); Božić 1981, 320, Pl. 3: 36.



**Sl. 1.** Zračna fotografija i plan arheoloških struktura s pozicije Dunavski Lloyd (snimio: V. Koprivnjak; crtež: I. Bačani)

**FIG. 1.** Aerial photo and plan of the archaeological structures from Dunavski Lloyd position (photo: V. Koprivnjak, drawing: I. Bačani)

Iz slojeva ispod horizonta razaranja potječu ulomci fibula koji su prefragmentirani da bi im se odredio tip (navoji tetive, ulomci luka). Od metalnih nalaza u sloju razaranja pronađeni su željezni nož (Sl. 2) i vrh koplja (Sl. 3). Nož ima trokutasto oblikovani jezičac s jednom zakovicom<sup>4</sup> s analogijama u materijalu s groblja na beogradskoj Karaburmi<sup>5</sup> i u Verdunu pri Stopičah.<sup>6</sup> D. Božič ove noževe datira u stupanj Beograd 3 (LT D), ali navodi da su se ti noževi koristili još nekoliko desetljeća nakon rimskog osvajanja.<sup>7</sup> Na lokalitetu Verdun nož ovog tipa je pronađen u vojničkom grobu 228 koji pripada skupini grobova s oružjem datiranoj od Tiberija do kraja Neronove vladavine.<sup>8</sup> Sisački primjerak je pronađen u sloju razaranja što bi moglo upućivati da je deponiran oko 35. godine pr. Kr.

Vrh koplja listolikog oblika ima izduženu oštricu rombičnog/lećastog presjeka, a nasadnik nije sačuvan.<sup>9</sup> Listolika koplja rombičnog presjeka najbrojniji su kasnolatenski tip na području ju-

dun near Stopičah.<sup>6</sup> D. Božič dated those knives to the Beograd 3 phase (LT D), but states that they continued to be used for few decades after the Roman conquest.<sup>7</sup> In Verdun, the knife of this type was found in the military grave no. 228, that belongs to the group of graves with weapons dated in the period between Tiberius and the end of the Nero's reign. Our specimen was found in the layer of ashes, and was deposited probably around 35 BC.<sup>8</sup>

A leaf-shaped spearhead has elongated blade and rhomboid/lentil shaped cross-section, and the shaft is not preserved.<sup>9</sup> The leaf-shaped spearheads with rhomboid cross-section are the most numerous Late La Tène type in the southeastern Pannonia and northern Balkans areas.<sup>10</sup> The similar spearheads were found in the Late La Tène graves at Karaburma, and have analogies in the Eastern Slavonia, Croatia, and in Slovenia.<sup>11</sup> Some pieces were found in the Early Imperial contexts, like the one from the grave 228 at Verdun near Stopičah.<sup>12</sup> The example from Dunavski Lloyd

4 Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, kat. br. 13.

5 Todorović 1972, T. XI: 1 (grob 28); Božič 1981, 320, T. 3: 36.

6 Breščak 2015, T. 27: 1.

7 Božič 1981, 320-321.

8 Breščak 2015, 80.

9 Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, kat. br. 12.

6 Breščak 2015, Pl. 27: 1.

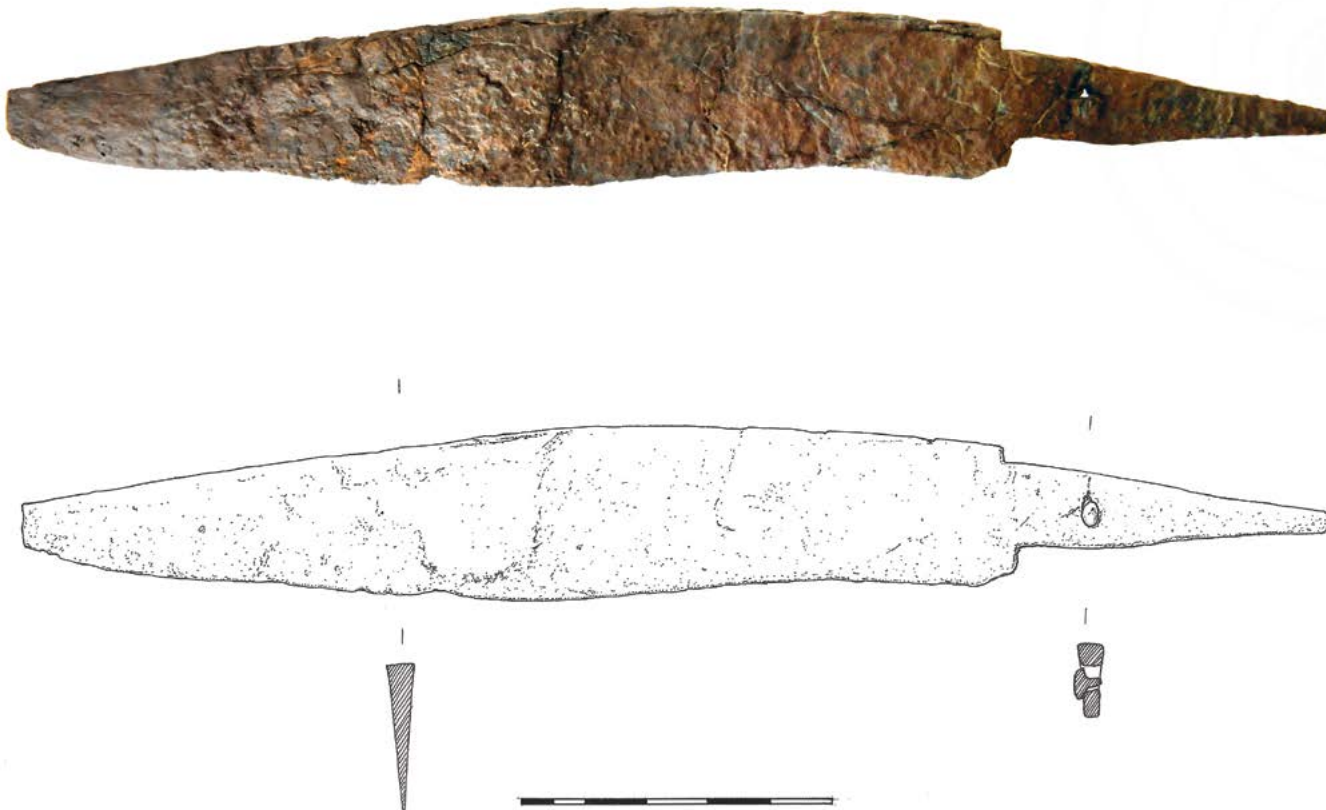
7 Božič 1981, 320-321.

8 Breščak 2015, 80.

9 Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, cat. no. 12.

10 Drnić 2015, 116-118.

11 Majnarić-Pandžić 1971, Pl. XIII: 1-3; Pl. XIV: 1; Pl. XXXIV: 1-3; Pl. XXXIX: 5-7; Božič 1981, 319, Pl. 3: 37; Knez 1992, Pl. 24: 11 (grave 141); Pl. 53: 2 (grave 184); Pl. 69: 5 (grave 295).



SL. 2.  
Nož s trokutasto oblikovanim jezičcem (crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 2.  
Knife with triangular tang (drawing: M. Galić; photo: B. Suntešić)

goistočne Panonije i sjevernog Balkana.<sup>10</sup> Slična koplja pojavljuju se u kasnolatskim grobovima ratnika na Karaburmi, na prostoru Srijema i istočne Slavonije te na području Slovenije.<sup>11</sup> Pojedini primjerci pojavljuju se u ranocarskom kontekstu, poput onog iz groba 228 iz Verduna pri Stopičah.<sup>12</sup> Sisački primjerak pronađen je u neposrednoj blizini noža s trokutasto oblikovanim jezičcem, u sloju gara, što bi potvrđivalo istu dataciju.

Iz kulturnih slojeva iznad sloja razaranja, dakle ranocarskog konteksta, su brončani obruč i brončana fibula.<sup>13</sup> Brončani obruč okruglog presjeka ima šest simetrično raspoređenih čvorastih zadebljanja s vanjske strane (Sl. 4) Prema tipologiji M. Dębiec i M. Karwowskog pripada tipu IC, s pojedinačnim čvorovima na vanjskoj strani obruča.<sup>14</sup> Brončani obruči većih dimenzija obično se interpretiraju kao narukvice i/ili nanogvice, dok se za one manje smatra da su se nosili kao amuleti i/ili privjesci oko vrata. Također, prema nekim interpretacijama služili su kao spojni elementi na pojasevima ili kao dio konjske opreme. Pojavljuju se na cijelom prostoru latenske kulture, od Galije do Karpatske kotline.<sup>15</sup> Brončani obruči manjih dimenzija s bradavičastim izbočenjima pojavljuju se u ženskim grobovima mokronoške skupine, a služili

was found near the above described knife, in the layer of ashes, pointing to the same deposition date.

In the layers above the destruction layer (tentatively dated to early Imperial period), a bronze ring and a fibula<sup>13</sup> were found. The bronze ring decorated with knobs at the outside rim. It has six knobs arranged symmetrically, in regular intervals (Fig. 4). According to the typology by M. Dębiec and M. Karwowsky, it belongs to the Type IC, with individual knobs on the outer surface of the ring.<sup>14</sup> The bronze rings of greater dimensions are usually interpreted as bracelets and/or anklets, as the smaller ones are thought to be amulets and/or pendants, joint elements on belts, parts of horse equipment etc. They were found on the whole territory of the La Tène culture, from Gallia to the Carpathian basin.<sup>15</sup> The bronze rings of smaller dimensions with knobs were found in the female graves of the Mokronog group. The small ones were used as amulets and were worn around the neck on a necklace. They are generally dated back to the Late La Tène period, but individual samples were found in the early Imperial contexts.<sup>16</sup> The rings cannot be dated based on their morphology, but it seems that the ones of the type IC are later.

10 Drnić 2015, 116-118.

11 Majnarić-Pandžić 1971, T. XIII: 1-3; T. XIV: 1; T. XXXIV: 1-3; T. XXXIX: 5-7; Božić 1981, 319, T. 3: 37; Knez 1992, T. 24: 11 (grob 141); T. 53: 2 (grob 184); T. 69: 5 (grob 295).

12 Breščak 2015, T. 27: 1.

13 Bačani *et al.* 2011, kat. br. 339.

14 Dębiec, Karwowski 2016, 120.

15 Božić 1993, 190-193; Dębiec, Karwowski 2016, 115.

12 Breščak 2015, Pl. 27: 1.

13 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 339.

14 Dębiec, Karwowski 2016, 120.

15 Božić 1993, 190-193; Dębiec, Karwowski 2016, 115.

16 Božić 1993, 192.

li su kao amulet koji nošeni oko vrata na ogrlici. Datiraju se u razdoblje kasnog latena, ali pojedini primjerci potječu iz ranocarškog konteksta.<sup>16</sup> Ne može ih se datirati na osnovu morfologije, međutim čini se da su oni tipa IC nešto kasniji.

Pronađena je samo jedna fibula koja se može tipološki determinirati, a pripada tipu Idrija (Sl. 5: 1).<sup>17</sup> Sačuvani su luk, dio noge i spiralna konstrukcija. Spirala ima šest navoja, luk je trokutast, ukrašen uzdužnim rebrima, visoko izvijen i sužava se prema nozi. Noga je vjerojatno bila perforirana, na to ukazuje linija loma. Zbog visoko izvijenog trokutastog luka ukrašenog središnjim uzdužnim rebrom i po jednim rebrom na svakom rubu, te zbog noge kružnog presjeka, pripadala bi tipu Ib prema Demetzu, te Ia2 ili Ia/Ib prema D. Božiču.<sup>18</sup> Najsličnija je primjercima iz Nina i Ribiča, koje je D. Božič svrstao u tipove Idrija Ia/Ib i Idrija Ia2. Fibula iz Nina datirana je u 1. stoljeće,<sup>19</sup> a kamena urna br. 2 iz Ribiča u fazu Vb (35. pr. Kr. - 10/20. godine).<sup>20</sup> D. Božič fibule tipa Ia datira u LT D2 stupanj, dok S. Demetz smatra da je ovaj tip mlađi od njegovog tipa Ia, čiji jedini datirani primjerak, onaj iz Augsburg - Oberhausena, smješta u razdoblje od posljednjeg desetljeća 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. do drugog desetljeća 1. stoljeća.<sup>21</sup> Sisački primjerak pronađen je u sloju datiranom u 1. stoljeće. Najviše primjeraka fibula ovoga tipa potječe iz Dolenjske, a u Sisku su uz ovaj pronađena još tri primjerka koji pripadaju tipu Ia1.<sup>22</sup> Prema D. Božiču fibule tipa Ia1 bile su dio nošnje Latobika, a u matičnom prostoru Dolenjske bile su dio ženske nošnje.<sup>23</sup>

Repertoar i tipologija keramičkih predmeta analogni su onima iz istraživanja na poziciji Sisak-Povijesni arhiv I-II, smještenej četristotinjak metara istočno od Dunavskog Lloydja.<sup>24</sup> Pronađeni su ulomci posuda, utezi za tkalački stan, pršljeni, kalemovi, predmeti koji su možda služili kao keramičke mlaznice mijeha,<sup>25</sup> minijaturna posuda, ulomci prijenosnih ognjišta te keramičke noge. Keramičke posude rađene su rukom ili na lončarskom kolu, a mogu se podijeliti na one koje vuku podrijetlo iz keramografskih tradicija mlađeg brončanog i starijeg željeznog doba i na one koje se smatraju tipičnima za latensku kulturu. U prve spadaju posude rađene rukom (lonci, zdjele, peke), neukrašene ili ukrašene apliciranim plastičnim detaljima (trake, bradavice), te jezičaste drške. U drugu spadaju posude rađene na lončarskom kolu, neukrašene ili ukrašene češljastim ornamentom, urezivanjem i plitkim žlijebljenjem.<sup>26</sup> Kao neobičan primjer starijih keramografskih tradicija ističe se zdjela rađena rukom s valovito izvedenim rubom i jezičastim drškama (Sl. 6). Posude slično oblikovanih rubova su rijetke, a poznate su s Gradine Marić kod Mikleuške<sup>27</sup> te iz groba LT 11 s lokaliteta Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje.<sup>28</sup>

16 Božič 1993, 192.

17 U prethodnoj objavi krivo je prepoznata kao fibula tipa *Aucissa* (Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 339). Uz nju pronađeno je nekoliko manjih ulomaka tetive od bronce.

18 Demetz 1999, 123, T. 33; Božič 2008.

19 Nedved 1981, 166, sl. 5, kat. br. 203.

20 Marić 1968, 35.

21 Demetz 1999, 125-126.

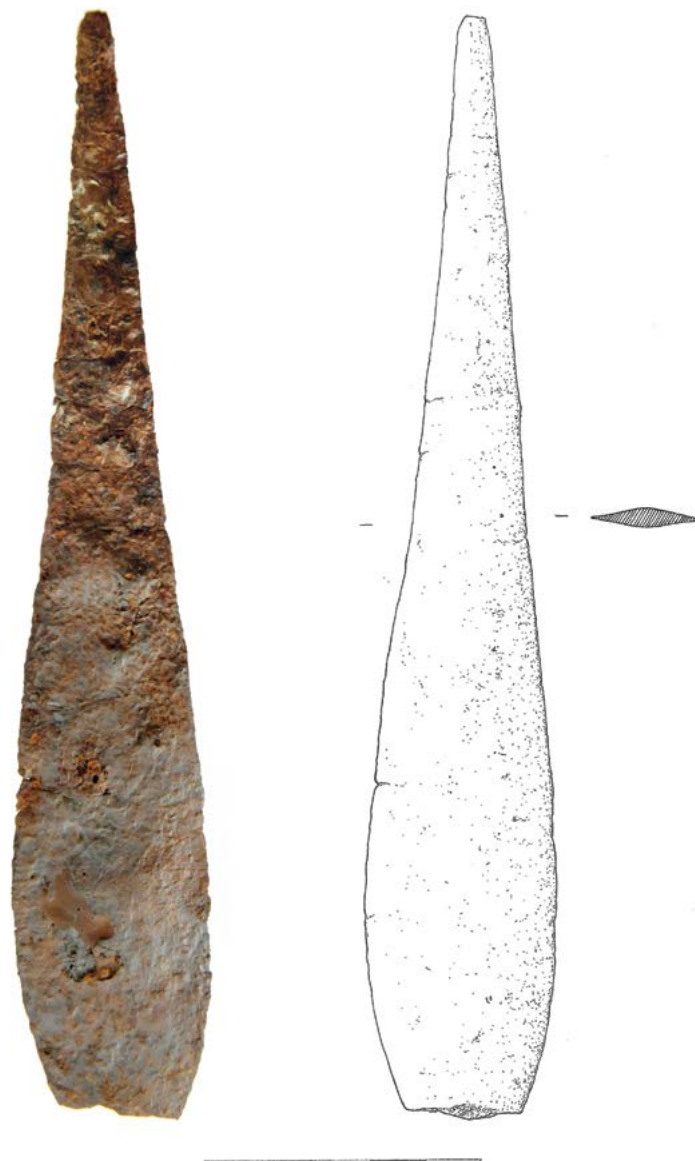
22 Božič 2008, 98, sl. 50, 5, 6; 100, 104; Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, kat. br. 24.

23 Božič 2008, 97, 104.

24 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 162-174.

25 Dular, Ciglenečki, Dular 1995, 44, sl. 22.

26 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 175.



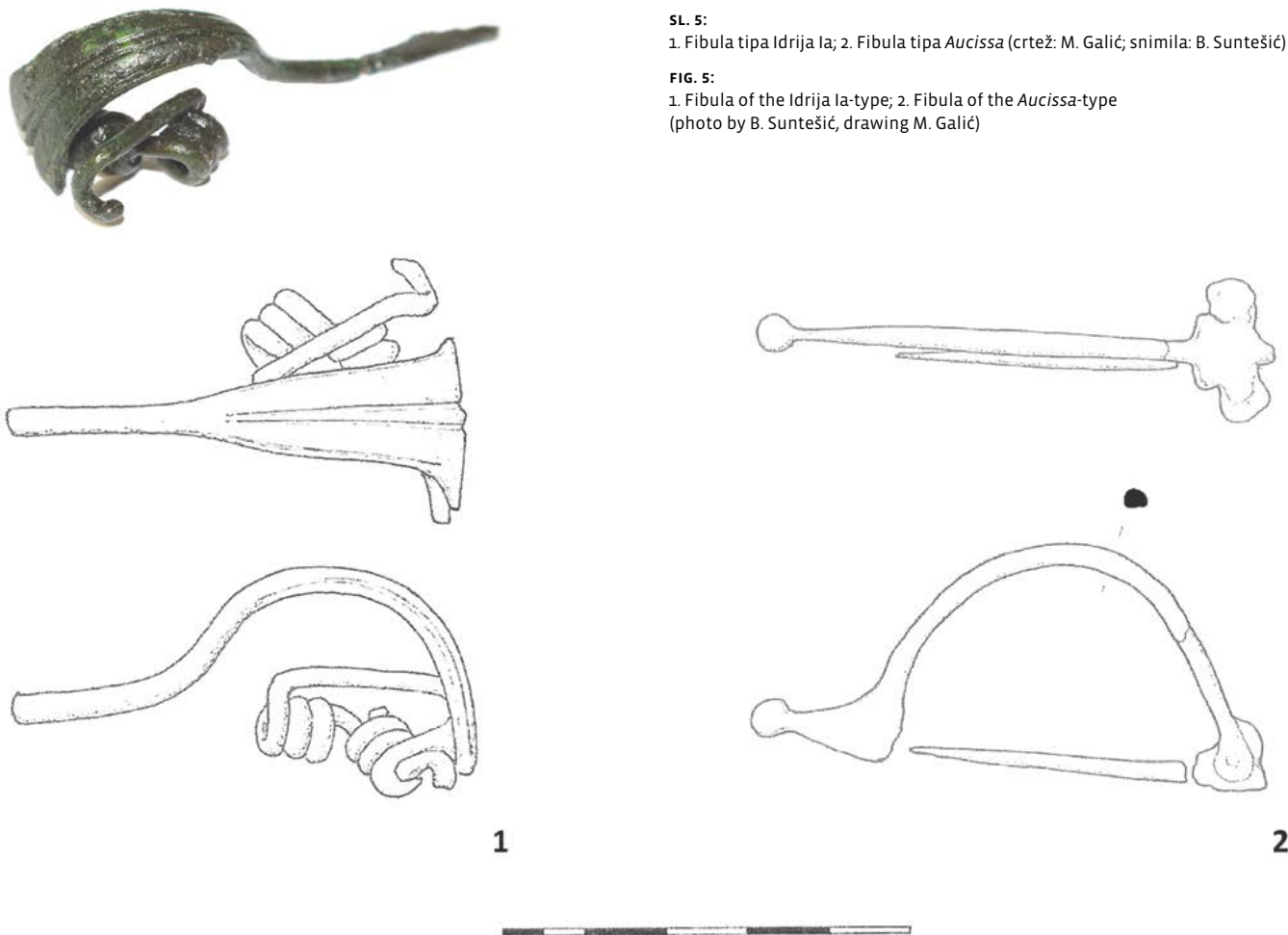
Sl. 3. Listoliki vrh koplja (crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 3. Leaf-shaped spearhead (drawing: M. Galić; photo: B. Suntešić)



Sl. 4. Brončani obruč s bradavičastim zadebljanjima (crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 4. Knobbed bronze ring (drawing: M. Galić; photo: B. Suntešić)



SL. 5:

1. Fibula tipa Idrija Ia; 2. Fibula tipa *Aucissa* (crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 5:

1. Fibula of the Idrija Ia-type; 2. Fibula of the *Aucissa*-type (photo by B. Suntešić, drawing M. Galić)

Od ostalih keramičkih predmeta najbrojniji su piramidalni utezi za tkalački stan koji na gornjoj površini imaju utisnuti krug ili dvije crte pod pravim kutom.

Također, u predrimskim slojevima pronađena su i dva rimska denara s kraja 2. i početka 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. kao i jedna tetradrahma srijemskog tipa C, odnosno novac Skordiska, kovan u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>29</sup>

Na osnovu prikupljenih i djelomično predstavljenih nalaza, među kojima dominiraju ulomci keramičkih posuda, opisani predrimski horizontnapoziciji DunavskiLloyd datiranje mladeželjeznodoba, zaključno s rimskim osvajanjem ovoga prostora 35. godine pr. Kr.

### Ranocarsko razdoblje

Slojevi iznad horizonta razaranja pokazuju da je ubrzo nakon rimskog osvajanja mladeželjeznodobnog naselja ovaj položaj počela koristiti rimska vojska i/ili doseljenici. Na ovoj poziciji nisu pronađeni ostaci arhitekture iz tog perioda, ali dislocirani komadi spaljenih dasaka i komadići drveta u slojevima sugerira-

Only one fibula that could be typologically determined was found, and it belongs to the Idrija type (Fig. 5: 1).<sup>27</sup> The bow, part of the foot and coil-spring are preserved. The spring has six coils, the bow is arched, triangular in shape and decorated with longitudinal grooves. The foot was likely to be perforated, as is suggested by the line of the breach. Because of the following characteristics: highly arched triangular bow, decorated with central longitudinal groove and a groove along each edge; and round cross-section of the foot, the fibula belongs to the Ib subtype, according Demetz and Ia2 or Ia/Ib according to D. Božič.<sup>28</sup> It has the closest parallels at Nin and Ribič, which D. Božič categorized in Idrija Ia/b and Idrija Ia2 types. The fibula from Nin is dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century CE,<sup>29</sup> and the stone urn from Ribič to the phase Vb (35 BC – 10/20 CE).<sup>20</sup> Božič dates his Type Ia to LT D2 phase, while S. Demetz thinks that this type is later than his Type Ia, and he places the only dated example, the one from Augsburg-Oberhausen, to the period from the last decade BC to the second decade CE.<sup>21</sup> This piece was found in the layer dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. The most numerous examples of Idrija type are from Dolenjska region in Slovenia, and in Sisak, three more fibulae of this type were found. They both belong to Božič's Ia1 type.<sup>22</sup> According to D. Božič, the

27 Burkowsky 2004, 54, kat. br. 55.

28 Dizdar 2013, 346.

29 Koprivnjak 2011, 28-31, kat. br. 2-4.

17 In the previous publication it was wrongly attributed to the *Aucissa* type (Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 339)

18 Demetz 1999, 123, Pl. 33; Božič 2008.

19 Nedved 1981, 166, Fig. 5, cat. no. 203.

20 Marić 1968, 35.

21 Demetz 1999, 125-126.



Sl. 6.  
Keramička zdjela s valovito izvedenim rubom (snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 6.  
Ceramic bowl with corrugated rim (photo: B. Suntešić)



Sl. 7.  
Cilindrična čaša s oštrim prijelomom Consp. 50.3 (snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 7.  
Beaker Consp. 50.3 (photo: B. Suntešić)

ju da su se u blizini nalazile određene strukture.<sup>30</sup> Ulomci keramike tankih stijenki i tera sigilate datiraju taj najraniji rimski horizont u srednjeaugustovsko razdoblje. Tanak sloj gara unutar ranorimskog horizonta ukazuje da je rimsko naselje doživjelo barem jedan požar. Krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća lokalitet je niveliran i na njemu je sagrađena monumentalna zgrada kamenih temelja. U nastavku su opisani nalazi iz slojeva ispod nivelacije.

Keramički predmeti čine najveći dio nalaza i u slojevima iz ranorimskog razdoblja. U tim su slojevima pronađeni i ulomci mladeželjeznodobne keramike.<sup>31</sup> Rimske posude mogu se podijeliti na obično kuhinjsko posuđe te na luksuznije stolno posuđe: keramiku tankih stijenki i tera sigilatu. Pronađeni su ulomci kasnorepublikanskih i augustovskih tipova, poput cilindrične čaše (Sl. 7; Sl. 9: 5) te čaša tipa *Aco* (Sl. 9: 2-4, 6-7) i šalice tipa *Sarius* (Sl. 8: 2-3).<sup>32</sup> Također, zabilježen je velik broj glatkih sigilatnih posuda s pečatima sjevernoitalskih radionica.

Čaše tipa *Aco* se datiraju od početka do kraja Augustove vladavine, a njihova produkcija prestaje početkom Tiberijeve vladavi-

fibulae of Idrija Ia type were a part of the dress ornament of the Latobici, and in the Dolenjska they were worn by women.<sup>23</sup>

The repertoire and typology of ceramic objects are similar to the ones from the Sisak-Povijesni arhiv I-II position, situated some 400 m to the east of Dunavski Lloyd position.<sup>24</sup> The finds were pottery fragments, loom-weights, spindle-whorls, clay bellow nozzles,<sup>25</sup> miniature vessel, fragments of portable hearths, and ceramic foots. Ceramic vessels are hand-made, or thrown on a potter's wheel, and can be divided into the ones that continue the tradition of the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, and the ones that are considered typical for the La Tène culture. In the first group the vessels are made by hand (pots, bowls, baking lids) undecorated or decorated with plastic decorations (ribbons, knobs), and thong-like handles. In the second group, the vessels have been made by being thrown on the potter's wheel, undecorated or decorated with comb-like decorations, incising or shallow grooving.<sup>26</sup> An interesting example of earlier ceramographic traditions is a hand-made bowl with a corrugated rim and tongue-shaped handles (Fig. 6). Vessels with corrugated rims

30 Kao što je već spomenuto, veliki dio površine zauzela je zgrada s kraja 1. i početka 2. stoljeća što je onemogućilo istraživanje starijih slojeva na dijelu lokaliteta.

31 Statističko-tipološka analiza je u izradi. U sloju S<sub>J</sub> 298 ima oko 30% mladeželjeznodobnih posuda.

32 Baćani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 101-107.

33 Lavizzari-Pedrazzini 1987, 33.

22 Božić 2008, 98, Fig. 50, 5, 6; 100, 104; Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, cat. no. 24.

23 Božić 2008, 97, 104.

24 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 162-174.

25 Dular, Ciglencčki, Dular 1995, 44, Fig. 22.

ne.<sup>33</sup> Proizvodili su ih mnogi majstori,<sup>34</sup> a na Dunavskom Lloydu su zabilježeni ulomci većine proizvođača identificiranih u Padskoj nizini i sjevernoj Italiji: Clemensa, Aco-a, Acastusa, a možda Norbanusa i Rubriua. Na Magdalensbergu najviše nalaza ovih čaša potječe iz Komplexa 2 (20. – 10. pr. Kr.), česti su i u Kompleksu 3, dok im se broj značajno smanjuje u Kompleksu 4.<sup>35</sup>

Niske čaše bez premaza i reljefnim ukrasom (oblik 4) pojavljuju se na Magdalensbergu u Komplexima 2-4.<sup>36</sup> S Dunavskog Lloyd potječu dva ulomka, jedan s košarastim, a drugi s arhitektonskim ukrasom (Sl 9: 3-4).<sup>37</sup> Analogije za ove predmete su brojne, najbliže su iz Emone gdje je u grobu ratnika 1042, datiranom u srednje/kasnoaugustovsko vrijeme, pronađen primjerak blizak sisačkom.<sup>38</sup>

Ulomci tere sigilate s pečatom ukazuju na porijeklo uglavnom iz Padske nizine. Nije zabilježen niti jedan pečat iz Arezza, ali ima nekoliko ulomaka stijenki koji bi mogli potjecati s toga područja. Najraniji nalaz je sigilatna zdjelica Consp. 9.1.2 sa žigom A TITI. Djelovanje lončara ovog imena datira se od 30. do 10. godine pr. Kr.,<sup>39</sup> dok se ovaj oblik zdjelice datira od srednjoaugustovskog razdoblja.<sup>40</sup> Ulomak zdjelice Consp. 14 (Sl. 8: 1) iz sloja koji pripada najranijim rimskim slojevima na lokalitetu, datira se pretežno u razdoblje postojanja legijskih logora Dangstetten i Oberaden.<sup>41</sup>

Među ranije nalaze spadaju i cilindrične čaše s oštrim prijelomom Consp. 50. 3<sup>42</sup> (Sl. 7) (fabrikat A i D, tip 43 i 100 na Magdalensbergu,<sup>43</sup> te tip D 5. 3 u Dangstettenu<sup>44</sup>), zatim čaše s srpastim rubom i reljefnim dekorom (tip D. 2 u Dangstettenu<sup>45</sup>) (Sl. 10: 3) i konična čaša s ukrasom zarezima u negativu (Sl. 9: 1), tip 5 (a) na Magdalensbergu, gdje se pojedini ulomci pojavljuju u slojevima povezanim s nivelacijom od 15. do 10. godine pr. Kr., a češći su u periodu od 10. godine pr. Kr. do 0. godine.<sup>46</sup> Pronađeno je i nekoliko ulomaka poluloptastih zdjelica (tipovi 28 i 50 na Magdalensbergu), u fabrikatu A i B. Taj se oblik u fabrikatu A pojavljuje već u najranijim augustovskim slojevima, a na Magdalensbergu je datiran od 25. godine pr. Kr.<sup>47</sup> Pojavljuju se pretežno u zapadnim i sjevernim dijelovima Carstva, a pojedinačni nalazi potječu i s Istoka (Ayios Ermoyennis).<sup>48</sup> Fabrikat B (tip 50) je djelomično istovremen s fabrikatom A, ali je popularniji u vrijeme Tiberija i

are quite rare, the only examples known come from the Gradina Marić site near Mikleuška<sup>27</sup> and from the grave LT 11 at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje.<sup>28</sup>

Of the other ceramic finds, the most numerous are pyramidal weight-looms decorated on the upper surface with round or X-like impressions. In the pre-Roman layers two Roman denari dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century have been found, and also one *tetradrachm* of Syrmian type C (Scordiscan coin) dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>29</sup> Excavated and partially presented finds, dominated by pottery, date the pre-Roman horizon at Dunavski Lloyd position - to the Late Iron Age -, with the latest phase defined by the Roman conquest in 35 BC.

### Early Roman Imperial period

The stratigraphical units above the layer of destruction show that following the Roman conquest of Late Iron Age settlement, this position was occupied by the Roman army as well as potentially a number of Roman settlers. However, there were no architectural remains from that period, but dislocated pieces of burnt planks and small fragments of wood in the layers to suggest that there were some structures in the vicinity.<sup>30</sup> The fragments of thin-walled pottery and *terra sigillata* date this earliest Roman phase in the middle Augustan period. A thin layer of ash suggests that the Roman settlement underwent at least one fire. At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the site was levelled and the building with stone foundation walls was built. Hereinafter described finds were found in the layers and features underneath this levelling layer.

The majority of finds from the early Roman layers are pottery fragments.<sup>31</sup> Roman vessels can be classified into plain kitchen ware and more expensive table dishes such as thin-walled pottery and *terra sigillata*. Fragments of late Republican and Augustan types were found inclusive of cylindrical cups (Fig. 7; Fig. 9: 5), Aco type beakers (Fig. 9: 2-4, 6-7) and Sarius cups (Fig. 8: 2, 3).<sup>32</sup> There were also fragments of plain *sigillata* vessels, with stamps of potters from northern Italy. Aco type beakers are dated in the period from the beginning to the end of the Augustus' rule and their production stops at the beginning of the Tiberius' rule.<sup>33</sup>

34 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 49.

35 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 49-50.

36 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 50.

37 Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 105 i 104.

38 Županeček 2014, 16; Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131, T. 2, gr. 1042: 14.

39 Oxé, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 438, br. 2166.

40 Conspectus 1990, 66, T. 8/Form 9.1.2.

41 Conspectus 1990, 76, T. 13.

42 Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 102; Conspectus 1990, 138, T. 44/Form 50.3.

43 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 100, T. 19.

44 Roth-Rubi 2006, 72, sl. 10, 90-92.

45 Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 101; Roth-Rubi 2006, 72, sl. 10, 84-87. Sličan primjerak pronađen je u Novom mestu (Knez 1986, grob 174, T. 62: 9).

46 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 42-43, T. 2: 5a.

47 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 61-61, T. 7: 28 b.

48 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 64.

49 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 75, T. 10.

26 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 175.

27 Burkowsky 2004, 54, cat. no. 55.

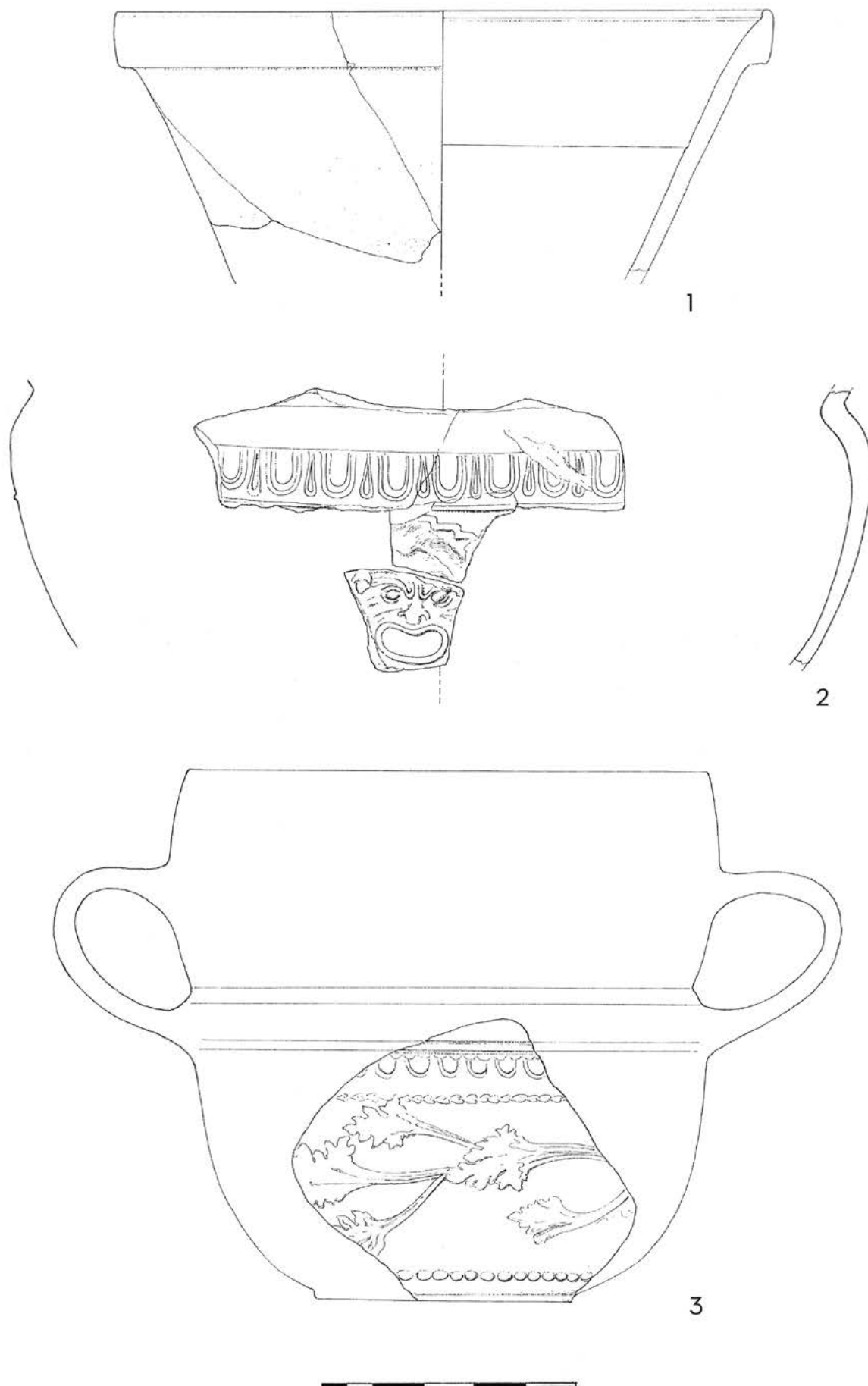
28 Dizdar 2013, 346.

29 Koprivnjak 2011, 28-31, cat. no. 2-4.

30 As already mentioned, the large part of the surface was occupied by the early-imperial building that prevented deeper digging in some areas.

31 The statistical and typological analyses of the ceramic material are in progress. Early Roman layer (SU 298) contains around 30% of pottery sherds produced in La Tène tradition.

32 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 101-107.



SL. 8.  
1. Zdjelica; 2-3. šalice tipa *Sarius* (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 8.  
1. Small bowl; 2-3. *Sarius* cups (drawing: M. Galić)



na Magdalensbergu se datira od 25. godine pr. Kr. do 25. godine.<sup>49</sup>

Ulomci šalica tipa *Sarius* (Sl. 8: 2-3) također pripadaju ovom najranijem horizontu, a ukras ovula s ovoga primjerka pojavljuje se na skifosima nekoliko majstora.<sup>50</sup> Zanimljivo, na lokalitetu nije pronađen niti jedan ulomak tzv. *terrae nigrae*.

Metalni nalazi iz ranocarskih slojeva su znatno oštećeni i fragmentirani.<sup>51</sup> Pronađena je velika količina željeznih zatega i klinova, željezni šatorski kolac, zatim mali komadi brončanog lima različitih debljina, ulomci tetiva fibula te ulomci traka od brončanog lima koje su vjerojatno služile kao okovi korica mača.<sup>52</sup> Slijeđe brončane karike karičastog oklopa, ulomci brončanih posuda, dio brončane drške, ulomak narukvice, drška brončanog strigila te brončani tutuli. Od prepoznatljivih fibula koje pripadaju ovom horizontu sačuvana je samo jedan primjerak tipa *Aucissa* (Sl. 5: 2).<sup>53</sup>

Na lokalitetu Dunavski Lloyd pronađen je velik broj kovanica koje se datiraju od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. do polovice 1. stoljeća. To su jedna keltska brončana tetradrahma kovana na području Skordiska,<sup>54</sup> tri republikanska denara iz ranorimskih slojeva,<sup>55</sup> dva komada Oktavijanovog novca,<sup>56</sup> šest kovanica Augusta i Tiberija<sup>57</sup> i jedan Klaudijev as koji je ujedno je i najmlađi komad novca 1. stoljeća na lokalitetu.<sup>58</sup>

### Pozicija Frankopanska b.b.

Na poziciji Frankopanska b.b., smještnoj 350 metara istočno od Dunavskog Lloyda, istražena je površina od 59 m<sup>2</sup>. Nalazište je također višeslojano, s novovjekovnim, rimskim i predrimskim horizontom. Na površini su bili novovjekovni slojevi debljine oko 2 metra, nastali prekopavanjem i nivelcijom terena. U tim je aktivnostima devastirana hodna i funkcionalna razina rimskog objekta.<sup>59</sup> Gotovo sav materijal ugrađen u zidove i podnice izvađen je kako bi se sekundarno iskoristio u recentno vrijeme.

### Mlađeželjeznodobni nalazi

Mlađeželjeznodobni horizont činilo je nekoliko jama ukopanih u zdravicu (Sl. 11). Ukopi su kružnog ili ovalnog oblika, različite

They were manufactured by many potters,<sup>34</sup> and at the Dunavski Lloyd site, there have been numerous stamps of the manufacturers found ranging from the Po valley and the northern Italy: Clemens, Aco, Acastus, and perhaps Norbanus and Rubriu. At Magdalensberg, the largest quantities of this vessels belong to the Complex 2 (20-10 BC), they are frequent in the Complex 3, but appear scarcely in Complex 4.<sup>35</sup>

Low beakers without a slip (Form 4), with decoration in relief, occur at Magdalensberg also in the Complexes 2-4.<sup>36</sup> At Dunavski Lloyd two fragments were found, one with basket-like decoration, and one with architectural decoration (Fig. 9: 3-4).<sup>37</sup> The analogies are very numerous, the closest being a warrior grave, Grave 1042, from Emona.<sup>38</sup>

The fragments of *terra sigillata* with potter's stamps originate mostly from the Po valley. There are no stamps from Arezzo, but there are few fragments that could originate from that region. The earliest find is a flat-based cup with curving wall, Consp. 9.1.2., with the stamp A TITI. This potter is dated between 30 and 10 BC,<sup>39</sup> while this type of cup was manufactured from the middle Augustan period.<sup>40</sup> A fragment of a cup Consp. 14 (Fig. 8: 1), that was found in one of the earliest Roman layers at the site, is mostly dated in the period of the legionary camps Dangstetten and Oberaden.<sup>41</sup>

Amongst earlier finds are cylindrical beakers Consp. 50.3<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 7) (fabrikat A and D, type 43 and 100 at Magdalensberg,<sup>43</sup> D 5.3 at Dangstetten<sup>44</sup>), jars with ovoid body and vertical, swelling lip (Fig. 10: 3), type D.2 at Dangstetten,<sup>45</sup> and conical beakers decorated with notches (Fig. 9: 1), type 5 (a) at Magdalensberg. Some fragments of this type were found in a backfill dated to 15-10 BC, and are more numerous from 10 BC to 0.<sup>46</sup> Few fragments of hemispherical bowls were also unearthed (types 28 and 50 at Magdalensberg), in fabrikat A and B. This shape in fabrikat A occurs in earliest Augustan layers, and at Magdalensberg is dated from 25 BC.<sup>47</sup> It is found mainly within the western and northern provinces of the Roman Empire, but some were sporadically found in the East as well (Ayios Ermoyennis).<sup>48</sup> The fabrikat B (type 50) was partly contemporary with the fabrikat A, but it was more popular during the Tiberius. At Magdalensberg it is dated from 25 BC to 25 AD.<sup>49</sup>

50 Brusić 1989, 117, 39-41.

51 Dio nalaza je na konzervaciji i nije obrađen.

52 Radman-Livaja 2004, 38-39, T. 11: 39-42.

53 Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 340.

54 Koprivnjak 2010a 26, 28-29, 48, br. 2; Bilić 2015, 66.

55 Denar kovani između 190. i 140. pr. Kr. (Koprivnjak 2010a, 30, 49, br. 2; Burkowsky 2015, 142, kat. br. 183); denar kovničara Marka Herenija, kovani 108.-107. pr. Kr. (Koprivnjak 2010a, 30, 49, br. 4; Burkowsky 2015, 142, kat. br. 184) i denar prefekta Gaja Klovija, kovani 45. pr. Kr. (Koprivnjak 2010a, 31, 50, br. 5; Burkowsky 2015, 143, kat. br. 185).

56 1/2 asa Oktavijana Cezara i Marka Agripe, kovani 20. pr. Kr. (Koprivnjak 2010a, 31, 50, br. 6); as Oktavijana Cezara i Marka Agripe kovani u Nemausu 31. pr. Kr. (Koprivnjak 2010a, 51, br. 7; Burkowsky 2015: 143, kat. br. 188).

57 Koprivnjak 2010a, 51-54, kat. br. 8-13.

58 Koprivnjak 2010a, 54, kat. br. 14.

59 Tomaš Barišić 2012.

33 Lavizzari-Pedrazzini 1987, 33

34 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 49.

35 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 49-50.

36 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 50.

37 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 105 and 104.

38 Županek 2014, 16; Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 131, Pl. 2, Gr. 1042: 14.

39 Oxé, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 438, no. 2166.

40 Conspectus 1990, 66, Pl. 8/Form 9.1.2.

41 Conspectus 1990, 76, Pl. 13.

42 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 102; Conspectus 1990, 138, Pl. 44/Form 50.3.

43 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 100, Pl. 19.

44 Roth-Rubi 2006, 72, Fig. 10, 90-92.

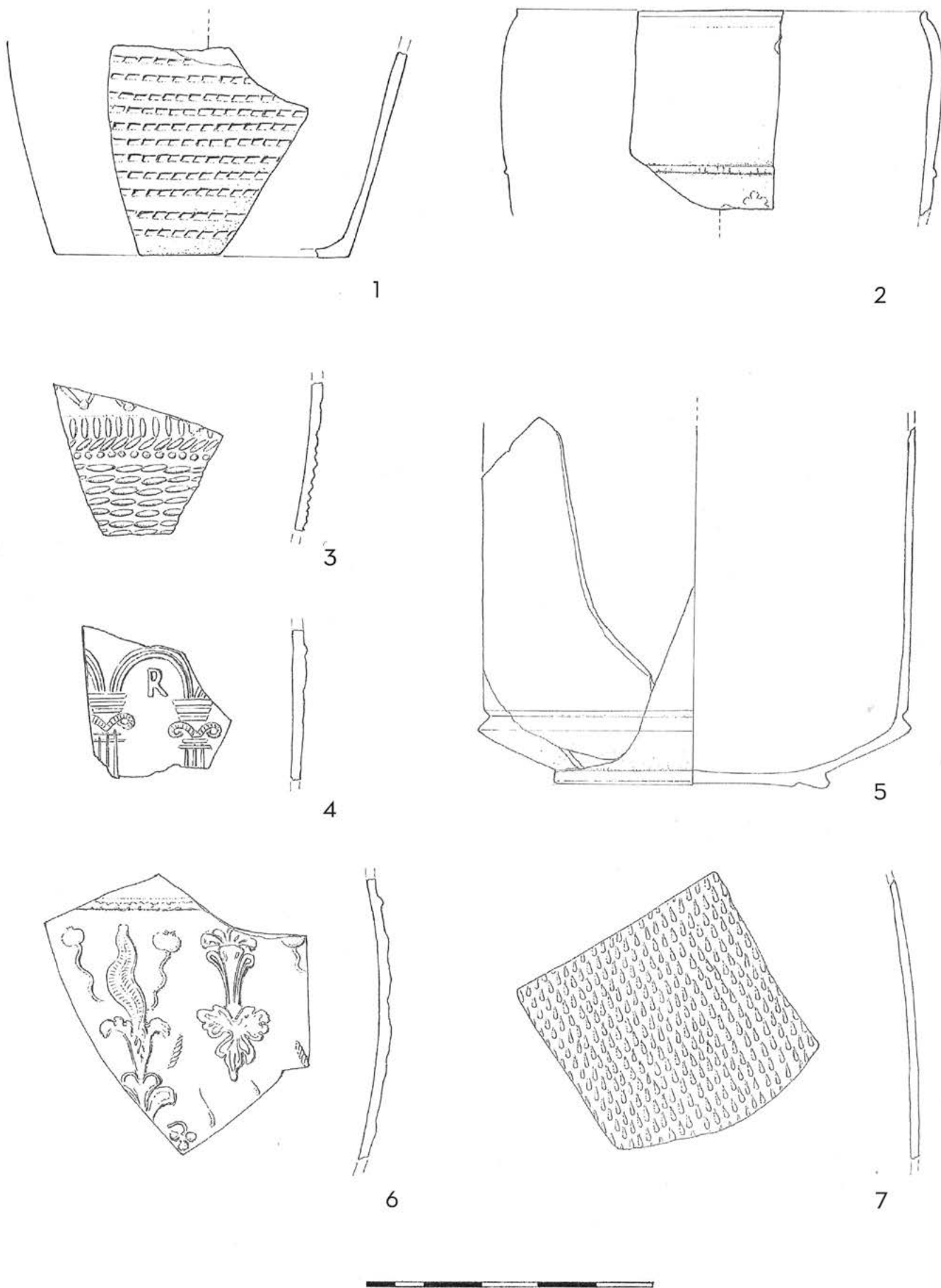
45 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 101; Roth-Rubi 2006, 72, Fig. 10, 84-87. Similar example was found at Novo mesto (Knez 1986, Grave 174, Pl. 62: 9).

46 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 42-43, Pl. 2: 5a.

47 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 61-61, Pl. 7: 28 b.

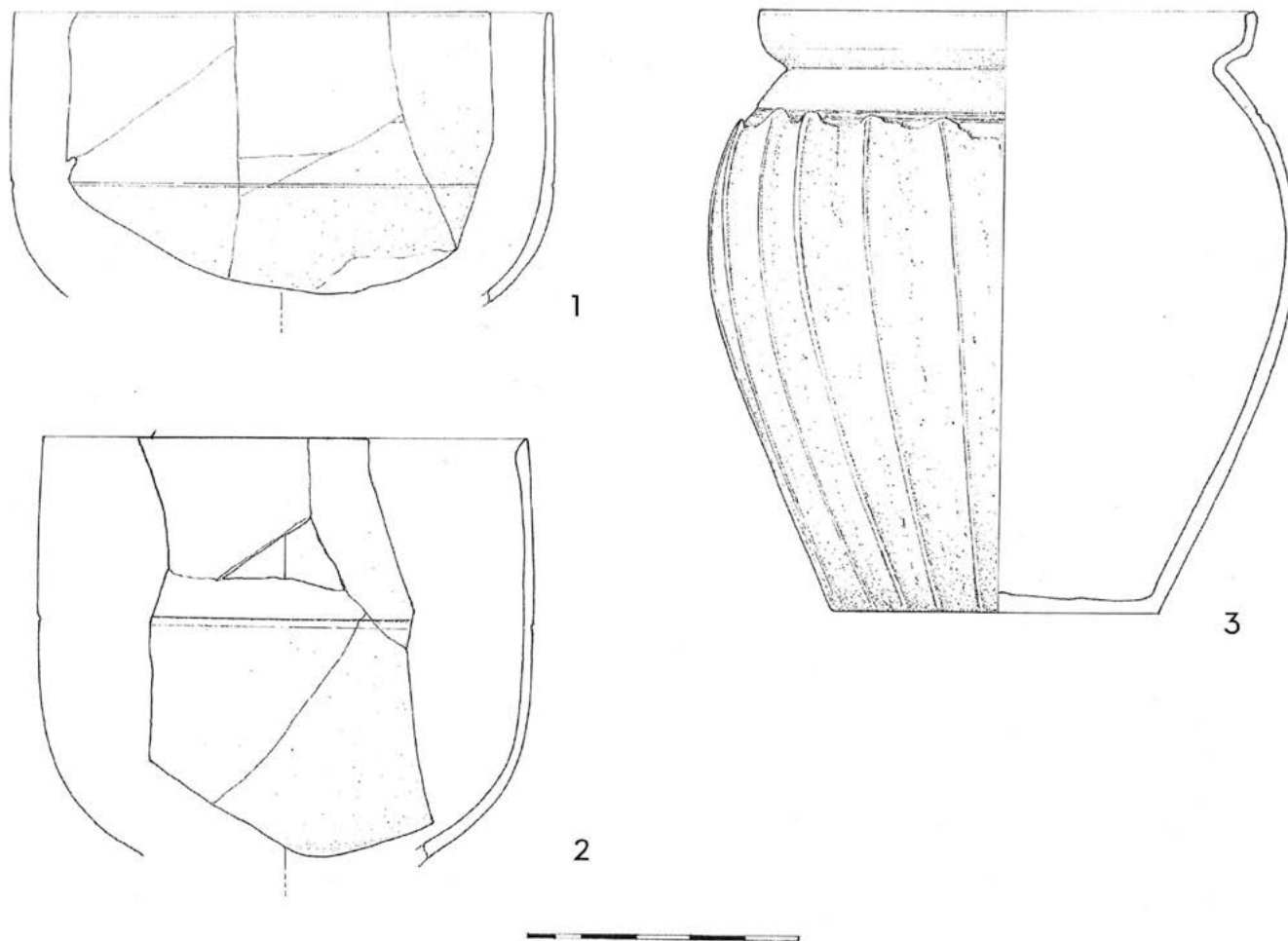
48 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 64.

49 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, 75, Pl. 10.



Sl. 9.  
1-4, 6-7. Čaše tipa Aco; 5. cilindrična čaša (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 9.  
1-4, 6-7. Aco type beakers; 5. cylindrical cup (drawing: M. Galić)



**SL. 10.**  
1-2. Poluloptaste zdjelice; 3. trbušasta čaša sa srpastim rubom  
(crtež: M. Galić)

**FIG. 10.**  
1-2. Semi-spherical bowls; 3 rounded cup with a sickle-like rim  
(drawing: M. Galić)

dubine i promjera. U njihovim zapunama, uz zemlju, nalazili su se ulomci keramike, životinjskih kostiju, a vjerojatno su služili kao otpadne jame. U zdravici je bilo ukopano i četrnaest drvenih kolaca pravokutnog presjeka, dužine od 6 do 14 cm i širine od 7 do 14 cm. Bili su zabijeni u zemlju u dva pravilna paralelna reda, ukupne dužine oko 2 metra i širine oko 30 centimetara. Moguće je da se ukopi nastavlja u zapadni profil, izvan istraživa-  
ne površine. Analogna struktura pronađena je na lokalitetu Povi-  
jesni arhiv II.<sup>60</sup> Također, nisu pronađeni ostaci zidova, već samo ulomci kućnog lijepa.

Iznad zdravice nalazio se sloj masne kompaktne zemlje, u ko-  
jem su pronađeni ulomci mlađeželjeznodobne keramike, dva  
keramička piramidalna utega tkalačkog stana, ulomci kućnog  
lijepa, ulomci željezne šljake, te jedna srebrna tetradrahma.  
Iznad ovog sloja nalazio se tanak sloj s ulomcima mlađeželje-  
znodobne keramike i kućnog lijepa, u koji je ukopana vertikal-

The fragments of *Sarius* cups (Fig. 8: 2-3) also belong to the earli-  
est Roman phase at Dunavski Lloyd. The egg-like decoration on  
the sample is found on *skiphoi* of several potters.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly,  
there was not one fragment of *terra nigra* found at the site.

The metal finds from the early Imperial layers were severely dam-  
aged and fragmented.<sup>51</sup> Great amount of metal braces and bolts  
were found with indications of an iron tent peg, small fragments  
of bronze sheets of varying thickness, fragments of fibulae, frag-  
ments of bronze plate cross-bands (probably used as scabbard  
fittings)<sup>52</sup> mail armour fragments, small fragments of bronze ves-  
sels, part of a bronze handle, fragment of a bracelet, a bronze  
strygillus handle, bronze *tutuli*. Only one fibula of discernible  
type was recovered, a bronze *Aucissa* (Fig. 5: 2).<sup>53</sup>

Large amount of coins was unearthed at the Dunavski Lloyd site.  
They belong to the period between 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the middle

60 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159.

50 Brusić 1989, 117, 39-41.

51 A part of finds is under preservation and restoration

52 Radman-Livaja 2004, 38-39, Pl. 11: 39-42.

53 Bačani *et al.* 2011, cat. no. 340.



SL. 11. Mlađeželjeznodobni ukopi (snimila: T. Tomaš Barišić)

FIG 11. Late Iron Age pits (photo: T. Tomaš Barišić)



SL. 12. Ostatci vertikalne keramičarske peći (snimila: T. Tomaš Barišić)

FIG 12. Remains of a vertical pottery kiln (photo: T. Tomaš Barišić)

na keramičarska peć (Sl. 12).

Sačuvan je donji dio peći kružnog tlocrta (ložište) promjera 1,6 metara, odnosno stjenke od zapečene zemlje debljine oko 5 cm te rešetka s kružnim perforacijama promjera 5-6 centimetara. Ispod rešetke, u vatrištu, pronađen je središnji prezid orijentacije istok - zapad, građen od zapečene zemlje. Bila je ukopana u kompaktnu zemlju smeđe-sive boje koja je sadržavala puno tragova gorenja (gara i zapečene zemlje), te ulomke mlađeželjeznodobne keramike. Na rešetci nisu pronađene posude koje bi su bile na njoj pečene. U sloju na rešetci, formiranom nakon prestanka korištenja peći, bili su ulomci mlađeželjeznodobne i rimske keramike. Može se zaključiti da je u predrimskom razdoblju ovdje bio otvoren prostor, možda dio keramičarskog dijela naselja. Keramičarska peć vertikalnog tipa pronađena je i na obližnjoj poziciji Povijesni arhiv II.<sup>61</sup>

Osim ulomaka keramike predrimski slojevi sadržavali su komade kućnog lijepa i životinjske kosti. Ulomci keramike pripadaju različitim tipovima posuda koje se mogu razvrstati u keramiku rađenu rukom i keramiku rađenu na lončarskom kolu što odražava predlatenske i latenske tradicije u proizvodnji. Od tipičnih latenskih posuda brojne su zdjele S-profilacije različitih dimenzija (Sl. 13). U stariježeljeznodobnoj tradiciji izrađena je posuda za zalihe - pitos (Sl. 14) čiji vrećasti oblik podsjeća na žare iz halštatskih na-

of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. There was one Celtic *tetradrahm*, minted in the territory of the *Scordisci*,<sup>54</sup> three Republican *denari*,<sup>55</sup> found in the early Imperial layers, two coins of Octavian,<sup>56</sup> six coins of Augustus and Tiberius,<sup>57</sup> and one Claudius' coin.<sup>58</sup> The Claudius' was also the last coin from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD found at the site.

### Frankopanska b.b. position

The Frankopanska B.B. site is located 350 m east from the Duvanjski Lloyd site. The area of 59 metres squared was excavated. This site is complex, with continuous habitation layers spanning from pre-Roman to modernity. The modern layers were 2 metres thick, and they were formed by digging and levelling of the area in search for the building material. In those activities, a Roman building was destroyed.<sup>59</sup> The building material was extracted and reused in modern period.

### Late Iron Age finds

The Late Iron Age phase was made up of several pits dug into the geological layer (Fig. 11). The pits are round or oval in shape, of varying depths and diameters. They were filled with deposits comprising of fragments of pottery and animal bones, and most likely were used as waste pits. Into the geological layer, 14 wooden posts were also dug, rectangular in cross-section, 6 to 14 cm

61 Burmaz 2004, 122-124; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 156-157, Sl. 3.

62 Urleb 1974, 23.

63 Pahić 1972, grobovi 7, 50, 126.

64 inv.br. 3144/AZP

54 Koprivnjak 2010a 26, 28-29, 48, no. 2; Bilić 2015, 66.

55 One *denarius* minted between 190 and 140 BC (Koprivnjak 2010a, 30, 49, no. 2; Burkowsky 2015, 142, cat. no. 183), one *denarius* of Marcus Herennius, minted 108-107 BC (Koprivnjak 2010a, 30, 49, no. 4, Burkowsky 2015, 142, cat. no. 184) and one *denarius* of the *praefectus* Gaius Clovius, minted in 45 BC (Koprivnjak 2010a, 31, 50, no. 5; Burkowsky 2015, 143, cat. no. 185).

56 1/2 as of Octavian Cesar and Marcus Agrippa, minted in 20 BC (Koprivnjak 2010a, 31, 50, no. 6); one as of Octavian Cesar and Marcus Agrippa, minted in Nemausus in 31 BC (Koprivnjak 2010a, 51, no. 7; Burkowsky 2015: 143, cat. no. 188).

57 Koprivnjak 2010a, 51-54, cat. no. 8-13.

58 Koprivnjak 2010a, 54, cat. no. 14.

59 Tomaš Barišić 2012.



Sl. 13.  
Zdjela s-profilacije (snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG 13.  
Bowl with S-profile (photo: B. Suntešić)



Sl. 14.  
Posuda za zalihe (snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG 14.  
Storage vessel (photo: B. Suntešić)

lazišta Križna gora pri Ložu<sup>62</sup> i Podbrežje,<sup>63</sup> a sličan je pitosu pronađenom u Kupi u Sisku koji se čuva u Gradskom muzeju Sisak.<sup>64</sup>

### Ranocarsko razdoblje

Iznad mlađeželjeznodobnog sloja u koji je ukopana peć istraženi su slojevi koji obilježavaju prijelaz u rimski horizont. U njima se, uz ulomke mlađeželjeznodobne keramike, nalazi i rimski materijal. Radi se o stolnom posudu: ulomcima tanjura, zdjela i vrčeva te nekoliko ulomaka tere sigilate. Jedan ulomak tanjura Consp. 5.4.2 (Conspectus 1990, 60, T. 5) te dva ulomka tanjura čiji se tip zbog veličine ulomka ne može točno odrediti, a najslabiji su Consp. 20 (Conspectus 1990, 86, T. 18).

Izniman nalaz predstavljaju grlo i dio ručke jednog velikog vrča s dvije ručke i prstenastim zadebljanjem ispod oboda, Dressel 28, koji su uvoženi na novoosvojena područja od vremena Augusta. Na Magdalensbergu se tako javljaju već u slojevima nastalim do 20. godine pr. Kr.<sup>65</sup> Ulomci sigilatnih posuda datiraju ove slojeve u razdoblje od ranog Augusta do kasnog Tiberija ili Klaudija. Iz njih potječu i numizmatički nalazi: dvije srebrne tetradrahme, koje se datiraju u 2. polovica 2. i 1. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>66</sup> Osim ulomaka latenske i rimske keramike, u slojevima se mogu naći ostaci rimskog građevinskog materijala (ulomci opeke i žbuke), te dva zanimljiva nalaza - šalica tipa *Sarius* (Sl. 8) i fibula sa životinjskom gla-

long and 7 to 14 cm wide. They were stuck into the ground lined in two parallel rows, totalling to a length of 2 metres, and had a width of 30 centimetres. It is possible that the structure continues into the western profile, out of the perimeters of the excavated area. Similar feature was found at the Povijesni arhiv II site.<sup>60</sup> In this phase, there were no remains of the walls, just fragments of daub.

Above the geological layer, there was a thick layer of soil, with fragments of late Iron Age pottery, two pyramidal loom-weights, fragments of daub, fragments of iron slag, and one silver *tetradrachm*. Above this layer, there was a thick layer with pottery fragments and daub, and a vertical pottery kiln (Fig. 12). The kiln was partly preserved: the lower circular part (combustion chamber), measuring 1.6 metres in diameter, with a central divider and a kiln floor with round perforations. The kiln was dug into the layer that contained ash and burnt soil, and fragments of Late Iron Age pottery. In the layer on the kiln floor, formed after the use of the kiln ceased, fragments of late Iron Age and Roman pottery were unearthed. It is possible to conclude that in the pre-Roman period this position was used as an open space, perhaps in a potter's part of the settlement. A kiln of a similar type was also found in the vicinity, at the Povijesni arhiv II site.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from pottery fragments, pre-Roman layers contained frag-

65 Schindler-Kaudelka 1989, 37-42.

66 Bilić 2018, (u ovoj knjizi).

67 Demetz 1999, 147.

68 Sedlmayer 2009, 25.

60 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159.

61 Burmaz 2004, 122-124; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014.

vom (Sl. 15). S. Demetz je datirao taj tip fibula u kasnoaugustovsko doba,<sup>67</sup> dok su nalazi s Magdalensberga datirani od rano do kasnoaugustovskog razdoblja.<sup>68</sup>

Rimski horizont na ovoj poziciji može se podijeliti na dvije faze. U ranijoj fazi na ovom je mjestu postojao objekt od kojeg su sačuvani ostaci podnice od vapnenog veziva, a mjestimično su kao podloga vidljivi poluobrađeni komadi kamena. Zbog nedostatka preciznijih datacijskih oslonaca ovu građevinu je teško datirati. Vapneno vezivo i kamen koriste se na području Siscije uglavnom od kraja 1. stoljeća,<sup>69</sup> ali ta je tehnika gradnje vjerojatno u manjem obimu korištena i ranije. Nakon prestanka funkcioniranja objekta teren je niveliran i izgrađena je nova građevina koja pripada drugoj fazi. Od nje su sačuvani negativni temelja zidova, a mjestimično i ostaci temelja, koji ukazuju da se radilo o objektu velikih dimenzija. Temelji su građeni od ulomaka kamena i opeka vezanih vapnenim vezivom, a zidovi su vjerojatno bili građeni od opeke. Građevina je bila opremljena sustavom podnog grijanja – hipokaustom, a zidovi su bili ukrašeni freskama. Početak i prestanak funkcioniranja objekta nije poznat, jer je uništen do razine temelja. Prema načinu gradnje i materijalima građen je krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća, a vjerojatno se radilo o ostacima stambenog objekta.

## Zaključak

Nalazi s pozicija Frankopanska b.b. i Dunavski Lloyd u Sisku potvrdili su kontinuitet obitavanja na lijevoj obali Kupe, najvjerojatnije od kasnolatenskog razdoblja, s kraćim prekidom između kasnolatenskog i ranorimskog horizonta. Iako je do sada istraženo samo nekoliko pozicija, postojanje keramičarskih peći na Povijesnom arhivu i Frankopanskoj b.b., koji su udaljeni stotinjak metara zračne linije, govorilo bi u prilog hipotezi da je predrimsko naselje imalo dijelove s različitim funkcijama, uključujući i radionički dio naselja.<sup>70</sup> Na položaju Dunavski Lloyd nalazi ukazuju na stambenu funkciju prostora.

Nalazi s obje pozicije pokazuju kontinuitet materijalne kulture od starijeg do mlađeg željeznog doba, uz usvajanje novih, latenskih elemenata, kao što su keramika izrađena na keramičarskom kolu. Među elemente naslijeđene iz predlatenske tradicije mogu se svrstati određeni tipovi posuda, zatim pojedine vrste ukrasa (kanelure na rubu, plastične trake ukrašene utiskivanjem prstiju) kao i neki elementi na posudama (jezičaste drške). Keramičke posude izrađene u duhu ranijih tradicija pokazuju sličnost s materijalom s nalazišta u Dolenjskoj (Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva, Beletov vrt), te japonskim nalazima (Jezerine, Kučar kod Podzemelja).<sup>71</sup> Keramika iz predrimskih slojeva ukazuje da je predlatenski supstrat bio vrlo snažan. Pojedini predmeti pokazuju složenu etničku sliku predrim-

ments of daub and animal bones. The pottery fragments belong to diverse types of vessels, that can be grouped into vessels made by hand and vessels thrown on a potter's wheel, of such reflects pre-La Tène and La Tène technological traditions. Of typical La Tène vessels, there are numerous bowls with -S'-profiles, of varying dimensions (Fig. 13). A pythos was made in the Early Iron Age tradition (Fig. 14) whose bag-shaped appearance is reminiscent of urns found at the Hallstatt sites Križna gora pri Ložu<sup>62</sup> i Podbrežje,<sup>63</sup> and it is similar to the one found in the Kupa in Sisak, that is kept in the City Museum of Sisak.<sup>64</sup>

## Early Imperial period

Above the Late Iron Age layer into which the kiln was dug, a layers that mark the transition into the Roman phase have been excavated. Within these layers, besides Iron Age pottery, are also the fragments of Roman material, mainly tableware: fragments of plates, bowls and jars, and a few fragments of *terra sigillata* have been found. One fragment of a plate Consp. 5.4.2. (Consp. 1990, 60, Pl. 5), and two fragments whose shape, due to small dimensions, cannot be determined, but are similar to Consp. 20 (Consp. 1990, 86, Pl. 18).

One exceptional find is fragmentary neck and handle of a big jar, Dressel 28, that were imported to the newly conquered territories from the age of Augustus. At Magdalensberg they were found in the layer formed until 20 BC.<sup>65</sup> The fragments of *terra sigillata* date these layers in the period from early Augustus until late Tiberius or Claudius. In these layers, two coins were found, namely two silver tetradrachms, date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>66</sup> Apart from the fragments of late Iron Age and Roman pottery, there were also remains of the Roman building materials (fragments of bricks and mortar), and two very interesting finds - *Sarius* cup (Fig. 8) and a fibula decorated with animal head (*Tierkopffibula*) (Fig. 15). S. Demetz dated this fibula type to the late Augustan period,<sup>67</sup> while similar finds from Magdalensberg are dated from early to late Augustan period.<sup>68</sup>

The Roman occupation at the position can be divided into two phases. During the earlier phase, a building was erected. The only traces of the building were remains of the floor made of mortar with bedding of pieces of stone. Due to a lack of more precisely dated elements, it is difficult to date this building. Mortar and stone were used in Siscia in larger amount from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century,<sup>69</sup> but the technique was probably used even earlier in smaller extent. After the building was abandoned and raised to the ground, the site was levelled and a new building was built. This large building, which belonged to the second sub-phase, had stone and mortar foundations, and the walls were

69 Takva je situacija i na pozicijama O.Š. 22. lipnja, I. K. Sakcinskog b.b., Dunavski Lloyd 2010 i Rimska 25 u Sisku. Za detaljan pregled vidi Lolić 2014.

70 Takvu hipotezu postavili su I. Drnić i I. Miletić Čakširan i za sada nema nalaza koji bi je opovrgnuli, iako nije istraženo mnogo pozicija (Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014).

62 Urleb 1974, 23.

63 Pahić 1972, graves 7, 50, 126.

64 inv. no. 3144/AZP

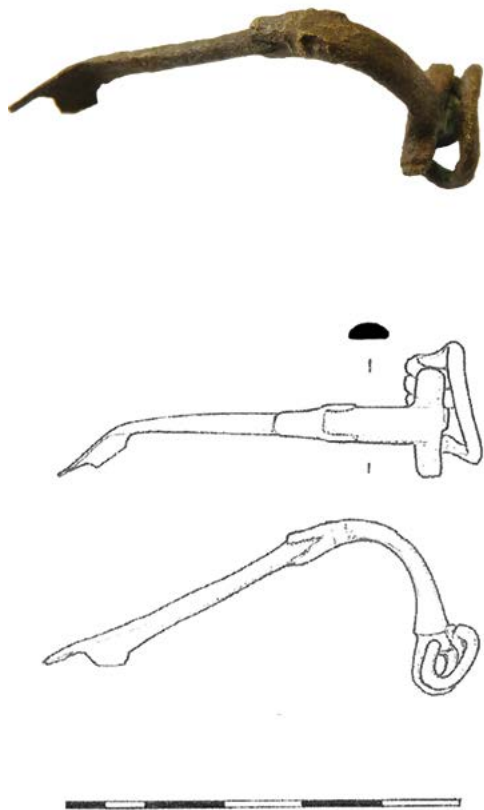
65 Schindler-Kaudelka 1989, 37-42.

66 Bilić 2018, (in this volume).

67 Demetz 1999, 147.

68 Sedlmayer 2009, 25.

69 This is attested at the OŠ 22. lipnja, I. K. Sakcinskog b.b., Dunavski Lloyd 2010, and Rimska 25 positions in Sisak. For a more detailed overview see Lolić 2014.



SL. 15.  
Fibula s životinjskom glavom (crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG 15.  
Fibula decorated with an animal head (drawing: M. Galić; photo: B. Suntešić).

skog stanovništva (utjecaji mokronoške skupine s područja Dolenjske, Japoda kao i Skordiska). Pronalazak keramičkih predmeta koji se vezuju uz starije te mlađe, latenske tradicije u kontekstu pretpostavljenog stambenog objekta na lokalitetu Dunavski Lloyd ukazuje da su se istim kućanstvima koristili predmeti obje tradicije.

Sudeći prema nalazima keramike tankih stijenki i tere sigilate, fibulama te novcu poziciju razorenog predrimskog naselja na lijevoj obali Kupe zaposjeli su Rimljani ubrzo nakon pada Segestike 35. godine pr. Kr., odnosno najkasnije od srednjaugustovskog razdoblja. Iako je u ranim rimskim slojevima prisutan i latenski materijal, smatram da teško da možemo govoriti o kontinuitetu stanovništva. Argument za to mišljenje je činjenica da je predrimsko naselje bilo do temelja razoreno i nema nalaza koji bi sugerirali popravljavanje naseobinskih struktura. Segestani su mogli nastaviti živjeti, odnosno vratiti se na lijevu obalu Kupe u službi rimske vojske ili doseljenika ili kao robovi. Ipak, nisam sigurna da se takvi slučajevi mogu tumačiti kao kontinuitet stanovništva. Premalo je nalaza koji bi ukazivali na neku brojniju autohtonu populaciju nakon rimske okupacije. Nalazi mlađeželjeznodobne keramike u rimskim slojevima ne moraju nužno značiti i prisutnost mlađeželjeznodobne populacije na toj poziciji, kao što nam poka-

probably made of bricks. The building was equipped with the *hypocaust*, and the walls were decorated with frescoes. The beginning and the end of the occupation of the building is uncertain, because it was also raised to the ground. The building technique and materials suggest that it was built at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It was probably used as a private building.

## Conclusion

The finds from the Frankopanska b.b and Dunavski Lloyd positions in Sisak confirmed the continuity of occupation of the left bank of the Kupa, most probably from the late La Tène period, with short break between the late La Tène and early Roman phase. Although only a few positions have been excavated so far, - the finds of pottery kilns at Povijesni arhiv and Frankopanska b.b. sites, that are only 100 metres apart, would strengthen the hypothesis that the Pre-Roman settlement was divided into parts with different functions, including the part with workshops.<sup>70</sup> At the Dunavski Lloyd position the finds suggest that the area was used for housing.

The finds from both positions exhibit continuity of material culture, from the early to the late Iron Age, with adoption of the new La Tène elements, like wheel-thrown pottery. Among the traits inherited from the early Iron Age tradition are some types of vessels and decorations (vertical grooves on the rim, plastic ribbons with finger imprints), and some elements on the vessels (thong-like handles). Ceramic vessels made in the earlier tradition resemble to those found at sites in Dolenjska, Slovenia (Novo mesto - Kapiteljska njiva, Beletov vrt), and in the territory of Iapodi (Jezerine, Kučar near Podzemelj).<sup>71</sup> The pottery from the pre-Roman layers suggests that the Early Iron Age substrate was very strong. Individual objects paint a picture of an ethnically mixed community (influences from the Mokronog Group from Dolenjska, Iapodi and, as well as from the territory of the *Scordisci*). Existence of the pottery made in older tradition together with the shapes characteristic for new, La Tène culture in the housing feature at Dunavski Lloyd position points to the fact that the pottery of both traditions was used in the same households. On the basis of several categories of finds, like thin-walled pottery, *terrae sigillatae*, fibulae, and coins, it is possible to conclude that the position of the destroyed pre-Roman settlement on the left bank of the river Kupa, soon after the fall of Segestika in 35 BC, was occupied by the Romans, or during the middle Augustan period at the latest. Although the early Roman layers contain La Tène material as well, it should not be synonymous for the continuity of population. The pre-Roman settlement was raised to the ground, and there are no indications of repair of the settlement structures. The *Segestani* could have perhaps returned to the left bank in service of the Roman army and settlers or as slaves. Still, I do not think that these people, if any, can be interpreted as continuity of population. There are too few finds that would suggest that there was a sizeable autochthonous population after the Roman occupation. The Late La Tène pottery in the Roman layers

70 This hypothesis was proposed by I. Drnić and I. Miletić Čakširan, and currently there are no finds that would disprove it, although not many positions were excavated (Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014).

71 Majnarić-Pandžić 1986; Knez 1992; Dular, Ciglenečki, Dular 1995; Križ 2005.

zuje primjer Dangstetena.<sup>72</sup> Tamo su u kontekstu vojnog logora pronađeni ulomci rukom rađenih lonaca koji su korišteni u logoru, a proizvedeni su u okolici, od strane autohtonog stanovništva.

Kao što je već spomenuto, na lokalitetu Dunavski Lloyd prikupljeno je znatna količina kovanica koje potječu iz razdoblja od Oktavijana/Augusta do Klaudija. Veliki broj kovanica republikanskog i ranocarskog razdoblja, do Klaudija, pronađen je i na lokalitetu Lučka kapetanija,<sup>73</sup> koji se nalazi oko 320 metara južno od Dunavskog Lloyd. Tolika količina novca pokazuje da su barem neke osobe koje su obitavale na ovoj poziciji nedugo nakon okupacije imale monetu kojom su mogle kupovati robu i usluge i gubiti kovanice u procesu. Kako lokalno autohtono stanovništvo, ako je i preživjelo događaje krajem stare i početkom nove ere, vjerojatno nije raspolagalo novčanim sredstvima u toj količini, nameće se zaključak da se radilo o vojsci ili pojedincima koji su poslovali s vojskom. To mišljenje osnažuju i već spomenuti nalazi ulomaka brončanih i željeznih predmeta koji se mogu povezati s vojskom. Obje pozicije, Dunavski Lloyd i Lučka kapetanija, nalaze su pedesetak metara od obale Kupe i čini se da su Rimljani ove položaje koristili baš zbog blizine plovnog puta. Kupu kao plovni put i izvor hrane intenzivno su koristili i Segestani. Čamci monoksili pronađeni u Kupi imali su perforaciju na pramcu koja je služila za provlačenje užeta za privezivanje te je sigurno da su postojala mjesta za privezivanje plovila, najvjerojatnije na lijevoj obali Kupe između današnjih lokacija Mali Kaptol i posljednjeg zavoja prije utoka u Savu. Možemo pretpostaviti da su stanovnici predrimskog naselja odabrali najbolji položaj s obzirom na pristupačnost obale i sigurnost pristaništa, a moguće je da su tu prednost uvidjeli i koristili i Rimljani. Riječni putovi bili su ključni za logistiku sve do izgradnje prvih prometnica koje su povezivale sjevernu Italiju i područje Panonije početkom 1. stoljeća. To je ujedno i razlog zbog kojeg smatramo da bi na potezu između Dunavskog Lloyd i Lučke kapetanije te željeznčkog kolodvora trebalo tražiti lokaciju prvog trajnog rimskog vojnog logora. O tome da se radilo o naselju vojnog karaktera možemo pretpostaviti na temelju nalaza: keramički i stakleni nalazi tipični za vojne logore Augustovog vremena (tzv. vojničke čaše, tanjuri, stakleni igrači žetoni), ulomci koji su najvjerojatnije bili dio vojne opreme (karike karičastog oklopa, okovi korica mača, šatorski klin), te dovoljne količine luksuzne robe, pri čemu se prvenstveno misli na ulomke tere sigilate, te čaše tipa *Aco* i šalice tipa *Sarius*. Nakon odlaska vojske iz Siscije, naselje se počinje intenzivno razvijati i za vladavine Vespazijana dobiva status kolonije (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*). Tada zamah dobiva i građevinska djelatnost, a objekti s kamenim temeljima podignuti u drugoj polovici 1. ili prvoj polovici 2. stoljeća na pozicijama Dunavski Lloyd i Frankopanska b.b. uklapaju se u tu sliku.

does not necessarily mean the presence of the Late La Tène population at the site, as the example of the legionary camp at Dangstetten shows us.<sup>72</sup> There, the fragments of pots made by hand were found, that were manufactured in the vicinity, by the autochthonous population.

As previously mentioned, at the Dunavski Lloyd position significant amount of coins dated from Octavian/ Augustus to Claudius was found. Large amount of coins of the Republican and early Imperial period was also found 320 metres south from Dunavski Lloyd, at the Lučka kapetanija site.<sup>73</sup> This amount shows that at least some persons living at the sites immediately after the occupation had and used the money for their transactions. The autochthonous population even if it survived the tragical events at the turn of the eras, probably did not possessed money in any significant quantity, it must be assumed that the owners of the coins were the army or the individuals dealing with the army. The conclusion is strengthened by the abovementioned finds of metal objects that can be linked with the army. Both positions, Dunavski Lloyd and Lučka kapetanija, are situated some 50 m from the Kupa river. The Kupa was exploited as a waterway and a source of food before the Roman conquest. The logboats found in the Kupa had perforated prams. That perforations were used for attaching the rope and tying the boats, and it is very probable that the places for tying the boats existed on the left bank, between the Mali Kaptol and the last bight before its confluence with the Sava. We can assume that the Iron Age inhabitants chose the best position with careful consideration concerning the safety and accessibility of the port. It is possible that the Romans exploited these advantages as well. Waterways were crucial for logistics until the first roads that connected the Northern Italy and Pannonia were built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. This is the reason why we think that the first permanent military camp was located in the area between the Dunavski Lloyd, Lučka kapetanija and Željeznički kolodvor positions. We can presume that it was a military camp based on the finds: pottery and glass objects typical for the camps of the age of Augustus (so-called *Soldatenbecher*, plates, glass gaming pieces); fragments that were probably parts of military equipment (mail armour fragments, scabbard fittings, tent bolt), and large amount of luxury items, mainly *terra sigillata*, *Aco*-type beakers and *Sarius*-type cups. After the military left *Siscia*, the civil settlement developed and during the reign of Vespasianus and it became a colony (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*). The building activity flourished, and the buildings with stone and mortar foundations built at the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century at Dunavski Lloyd and Frankopanska b.b. positions fit well into the picture.

72 Leckebusch 1998, 377-427.

73 Koprivnjak 2010b.

72 Leckebusch 1998, 377-427.

73 Koprivnjak 2010b.



# KATALOG

## 1. Nož (GMS, inv. br. 29177) (Sl. 2)

**Dimenzije:** d. 20 cm, š. 3 cm, deb. 6 mm

**Opis:** Željezni nož s trokutasto oblikovanim jezičcem s jednom zakovicom.

**Literatura:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 96, kat. br. 13.

## 2. Vrh koplja (GMS, inv. br. 29178) (Sl. 3)

**Dimenzije:** d. 20,4 cm, š. 3,7 cm, deb. 6,5 cm

**Opis:** Dio željeznog listolikog koplja izduženog lista lećastog presjeka. Nasadnik nije sačuvan.

**Literatura:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 96, kat. br. 12.

## 3. Brončani obruč (GMS, inv. br. 27603) (Sl. 4)

**Dimenzije:** pr. 5 cm, deb. 0,45 cm

**Opis:** Brončani obruč sa šest simetrično raspoređenih čvorastih zadebljanja s vanjske strane. Jedno od zadebljanja nije uspio pri likom lijevanja ili je rastaljeno naknadno.

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno

## 4. Fibula tipa Idrija (GMS, inv. br. 25931) (Sl. 5: 1).

**Dimenzije:** d. 6,4 cm, v. 2 cm, š. 2,1 cm

**Opis:** Sačuvani su luk, dio noge i spiralna konstrukcija. Spirala ima šest navoja, luk je trokutast, ukrašen uzdužnim rebrima, visoko izvijen i sužava se prema nozi. Noga je vjerojatno bila perforirana na što ukazuje linija loma. Izrađena od bronce.

**Literatura:** Bačani *et al.* 2012, 186, kat. br. 340.

## 5. Fibula tipa *Aucissa* (GMS, inv. br. 25981) (Sl. 5: 2)

**Dimenzije:** d. 6,4 cm, v. 3,3 cm, š. 1,7 cm

**Opis:** Brončana fibula s oštećenom zaglavnom pločicom zbog čega se ne može odrediti reljefni ukras. Luk je kvadratnog presjeka, a na završetku kratke trokutaste noge nalazi se dugme.

**Literatura:** Bačani *et al.* 2012, 186, kat. br. 340.

## 6. Fibula tipa *Tierkopffibel* (GMS, inv. br. 30805) (Sl. 15)

**Dimenzije:** d. 9,3 cm, š. 1,7 cm, v. 2,9 cm

**Opis:** Fibula od bakrene slitine sa spiralom od šest navoja i vanjskom tetivom, glatkog luka s ukrasom životinjske (vučje) glave koja zagriža luk. Trokutasti držač igle s tri stepeničaste i jednom kružnom perforacijom završava dugmetom.

**Literatura:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 120, kat. br. 100.

# CATALOGUE

## 1. Knife (CMS, inv. no. 29177) (Fig. 2)

**Dimensions:** l. 20 cm; w. 3 cm; t. 6 mm

**Description:** Iron knife with a triangular tongue on the handle and one rivet.

**Bibliography:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 96, cat. no. 13.

## 2. Spearhead (CMS, inv. no. 29178) (Fig. 3)

**Dimensions:** l. 20.4 cm; w. 3.7 cm; t. 6.5 cm

**Description:** Fragment of an iron leaf-shaped spearhead with an elongated sheet and a lens-like cross-section.

The socket is not preserved.

**Bibliography:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 96, cat. no. 12.

## 3. Bronze ring (CMS, inv. no. 27603) (Fig. 4)

**Dimensions:** d. 5 cm; t. 0.45 cm

**Description:** Bronze ring with six symmetrically positioned knobs on the outer rim. One knob was unsuccessfully cast or was subsequently melted.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

## 4. Fibula of the Idrija type (CMS, inv. no. 25931) (Fig. 5: 1).

**Dimensions:** l. 6.4 cm; h. 2 cm; w. 2.1 cm

**Description:** Preserved parts include the bow, part of the foot and the spiral construction. The spiral has six springs, the bow is triangular, decorated with longitudinal ribs, it is elongated and narrows towards the foot. The foot was probably perforated, as indicated by the shape of the breakage. The fibula is made of bronze.

**Bibliography:** Bačani *et al.* 2012, 186, cat. no. 340.

## 5. Fibula of the *Aucissa* type (CMS, inv. no. 25981) (Fig. 5: 2)

**Dimensions:** l. 6.4 cm; h. 3.3 cm; w. 1.7 cm

**Description:** Bronze fibula with a damaged plate that makes it impossible to discern the decorations. The bow has a quadratic cross-section, and there is a knob at the end of the short triangular foot.

**Bibliography:** Bačani *et al.* 2012, 186, cat. no. 340.

## 6. Fibula of the *Tierkopffibel* type (CMS, inv. no. 30805) (Fig. 15)

**Dimensions:** l. 9.3 cm; w. 1.7 cm; h. 2.9 cm

**Description:** Fibula made of copper alloy with a six-spring spiral and an outer cord, a smooth bow decorated with an animal (wolf) head that is biting the bow. The pin rest is triangular and has three step-like and one circular perforation, and a knob at the end.

**Bibliography:** Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 120, cat. no. 100.

**7. Zdjela (GMS, inv. br. 29166) (Sl. 8: 1)****Dimenzije:** dr. 11,5 cm, ds. 0,4 cm; v. 5,1 cm**Opis:** Ulomak zvonolike zdjelica s zadebljalim rubom, *Consp. 14*. Izrađena u tehnici tera sigilate. Meka, jako kvalitetan premaz, mat, bs: 7.5YR 7/4 pink; bp. 10 R 5/6 red**Literatura:** neobjavljeno**8. Šalica tipa *Sarius* (GMS, inv. br. 25668) (Sl. 8: 2)****Dimenzije:** dt. 16 cm; ds. 0,4 cm**Opis:** Ulomak stijenke s reljefnim motivima tragične maske, ovula i vegetabilnim motivima. Tvrd, kvalitetan premaz, sjajan, bs. 2.5YR 6/8 light red; bp. 10R 5/6 red;**Literatura:** Baćani *et al.* 2011, 130, kat. br. 111.**9. Šalica tipa *Sarius* (GMS, inv. br. 30092) (Sl. 8: 3)****Dimenzije:** dr. 10,8 cm; dd. 5,7 cm; ds. 0,5 cm**Opis:** Trbuh ukrašen vegetabilnim motivima. Kvalitetan premaz, sjajan. Restaurirana, bp. 2.5YR 4/6 red.**Literatura:** neobjavljeno**10. Čaša (GMS, inv. br. 29168) (Sl. 9: 1)****Dimenzije:** dd. 4,8 cm; ds. 0,2 cm; v. 3,5 cm**Opis:** Ulomak dna i stjenke konične čaše s ukrasom zareza u negativu, tip 5 (a) na Magdalensbergu. Tvrd, bez premaza, bs. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.**Literatura:** neobjavljeno**11. Čaša tipa *Aco* (GMS, inv. br. 25919). (Sl. 9: 2)****Dimenzije:** dr. 7 cm; ds. 0,2 - 0,25 cm; v. 3,4 cm**Opis:** Ulomak ruba i stjenke čaše tipa *Aco* s reljefnim ukrasom. Između gornjeg dijela i ukrašenog dijela reljefna uzdužna linija. Tvrd, kvalitetan premaz, mat, bs. 2.5 YR 5/8 red; bp. 10 R 4/8 red.**Literatura:** neobjavljeno**12. Čaša tipa *Aco* (GMS, inv. br. 25923) (Sl. 9: 3)****Dimenzije:** dt. 7,5 cm; ds. 0,3 cm; v. 2,8 cm**Opis:** Ulomak čaše tipa *Aco* s reljefnim košarastim ukrasom. Tvrd, bez premaza. bs. 2.5 YR 6/8 light red.**Literatura:** Baćani *et al.* 2012, 129, kat. br. 105.**13. Čaša tipa *Aco* (GMS, inv. br. 25622) (Sl. 9: 4)****Dimenzije:** ds. 0,2 cm; š. 2,4 cm; v. 2,7 cm**Opis:** Ulomak stjenke čaše tipa *Aco* s arhitektonskim ukrasom. Tvrd, bez premaza. (Sl. 16: 4), bs. 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow.**Literatura:** Baćani *et al.* 2012, 128, kat. br. 104.**7. Bowl (CMS, inv. no. 29166) (Fig. 8: 1)****Dimensions:** r. d. 11.5 cm; w. t. 0.4 cm; h. 5.1 cm**Description:** Fragment of a bell-shaped small bowl with a thickened rim. *Consp. 14*, made in the *terra sigillata* technique. Soft, high-quality coating, matte, b. col. 7.5YR 7/4 pink; c. col. 10 R 5/6 red**Bibliography:** unpublished**8. *Sarius* cup (CMS, inv. no. 25668) (Fig. 8: 2)****Dimensions:** b. d. 16 cm; w. t. 0.4 cm**Description:** Wall fragment with a relief motif of a tragedy mask, ovules and vegetative motifs. Hard, high-quality slip, glossy, w. col. 2.5YR 6/8 light red; c. col. 10R 5/6 red;**Bibliography:** Baćani *et al.* 2011, 130, cat. no. 111.**9. *Sarius* cup (CMS, inv. no. 30092) (Fig. 8: 3)****Dimensions:** r. d. 10.8 cm; b. d. 5.7 cm; w. t. 0.5 cm**Description:** Vessel body decorated with vegetative motifs. High-quality slip, glossy, reconstructed, c. col. 2.5YR 4/6 red.**Bibliography:** unpublished**10. Glass (CMS, inv. no. 29168) (Fig. 9: 1)****Dimensions:** b. d. 4.8 cm; w. t. 0.2 cm; h. 3.5 cm**Description:** Fragment of the base and walls of a conical glass with decorations made in the negative, type 5 (a) at Magdalensberg. Hard, no slip, w. col. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.**Bibliography:** unpublished**11. *Aco* type beaker (CMS, inv. no. 25919).****Dimensions:** r. d. 7 cm; w. t. 0.2 - 0.25 cm; h. 3.4 cm**Description:** Fragment of the rim and walls of an *Aco* beaker with relief decorations. There is a relief horizontal rib between the upper part and the decorated part of the body. Hard, high-quality slip, matte, w. col. 2.5 YR 5/8 red; c. col. 10 R 4/8 red.**Bibliography:** unpublished**12. *Aco* type beaker (CMS, inv. no. 25923) (Fig. 9: 3)****Dimensions:** b. d. 7.5 cm; w. t. 0.3 cm; h. 2.8 cm**Description:** Fragment of an *Aco* type beaker with relief decorations. Hard, no slip, w. col. 2.5 YR 6/8 light red.**Bibliography:** Baćani *et al.* 2012, 129, cat. no. 105.**13. *Aco* type beaker (CMS, inv. no. 25622) (Fig. 9: 4)****Dimensions:** w. t. 0.2 cm; w. 2.4 cm; h. 2.7 cm**Description:** Wall fragment of an *Aco* type beaker with architectural decorations. Hard, no slip (Fig. 16: 4), w. col. 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow.**Bibliography:** Baćani *et al.* 2012, 128, cat. no. 104.

**14. Čaša (GMS, inv. br. 29167) (Sl. 9: 5)**

**Dimenzije:** dd. 7 cm; v. 5,5 cm

**Opis:** Dno i stjenka cilindrične čaše s oštrim prijelomom. Na dnu stajaći prsten. Tvrda, bez premaza, bs. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno

**15. Čaša tipa Aco (GMS, inv. br. 25626) (Sl. 9: 6)**

**Dimenzije:** dt. 7 cm; ds. 0,2 cm; š. 4,9 cm; v. 4,9 cm

**Opis:** Ulomak čaše tipa Aco s reljefnim ukrasom i premazom. Tvrda, premaz kvalitetan, mat. bs. 2.5 YR 6/6 light red; bp. 2.5 YR 4/8 red.

**Literatura:** Bačani *et al.* 2011, 129, kat. br. 106

**16. Čaša tipa Aco (GMS, inv. br. 25621) (Sl. 9: 7)**

**Dimenzije:** dt. 8 cm; ds. 0,15 cm; š. 5,2 cm; v. 5,2 cm

**Opis:** Ulomak čaše tipa Aco s reljefnim ukrasom kiše zarez (Kommaregen). Tvrda, bez premaza, bs. 5 YR 6/8 reddish yellow.

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno

**17. Zdjelica (GMS, inv. br. 29164) (Sl. 10: 1)**

**Dimenzije:** dr. 9,8 cm; ds. 0,2 - 0,3 cm; v. 5,1 cm.

**Opis:** Ulomci ruba i trbuha poluloptaste zdjelice. S vanjske strane tragovi gorenja. Tvrda, bez premaza, bs. 7.5YR 6/3 light brown.

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno

**18. Zdjelica (GMS, inv. br. 29165) (Sl. 10: 2)**

**Dimenzije:** dr. 8 cm, ds. 0,2 - 0,25 cm, v. 7,25 cm

**Opis:** Ulomci ruba i trbuha poluloptaste zdjelice. Tvrda, bez premaza, bs. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow;

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno

**19. Čaša (GMS, inv. br. 22914) (Sl. 10: 3)**

**Dimenzije:** dr. 9,3 cm; dt. 10,8 cm; dd. 6,1 cm

**Opis:** Trbušasta čaša sa srpastim rubom, restaurirana. Trbu od ramena ukrašen neprekinutim poprečnim reljefnim trakama. Cijela vanjska stjenka dno imaju tragove gorenja. Tvrda, bez premaza, bs. 2.5YR 5/6 red.

**Literatura:** Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 133, kat. br. 148

**14. Glass (CMS. inv. no. 29167) (Fig. 9: 5)**

**Dimensions:** b. d. 7 cm; h. 5.5 cm

**Description:** Base and walls of a cylindrical glass with a sharp transition on the body. The base has a ring. Hard, no slip, w. col. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**15. Aco glass (CMS. inv. no. 25626) (Fig. 9: 6)**

**Dimensions:** b. d. 7 cm; w. t. 0.2 cm; w. 4.9 cm; h. 4.9 cm

**Description:** Fragment of an Aco type beaker with relief decorations and slip. Hard, with high-quality slip, matte, w. col. 2.5 YR 6/6 light red; c. col. 2.5 YR 4/8 red.

**Bibliography:** Bačani *et al.* 2011, 129, cat. no. 106

**16. Aco glass (CMS. inv. no. 25621) (Fig. 9: 7)**

**Dimensions:** b. d. 8 cm; w. t. 0.15 cm; w. 5.2 cm; h. 5.2 cm

**Description:** Fragment of an Aco type beaker with slanted relief decorations (Kommaregen). Hard, no slip, w. col. 5 YR 6/8 reddish yellow.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**17. Small bowl (CMS. inv. no. 29164) (Fig. 10: 1)**

**Dimensions:** r. d. 9.8 cm; w. t. 0.2-0.3 cm; h. 5.1 cm.

**Description:** Fragments of the rim and body of a small semi-spherical bowl. Hard, no slip, w. col. 7.5YR 6/3 light brown.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**18. Small bowl (CMS. inv. no. 29165) (Fig. 10: 2)**

**Dimensions:** r. d. 8 cm. w. t. 0.2 - 0.25 cm. h. 7.25 cm

**Description:** Fragments of the rim and body of a small semi-spherical bowl. Hard, no slip, w. col. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

**Bibliography:** unpublished

**19. Glass (CMS. inv. no. 22914) (Fig. 10: 3)**

**Dimensions:** r. d. 9.3 cm; b. d. 10.8 cm; b. d. 6.1 cm

**Description:** A rounded glass with a sickle-like rim, reconstructed. The body is decorated with continuous transverse plastic ribbons. The entire outside walls and the base display traces of burning. Hard, no slip, w. col. 2.5YR 5/6 rel.

**Bibliography:** Škrgulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 133, cat. no. 148

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# DVOJE IZNIMNE KONJSKE ŽVALE DAČKOG TIPA IZ RIJEKE KUPE KOD SISKA

## TWO EXCEPTIONAL HORSE BITS OF DACIAN TYPE FROM THE RIVER KUPA AT SISAK

Dragan Božič

*Dvoje iznimne konjske žvale dačkog tipa dio su fundusa Gradskog muzeja Sisak. Jedan je primjerak sigurno pronađen u rijeci Kupi, a velika je vjerojatnost da i drugi predmet potječe iz istog konteksta. Obje žvale imaju usni dio izrađen od željeza, dok su ostali konstruktivni elementi izrađeni od bakrene slitine. Na osnovu morfoloških karakteristika predmeti nedvojbeno pripadaju dačkom tipu žvala. Naime, na oba primjerka karakteristični usni dio četvrtastog presjeka je prilično debeo, a obrazni elementi u obliku šipke na prvim žvalama imaju po dvije pravokutne petlje u središnjem dijelu te proširene krajeve. Na drugim žvalama obrazni elementi izrađeni su u obliku kotača s tri trna s unutrašnje strane. Najraniji primjerci ovih žvala, datirani u stupanj LT D1, izrađivani su od željeza. Većina primjeraka potječe s prostora današnje Rumunjske s dva poznata nalazišta izvan navedenog prostora – Mala Kopanja u Ukrajini i Židovar u srpskom dijelu Banata. Prvi primjerak iz Siska predstavlja poseban oblik u okviru varijante Magdalensberg dačkih žvala, a mogao je biti proizveden u augustovskom razdoblju. Druge žvale predstavljaju novu varijantu unutar dačkih žvala, nazvanu varijanta Sisak, a vjerojatno su korištene u ranocarskom razdoblju. Unutar hrvatskog prostora poznata su još dva primjerka željeznih dačkih žvala. Pripadaju nalazu cjelovitog konjskog kostura, a pronađene su s ne manje od 27 rijetkih okova jarma izrađenih od bakrene slitine. Ovaj nalaz potječe iz razdoblja prije 1904. godine iz okolice Orešca, mjesta pokraj Virovitice u dolini rijeke Drave, a potječe iz stupnja LT D2.*

*Two exceptional Dacian horse bits are exhibited in the City Museum of Sisak. The second one was found in the bed of the River Kupa as most likely was the first one. Both of them have an iron mouthpiece, but all the other components are made of copper alloy. Because of the typical mouthpieces, which are rather thick and have a square cross-section, and because of the bar-shaped cheek-pieces with two rectangular loops in the middle and enlarged ends (the first bit), and the wheel-shaped cheek-pieces with three spikes on the inner side (the second bit) they undoubtedly belong to Dacian bits. The earliest bits of this type are made of iron. They date to LT D1 and are known mostly from Romania, and outside it at Mala Kopanja in the Ukraine and at Židovar in the Serbian part of Banat. The first of the two bits from Sisak presents a special form in the class of the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits. It might have been produced in the Augustan period. The second bit belongs to a new variant of Dacian bits, called “the Sisak variant”, and probably dates to the Early Imperial period. Two other Dacian bits, both of iron, are known in the territory of Croatia. They were found with a complete horse skeleton and 27 rare copper alloy yoke ornaments sometime before 1904 in the vicinity of Orešac near Virovitica in the Drava Valley and can be dated to LT D2.*

**Ključne riječi:**

Sisak, rano carsko razdoblje, nalazi iz vode, dačke žvale, Orešac, kasni laten, konjski grobovi, konjska oprema

**Key words:**

Sisak, Early Imperial period, waterlogged finds, Dacian bits, Orešac, Late La Tène period, horse graves, horse gear

Dvije, vrlo dobro sačuvane konjske žvale čuvaju se u Gradskom muzeju Sisak. Vrijeme akvizicije, kao i okolnosti nalaza prvog primjerka (inv. br. 20223) su nepoznate. Druge žvale (inv. br. 290), koje su u muzej pristigle 1962. godine, potječu iz korita rijeke Kupe u Sisku. S obzirom na to da oba predmeta imaju patinu tipičnu za tzv. vodene nalaze i prvi predmet, kojemu nedostaju podatci o mjestu nalaza, zasigurno potječe iz vodenog konteksta.

Two very well preserved horse bits are exhibited in the City Museum of Sisak (Gradski muzej Sisak). The date of acquisition and the find circumstances of the first (Inv. No. 20223) are unknown. The second (Inv. No. 290), which was accessed in 1962, came from the riverbed of the River Kupa at Sisak. Because both pieces have a patina typical of waterlogged objects, the first one is no doubt also from a wet environment.

Prve žvale (Sl. 1) sastoje se od željeznog dvodijelnog usnog dijela (dužina 14.1 cm, debljina 0.8 – 1 cm), dvaju obraznih elemenata od bakrene slitine i šest okova za remenje od bakrene slitine.<sup>1</sup> Svaki segment usnog dijela ima ravno tijelo četvrtastog presjeka te okrugle petlje na krajevima. Obrazni elementi imaju uski središnji dio s dvije velike pravokutne petlje, od kojih je svaka ukrašena dvjema grupama poprečnih ureza, te proširene deltoidne krajeve niskog trokutastog presjeka. Završetci su izrađeni od prstenova iznad kojih se nalaze konična zadebljanja. Svaki od šest okova za remenje izvorno je imao dvije zakovice šuplje konične glave, dok pri postojećem stanju jedna zakovica nedostaje. Četiri okova za remenje umetnuta u pravokutne petlje obraznih elemenata završavaju kvadratnom pločicom i imaju kratke kose ureze na vanjskom kraju, dok su dva pričvršćena uz usni dio duža i završavaju kružnom petljom.

Druge žvale (Sl. 2) imaju željezni usni dio sličan onome kod prvih žvala (dužina 17.7 cm, debljina 0.9 – 1.1 cm) i osam elemenata izrađenih od bakrene slitine. Za razliku od šipki prisutnih na prvim žvalama, druge žvale imaju dva obrazna elementa u obliku kotača, dva trolisna razvodnika izrađena tehnikom na proboj (Sl. 2: 3) i četiri trapezoidna okova za remenje s okruglom petljom na kraju (dužina 5.8 – 6.3 cm). Na rubu unutrašnje, neukrašene strane svaki kotač ima tri šiljka međusobno postavljena pod kutom od 120°. Na rubu vanjske strane nalaze se dva okrugla žlijeba ukrašena utisnutim S-motivima (Sl. 2: 2). Unutar oba kotača nalazi se središnji prsten s četiri kratke žbice koje proizlaze iz središta četiri trapezoidna okvira. Glavica jedne zakovice na okovima za remenje je polukuglasta i šuplja, a petlje na završecima ovih okova su ukrašene poprečno urezanim linijama i motivom u obliku slova V (Sl. 2: 4).

Oba predmeta mogu se pripisati dačkom tipu konjskih žvala pa je stoga potrebno predstaviti kratku povijest istraživanja ovog specifičnog tipa.

### Dačke žvale

Prvu kratku analizu dačkih žvala objavili su 1979. godine Ioan Glodariu i Eugen Iaroslavschi u svom radu o upotrebi željeza kod Dačana.<sup>2</sup> Svom tipu III pripisali su jedne potpuno sačuvane žvale i nekoliko zasebnih obraznih elemenata. Svi obrazni elementi u sredini imaju dvije, pretežno pravokutne petlje. Dva primjerka su u obliku šipke. Ostali su uski u sredini te imaju proširene plosnate krajeve u obliku lepeze, latice ili trokuta. Svi primjerci pronađeni su u dačkim naseljima Costești i Grădiștea Muncelului u Transilvaniji te Răcătău u dolini rijeke Siret u Moldaviji. Datirani su u 1. stoljeće pr. Kr. i 1. stoljeće po Kr.

Dvije godine kasnije u Njemačkoj je objavljen rad Vlada Zirra o latenskim žvalama iz Rumunjske. Žvale dačkog tipa nazvao je helenističko-rimskim žvalama II,<sup>3</sup> distribuiranih na cijelom području predrimске Dakije, te ih je datirao u 1. stoljeće pr. Kr. s mogućnošću produžetka u 1. stoljeće po Kr. Prema njegovom mišljenju plosnati krajevi obraznih elemenata su lepezastog oblika, no to

Bit No. 1 (Fig. 1) consists of an iron snaffle-type mouthpiece (14.1 cm long and 0.8-1 cm thick), two copper alloy cheek-pieces (11.7 and 11.6 cm long) and six copper alloy strap-loops.<sup>3</sup> Each part of the mouthpiece has a straight body with a square cross-section and round loops at the ends. The cheek-pieces have a narrow middle part with two large rectangular loops, each decorated with two groups of transversal incisions, and enlarged deltoid ends with a low triangular cross-section. The terminals are made of a collar surmounted by a conical knob. Each of the six strap-loops originally had two rivets with a hollow conical head. One rivet is now missing. The four strap-loops that are inserted in the rectangular loops of the cheek-pieces (5.1–5.5 cm long) end in a square plate and have short oblique incisions on the outer end, while the two that are attached to the mouthpiece (7.1 cm long) are longer and end in a round loop.

Bit No. 2 (Fig. 2) has a similar iron mouthpiece to the first (17.7 cm long, 0.9-1.1 cm thick) and eight copper alloy elements. It has two wheel-shaped cheek-pieces (diameter 6.1 cm) rather than the bars seen on Bit No. 1, two trefoil openwork junction elements (Fig. 2: 3) and four trapezoid strap-loops with a round loop at the end (5.8-6.3 cm long). On the circumference of the internal undecorated side each wheel has three spikes arranged at an angle of 120°, and on the circumference of the external side two round grooves decorated with punched S-shaped motifs (Fig. 2: 2). Inside each is a central ring with four short spokes that rise from the centre of four trapezoid frames. The head of one rivet on the strap-loops is semi-globular and hollow. Their round end loops are decorated with transverse incisions and a V-shaped motif (Fig. 2: 4).

Both bits can be assigned to the Dacian type of horse bits. It is therefore necessary to present here a short history of research of this specific type.

### Dacian bits

Dacian bits were first shortly analysed in 1979 in the study of Ioan Glodariu and Eugen Iaroslavschi on the use of iron by the Dacians.<sup>2</sup> They assigned to their type III one complete bit and several single cheek-pieces. The cheek-pieces all have in the middle two mostly rectangular loops. Two of them are rod-shaped. The others are narrow in the middle and have flat enlarged ends in the form of a fan, petal or triangle. All the specimens were found in Dacian settlements of Costești and Grădiștea Muncelului in Transylvania and of Răcătău in the Siret Valley in Moldavia. They were dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Two years later a paper by Vlad Zirra was published in Germany on the La Tène period bits from Romania. He named this type Hellenistic-Roman bits II,<sup>3</sup> distributed in the whole territory of pre-Roman Dacia, and dated it to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and possibly also to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In his opinion the flat ends of the cheek-pieces are fan-shaped (*fächerförmig*), but this is not always the case

1 Tomaš Barišić 2015.

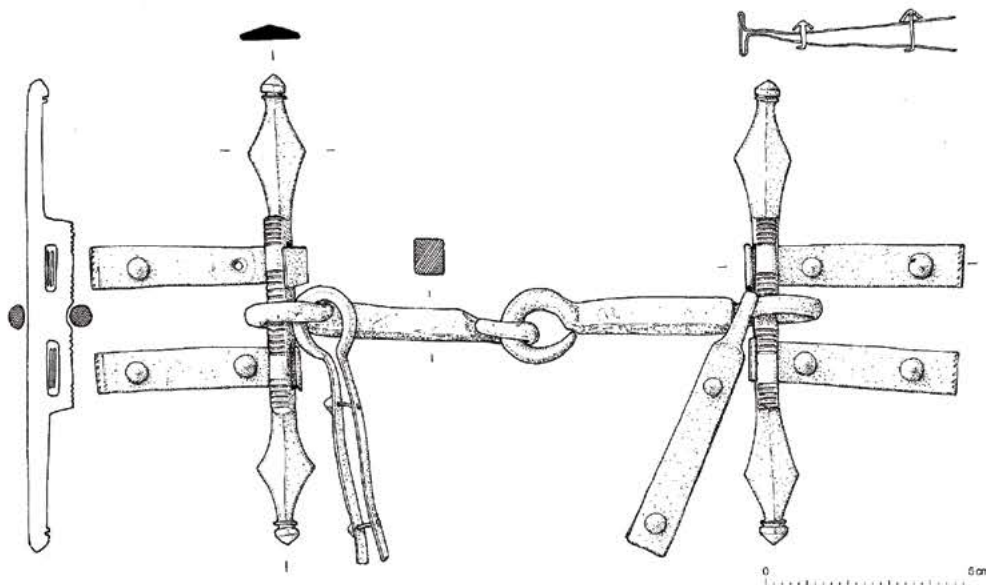
2 Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 125, Tipul III, Sl. 73: 17, 22-24, 29-31.

3 Zirra 1981, Sl. 1.

1 Tomaš Barišić 2015.

2 Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 125, Tipul III, Fig. 73: 17, 22-24, 29-31.

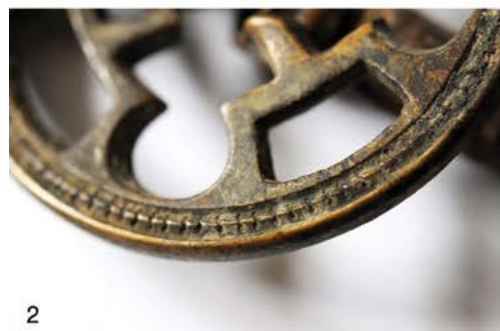
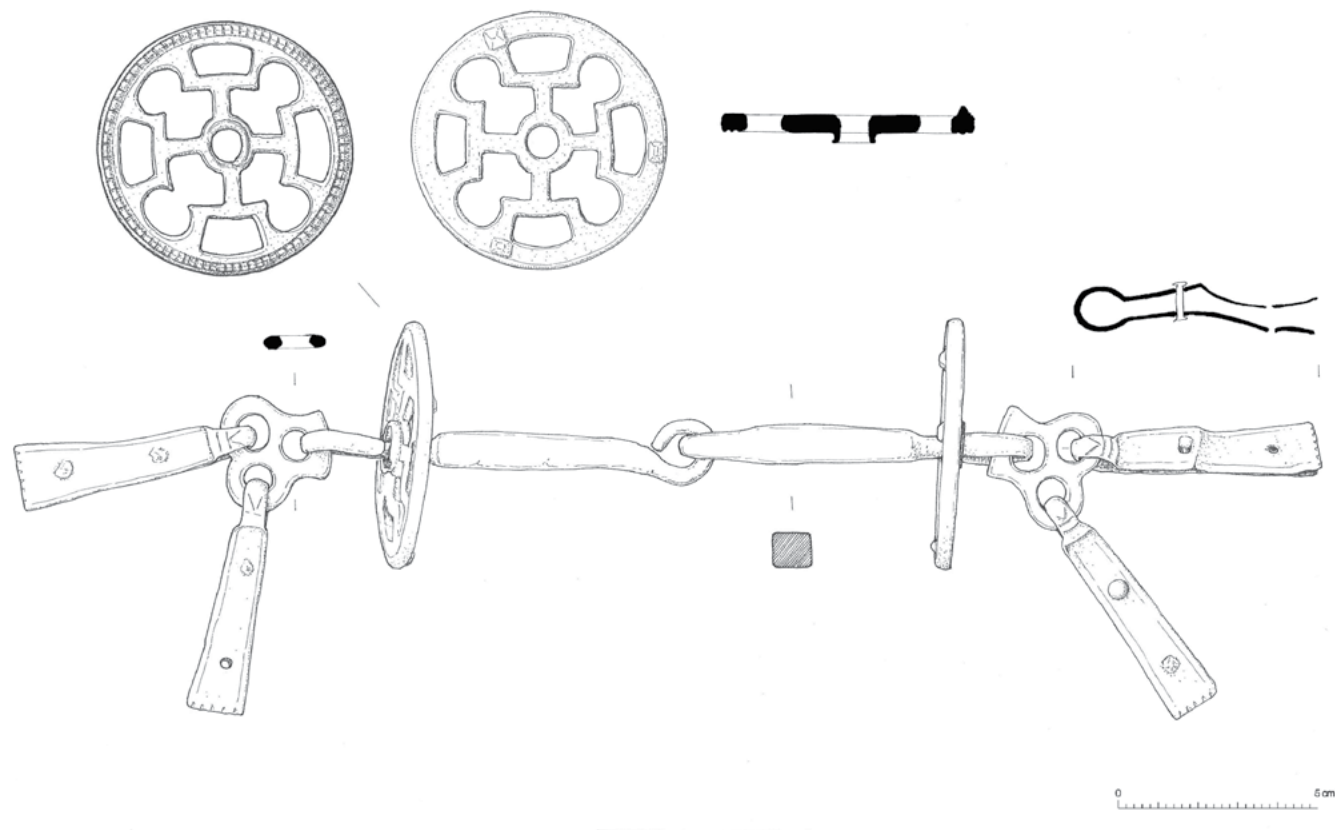
3 Zirra 1981, Fig. 1.



**Sl. 1.**  
Prve dačke žvale iz Siska, vrlo vjerojatno pronađene u koritu rijeke Kupe  
(Gradski muzej Sisak, inv. br. 20223; crtež: M. Galić, snimila: B. Suntešić)

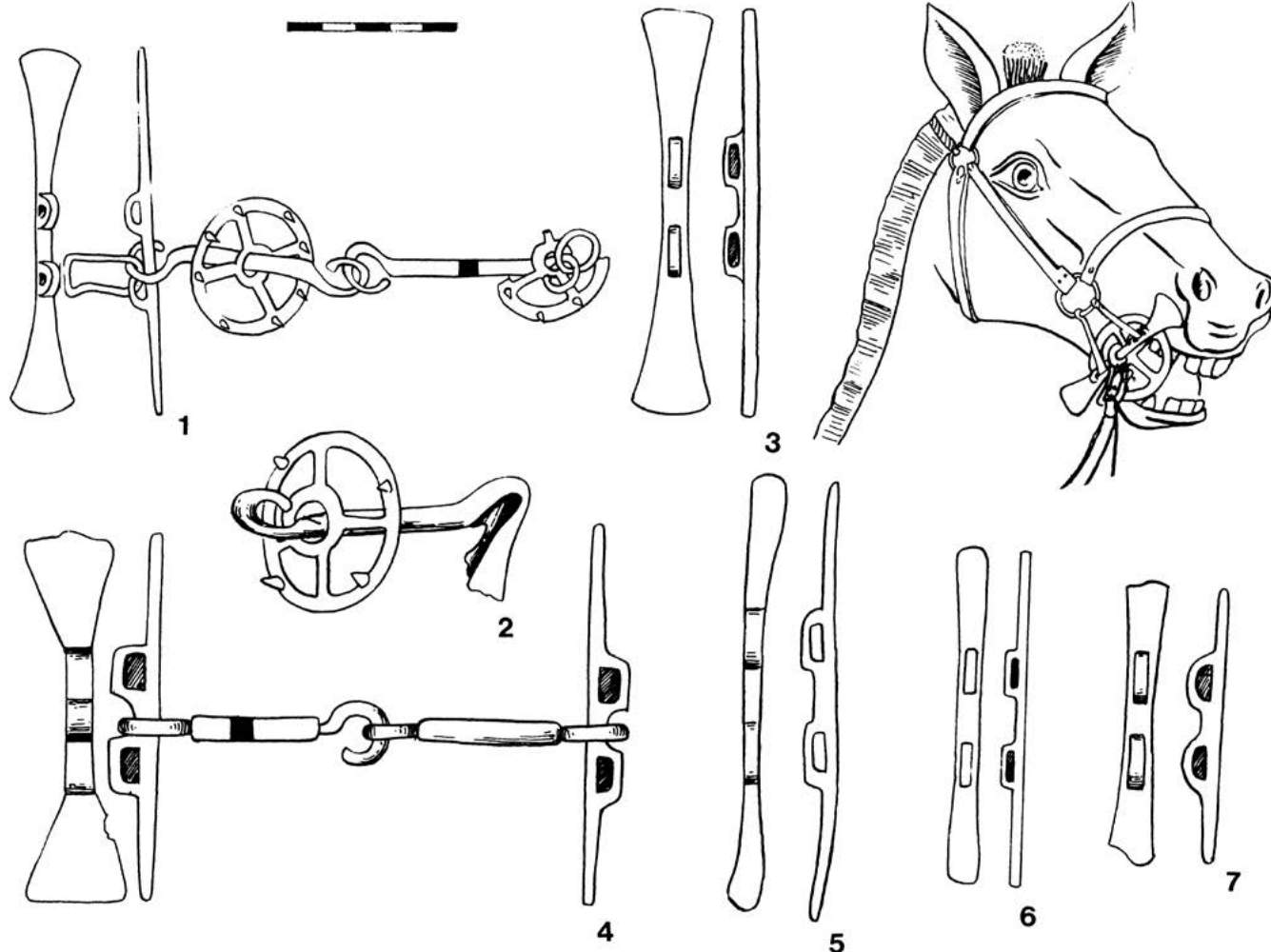
**FIG. 1.**  
Dacian bit No. 1 from Sisak, found very probably in the bed of the River Kupa  
(City Museum Sisak, Inv. No. 20223; drawing: M. Galić, photo: B. Suntešić)





SL. 2.  
Druge dačke žvale iz Siska pronađene u koritu rijeke Kupe  
(Gradski muzej Sisak, inv. br. 290; crtež: M. Galić; snimila: B. Suntešić)

FIG. 2.  
Dacian bit No. 2 from the bed of the River Kupa in Sisak  
(City Museum Sisak, Inv. No. 290; drawing: M. Galić; photo: B. Suntešić)



Sl. 3.

Željezne dačke žvale iz Rumunjske s obraznim elementima koji imaju po dvije pravokutne ili polukružne petlje u središnjem dijelu te plosnate, proširene krajeve (Zirra 1981, 167, Sl. 8)

FIG. 3.

Iron Dacian bits with cheek-pieces, which have two rectangular or semicircular loops in the middle and flat enlarged ends, from Romania (Zirra 1981, 167, Fig. 8)

nije uvijek slučaj (Sl. 3).<sup>4</sup> Prvi je zamijetio da je tijelo svakog segmenta usnog dijela kvadratnog presjeka, dok su petlje na krajevima okruglog presjeka. Prethodno poznatim nalazištima ovog tipa žvala dodao je četiri nova lokaliteta: dačku utvrdu Piatra Craivii u blizini doline rijeke Mureș u Transilvaniji, dačko naselje blizu kraja Bîzdîna u dolini rijeke Jiu u Olteniji te Popeștia i Radovanu u Munteniji, u blizini Dunava.<sup>5</sup> Posljednja dva lokaliteta u svom radu navodi kao naselja. Dvoje žvale iz Popești i Radovana zapravo su pronađene u tumulima, dok je u naselju Nucet blizu Popeștia pronađen samo jedan fragment žvala. Zirra također spominje da su žvale iz Muntenije na svakom dijelu usnog dijela na prijelazu tijela u vanjsku petlju imale kotač promjera 4 - 5 cm s četiri žbice i više-manje velikim brojem šiljaka na obodu.

Poslije Zirre dačkim se žvalama temeljito bavio njemački arheolog Wolfgang M. Werner, što je rezultiralo prvo s tri članka,<sup>6</sup> a zatim i objavom u svesku XVI/4 izdanja *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, posvećenom željeznodobnim žvalama s područja donjeg

(Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> He was the first to observe that the body of each part of the mouthpiece is square in cross-section, while their end loops are round in cross-section. He added to the previously known sites with such bits four new, a Dacian fortress of Piatra Craivii near the Mureș Valley in Transylvania, a Dacian settlement near Bîzdîna in the Jiu Valley in Oltenia as well as Popești and Radovana in Muntenia not far from the River Danube.<sup>5</sup> He stated that the last two sites were settlements. The two bits from Popești and Radovana were in reality found in tumulus graves; in the Nucet settlement near Popești was found only one fragment of a bit. Zirra also mentioned that the bits from Muntenia had on each part of the mouthpiece at the transition from the body to the outer end loop a wheel of 4 - 5 cm in diameter with four spokes and a more or less high number of spikes on the circumference.

After Zirra the German archaeologist Wolfgang M. Werner dealt exhaustively with Dacian bits, first in three papers<sup>6</sup> and then in the volume XVI/4 of the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (Prehistoric

4 Zirra 1981, 131-132, 160, Sl. 8: 1-7.

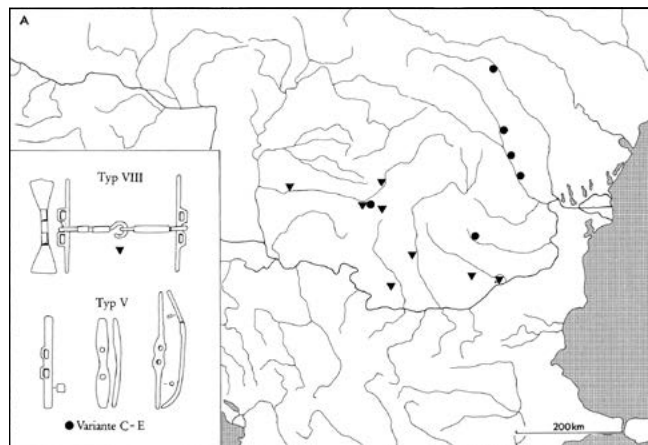
5 Zirra 1981, 158, Fundortliste, Sl. 1: crni viseći trokuti.

6 Werner 1983; Werner 1984; Werner 1985, 477, Sl. 6, Karta 8: crni viseći trokuti.

4 Zirra 1981, 131-132, 160, Fig. 8: 1-7.

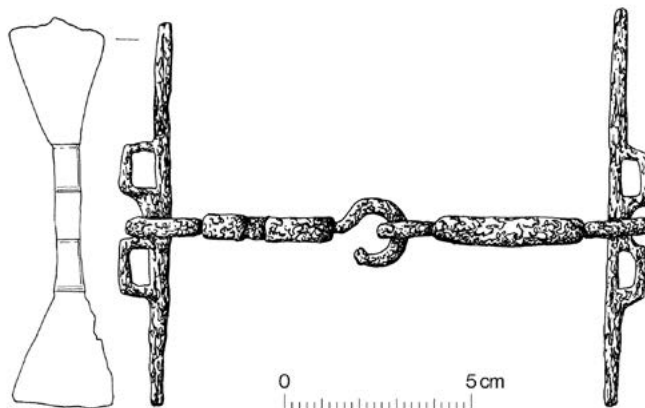
5 Zirra 1981, 158, Fundortliste, Fig. 1: black hanging triangles.

6 Werner 1983; Werner 1984; Werner 1985, 477, Fig. 6, Map 8: black hanging triangles.



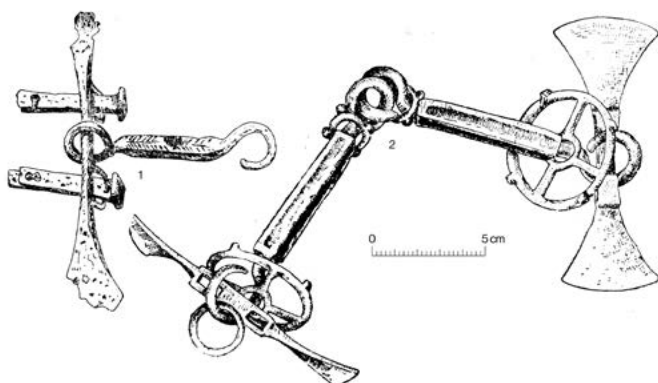
SL. 4.  
Prostorna rasprostranjenost dačkih žvala tipa VIII prema Werneru (Werner 1988, T. 70: A)

FIG. 4.  
Distribution of Dacian bits of Werner's type VIII (Werner 1988, Pl. 70: A)



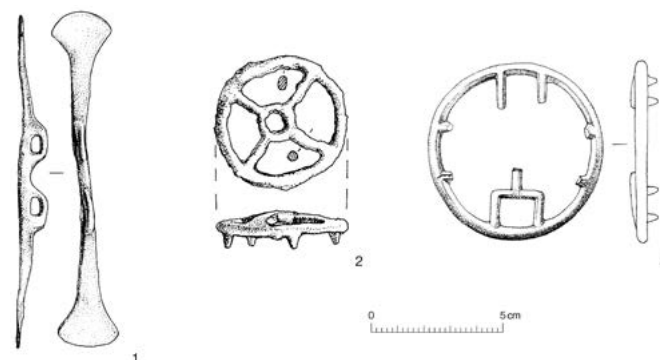
SL. 5.  
Željezne dačke žvale iz naselja Dealul Grădiștii kod Grădiștea Muncelului (Werner 1988, T. 23: 167)

FIG. 5.  
Iron Dacian bit from the settlement Dealul Grădiștii near Grădiștea Muncelului (Werner 1988, Pl. 23: 167)



SL. 6.  
Željezne dačke žvale iz dačkih utvrda Cățanaș kod Tilișce (1 - Lupu 1989, 148, T. 24: 11) i Dealul Cetății kod Căpîlne (2 - Glodariu, Moga 1989, 206, Sl. 91)

FIG. 6.  
Iron Dacian bits from the Dacian fortresses Cățanaș near Tilișca (1 - Lupu 1989, 148, Pl. 24: 11) and Dealul Cetății near Căpîlna (2 - Glodariu, Moga 1989, 206, Fig. 91)



SL. 7.  
Željezni obrazni element (1), željezni kotač (2) i kotač od bakrene slitine (3) dačkih žvala iz dačke utvrde Gruii Dării kod Pietroase Mice (1, 2 - Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, Sl. 85: 5, Sl. 50: 6; 3 - Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, Sl. 59: 14)

FIG. 7.  
An iron cheek-piece (1), an iron wheel (2) and a copper alloy wheel (3) from Dacian bits from the Dacian fortress Gruii Dării near Pietroasa Mică (1, 2 - Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, Fig. 85: 5, Fig. 50: 6; 3 - Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, Fig. 59: 14)

i srednjeg Podunavlja. Werner je žvalama, koje su Glodariu i Iaroslavschi svrstali u tip III, dodao brojne nove primjerke, pri čemu je obrazne elemente u obliku šipke pripisao svojim varijantama C i D tipa V, prepoznatljivim po dvama petljama,<sup>7</sup> dok je obrazne elemente koji također imaju dvije petlje, no razlikuju se plosnatim krajevima, većinom lepezastog oblika, svrstao u tip VIII (*Knebel in Fächerform mit zwei Ösen* - Sl. 4).<sup>8</sup> U nastavku ćemo se baviti samo tipom VIII budući da je samo on važan za analizu žvala iz Siska. Werner je već 1983. godine ovaj tip nazvao dačkim žvalama (*dakische Trensen*).<sup>9</sup> Prema njegovom mišljenju nije jasno jesu li sve žvale posjedovale kotačiće sa šiljcima.<sup>10</sup> Poznata su

bronze finds) publication, dedicated to the Iron Age bits from the lower and middle Danube regions. Werner added numerous new specimens to the bits, which were assigned by Glodariu and Iaroslavschi to their type III, but he ascribed the rod-shaped cheek-pieces to his variants C and D of type V, characterized by two loops,<sup>7</sup> and the bits with cheek-pieces, which also have two loops but flat, mostly fan-shaped ends, to type VIII (*Knebel in Fächerform mit zwei Ösen* - Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> Here we shall only deal with type VIII, because only this one is important for the analysis of the bits from Sisak. Already in 1983 Werner gave these bits the name Dacian bits (*dakische Trensen*).<sup>9</sup> In his opinion it is not clear whether all the bits orig-

7 Werner 1988, 42-44.

8 Werner 1988, 48-50, br. 161-178, T. 23-24.

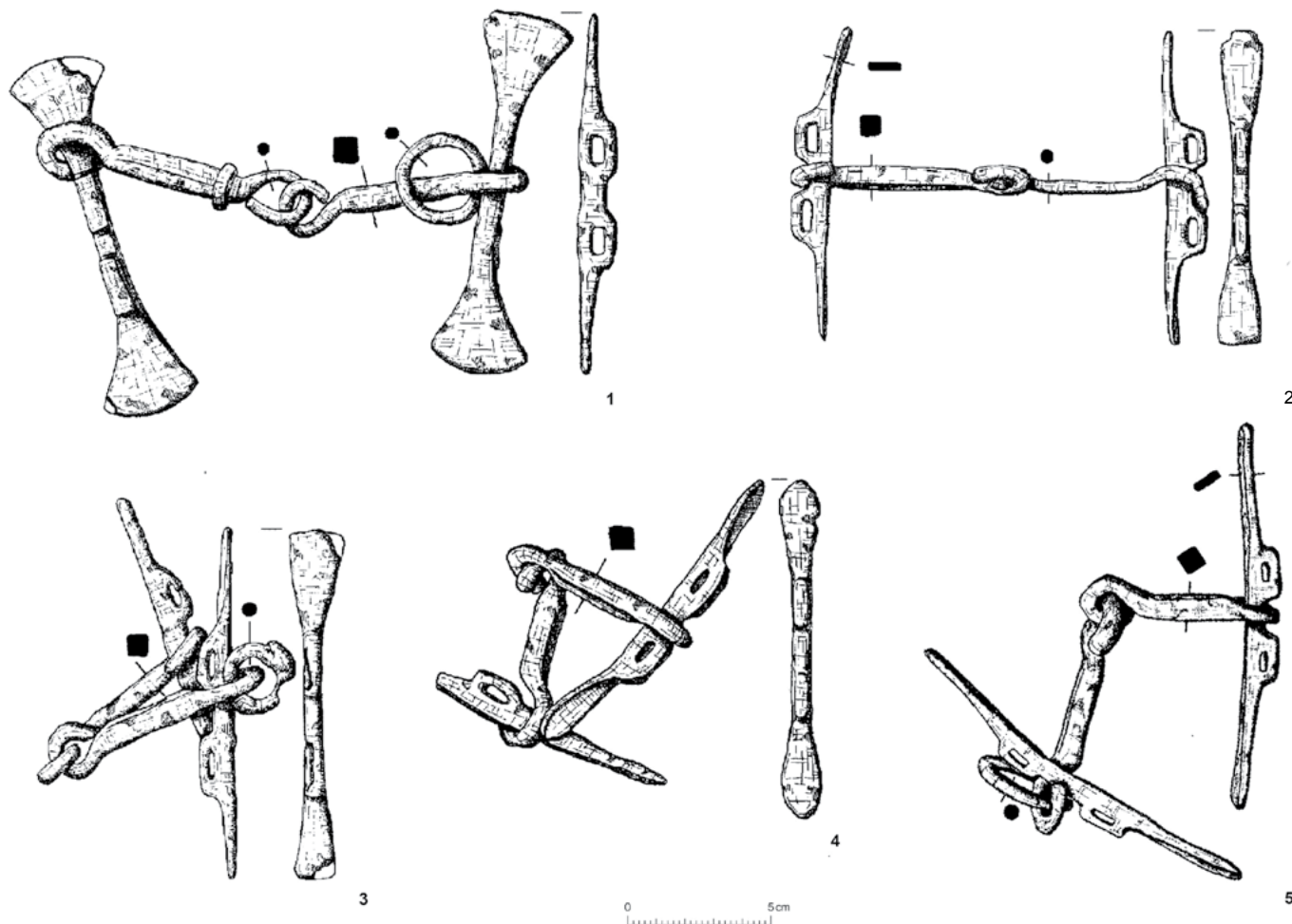
9 Werner 1983, 238, Sl. 17.

10 Werner 1988, 48.

7 Werner 1988, 42-44.

8 Werner 1988, 48-50, Nos. 161-178, Pls. 23-24.

9 Werner 1983, 238, Fig. 17.



Sl. 8. Cijele željezne dačke žvale iz svetišta Čellenicja I kod Male Kopanje (Kotigoroško 2015, Sl. 44: 3-5, 9, 13)

FIG. 8. Complete iron Dacian bits from the sanctuary Čellenicja I near Mala Kopanja (Kotigoroško 2015, Fig. 44: 3-5, 9, 13)

mu naime samo dva skoro potpuno sačuvana primjerka žvala od kojih jedan potječe iz groba Radovanu (Sl. 3: 1; Sl. 10), a drugi iz Grădiștee Muncelului (Sl. 3: 4; Sl. 5),<sup>11</sup> te stoga žvale nije moguće podijeliti na temelju prisustva, odnosno odsustva kotačića. Werner smatra da nemaju svi obrazni elementi krajeve lepezastog oblika, jer su oni ponekad veoma uski ili skoro trokutastog oblika. Žvale tipa VIII datira u veoma širok vremenski period, od kraja 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. do početka 2. stoljeća po Kr.<sup>12</sup>

Poslije 1988. godine su uslijedile objave više novih čitavih dačkih žvala tipa VIII prema Werneru ili njihovih dijelova. Među najvažnije od ovih nalaza ubrajamo u cijelosti očuvane žvale s dva kotačića iz Čăpilna (Sl. 6: 2),<sup>13</sup> fragmentirane žvale s dva okova za remenje, koji završavaju kvadratnom pločicom, u petljama sačuvanog obraznog elementa iz Tilișca koja je, kao i Čăpilna, dačka utvrda u južnoj Transilvaniji (Sl. 6: 1),<sup>14</sup> zatim dva kotačića sa šiljcima, je-

inally possessed small wheels with spikes,<sup>10</sup> as we only know two almost complete bits, one from the Radovanu grave (Fig. 3: 1; Fig. 10) and one from Grădișteea Muncelului (Fig. 3: 4; Fig. 5),<sup>11</sup> and so a division into bits with wheels and those without wheels is therefore not possible. He stated that not all cheek-pieces had fan-shaped ends; the ends are sometimes very narrow and sometimes almost triangular. He gave a wide date to type VIII bits, from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>12</sup>

After 1988 several new Dacian iron bits of type VIII in Werner's terminology, or their parts, were published. The most important among these are the complete bit with two wheels from Čăpilna (Fig. 6: 2)<sup>13</sup> and the fragmented bit with two strap-loops, which end in a square plate, in the loops of the preserved cheek-piece, from Tilișca (Fig. 6: 1),<sup>14</sup> both Dacian fortresses in southern Transylvania, and further two wheels with spikes, one of iron and one

11 Werner 1988, 48, T. 23: 167, T. 24: 178.

12 Werner 1988, 51, Zeitstellung.

13 Glodariu, Moga 1989, 103-104, Sl. 91.

14 Lupu 1989, 74, nap. 64, T. 24: 11; Medeleț 1995, 97, Sl. 2: 8.

10 Werner 1988, 48.

11 Werner 1988, 48, Pl. 23: 167, Pl. 24: 178.

12 Werner 1988, 51, Zeitstellung.

13 Glodariu, Moga 1989, 103-104, Fig. 91.

14 Lupu 1989, 74, note 64, Pl. 24: 11; Medeleț 1995, 97, Fig. 2: 8.

dan od željeza, a drugi od bakrene slitine, te dobro očuvani željezni obrazni element iz dačke utvrde kod Pietroase Mice u Munteniji (Sl. 7)<sup>35</sup> i naposljetku, pet skoro potpuno očuvanih žvala (Sl. 8), jedne fragmentirane žvale i pet zasebnih obraznih elemenata iz kulturnog središta Čellenicja I blizu Male Kopanje u gornjoj dolini rijeke Tise u zapadnoj Ukrajini.<sup>36</sup> Vjačeslav Kotigoroško je žvale iz Male Kopanje na osnovu Wernerovog tipa VIII podijelio na varijantu A s obraznim elementima proširenih krajeva, varijantu B s puno užim krajevima obraznih elemenata i varijantu C s koplja-sto oblikovanim krajevima obraznih elemenata.

### Grob iz Radovanua

Paljevinski ratnički grob otkriven je u tumulu na desnoj obali rijeke Argeş 1937. godine. Sadržavao je spaljene kosti, cijeli karičasti oklop, dva vrha koplja, kratki bodež, predmet X oblika, dačke žvale tipa VIII kojima nedostaju jedan obrazni element s lepezastim krajevima i dio jednog kotača s četiri žbice (Sl. 9-10). Crteže svih grobnih priloga, osim karičastog oklopa, objavio je 1976. godine Alexandru Vulpe u svom radu o tumulima u Popeşti jugozapadno od Bukurešta.<sup>37</sup> S druge strane, fotografije nalaza, koje mi je krajem studenog 2016. godine ljubazno poslao Cătălin Borangic iz Nacionalnog muzeja ujedinjenja (rum. *Muzeul Național al Unirii*) iz Albe Iulie, ukazuju na netočnost ili nepotpunost crteža. Umjesto osam kotači imaju samo četiri šiljka, a dva segmenta usnog dijela, četvrtastog presjeka, ukrašena su motivom riblje kosti (Sl. 10).

### Daticija dačkih žvala tipa VIII prema Werneru

Nedavno je Kotigoroško datirao ovaj tip žvala, definiran kao tip II, u cijelo 1. stoljeće pr. Kr., moguće čak i u kraj 2. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>38</sup> te u cijelo 1. stoljeće po Kr. Ova daticija, utemeljena na nikad potvrđenim daticijama iz prethodno navedene literature, snažno proturječi daticiji brojnih latenskih mačeva iz Male Kopanje koji, osim jednog primjerka, odgovaraju tipičnim oblicima LT D1 stupnja.<sup>39</sup> Iz ovog razloga široka daticija Kotigoroška nije pouzdana. Žvale tipa VIII pronađene u dugotrajnim dačkim naseljima ne mogu biti uzete u razmatranje kod datiranja.

Ipak, postoje dva ratnička groba koji potvrđuju predloženu daticiju u LT D1 stupanj. Grob s kacigom iz tumula IV iz Popeştia u Munteniji<sup>20</sup> Aurel Rustoiu datira u kraj 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. ili cijelo 1. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>21</sup> Prema našem mišljenju ovaj bi grob trebalo datirati u LT D1, s obzirom na to da sadrži dve pravokutne kopče konjske orme varijante Altimir (Sl. 11: 7, 10, 12)<sup>22</sup> čiju čvrstu daticiju u ovaj vremenski period potvrđuje prisutnost ovakvih kopči u opidumu Stradonice te u ratničkom grobu u Altimiru blizu Vrace u sjevero-

of copper alloy, and a well preserved iron cheek-piece from the Dacian fortress at Pietroasa Mică in Muntenia (Fig. 7),<sup>35</sup> and finally five almost complete bits (Fig. 8), one fragmented bit and five single cheek-pieces from the Čellenicja cult centre near Mala Kopanja in the Upper Tisza Valley in western Ukraine.<sup>36</sup> Vjačeslav Kotigoroško has divided the bits of Werner's type VIII from Mala Kopanja into variant A with cheek-pieces with enlarged ends, variant B with much narrower ends to the cheek-pieces and variant C with lanceolate ends to the cheek-pieces.

### The Radovanu grave

The cremation warrior grave was discovered in a tumulus on the right bank of the River Argeş in 1937. It contained cremated bones, a complete suit of chain-mail, two spearheads, a short dagger, an X-shaped object and a Dacian bit of type VIII, which is missing one cheek-piece and a part of one wheel with four spokes (Figs. 9-10). The drawings of the grave goods except for the chain-mail were published in 1976 by Alexandru Vulpe in his paper on the tumulus cemetery at Popeşti south-west of Bucharest.<sup>37</sup> But the photos of the finds, which were kindly sent to me at the end of November 2016 by Cătălin Borangic from the National Museum of Unification in Alba Iulia, demonstrate that the drawings are rather incorrect and deficient. The wheels have only four spikes and not eight and the bodies of the two parts of the mouthpiece with a square cross-section are decorated with a herring-bone pattern (Fig. 10).

### The dating of Dacian bits of Werner's type VIII

Most recently Kotigoroško has dated this type of bit, which was classified by him as type II, to the whole 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, possibly also to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the whole 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>38</sup> Such a dating, which follows the unproven dates proposed in the preceding literature, however, strongly contradicts the date of the numerous La Tène swords from Mala Kopanja, which with one exception represent typical forms of LT D1.<sup>39</sup> For this reason the broad dating of Kotigoroško is not at all reliable. The type VIII bits found in the long-lasting Dacian settlements cannot be used for dating.

But there are two warrior graves, which confirm a LT D1 date. The helmet grave from tumulus IV of Popeşti in Muntenia<sup>20</sup> was dated by Aurel Rustoiu to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC or the whole of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>21</sup> In our opinion this grave should be dated to LT D1, first because it contained two rectangular harness hooks of the Altimir variant (Fig. 11: 7, 10, 12),<sup>22</sup> which are well dated to this time span by the presence of such hooks in the Stra-

15 Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 34, Sl. 59: 14, Sl. 60: 13; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, Sl. 50: 6, Sl. 27: 1, Sl. 85: 5.

16 Kotigoroško 2015, 214, Sl. 44: 3-13.

17 Vulpe 1976, 208, Radovanu, Sl. 18. Usp. Sîrbu 2003, 144, Sl. 19.

18 Kotigoroško 2015, 214, type II, 163, Tab. 5.

19 Kotigoroško 2015, 203, Swords, Sl. 27-28; Božič 1981, 328, oblik 30, T. 3: 30; Božič 2008, 146, Tab. 5; Beograd 3a faza; Dizdar, Potrebeca 2014, 357-361, 369, Sl. 9.

20 Vulpe 1976, 201-203, Sl. 11-16.

21 Rustoiu 1996, 148.

22 Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2011, 164, Sl. 4: D, 201-202, br. 31-35.

15 Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 34, Fig. 59: 14, Fig. 60: 13; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, Fig. 50: 6, Fig. 27: 1, Fig. 85: 5.

16 Kotigoroško 2015, 214, Fig. 44: 3-13.

17 Vulpe 1976, 208, Radovanu, Fig. 18. Cf. Sîrbu 2003, 144, Fig. 19.

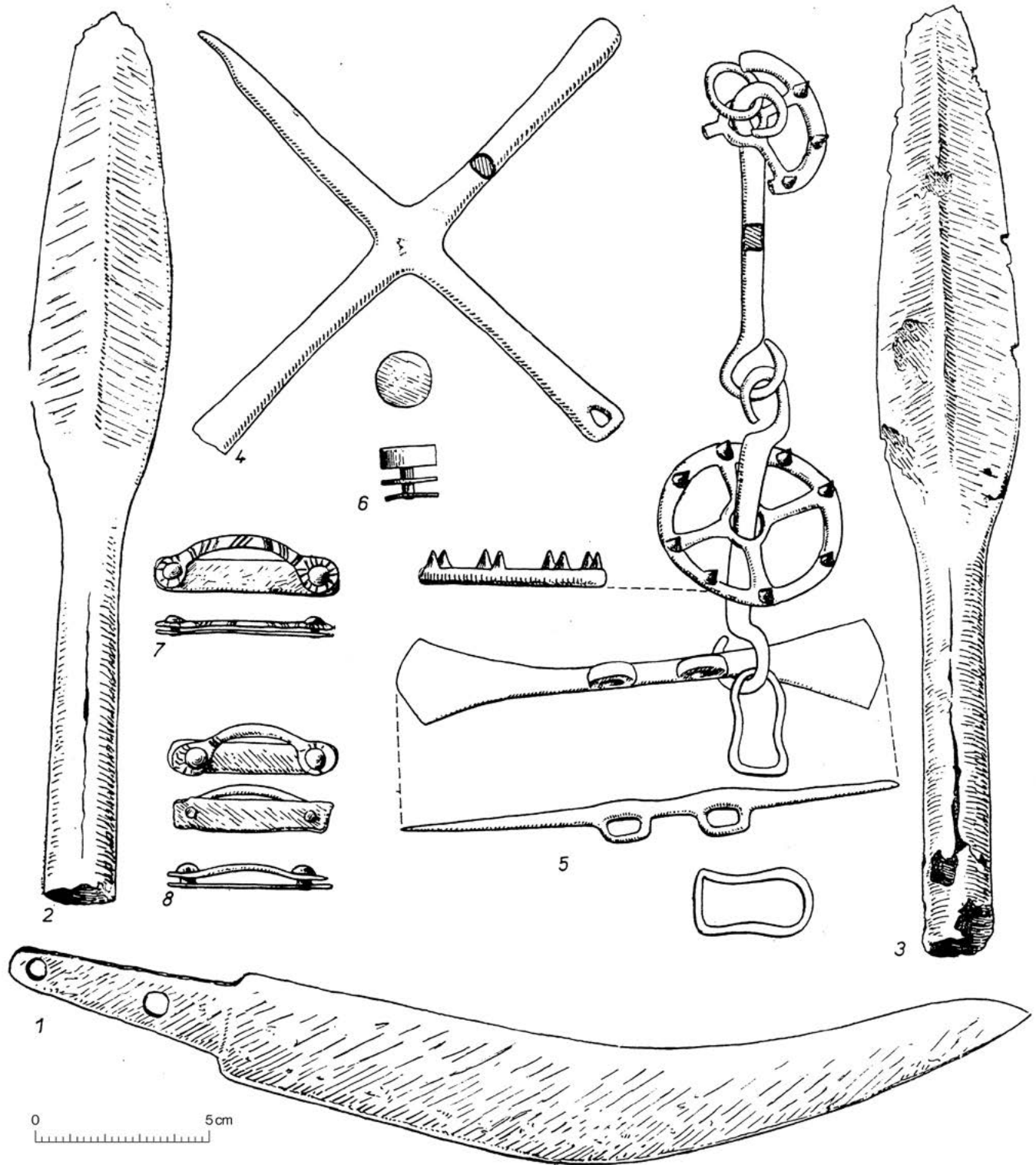
18 Kotigoroško 2015, 214, type II, 163, Tab. 5.

19 Kotigoroško 2015, 203, Swords, Figs. 27-28; Božič 1981, 328, form 30, Pl. 3: 30; Božič 2008, 146, Tab. 5; Beograd 3a phase; Dizdar, Potrebeca 2014, 357-361, 369, Fig. 9.

20 Vulpe 1976, 201-203, Figs. 11-16.

21 Rustoiu 1996, 148.

22 Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2011, 164, Fig. 4: D, 201-202, Nos. 31-35.



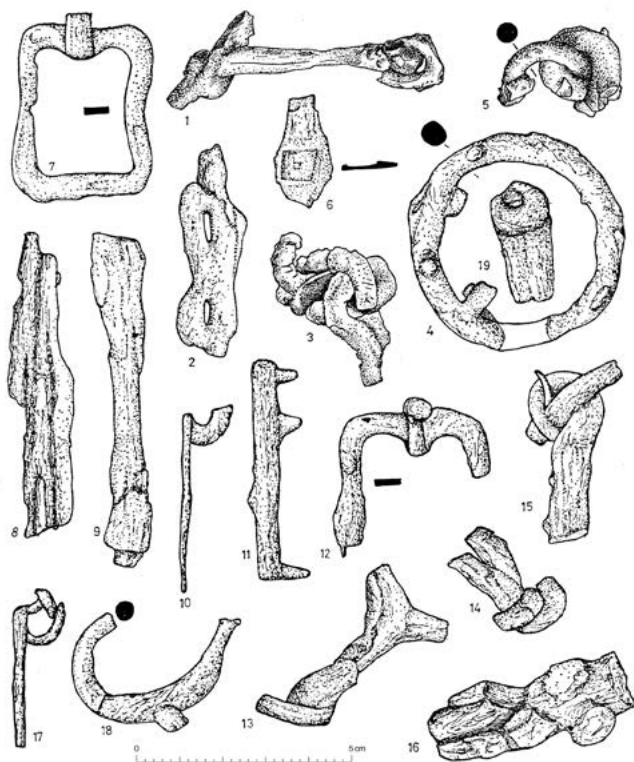
Sl. 9. Prilozi iz groba u tumulu iz Radovanua (Vulpe 1976, Sl. 18)

FIG. 9. Grave goods from the tumulus burial of Radovanu (Vulpe 1976, Fig. 18)



**Sl. 10.**  
Željezne dačke žvale iz groba u tumulu iz Radovanua  
(foto: R. Olteanu - [www.encyclopedia-dacica.ro](http://www.encyclopedia-dacica.ro))

**FIG. 10.**  
Iron Dacian bit from the tumulus burial of Radovanua  
(photo: R. Olteanu - [www.encyclopedia-dacica.ro](http://www.encyclopedia-dacica.ro))

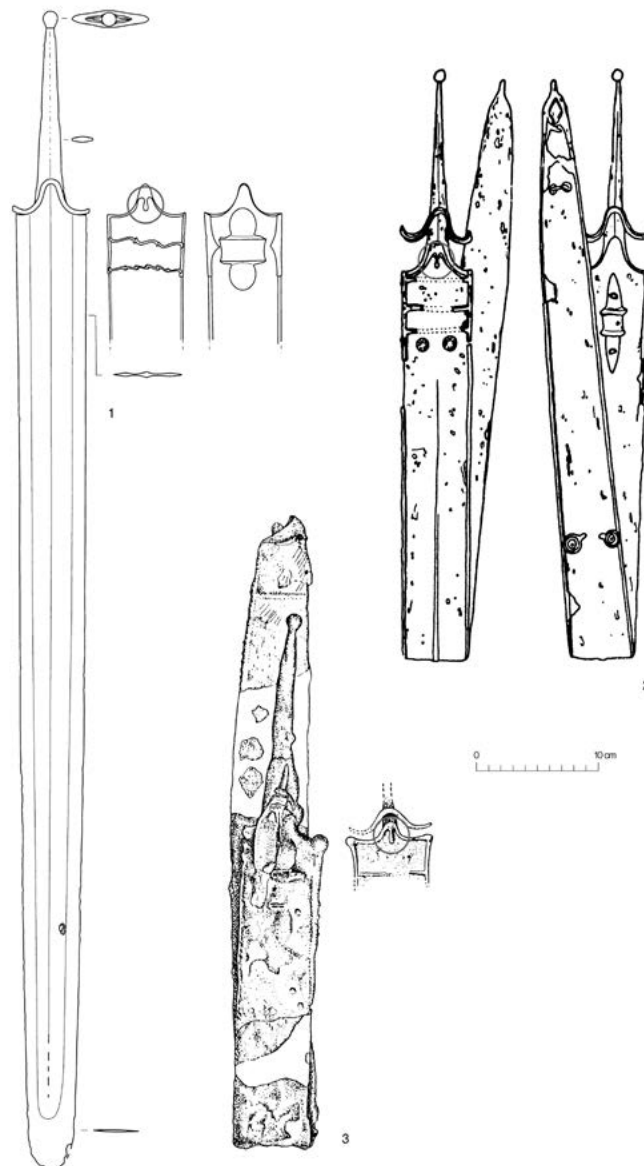


**Sl. 11.**  
Konjska oprema iz groba u tumulu 4 iz Popeštia (Vulpe 1976, Sl. 16)

**FIG. 11.**  
Horse gear from tumulus burial 4 of Popești (Vulpe 1976, Fig. 16)

**Sl. 12.**  
Mačevi u koricama iz Mörigena (1), iz groba 3/1983 iz Peska kod Vajuge (2) i iz groba u tumulu 4 u Popeštii (3) (1 - Lejars 2013, 352, Sl. 270: 1-2; 2 - Popović 1989-1990, 171, Sl. 4: 10; 3 - Vulpe 1976, Sl. 13)

**FIG. 12.**  
Swords in scabbards from Mörigen (1), from grave 3/1983 at Pesak near Vajuga (2) and from tumulus burial 4 of Popești (3) (1 - Lejars 2013, 352, Fig. 270: 1-2; 2 - Popović 1989-1990, 171, Fig. 4: 10; 3 - Vulpe 1976, Fig. 13)



zapadnoj Bugarskoj.<sup>23</sup> U grobu iz Altimira prisutna su dva predmeta koja se mogu datirati u LT D1 stupanj: žvale s podbradnikom tipa XVI prema Werneru<sup>24</sup> i zakrivljeni bodež tipa B prema Sîrbu i Borangicu.<sup>25</sup> Ovaj tip bodeža na području sjeverno od Dunava Borangic datira u preširoki vremenski period 2. i 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. ili čak u razdoblje od 3./2. stoljeća pr. Kr. do 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>26</sup> Primjerci pronađeni u grobovima iz Male Vrbice - Ajmane i Vajuge - Peska iz Đerdapa ukazuju pak na njegovu pripadnost LT D1 stupnju.<sup>27</sup> Marko Dizdar je 2013. godine ispravno zaključio da svi kasno-latenski grobovi s područja Skordiska datiraju u LT D1 stupanj.<sup>28</sup> Iz stupnja LT D2 poznata su isključivo naselja, bez ijednog groba!

Još jedan dokaz za dataciju groba s kacigom iz Popeštia u LT D1 stupanj su korice koje na vrhu prednje strane imaju motiv oblika kapljice (Sl. 12: 3).<sup>29</sup> Identičan motiv prisutan je na koricama mača iz Morigena u okolici Berna u Švicarskoj (Sl. 12: 1)<sup>30</sup> i na koricama mača iz groba 3/1983 iz Vajuge - Peska u Đerdapu (Sl. 12: 2),<sup>31</sup> pouzdano datiranim u LT D1 stupanj.

Drugi grob sa žvalama tipa VIII po Werneru je grob iz tumula istraženog u blizini Radovanua u Munteniji koji također sadrži bodež tipa B prema Sîrbu i Borangicu (Sl. 9: 1).<sup>32</sup> Spomenuti dokazi jasno ukazuju na dataciju dačkih žvala tipa VIII u LT D1 stupanj.

### Varijanta Magdalensberg dačkih žvala

Prve dačke žvale iz Siska, s karakterističnim željeznim usnim dijelom, a ostalim elementima izrađenim od bakrene slitine (Sl. 1), nedvojbeno pripadaju varijanti Magdalensberg dačkih žvala definiranoj od strane Heima Dolenz.<sup>33</sup> Jedne skoro u cijelosti očuvane žvale pronađene su 1960. godine u spaljenom sloju iznad poda (terrazzo) u podrumu taverne OR/23 na Magdalensbergu (Sl. 13).<sup>34</sup> Spomenuti sloj datiran je u doba vladavine cara Klaudija.<sup>35</sup> Martha Deimel je 1987. godine u svojoj knjizi o sitnim brončanim nalazima s Magdalensberga objavila dio žvala (Sl. 14: 1),<sup>36</sup> no bez ijedne poznate analogije. Heimo Dolenz je napravio rekonstrukciju žvala (Sl. 15) i ispravno ih definirao kao varijantu Magdalensberg dačkih žvala Wernerovog tipa VIII.<sup>37</sup> Prema njegovom mišljenju tip VIII je bio u upotrebi od kraja 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. do sredine 1. stoljeća po Kr. što je, kako je u članku već prethodno

donice oppidum and in a warrior grave from Altimir near Vraca in northwestern Bulgaria.<sup>23</sup> In the Altimir grave were found two objects, both datable to LT D1, a curb bit of Werner's type XVI following Werner,<sup>24</sup> and a curved dagger of Sîrbu and Borangic's type B.<sup>25</sup> This type of dagger was dated by Borangic north of the Danube too broadly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or even from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>26</sup> The specimens discovered in the graves from Mala Vrbica - Ajmana and Vajuga - Pesak in the Iron Gates area prove, however, that they date to LT D1.<sup>27</sup> As correctly stated by Marko Dizdar in 2013,<sup>28</sup> all Late La Tène graves from the territory of Scordisci belong to LT D1. From the following LT D2 we only find settlements here and not a single grave!

Another proof for the date of the helmet grave from Popești to LT D1 is the scabbard, which has at the top of the front side a drop-shaped motif (Fig. 12: 3).<sup>29</sup> Exactly the same motif appears on the scabbard of the sword, found at Morigen near Bern in Switzerland (Fig. 12: 1),<sup>30</sup> and on the scabbard from grave 3/1983 from Vajuga - Pesak in the Iron Gates (Fig. 12: 2),<sup>31</sup> both reliably dated to LT D1!

The second grave with a Werner type VIII bit is the grave from a tumulus, excavated near Radovanu in Muntenia, which also contained a curved dagger of Sîrbu and Borangic's type B (Fig. 9: 1).<sup>32</sup> This evidence clearly indicates a LT D1 dating for the iron Dacian bits of type VIII.

### The Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits

There is no doubt that the first Dacian bit from Sisak, which has a typical iron mouthpiece, while all the other parts of it were made of copper alloy (Fig. 1), can be assigned to the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian horse bits as defined by Heimo Dolenz.<sup>33</sup> One almost complete bit was found in 1960 in the burnt layer above terrazzo in the cellar of the tavern OR/23 on the Magdalensberg (Fig. 13).<sup>34</sup> This layer was dated to the Claudian period.<sup>35</sup> Some parts of the bit were already presented by Martha Deimel in her 1987 book on the bronze small finds from the Magdalensberg (Fig. 14: 1).<sup>36</sup> Deimel did not know any exact parallels. Dolenz, however, correctly classified it and also reconstructed it (Fig. 15). Dolenz named the bit from the Magdalensberg as the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits of Werner's type VIII.<sup>37</sup>

23 Nikolov 1965, 174-175, Sl. 15.

24 Usp. Werner 1988, 81-101; Stojčić 2003, 50-66.

25 Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 336.

26 Na primjer Borangic 2009, 37, br. 1, Dubova; 50, br. 24, Vânătorii Mici; 46, br. 18, Piatra Craivii.

27 Borangic 2009, 38, br. 2; 46, br. 18, T. 9: 1-2; Popović 1989-1990, 173, Sl. 3: 2-3.

28 Dizdar 2013, 136. Usp. Rustoiu 2005, 56, nap. 24; 58, nap. 36; 62, nap. 75, 78, 79; 66, nap. 110, 111; 70, nap. 152; 73, nap. 165; Sl. 14-15; Božić 2008, 146, Tab. 5; Drăgan 2012, 428, T. 1-3.

29 Vulpe 1976, 201, Sl. 13.

30 Lejars 2013, 351, Morigen, Sl. 270: 1-2.

31 Popović 1989-1990, 169, nap. 36, Sl. 4: 10 (s krivom datacijom u LT D2 stupanj).

32 Vulpe 1976, 208, Sl. 18: 1 (s netočnim crtežom); Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 336-337, Sl. 5: 3.

33 Dolenz 1998, 91-93, M232 i M233, T. 21, Sl. 23a; Božić 2016a.

34 Dolenz 1998, 121, Sl. 34d-e, h-j.

35 Dolenz 1998, 93.

36 Deimel 1987, 94, 324-326, br. 86/1, 86/3 i 86/9, T. 86: 1, 3, 9.

37 Dolenz 1998, 92.

23 Nikolov 1965, 174-175, Fig. 15.

24 Cf. Werner 1988, 81-101; Stojčić 2003, 50-66.

25 Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 336.

26 E. g. Borangic 2009, 37, No. 1, Dubova; 50, No. 24, Vânătorii Mici; 46, No. 18, Piatra Craivii.

27 Borangic 2009, 38, No. 2; 46, No. 18, Pl. 9: 1-2; Popović 1989-1990, 173, Fig. 3: 2-3.

28 Dizdar 2013, 136. Cf. Rustoiu 2005, 56, note 24; 58, note 36; 62, notes 75, 78, 79; 66, notes 110, 111; 70, note 152; 73, note 165; Figs. 14-15; Božić 2008, 146, Tab. 5; Drăgan 2012, 428, Pls. 1-3.

29 Vulpe 1976, 201, Fig. 13.

30 Lejars 2013, 351, Morigen, Fig. 270: 1-2.

31 Popović 1989-1990, 169, note 36, Fig. 4: 10 (with a wrong dating to LT D2).

32 Vulpe 1976, 208, Fig. 18: 1 (with an inexact drawing); Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 336-337, Fig. 5: 3.

33 Dolenz 1998, 91-93, M232 and M233, Pl. 21, Fig. 23a; Božić 2016a.

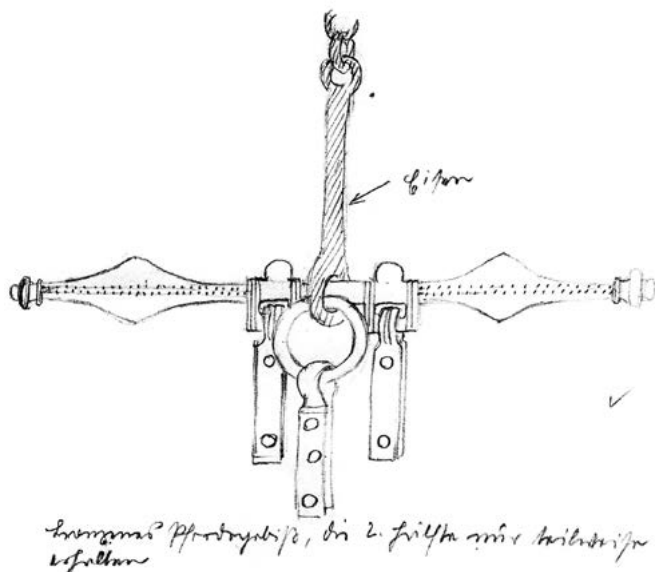
34 Dolenz 1998, 121, Fig. 34d-e, h-j.

35 Dolenz 1998, 93.

36 Deimel 1987, 94, 324-326, Nos. 86/1, 86/3 and 86/9, Pl. 86: 1, 3, 9.

37 Dolenz 1998, 92.



**Sl. 13.**

Nacrt jednog dijela dačkih žvala inačice Magdalensberg iz podruma taverne OR/23 s Magdalensberga (Arhiv s Magdalensberga, dnevnik Hedwig Kenner 1960-II, str. 18)

**FIG. 13.**

Sketch of one part of the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits from the cellar of tavern OR/23 on the Magdalensberg (Magdalensberg archives, Diary of Hedwig Kenner 1960-II, p. 18)

objašnjeno, netočno. Dolenz je žvalama s Magdalensberga našao vrlo dobru analogiju u Kemptenu u Bavarskoj (Sl. 14: 2) gdje je pronađena polovica obraznog elementa s rombično proširenim završetkom i pravokutnom petljom. Ovaj ulomak ima isti oblik i ukras kao obrazni elementi žvala s Magdalensberga. Jedina razlika je što potonje nasuprot velikih pravokutnih petlji imaju male okrugle petlje, dok primjerak iz Kemptena ima malo kvadratno dugme. Dolenz spomenuti ulomak datira u zadnju četvrtinu 1. stoljeća po Kr. što ne može biti točno jer je pronađen u sloju šute.<sup>38</sup> Datacija spaljenog sloja, u kojem su pronađene žvale s Magdalensberga, u Klaudijevo doba za žvale može biti samo *terminus post quem non*. Naime, mogle su biti izrađene i puno ranije.

Drugo pitanje je koliko su stare žvale iz Siska (Sl. 1) koje sam napisao varijanti Magdalensberg. Pri detaljnoj usporedbi ovih žvala sa žvalama iz Koruške i Bavarske (Sl. 14: 1-2) vidljivo je da među njima postoje znatne razlike. Završna dugmad obraznih elemenata žvala iz Siska su stožastog, a ne lukovičastog oblika, a njihovi prošireni krajevi nisu ukrašeni s dva reda točki. Od svih razlika dvije su najznačajnije: velike pravokutne petlje izbijaju iz široke strane obraznog elementa, a ne iz uske strane kao što je slučaj kod žvala s Magdalensberga i iz Kemptena; svaki obrazni element žvala s Magdalensberga (Sl. 15) ima tri slična okova za remenje ukrašena uzdužnim i poprečnim urezima. Vanjski okovi za remenje umetnuti su u pravokutne petlje, dok je središnji, nešto širi i duži, umetnut u prsten koji povezuje ovaj okov za remen s vanjskim krajem željeznog usnog dijela. Žvale iz Siska imaju slične središnje okove za remenje, kojih završne petlje pak su neukrašene i uže. Potonje također nisu plosnate kao kod žvala s Magdalensberga, nego su okruglog presjeka. Nadalje, vanjska četiri okova za remenje sa žvala iz Siska, umetnuta u pravokutne petlje obraznih elemenata, završavaju malom kvadratnom pločicom i imaju ureze na vanjskom kraju.

Samo jedne željezne dačke žvale tipa VIII po Werneru imaju unutar pravokutnih petlji jedinog očuvanog obraznog elementa identične okove za remenje. Spomenuti primjerak pronađen je u dačkoj utvrdi Tilišca u južnoj Transilvaniji (Sl. 6: 1). Budući da oču-

In his opinion type VIII was in use from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, which is, as we have seen above, not correct. Dolenz has found only one very good parallel for the bit from the Magdalensberg at Kempten in Bavaria (Fig. 14: 2), where one half of a cheek-piece with a rhombic enlarged end and a rectangular loop was excavated. The fragment has the same form and decoration as the cheek-pieces of the bit from the Magdalensberg. The only difference is that the latter have small round loops opposite to the large rectangular loops, while on the fragment from Kempten there is a small square knob. According to Dolenz this fragment was dated to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but this is not true, as it originates from a dumped deposit.<sup>38</sup> The dating to the Claudian period of the burnt layer in which the bit from the Magdalensberg lay, is for the bit only a *terminus post quem non*. It might have been made much earlier.

Another question is, how old is the bit from Sisak (Fig. 1), which was also ascribed by me to the Magdalensberg variant? If we compare it in detail with the bits from Carinthia and Bavaria (Fig. 14: 1-2), we can see that there are some important differences between them. The terminal knobs of the cheek-pieces of the bit from Sisak are conical, not onion-shaped. Their enlarged ends are not decorated with two rows of dots. The most important differences are two: first the large rectangular loops protrude from the large side of the cheek-piece and not from the narrow one as on the bits from the Magdalensberg and Kempten; second, each cheek-piece of the bit from the Magdalensberg (Fig. 15) has three similar strap-loops, decorated with longitudinal and transversal incisions. The outer ones are inserted into the rectangular loops, and the central one, slightly wider and longer, into a ring, which connects this strap-loop with the outer end of the iron mouthpiece. The bit from Sisak has similar central strap-loops, which, however, have undecorated and narrower end loops. These are also not flat as on the bit from the Magdalensberg, but round in cross-section! In contrast the four strap-loops of the bit from Sisak which are inserted into the rectangular loops of the cheek-pieces, end in a small square plate and have incisions on the outer end.

There is only one iron Dacian horse bit of Werner's type VIII, which in the rectangular loops of the only preserved cheek-piece has identical strap-loops. It was found in the Dacian fortress of Tilišca in southern Transylvania (Fig. 6: 1). It can be dated to LT D<sub>1</sub>, because the preserved half of the mouthpiece has the same herring-bone decoration as the mouthpiece of the Dacian bit of type VIII from the Radovanu grave (Fig. 10).

We can conclude that the bit from Sisak does belong to the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits of type VIII, but is much closer to the iron examples from LT D<sub>1</sub> than the bits from the Magda-

38 Mackensen 1987, 170, kat. br. 34, 165, Sl. 66: 20.

38 Mackensen 1987, 170, Cat. No. 34, 165, Fig. 66: 20.

vana polovica usnog dijela ima ukras u obliku riblje kosti identičan onom s usnog dijela dačkih žvala tipa VIII iz groba u Radovanuu (Sl. 10), moguće ih je datirati u LT D1 stupanj.

Iako možemo zaključiti da žvale iz Siska pripadaju varijanti Magdalensberg dačkih žvala tipa VIII, one su ipak mnogo bliže željeznim primjercima iz stupnja LT D1, nego što su žvale s Magdalensberga i iz Kemptena. S druge strane, ako uzmemo u obzir da su gotovo svi dijelovi žvala izrađeni od bakrene slitine, a ne od željeza, te da se obrazni elementi razlikuju od onih na prvim željeznim dačkim žvalama pronađenim u Orešcu u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj (Sl. 17), datiranih u stupanj LT D2 (ove žvale kao dodatak obraznim elementima sa završetcima u obliku latica s malim okruglim čvorom na vrhu, imaju dva kotača s četiri žbice i četiri šiljka na unutarnjoj strani, poput pojedinih dačkih žvala iz LT D1 stupnja - Sl. 3: 2; Sl. 6: 2; Sl. 10; Sl. 11: 4, 11), trebalo bi ih datirati u početak ranocarskog, odnosno u augustovski period. Obrazni element iz augustovskog rimskog vojnog logora u Augsburg-Oberhausenu (Sl. 14: 3),<sup>39</sup> oblikom sličan obraznim elementima prvih željeznih žvala iz Orešca (Sl. 17), također je izrađen od bakrene slitine.

### Inačica Sisak dačkih žvala

Druge dačke žvale iz Siska (Sl. 2)<sup>40</sup> nemaju obrazne elemente u obliku šipke s proširenim završetcima i dvije pravokutne petlje u sredini, već dva kotača s tri šiljka na unutarnjoj strani. Budući da željezni usni dio odgovara usnom dijelu dačkih žvala, a kotači su povezani sa željeznim kotačima pojedinih dačkih žvala iz LT D1 i LT D2 stupnja (npr. žvale iz Radovanua - Sl. 10; žvale iz Orešca - Sl. 17), po mom mišljenju također pripadaju dačkim žvalama, ali ujedno predstavljaju i novu varijantu za koju predlažem naziv „inačica Sisak“.

Kotači s četiri kratke žbice koje se izdižu iz središta četiri trapezoidna okvira izrađeni su od bakrene slitine, kao i svi ostali dijelovi ovih žvala osim željeznog usnog dijela. Poznata mi je samo jedna analogija za spomenuti kotač, također izrađena od bakrene slitine, koja je pronađena u dačkoj utvrdi Pietroase Mică u Munteniji (Sl. 7: 3).<sup>41</sup> Kotač iz Rumunjske ima vrlo sličan unutarnji motiv, ali s četiri umjesto samo tri šiljka na unutarnjoj strani oboda. Ni žvale iz Siska ni kotač iz Pietroase Mice ne pripadaju usko datiranom kompleksu, no kad uzmemo u obzir da su skoro svi dijelovi žvala iz Siska i kotač iz Rumunjske izrađeni od bakrene slitine, smatram da ih najvjerojatnije možemo datirati u ranocarsko razdoblje. Ovu dataciju potvrđuje činjenica da se slični motivi V oblika sa završnih petlji okova za remenje s drugih dačkih žvala iz Siska (Sl. 2: 4) također pojavljuju na nekim drugim tipovima okova za remenje ranocarskog razdoblja.<sup>42</sup> Takvi

lensberg and Kempten. If, on the other hand, we consider that almost all of its parts are made of copper alloy and not of iron and that the cheek-pieces differ from those of the first iron Dacian bit from the Orešac find in northern Croatia (Fig. 17), dated to LT D2 (this bit has in addition to the cheek-pieces, which have petal-shaped ends with a small round knob on the top, two wheels with four spokes and with four spikes on the inner side just like some Dacian bits from LT D1 - Fig. 3: 2; Fig. 6: 2; Fig. 10; Fig. 11: 4, 11), we would date it to the beginning of the Early Imperial Age, that is to the Augustan period. The cheek-piece from the Augustan military camp of Augsburg-Oberhausen (Fig. 14: 3),<sup>39</sup> which is close in form to the cheek-pieces of the first iron bit from Orešac (Fig. 17) is also made of copper alloy!

### The Sisak variant of Dacian bits

The second Dacian bit from Sisak<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 2) does not have bar-shaped cheek-pieces with enlarged ends and with two rectangular loops in the middle, but two wheels with three spikes on the inner side. Since its iron mouthpiece corresponds to the mouthpieces of Dacian bits and since the wheels are related to the iron wheels of some Dacian bits from LT D1 (e. g. the Radovanu bit - Fig. 10) and from LT D2 (Orešac - Fig. 17), in my opinion it also belongs to Dacian horse bits, but represents a new variant, for which I propose the name “the Sisak variant”.

The wheels with four short spokes that rise from the centre of four trapezoid frames are made of copper alloy as are all the other parts of this bit with the exception of the iron mouthpiece. I know only one comparable wheel, which is also made of copper alloy and was found in the Dacian fortress at Pietroasa Mică in Muntenia (Fig. 7: 3).<sup>41</sup> The wheel from Romania has a very similar motif inside, but four, not three spikes on the circumference of the inner side. Neither the bit from Sisak nor the wheel from Pietroasa Mică come from closed dated contexts, but taking in consideration that almost all parts of the bit from Sisak and the isolated wheel from Romania are made of copper alloy, I think that a dating to the Early Imperial period is the most probable. Such a dating can be supported by the fact that similar V-motifs as on the end loops of the strap-loops of the second Dacian bit from Sisak (Fig. 2: 4) appear also on some other types of Early Imperial strap-loops.<sup>42</sup> Such V-motifs appear also on the end loops of the four variant 1c strap-loops of an Early Imperial ring junction from the River Kupa near Sisak.<sup>43</sup> The rivets are preserved only on one strap-loop. They have semiglobular hollow heads just like one preserved rivet on the strap-loops of the second Dacian bit from Sisak (Fig. 2). On the numerous single strap-loops of different forms from Sisak the rivets also are only rarely preserved, but all of them have solid, not hollow, heads.<sup>44</sup>

39 Hübener 1973, 39, kat. br. 15, T. 24: 15; Werner 1983, 237.

40 Božič 2016.

41 Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 34, D.2, Sl. 59: 14, Sl. 60: 13.

42 Bishop 1988, 102, nap. 99, Junction loops, tipovi 1c i 1d, 121, Sl. 32: 3, 123, Sl. 33: 4, 157, Sl. 50: 1c, 1d.

39 Hübener 1973, 39, Cat. No. 15, Pl. 24: 15; Werner 1983, 237.

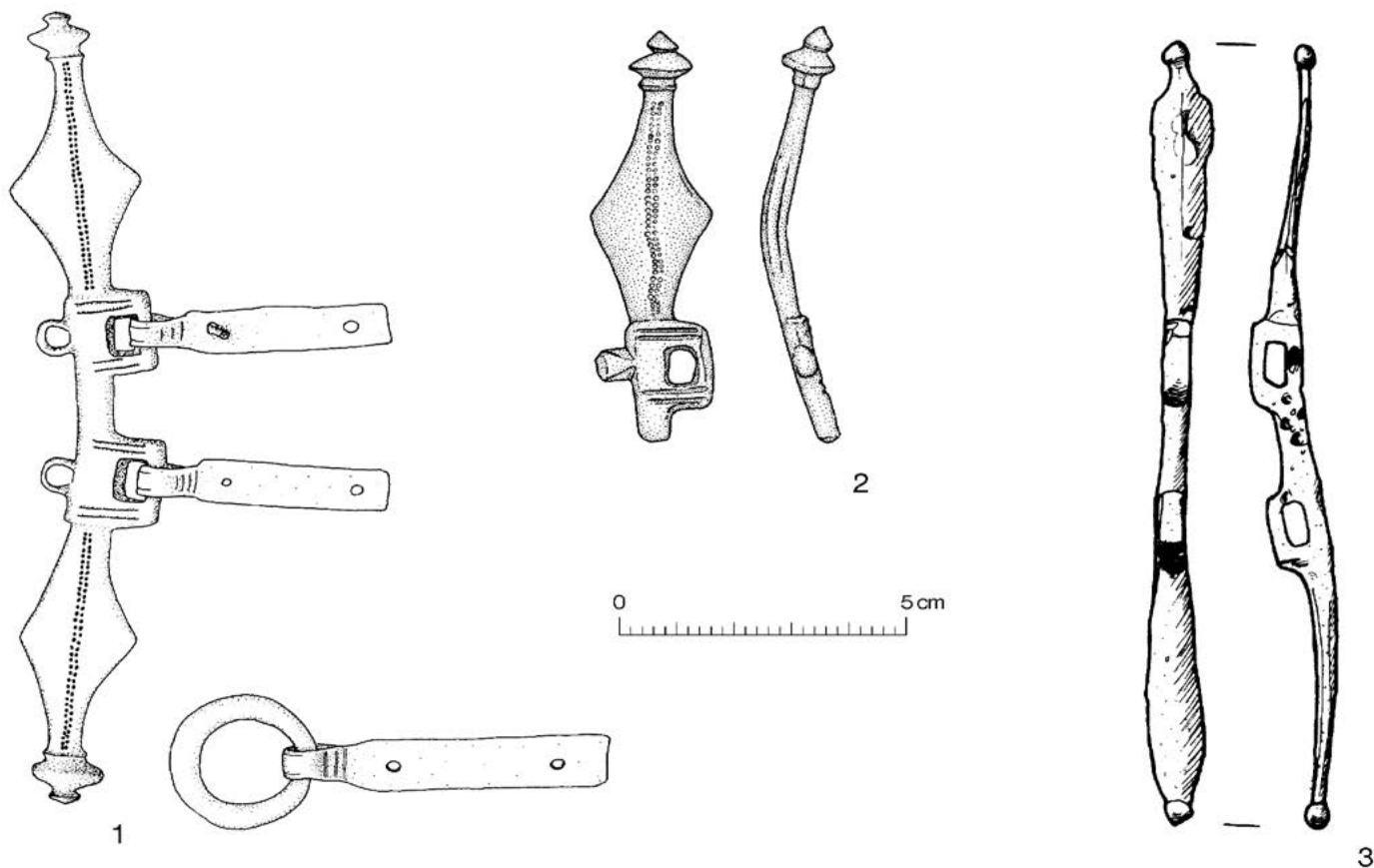
40 Božič 2016.

41 Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 34, D.2, Fig. 59: 14, Fig. 60: 13.

42 Bishop 1988, 102, note 99, Junction loops, types 1c and 1d, 121, Fig. 32: 3, 123, Fig. 33: 4, 157, Fig. 50: 1c, 1d.

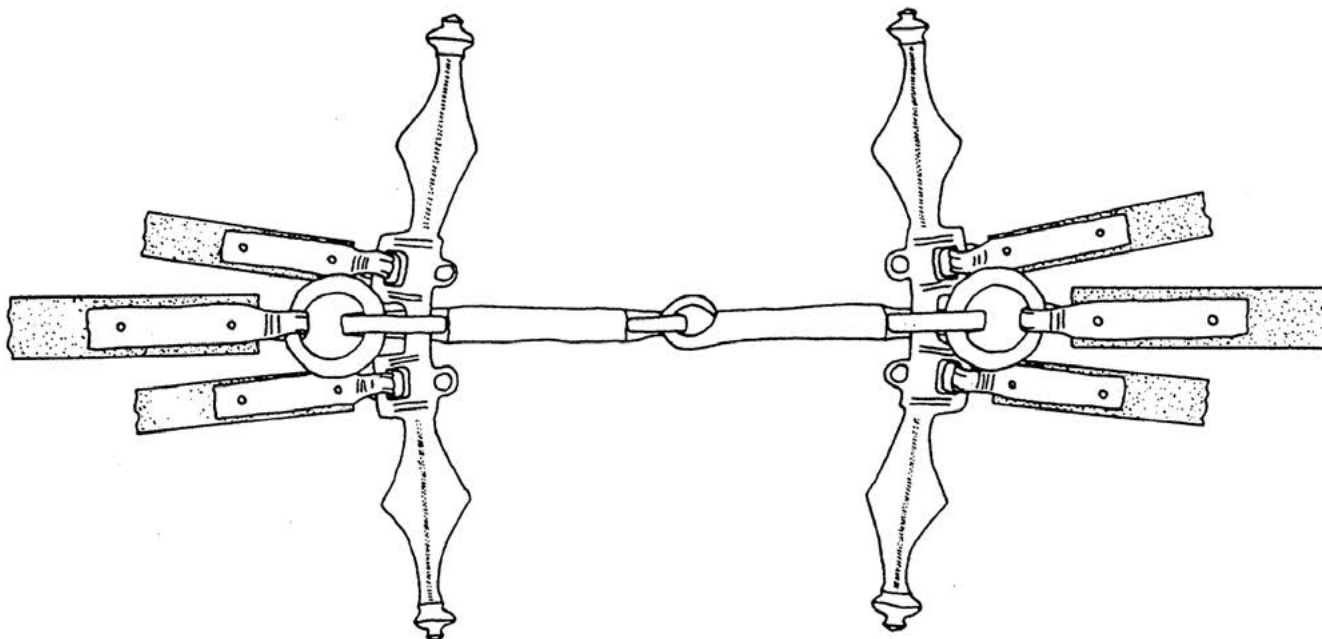
43 Radman-Livaja 2004, 105, Cat. No. 399, 137, Pl. 56: 399. Cf. Bishop 1988, 106, Phalerae and rings, Fig. 26: 3.

44 Radman-Livaja 2004, Pl. 57: 401-402, Pl. 58: 412, Pl. 61: 434, 437, 443, 444, Pl. 62: 446.



**Sl. 14.** Obrazni element žvala s Magdalensberga s tri okova za remenje (1), ulomak obraznog elementa iz Kemptena (2) i obrazni element iz vojnog logora u Augsburg-Oberhausenu (3), svi izrađeni od bakrene slitine (1 - Deimel 1987, T. 86: 1, 3; 2 - Mackensen 1987, 165, Sl. 66: 20; 3 - Hübener 1973, T. 24: 15)

**FIG. 14.** A cheek-piece with three strap-loops of the bit from the Magdalensberg (1), a cheek-piece fragment from Kempten (2) and a cheek-piece from the military camp of Augsburg-Oberhausen (3), all of copper alloy (1 - Deimel 1987, Pl. 86: 1, 3; 2 - Mackensen 1987, 165, Fig. 66: 20; 3 - Hübener 1973, Pl. 24: 15)



**Sl. 15.** Rekonstrukcija inačice Magdalensberg dačkih žvala Heima Dolenz (Dolenz 1998, 93, Sl. 23a)

**FIG. 15.** Heimo Dolenz's reconstruction of the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits (Dolenz 1998, 93, Fig. 23a)

V-motivi pojavljuju se i na petljama četiri okova za remenje inačice 1c ranocarske spojne karike iz rijeke Kupe kod Siska.<sup>43</sup> Zakovice, koje su sačuvane samo na jednom okovu za remenje, imaju polukuglaste, šuplje glavice kao i kod drugih dačkih žvala iz Siska (Sl. 2). Na brojnim okovima za remenje različitih oblika iz Siska zakovice su rijetko sačuvane, a poznati primjerci uvijek imaju pune, a ne šuplje glavice.<sup>44</sup>

### Otkriće dvaju željeznih dačkih žvala i mnogobrojnih ukrasa jarma od bakrene slitine iz Orešca kraj Virovitice u dolini rijeke Drave

Dorica Nemeth-Ehrlich, arheologinja iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, objavila je 1985. godine kratko izvješće s terenskog pregleda i iskopavanja provedenih u Orešcu kraj Virovitice u dolini rijeke Drave u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj od 1982. do 1984. godine. U izvješću navodi da su jedini poznati arheološki nalazi s ovog lokaliteta, iz vremena prije navedenih istraživanja, površinski nalazi iz 1913. godine koji uključuju brončane ukrase i okove rimskih kola, konjsku opremu i rimsku metalnu svjetiljku.<sup>45</sup> Nadalje, u izvješću nema citata literature niti bilo kakve arhivske dokumentacije o ovom iznimnom otkriću. Godinu dana kasnije ista autorica ponovno spominje ove nalaze i navodi da su pohranjeni u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>46</sup> Iste podatke opet navodi Silvija Salajić 1994. godine te Anja Bertol 2011. godine u svom radu o nalazima rimskog novca iz Virovitice i Orešca.<sup>47</sup> Podatci koje iznosi Dorica Nemeth-Ehrlich uglavnom su netočni, budući da je u Orešcu nađena samo konjska oprema, bez dijelova rimskih kola i metalne svjetiljke. Također, konjska oprema ne pripada rimskom već kasnolatskom razdoblju.

Nemeth-Ehrlich, Salajić i Bertol nisu bile upoznate s podatkom da su neki od vrijednih nalaza iz Orešca predstavljeni već 1940. godine od strane Andrása Alföldija i Aladára Radnótiya u radu o ukrasima rimskih jarmova i konjskih ovratnika iz Panonije, objavljenom u *Serta Hoffilleriana* u Zagrebu (Sl. 16).<sup>48</sup> Na fotografijama nalaza iz Orešca, koji se u sklopu nasljeđa Radnótiya čuvaju na Goethe Sveučilištu u Frankfurtu, vidljivi su i neki drugi predmeti. Cijelu skupinu objavio je 2002. godine Martin Schönfelder u svojoj knjizi o grobu s kolima iz Boéa u jugozapadnoj Francuskoj.<sup>49</sup> Prema Schönfelderu svi ukrasi iz Orešca, izrađeni od bakrene slitine, pripadaju jarmu tipa Orešac (njem. *Das Joch von Orešac*), karakterističnom za istočno područje rasprostiranja kasnolatske kulture. Autor ga u knjizi datira u drugu polovicu 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. Schönfelder krivo piše ime lokaliteta, navodeći ga kao Orešak umjesto Orešac, pogrešno iznosi da se nalazi samo nekoliko kilometara istočno od Zagreba i da je do otkrića došlo 1930-ih godina.

### The discovery from Orešac near Virovitica in the Drava Valley with two iron Dacian bits and many copper alloy yoke ornaments

In 1985 Dorica Nemeth-Ehrlich, archaeologist in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, published a short report on the field survey and excavations, executed in the years 1982-1984 at Orešac near Virovitica in the Drava Valley in northern Croatia. She mentioned in it that until that time the only archaeological finds from this place had been bronze ornaments and fittings of a Roman wagon, horse gear and a Roman metal lamp, all surface finds discovered in 1913.<sup>45</sup> She did not cite any literature or archival documents on this exceptional discovery. One year later the same author mentioned these finds again and added that they were kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>46</sup> The same data were repeated by Silvija Salajić in 1994 and they still appear in the paper of Anja Bertol from 2011 on the finds of Roman coins at Virovitica and Orešac.<sup>47</sup>

The data of Nemeth-Ehrlich are mostly incorrect; at Orešac only horse gear was discovered, no parts of a wagon and no metal lamp. Furthermore, it is not Roman, but from the Late La Tène period.

Nemeth-Ehrlich, Salajić and Bertol did not know that some of these exceptional finds from Orešac had already been published in 1940 in the paper of András Alföldi and Aladár Radnóti on the ornaments of Roman yokes and horse-collars from Pannonia, published in Zagreb in *Serta Hoffilleriana* (Fig. 16).<sup>48</sup> On the photos of the finds from Orešac, which are preserved in the archives of Radnóti, kept at the Goethe-University in Frankfurt, some other finds also appear. The whole group was published by Martin Schönfelder in 2002 in his book on the chariot grave from Boé in southwestern France.<sup>49</sup> According to Schönfelder all the copper alloy ornaments from Orešac belonged to a yoke of the Orešac type (*Das Joch von Orešac*), typical for the eastern region of the Late La Tène culture. He dated it to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Schönfelder wrongly writes the name of the place as Orešak instead of Orešac and erroneously mentions that it lies only some kilometres east of Zagreb and that the discovery was made in the 1930s.

I became interested in the Orešac discovery in September 1998, when I read in detail the data on it, published in the paper of Alföldi and Radnóti. I proposed to Dubravka Balen-Letunić, the then curator of the Prehistoric Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, to prepare with me a new publication of all finds. On October 13<sup>th</sup> 1998 I received her answer. The copper alloy yoke ornaments from Orešac had been lent in 1986 to

43 Radman-Livaja 2004, 105, kat. br. 399, 137, T. 56: 399. Usp. Bishop 1988, 106, Phalerae and rings, Sl. 26: 3.

44 Radman-Livaja 2004, T. 57: 401-402, T. 58: 412, T. 61: 434, 437, 443, 444, T. 62: 446.

45 Nemeth-Ehrlich 1985, 23.

46 Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 103; Minichreiter, Ehrlich 1986, Orešac.

47 Salajić 1994; Bertol 2011, 229.

48 Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, 312, T. 24, 316, T. 28: 1-2.

49 Schönfelder 2002, 245, nap. 756, Sl. 153. Usp. također Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 233, nap. 13, 235, spisak 2 i spisak 3 i Čambal 2016; Čambal 2016a.

45 Nemeth-Ehrlich 1985, 23.

46 Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 103; Minichreiter, Ehrlich 1986, Orešac.

47 Salajić 1994; Bertol 2011, 229.

48 Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, 312, Pl. 24, 316, Pl. 28: 1-2.

49 Schönfelder 2002, 245, note 756, Fig. 153. Cf. also Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 233, note 13, 235, list 2 and list 3 and Čambal 2016; Čambal 2016a.

Moje zanimanje za nalaz iz Orešca počelo je u rujnu 1998. godine kada sam temeljito pročitao podatke o istom objavljene u radu Alföldija i Radnótiya. Zamolio sam Dubravku Balen-Letunić, tadašnju kustosicu Pretpovijesnog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, da zajedno napravimo novu objavu svih nalaza. Zaprimio sam njen odgovor 13. listopada 1998. godine. Ukrasi jarma iz Orešca izrađeni od bakrene slitine već su 1986. godine bili posuđeni Gradskom muzeju u Virovitici za izložbu o arheološkim lokalitetima Pepelane i Orešac,<sup>50</sup> no nikad nisu vraćeni. Nadalje, Balen-Letunić je uvidom u inventarnu knjigu Antičke zbirke, u kojoj je inventarizirana većina nalaza iz Orešca, otkrila da su osim nekoliko ukrasa jarma izrađenih od bakrene slitine upisana i tri željezna predmeta. Prema podacima iz inventarne knjige, nalaze iz Orešca izrađene od bakrene slitine i željeza Muzeju je poklonio Stjepan Tompak iz Suhopolja kraj Virovitice 1913. godine. Dubravka Balen-Letunić je među tri željezna predmeta ispravno prepoznala cijeli obrazni element i fragmentirani kotač s četiri žbice i četiri šiljka dačkih željeznih konjskih žvala te je u pismu napravile skice navedenih predmeta (Sl. 17: 1). Povratak posuđenih nalaza od bakrene slitine iz Virovitice u Zagreb trajao je dugo. Dva ukrasa lijevana na proboj<sup>51</sup> (jedan od njih je na Sl. 16: 1) vraćena su u Zagreb u veljači 1999. godine, dok su ostali nalazi vraćeni tek u kolovozu iste godine. Posjetio sam Zagreb 20. prosinca 1999. godine i dobio mogućnost uvida u sve nalaze. Napravio sam bilješke i skice određenih predmeta. Planirana se zajednička objava, doduše, nikad nije ostvarila.

Početkom rujna 2015. godine zamolio sam Ivana Drnića, kustosa Pretpovijesnog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, da za moju prezentaciju održanu 11. rujna na znanstvenom skupu „Segestica i Siscija - od ruba Imperija do provincijskog središta“ u Arheološkom muzeju, napravi nekoliko fotografija od dva dijela dačkih željeznih žvala iz Orešca, koje je prva prepoznala Dubravka Balen-Letunić u listopadu 1998. godine, te četiri trokutasta okova iz iste skupine nalaza, izrađenih od bakrene slitine i ukrašenih na proboj. Budući da su spomenuti nalazi cijelo vrijeme bili zametnuti, Drnić je započeo provjeravati kutije Antičke zbirke s natpisom *Incerta* koje sadrže neinventarizirane nalaze o čijem porijeklu nema podataka. U dva dana prije početka skupa prvo u jednoj je kutiji pronašao dva željezna predmeta, obrazni element s unutarnjim dijelom kotača s četiri žbice i usni dio (Sl. 17: 2),<sup>52</sup> koja zasigurno predstavljaju odsutne dijelove prvih dačkih žvala iz Orešca, dok je u drugoj kutiji pronašao iznimne dačke željezne žvale s cijelim usnim dijelom, fragmentiranim obraznim elementom neobičnog oblika i cijelim kotačem s četiri žbice i četiri šiljka.

Iako mi je Dubravka Balen-Letunić 27. listopada 1998. godine napisala da u arhivu Arheološkog muzeja nema dokumenata o konjskoj opremi iz Orešca koja me zanimala, nekoliko dana nakon skupa pisao sam ravnateljici Muzeja Jacqueline Balen da bi volio vidjeti pisma Stjepana Tompaka iz 1913. godine budući da je iste godine nalaze iz Orešca poklonio Muzeju. U literaturi sam pronašao podatak da je tom prigodom Muzeju također poklonio nekoliko novaca i drugih arheoloških nalaza. Ana Solter, voditeljica

the City Museum in Virovitica for an exhibition on the Pepelane and Orešac archaeological sites,<sup>50</sup> but they had never been returned. In addition, Balen-Letunić looked in the inventory book of the Classical collection, in which the majority of the finds from Orešac had been inventoried, and found out that in it beside several copper alloy yoke ornaments three iron objects had also been listed. According to data in the inventory book the copper alloy and the iron finds from Orešac were donated to the museum by Stjepan Tompak from Suhopolje near Virovitica in 1913. Balen-Letunić correctly recognized among the three iron finds a complete cheek-piece and a fragmented wheel with four spokes and four spikes of a Dacian iron horse bit. In the letter she made sketches of both of them (Fig. 17: 1). The return of the copper alloy finds from Virovitica to Zagreb took a long time. The two openwork ornaments<sup>51</sup> (one of them on Fig. 16: 1) came back to Zagreb in February 1999, the rest not until August 1999. On December 20<sup>th</sup> 1999 I finally visited Zagreb, where I could examine all the finds. I made some notes and sketches of some of the objects. The planned joint publication, however, has never been realized.

For my presentation at the scientific conference *Segestica and Siscia*, held on September 11<sup>th</sup> in the museum, at the beginning of September 2015 I asked Ivan Drnić, curator of the Prehistoric Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, to make some photos of the two parts of a Dacian iron bit from the Orešac discovery, first recognized by Balen-Letunić in October 1998, and of four copper alloy openwork triangular fittings from the same find complex. Since they were misplaced at that time, Drnić started to check the boxes of the Classical collection, which bear the inscription *Incerta*, and which contain non inventoried finds without any data on their origin. In the two days immediately preceding the conference he first found in one box two iron objects, a cheek-piece with the inner part of a wheel with four spokes as well as a mouthpiece (Fig. 17: 2),<sup>52</sup> which surely form the missing parts of the first Dacian bit from Orešac, and in another box an extraordinary Dacian iron bit with a complete mouthpiece, a fragmented cheek-piece of a peculiar form and a complete wheel with four spokes and four spikes.

Although Balen-Letunić wrote to me on October 27<sup>th</sup> 1998 that in the archives of the Archaeological Museum there had been no documents concerning the horse gear from Orešac I was interested in, I wrote some days after the conference in Zagreb to the museum's director Jacqueline Balen saying that I would like to see the letters of Stjepan Tompak from 1913, the year he donated the finds from Orešac to the museum; I found in the literature that he had donated at this occasion also several coins and other archaeological finds. Luckily Ana Solter, the head of the Documentation Department, on September 21, 2015 sent me all the letters of Stjepan Tompak, not only the two from 1913.<sup>53</sup>

This broad-minded decision enabled a very important discovery. It is true that the finds from Orešac were donated to

50 Minichreiter, Ehrlich 1986.

51 Schönfelder 2002, 245 i 248, *Jochendbeschläge Typ Orešak* (sic), Sl. 155: 1.

52 Božič 2016b.

50 Minichreiter, Ehrlich 1986.

51 Schönfelder 2002, 245 and 248, *Jochendbeschläge Typ Orešak* (sic), Fig. 153, Fig. 155: 1.

52 Božič 2016b.

53 Božič 2016c.



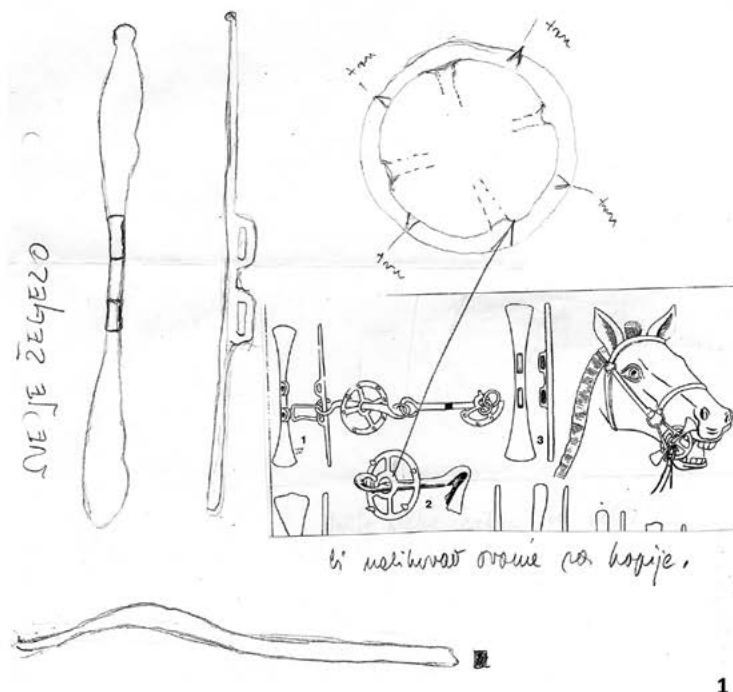
**Sl. 16.** Dio ukrasa jarma od bakrene slitine pronađenih prije 1904. godine u Orešcu kod Virovitice uz kostur konja (Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, T. 24, T. 28: 1-2)

**FIG. 16.** One part of the copper alloy yoke ornaments, discovered before 1904 at Orešac near Virovitica with a horse skeleton (Alföldi, Radnóti 1940, Pl. 24, Pl. 28: 1-2)

Odjela za dokumentaciju, mi je 21. rujna 2015. godine srećom poslala sva pisma Stjepana Tompaka, ne samo dva iz 1913. godine.<sup>53</sup>

Ova širokoumna odluka omogućila je još jedno važno otkriće. Točan je podatak da su nalazi iz Orešca poklonjeni Muzeju 1913. godine, no otkriveni su prije 1904. godine. Naime, Tompak je Josipu Brunšmidu, ravnatelju Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, već u siječnju 1904. godine poslao četiri stranice dugo pismo u kojemu između ostalog piše da predmeti iz Orešca prema

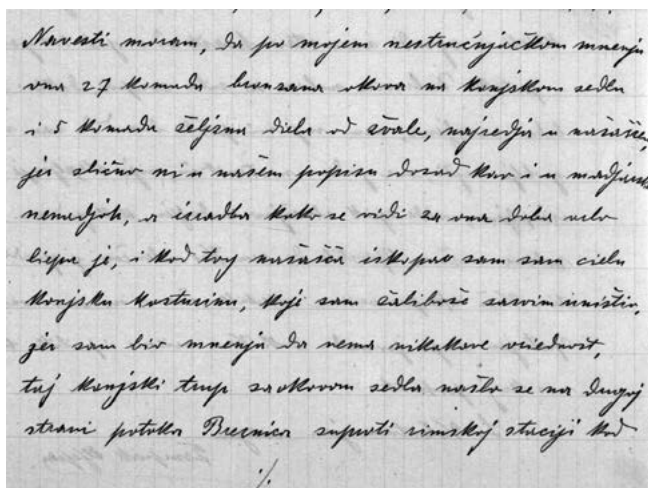
the museum in 1913, but they had been discovered before 1904! Already in January 1904 Tompak sent to Josip Brunšmid, director of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum in Zagreb, a long letter on four pages, in which he amongst other things writes that in his opinion the finds from Orešac were extremely rare finds, and he had not found anything similar in the Croatian and Hungarian archaeological literature (Fig. 18 and archival document 1). He further reports that the metal objects from Orešac were excavated



1



2



Sl. 17.

1. Dio pisma Dubravke Balen-Letunić autoru iz 13. listopada 1998., stranica 2; 2. Jedan obrazni element s ulomkom kotača i usni dio prvih željeznih dačkih žvala iz Orešca (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, snimio: I. Drnić)

FIG. 17.

1. Part of letter from Dubravka Balen-Letunić to the author from October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1998, page 2; 2. One cheek-piece with a fragment of a wheel and the mouthpiece of the first iron Dacian bit from the Orešac discovery (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo: I. Drnić)

Sl. 18.

Pismo Stjepana Tompaka Josipu Brunšmidu iz siječnja 1904. godine, stranica 3 (Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, sign. 42, Suhopolje-Terezovac)

FIG. 18.

Letter from Stjepan Tompak to Josip Brunšmid from January 1904, page 3 (Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, sign. 42, Suhopolje-Terezovac)

njegovom mišljenju predstavljaju izuzetno rijetke nalaze jer u hrvatskoj i mađarskoj arheološkoj literaturi nije pronašao slične predmete (Sl. 18 i arhivski dokument 1). Nadalje, navodi da je osobno pronašao metalne nalaze iz Orešca prilikom iskopavanja čitavog konjskog kostura, kojeg je nažalost potpuno uništio. Skupio je 27 ukrasa od bakrene slitine, koji su prema njegovoj interpretaciji ukrašavali sedlo, i pet dijelova željeznih konjskih žvala. Do otkrića je došlo na suprotnoj obali potoka Brežnice, nasuprot rimskog naselja kod Orešca. Pet dijelova željeznih žvala koje Tompak spominje zapravo pripadaju dvjema žvalama. Savršeno odgovaraju dvama dijelovima prvih žvala koje je prepoznala Balen-Letunić (jedan obrazni element i fragmentirani kotač - Sl. 17: 1), drugim dvama dijelovima istih žvala koje je pronašao Drnić (jedan obrazni element i usni dio - Sl. 17: 2) te drugim žvalama koje je također pronašao Drnić (fragmentirani obrazni element te još spojeni kotač i usni dio).

## Zaključak

Željezne dačke žvale tipa VIII po Werneru, dijelovi kojih su često nalaženi u utvrđenim dačkim naseljima (Sl. 3-7), moguće je pouzdano datirati u LT D1 stupanj na osnovu dva tumula u Munteniji

by himself with a complete horse skeleton, which he unfortunately completely destroyed. He collected 27 copper alloy ornaments, which according to him adorned a horse saddle, and 5 parts of an iron horse bit. The discovery was made on the other bank of the Brežnica brook opposite the Roman settlement of Orešac. The 5 parts of an iron bit mentioned by Tompak in fact belonged to two bits. They correspond exactly to the two parts of the first bit, recognized by Balen-Letunić (one cheek-piece and a fragmented wheel - Fig. 17: 1), to the other two parts of this bit, discovered by Drnić (one cheek-piece and a mouthpiece - Fig. 17: 2), and to the second bit, also discovered by him (a fragmented cheek-piece, a wheel and a mouthpiece still connected together).

## Conclusions

The iron Dacian bits of Werner's type VIII, parts of which were often found in fortified Dacian settlements (Figs. 3-7), can be reliably dated to LT D1 on the basis of two tumulus graves in Muntenia (tumulus 4 of Popešti and the tumulus of Radovanu) and the numerous specimens discovered in the sanctuary of Mala Kopanja (Figs. 8-11).

(tumul 4 u Popeštiu i tumul u Radovanuu) i brojnih primjeraka otkrivenih u svetištu u Maloj Kopanji (Sl. 8-11).

Obje dačke žvale iz Siska izrađene su od elemenata od bakrene slitine, dok im je samo usni dio izrađen od željeza. Prve žvale (Sl. 1) se mogu pripisati inačici Magdalensberg dačkih žvala (Sl. 13-15), no u nekoliko se detalja razlikuju od ostalih dvaju žvala ove varijante pronađenih na Magdalensbergu i u Kemptenu (Sl. 14: 1-2). Sličnije su željeznim dačkim žvalama tipa VIII nego potonja dva primjerka te ih je, prema mom mišljenju, moguće datirati na početak ranocarorskog razdoblja, odnosno u augustovsko razdoblje. Druge žvale (Sl. 2) pripadaju novoj inačici dačkih žvala, nazvanoj „varijanta Sisak” koje nije moguće preciznije datirati od ranocarorskog razdoblja. Poput varijante Magdalensberg i varijanta Sisak je izuzetno rijetka. Osim potpuno očuvanih žvala iz Siska poznat mi je samo jedan izdvojeni kotač od bakrene slitine s lokaliteta Pietroasa Mică u Rumunjskoj (Sl. 7: 3).

Dvoje preostale dačke žvale s područja Hrvatske su obje izrađene od željeza. Pripadaju izuzetno važnom otkriću, datiranom u stupanj LT D2 (Sl. 16-17), koje je prije 1904. godine pronašao Stjepan Tompak iz Suhopolja na području Orešca kraj Virovitice u dolini rijeke Drave (Sl. 18). Tompak je pronašao čitavi konjski kostur s 27 ukrasa jarma izrađenih od bakrene slitine, djelomično objavljenih već 1940. godine (Sl. 16), a potpunije 2002. godine, i pet dijelova dvaju željeznih dačkih žvala. Objе žvale iz Orešca izvorno su imale dva željezna kotača s četiri žbice i četiri šiljka. Obrazni elementi prvih žvala (Sl. 17) nalikuju obraznim elementima jednih željeznih žvala iz svetišta Mala Kopanja<sup>54</sup> i obraznom elementu od bakrene slitine iz rimskog vojnog logora Augsburg - Oberhausen (Sl. 14: 3). Očuvani obrazni element i usni dio drugih žvala posebnog su oblika za koji mi još nije poznata analogija.

## Zahvale

Najtoplije zahvaljujem Dubravki Balen-Letunić i Ivanu Drniću iz Zagreba, Tei Tomaš Barišić iz Siska, Eleni Schindler-Kaudelka iz Graza, Cătălinu Borangicu iz Alba Iulie, Cristiu Plantosu iz Sibiu, Andreei Drăgan iz Cluja-Napoce, Nini Crummy iz Colchestra i Dragu Valohu iz našeg Instituta. Na engleskom napisani članak ljubazno je lektorirao John Collis iz Sheffielda. Engleski tekst na hrvatski je prevela Kristina Brkić.

## Arhivski dokument 1 (Sl. 18)

Pismo Stjepana Tompaka iz Suhopolja Josipu Brunšmidu, ravnatelju Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, napisano u siječnju 1904. godine, stranice 3 i 4.

“Navesti moram, da po mojem nestručnjačkom mnenju ona 27 komada bronzana okova na konjskom sedlu i 5 komada željezna diela od žvale, najredja u našašćem, jer slično ni u našem popisu do sad kao i u Madjarskoj ne nadjoh, a izradba kako se vidi za ona doba vrlo liepa je, i kod tog našašća iskopao sam sam cielu konjsku kosturinu, koje sam žali Bože sasvim uništio, jer sam bio mnenja da nema nikakove vriednost, taj konjski trup sa okovom sedla našlo se na drugoj strani potoka Breznica (recte: Brežnica) suproti rimskoj staciji kod / Orešaca (sic).”

Both Dacian bits from Sisak are made of copper alloy elements - only their mouthpieces are of iron. The first one (Fig. 1) can be assigned to the Magdalensberg variant of Dacian bits (Figs. 13-15), but it differs in some details from the two other bits of this variant, found on the Magdalensberg itself and at Kempten (Fig. 14: 1-2). It is closer to the iron Dacian bits of type VIII than the latter two and in my opinion could possibly be dated to the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, that is to the Augustan period. The second one (Fig. 2) belongs to a new variant of Dacian bits, called “the Sisak variant”. It cannot be dated more precisely than to the Early Imperial period. Like the Magdalensberg variant the Sisak variant is extremely rare. Next to the complete bit from Sisak I only know one single copper alloy wheel from Pietroasa Mică in Romania (Fig. 7: 3).

Two other Dacian horse bits are known from the territory of Croatia, both made of iron. They belonged to an exceptional discovery, dated to LT D2 (Figs. 16-17), which was made by Stjepan Tompak from Suhopolje in the vicinity of Orešac near Virovitica in the Drava Valley before 1904 (Fig. 18). Tompak found with a complete horse skeleton, 27 copper alloy yoke ornaments, already partly published in 1940 (Fig. 16) and more completely in 2002, and five parts of two iron Dacian bits. Each of these two bits had originally two iron wheels with four spokes and four spikes. The cheek-pieces of the first bit (Fig. 17) resemble the cheek-pieces of an iron bit from the sanctuary of Mala Kopanja<sup>54</sup> and the copper alloy cheek-piece from the Roman military camp of Augsburg - Oberhausen (Fig. 14: 3). The preserved cheek-piece and the mouthpiece of the second bit have a special form, for which I still have no parallels.

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## Archival document 1 (translation) (Fig. 18)

Letter from Stjepan Tompak of Suhopolje to Josip Brunšmid, director of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum in Zagreb, written in January 1904, pages 3 and 4.

“I have to mention that in my inexpert opinion those 27 pieces of bronze fittings from a horse saddle and 5 pieces of the iron parts of a bit are among the rarest finds because I have not found anything similar either in our collections or in Hungary, and the execution, as we can see, is for that period very beautiful, and near this find I have excavated a complete horse skeleton, which I unfortunately completely destroyed, because I thought that it did not have any value, this horse body with fittings of a saddle was found on the other side of the Breznica (recte: Brežnica) brook opposite to the Roman station near / Orešac.”



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# RIMSKE LEGIJE U SISCII TIJEKOM JULIJEVSKO-KLAUDIJEVSKOG RAZDOBLJA

## ROMAN LEGIONS IN SISCIA DURING THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

Ivan Radman-Livaja

*Nema dvojbe da je Siscija bila legijski logor od Augustove do Klaudijeve vladavine. Iako manjkavi, antički pisani izvori jasno ističu nazočnost legija u Sisciji, iako ne nužno kroz cijelo navedeno razdoblje. Ipak, pouzdana identifikacija legija koje su činile taj garnizon zasad nije moguća, a rješavanju tog pitanja ne pomaže ni činjenica da još nema konkretnih saznanja o lokaciji rimskih vojnih logora u Sisku i bližoj okolici. Analizom izvora vjerojatno možemo dosta pouzdano raščlaniti kojih je 10 legija boravilo u Sisciji 7. godine (IV Scythica, V Macedonica, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV i XX), no riječ je o iznimnoj i kratkotrajnoj situaciji. Pravo pitanje je koje su legije provele u Sisciji duže vremena i koje su uistinu bile dijelom siscijanskog garnizona. Izdvojene su tri legije koje su se vjerojatno duže zadržale u Sisciji, no nije isključeno da je osim IX, XV i XX legije još pokoja legija tamo provela više od par mjeseci.*

*Indisputably, Siscia was a legionary camp from the time of Augustus until Claudius' rule. Although scarce, Roman written sources clearly record a legionary presence in Siscia, although not necessarily throughout the entire mentioned period. However, a clear identification of the legions that made up this garrison is, so far, impossible to make, and the answer to this question is not made easier by the fact that there is still no reliable data about the location of Roman military camps in Sisak and the immediate vicinity. By analyzing the sources, it can, fairly accurately, be established which 10 legions stayed in Siscia in AD 7 (IV Scythica, V Macedonica, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV, and XX), noting, however, that this was an exceptional and short-term situation. The real question is which legions spent more time in Siscia, and which truly were a part of the Siscia garrison. Three legions that probably spent more time in Siscia are pointed out in this paper, but it is not unlikely that, besides IX, XV and XX, other legions spent more than several months there as well.*

### Ključne riječi:

Siscija, garnizon, legije, August, julijevsko-klaudijevska dinastija

### Key words:

Siscia, garrison, legions, Augustus, the Julio-Claudian dynasty

O Sisciji kao rimskom vojnom garnizonu se u stručnoj literaturi, kako domaćoj tako i stranoj, nesumnjivo dosta pisalo, no rijetko kad se toj problematici podrobnije pristupalo, već se o siscijanskom garnizonu uglavnom govorilo u širem kontekstu.<sup>1</sup>

Svi se autori mahom slažu da je Siscija morala imati legijski garnizon tijekom julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, ili barem kroz veći dio tog vremena. Taj se legijski garnizon redovito dovodi u vezu s IX legijom, no tu tvrdnju uglavnom ne prati slojevitija argumentacija. Već i površnim pregledom literature može se brzo uočiti koliko je povijest rimske vojne posade u Sisciji tijekom prvih desetljeća rimske vlasti u Panoniji – ali i kasnije – puna nedoumica i opterećena pitanjima bez jasnih odgovora. Na žalost, bez

The issue of *Siscia* as a Roman military garrison has certainly been regularly discussed in scientific publications, both national and international, but the question is seldom dealt with in detail, and the *Siscia* garrison is mostly studied in a wider context.<sup>1</sup>

All authors agree that *Siscia* must have had a legionary garrison during the Julio-Claudian period, or at least through most of it. This legionary garrison is regularly associated with *legio IX*, but the claim is usually not supported by multi-layered argumentation. A brief overview of publications quickly reveals that the history of Roman military presence in *Siscia* during the first decades of Roman rule in Pannonia – and later – is complex, as well as laden by questions that cannot be clearly answered. Unfor-

1 vidi citiranu literaturu u Radman-Livaja 2004, 15-22; Radman-Livaja 2010, 179-201; Radman-Livaja 2015, 24-44.

1 See quoted published works in Radman-Livaja 2004, 15-22; Radman-Livaja 2010, 179-201; Radman-Livaja 2015, 24-44.

daljnjih istraživanja i pokojeg sretnog nalaza, posebice epigrafičkog, i dalje će teško biti odgovoriti na većinu tih pitanja, no takvu sintezu trenutnih spoznaja bi nesumnjivo bilo korisno pokušati ponuditi stručnoj javnosti.

## Oktavijanovo osvajanje

Povijest Segestike i (vjerojatni) sukobi njenih stanovnika s rimskom vojskom, primjerice 156. pr. Kr. ili pak 119. pr. Kr.,<sup>2</sup> izlaze iz okvira ovog rada, no zato Oktavijanov pohod i osvajanje tog grada 35. pr. Kr. nedvojbeno označavaju početak razdoblja koje nas zanima.<sup>3</sup> Pisani izvori, naime, jasno ističu kako je Oktavijan nakon zauzimanja grada u njemu ostavio vojnu posadu,<sup>4</sup> pa bi ta godina stoga predstavljala početak postojanja rimskog garnizona u gradu koji će, po svemu sudeći, vrlo brzo postati Siscija. Je li ta posada od 25 kohorti pod zapovjedništvom Fufija Gemina (*Fufius Geminus*) bila sastavljena od legionara? Izvori nam to izričito ne spominju, no za pretpostaviti je da jest – ako već ne isključivo onda svakako većim dijelom – bilo riječ o legijskim kohortama. Gotovo da nema dvojbe da je Oktavijan, u skladu s uvriježenom praksom, među trupama s kojima je krenuo u osvajanje Ilirika imao i pomoćne postrojbe sastavljene od barbara, primjerice Gala, Ibera ili Orijentalaca koji su vjerojatno popunjavali redove konjice ili pak specijaliziranih postrojbi poput strijelaca, no te jedinice nisu još poprimile stalan karakter koje će dobiti koje desetljeće kasnije.<sup>5</sup> U vojsci koja svojim karakterom još nije bitno odudarala od republikanskih vojski kojima su zapovjedali Marije, Sula, Pompej ili Cezar, takve su pomoćne postrojbe bile uostalom ionako brojčano slabije zastupljene od legija. Možemo stoga pretpostaviti da je te prve zime garnizon u Segestici bio sastavljen od dvije kompletne legije, izgleda ojačane polovicom efektivna još jedne legije. Ta, uvjetno rečeno, treća legija je možda s drugom polovicom svojih snaga osiguravala razne točke duž puta do Segestike, no koliko god to bila uvjerljiva pretpostavka, o tome možemo samo nagađati. Isto tako nije isključeno da ta brojka od 25 kohorti podrazumijeva kako legionarske kohorte tako i auksilijarne jedinice, no nemoguće je sa sigurnošću procijeniti što je Apijan imao na umu kad je navodio taj podatak. Za pretpostaviti je da je u njegovim izvorima, posebice Augustovim zapisima, uloga legija bila istaknutija nego ona pomoćnih trupa, pa bi sukladno tome bilo za očekivati da se posebno naglasio broj legionara koji su ostali u posadi.

Unfortunately, without additional research and the occasional lucky find, especially of an epigraphic nature, it remains difficult to answer most of these questions. It would, however, undoubtedly be useful to provide the wider academic public with a synthesis of currently available data.

## Octavian's conquest

The history of *Segestica* and the (probable) conflicts between its inhabitants and the Roman army, for example in 156 BC or 119 BC,<sup>2</sup> are not within the scope of this paper, but Octavian's campaign and the conquest of the city in 35 BC unquestionably mark the beginning of the period of interest.<sup>3</sup> Namely, written sources clearly point out that Octavian left a military garrison in the city after he conquered it,<sup>4</sup> and the said year marks the beginning of the existence of a military garrison in the city that would, by all accounts, quickly become *Siscia*. Was this army of 25 cohorts under the command of Fufius Geminus composed of legionaries? The sources do not mention it explicitly, but it can be assumed that these were – if not exclusively, then at least in larger part – legionary cohorts. In line with the established practice, there is almost no doubt that, among the troops he led to conquer Illyricum, Octavian also had auxiliary units composed of Gauls, Iberians or Orientals, who probably filled the ranks of cavalry or specialized units such as archers. However, these troops had not yet acquired a more permanent character as would be the case a few decades later.<sup>5</sup> In an army, the character of which did not significantly diverge from Republican troops led by Marius, Sulla, Pompey or Caesar, such auxiliary units were as a rule numerically smaller than legions. It can therefore be assumed that, during that first winter, the garrison in *Segestica* was comprised of two complete legions that were, apparently, strengthened by 5 cohorts of another legion. The third legion possibly secured different points along the road to *Segestica* with the other half of its troops. Nevertheless, as convincing as this assumption might be, it is speculative. Additionally, it is not impossible that the number of 25 cohorts included legionary cohorts as well as auxiliary units, but one cannot definitively ascertain what Appian had in mind when he recorded this information. Presumably, in Appian's sources, especially Augustus' reports, the role of legions was far more prominent than that of auxiliary troops, so it could be expected that the number of legionaries left in the garrison was particularly emphasized.

2 vidi Radman-Livaja 2004, 15-16; Radman-Livaja 2010, 179-182, te citiranu literaturu; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 98-104; Kovács 2014, 23-24.

3 Appianus, III. 16-24; Cassius Dio, 49, 35-38; Veith 1914, 17-58; Swoboda 1932, 3-29; Josifović 1956, 138-144; Wilkes 1969, 50-53; Mócsy 1962, 538-539; Mócsy 1974, 21-23; Šašel 1974, 732; Barkóczy 1980, 87-88; Šašel Kos 1986, 134-142; Zaninović 1986, 62-63; Nenadić 1987, 73; Nagy 1991, 61-64; Hoti 1992, 136-138; Wilkes 1992, 206; Gruen 1996, 173; Wilkes 1996, 549-550; Šašel Kos 1997, 187-196; Šašel Kos 1999, 255-263; Radman-Livaja 2001, 125-126, 132-135; Radman-Livaja 2004, 16-17; Šašel Kos 2005, 393-442; Domić Kunić 2006, 91-100; Eck 2007, 35; Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-162; Džino 2010, 101-111; Radman-Livaja 2010, 182-183; Šašel-Kos 2012, 99-100; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 151-158; Šašel-Kos 2013, 187-192; Kovács 2014, 24-26; Radman-Livaja 2015, 28-30.

4 Appianus, III. 24; Cassius Dio 49.38; Apijan je taj koji spominje 25 kohorti, bez navođenja imena zapovjednika, dok Dion Kasije pak spominje Fufija Gemina ali ne navodi izričito broj postrojbi (točnije rečeno, spominje „manje snage“).

5 Cheesman 1914, 7-20; Saddington 1982, 5-26; Keppie 1984, 130-131; McCall 2002, 100-113; Cagniard 2007, 87-88.

2 See Radman-Livaja 2004, 15-16; Radman-Livaja 2010, 179-182, and quoted bibliography; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 98-104; Kovács 2014, 23-24.

3 Appianus, III. 16-24; Cassius Dio, 49, 35-38; Veith 1914, 17-58; Swoboda 1932, 3-29; Josifović 1956, 138-144; Wilkes 1969, 50-53; Mócsy 1962, 538-539; Mócsy 1974, 21-23; Šašel 1974, 732; Barkóczy 1980, 87-88; Šašel Kos 1986, 134-142; Zaninović 1986, 62-63; Nenadić 1987, 73; Nagy 1991, 61-64; Hoti 1992, 136-138; Wilkes 1992, 206; Gruen 1996, 173; Wilkes 1996, 549-550; Šašel Kos 1997, 187-196; Šašel Kos 1999, 255-263; Radman-Livaja 2001, 125-126, 132-135; Radman-Livaja 2004, 16-17; Šašel Kos 2005, 393-442; Domić Kunić 2006, 91-100; Eck 2007, 35; Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-162; Džino 2010, 101-111; Radman-Livaja 2010, 182-183; Šašel-Kos 2012, 99-100; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 151-158; Šašel-Kos 2013, 187-192; Kovács 2014, 24-26; Radman-Livaja 2015, 28-30.

4 Appianus, III. 24; Cassius Dio 49.38; Appian is the one who mentions 25 cohorts without naming their commander, while Cassius Dio mentions Fufius Geminus, but does not specify the exact number of troops (more precisely, he refers to “a small force”).

5 Cheesman 1914, 7-20; Saddington 1982, 5-26; Keppie 1984, 130-131; McCall 2002, 100-113; Cagniard 2007, 87-88.

Točno brojno stanje u svakom slučaju nije moguće realno odrediti jer je malo vjerojatno da su te kohorte moglo biti u punom sastavu, tim više što su očito prethodno sudjelovale u borbama za osvajanje japodskog teritorija kao i same Segestike. Čak i ako nisu bile izložene u prvim redovima tijekom opsade Metula ili Segestike, s obzirom na tadašnje uvjete ratovanja te su kohorte zasigurno imale određene gubitke, makar samo i zbog bolesti i neizbježnih ozljeda tijekom višemjesečnog napredovanja u dubinu neprijateljskog teritorija, i to teritorija koji je imao potpuno nerazvijenu infrastrukturu, barem po tadašnjim mediteranskim standardima. Zbog svega navedenog, nije baš izgledno da je taj prvi garnizon mogao imati blizu 12.000 vojnika, no čak i ukoliko je bilo riječ o kohortama koje su prethodno pretrpjele teže gubitke, snaga garnizona se vjerojatno može okvirno procijeniti na kojih 6 do 10 tisuća vojnika, što i dalje predstavlja jaku posadu. To se, istina, baš i ne poklapa s navodom Diona Kasija, no teško je reći što su u Dionovim očima predstavljale „manje snage“.

Samim tim činom, odnosno ostavljanjem posade u gradu, Oktavijan je jasno otkrio svoje dugoročne namjere. Rimljani su odlučili ostati u Panoniji, to više nije bila samo kaznena ekspedicija već svjesno osvajanje tog prostora s dugoročnim strateškim ciljem. Ipak, riječ je bila samo o prvom koraku jer je učvršćivanje rimske vlasti potrajalo još desetljećima. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje koje su legije prve bile smještene u Segestici, odnosno Sisciji. Odgovor je tim teže točno znati jer ne znamo ni koje su Oktavijanove legije uopće sudjelovale u pohodu 35. pr. Kr. O njima možemo samo nagađati na temelju trenutnih spoznaja o legijama koje su se zadržavale u Iliriku tijekom idućih desetljeća, odnosno tijekom Augustove vladavine. Sudjelovanje XV legije (*legio XV Apollinaris*) se čini kao uvjerljiva pretpostavka koju je već iznijelo više autora.<sup>6</sup> S obzirom da su s Oktavijanom vojevale i prije ali i nakon 35. pr. Kr., može se pretpostaviti da je Oktavijan u pohod na Ilirik mogao povesti i VII, VIII, IX te XI legiju, tim više što je boravak svih tih legija u Iliriku naknadno i potvrđen, pa makar i tek pred sam kraj Augustove vladavine.<sup>7</sup>

### Učvršćivanje rimske vlasti i garnizon u Sisciji

Garnizon u Sisciji je nedvojbeno služio učvršćivanju rimske vlasti i kontroli nad domorodačkom populacijom. Kako politička i sigurnosna situacija u Iliriku nije tijekom godina uvijek bila ista, snaga garnizona i brojčano stanje trupa na tom prostoru je vjerojatno dosta variralo. Ne smije se zanemariti činjenica da je Ilirik uspostavljen kao senatorska provincija negdje između 32. i 27. pr. Kr.<sup>8</sup> Točan datum ne znamo, no taj podatak ukazuje da stanje u Iliriku po svemu sudeći nije prvotno ocijenjeno kao zabrinjavajuće i da na tom području tada nije bilo potrebe za stacioniranjem

If this was the case, the precise numbers cannot be realistically determined as it is unlikely that the cohorts were fully manned because they had clearly previously participated in battles during the conquest of Iapodian territory and Segestica itself. Even if they were not exposed in the front lines during the siege of *Metulum* or *Segestica*, considering the conditions of waging war at the time, these cohorts must have suffered some losses, even if only due to sickness and inevitable injuries during the month-long advancement into enemy territory, a territory with completely undeveloped infrastructure, at least according to contemporary Mediterranean standards. Because of all this, it does not appear likely that this first garrison could have had close to 12,000 soldiers. Nonetheless, even if this force included cohorts that had suffered more significant losses, the garrison's strength can probably be estimated to between 6 and 10 thousand soldiers, which is still a strong body of troops. This does not actually coincide with Cassius Dio's words, but it is difficult to say what he regarded as "a small force".

By leaving a garrison in the city, Octavian clearly revealed his long-term plans. The Romans had decided to stay in Pannonia, it was no longer just a punitive expedition, but a deliberate conquest of the area with long-term strategic goals. However, this was just the first step, seeing as the strengthening of Roman rule lasted for decades to come. The question of which legions were the first in Segestica, i.e. Siscia, remains unanswered. The answer is that much more difficult to find because it is impossible to know which of Octavian's legions participated in the 35 BC campaign. One may only speculate based on the current knowledge about the legions that stayed in Illyricum during the following decades, i.e. during Augustus' rule. The participation of legion XV (*legio XV Apollinaris*), an assumption presented by many authors, seems plausible.<sup>6</sup> Seeing as they had already waged war with Octavian before and after 35 BC, it can be assumed that Octavian could have led legions VII, VIII, IX and XI into his conquest of Illyricum, more so because the stay of all these legions in Illyricum was subsequently confirmed, if only at the very end of Augustus' rule.<sup>7</sup>

### The strengthening of Roman rule and the garrison of Siscia

The Siscia garrison was undoubtedly used to strengthen Roman rule and control over the native population. In view of the fact that the political situation and security issues in Illyricum were not always the same over the years, the strength of the garrison and the number of troops in the area probably significantly varied. The fact that Illyricum was established as a senatorial province sometime between 32 and 27 BC should not be forgotten.<sup>8</sup> The exact date is unknown, but this piece of information suggests that

6 Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel 1985, 549; Šašel-Kos 1995, 229; Wheeler 2000, 267; Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-162.

7 Ritterling 1925, 1664, 1690; Keppie 1984, 133, 207-209; Reddé 2000, 119-120; Strobel 2000, 526; Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-162.

8 Nagy 1991, 67; Gruen 1996, 174; Gayet 2006, 70; Dzino 2008, 699-703; Dzino 2010, 119; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 160; Kovács 2014, 26-27; za Ritterlingovu pretpostavku da je samo južni dio Ilirika 27. g. pr. Kr. ustrojen kao senatorska provincija dok je sjeverni dio bio direktno podređen Augustovom namjesniku na čelu značajnijih vojnih snaga (*legatus pro praetore* konzularnog ranga, vide Ritterling 1925, 1218-1219; cf. Nagy 1991, 67-68, 79), nedostaju argumenti jer nema podataka koji bi upućivali na takav ustroj ovog prostora kao ni na postojanje tih legata (cf. Dzino 2010, 122-123).

6 Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel 1985, 549; Šašel-Kos 1995, 229; Wheeler 2000, 267; Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-162.

7 Ritterling 1925, 1664, 1690; Keppie 1984, 133, 207-209; Reddé 2000, 119-120; Strobel 2000, 526; Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-162.

8 Nagy 1991, 67; Gruen 1996, 174; Gayet 2006, 70; Dzino 2008, 699-703; Dzino 2010, 119; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 160; Kovács 2014, 26-27; for Ritterling's assumption that only the southern part of Illyricum was a senatorial province while the northern part was directly subordinate to Augustus' legate placed at the head of more significant military forces (*legatus pro praetore* of consular rank, see Ritterling 1925, 1218-1219; cf. Nagy 1991, 67-68, 79), there are insufficient arguments because there is no data that would point to such an organization in this area or the existence of such legates (cf. Dzino 2010, 122-123).

većeg broja trupa. Možemo pretpostaviti da je u tom trenutku u Iliriku boravila samo jedna legija, no ne znamo točno gdje. Siscia svakako dolazi u obzir kao jedna od potencijalnih lokacija, no ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je tada uistinu i bila legijski garnizon. Sklon sam vjerovati da je zbog svog strateškog položaja morala imati vojnu posadu, no o sastavu potonje je teško išta više reći. Ako i nije bila sjedište cijele legije, u obzir vrlo vjerojatno dolazi neka legijska veksilacija ili barem auksilijarna posada. Tijekom jednog, po svemu sudeći, mirnog desetljeća vjerojatno i nije postojala potreba za većim vojnim efektivima, no sigurnosna se situacija nedvojbeno počinje kvariti već 16. pr. Kr. kad panonski i norički pljačkaši provaljuju u Istriju. Godine koje slijede bivaju obilježene čestim sukobima s domorodačkim stanovništvom, pa tako 14. pr. Kr. izbija pobuna u Panoniji, a o ozbiljnosti situacije govori podatak da je 13. pr. Kr. August tamo odlučio poslati Agrippu. Nakon njegove iznenadne smrti, zapovjedništvo preuzima Tiberije, a borbe u ratu koji je dobio ime *Bellum Pannonicum* su se s različitim intenzitetom vodile do 9. ili 8. pr. Kr.<sup>9</sup> Usprkos vrlo manjkavim podacima iz izvora, nema sumnje da je u tom razdoblju svakako bitno pojačana rimska vojna nazočnost. Činjenica da 11. g. pr. Kr. (ako ne i godinu ili dvije ranije) Ilirik od senatorske postaje carska provincija je zasigurno vezana uz vojnu situaciju<sup>10</sup> i posredno nam govori da je u Iliriku tada nesumnjivo moralo biti stacionirano nekoliko legija, no ne znamo sa sigurnošću gdje su te legije točno mogle biti.<sup>11</sup> Može se pretpostaviti da je nakon 35. pr. Kr. pa sve do 6. pos. Kr., odnosno do izbijanja Batonova ustanaka, barem 6, a možda čak i 7 legija određeno vrijeme provelo u Iliriku. Te bi legije, po svemu sudeći, bile *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana*, *XI*, *XIII Gemina*, *XIV Gemina*, *XV Apollinaris* te *XX*<sup>12</sup>. U literaturi se kao pretpostavljena sjedišta njihovih garnizona u Iliriku u tom razdoblju uglavnom spominju slijedeća mjesta: *Burnum* (VIII, XIII, XX legija), *Tilurium* (IX, XI legija) te *Poetovio* (XI, XIV legija), no s obzirom na posvemašnji nedostatak pouzdanih epigrafičkih dokaza o legijskim logorima u Iliriku tijekom Augustove vladavine, odnosno u vremenu prije 6. pos. Kr., pitanju ubikacije eventualnih logora se mora vrlo oprezno pristupiti. Nema sumnje da su ti logori postojali, no možda je pogrešno razmišljati o njima kao o stalnim vojnim utvrdama kakve su postojale u kasnijem vremenu. Tijekom prvih desetljeća Augustove vladavine vjerojatno niti jedan logor u Iliriku nije bio zamišljen kao trajno sjedište određene legije već su se posade mogle mijenjati i popunjavati po potrebi. Privremeni boravak na tom području, odnosno sudjelovanje u vojnim operacijama tijekom tog razdoblja, nije nužno morao značiti da je pojedina legija i trajnije bila stacionirana u Iliriku. Stalni garnizoni nekih legija su tako vjerojatnije bili u sjevernoj Italiji, odakle su po potrebi mogli intervenirati na prostoru Ilirika. Kao mogući legijski garnizon sigurno u obzir dolazi Akvileja

the situation in Illyricum was at first not assessed as alarming, and that there was no need to station a larger number of troops in the area. It can be assumed that, at that moment, only one legion was stationed in Illyricum, but its exact location is unknown. *Siscia* is definitely one of the potential places, but it is not possible to definitively determine that it was actually a legionary garrison at the time. I am inclined to believe that it must have been a military station due to its strategic position, but it is difficult to further discuss the composition of the troops. Even if the city was not occupied by an entire legion, it is reasonable to consider the presence of some legionary *vexillatio*, or at least auxiliary troops. During one, seemingly peaceful, decade, there was probably no need for larger military deployments, but the situation undoubtedly started to change already in 16 BC, when pillagers from Pannonia and Noricum broke into Istria. The following years were marked by frequent conflicts with the native population and in 14 BC Pannonia saw the beginning of an uprising. The gravity of the situation is attested to by the fact that Augustus decided to send Agrippa to the area in 13 BC. After his sudden death, Tiberius took command, and the battles during the war named *Bellum Pannonicum* were waged until 9 or 8 BC with varying intensity.<sup>9</sup> Despite the scarce information in sources, there is no doubt that the Roman military presence significantly increased during this period. The fact that in 11 BC (if not a year or two earlier) Illyricum went from being a senatorial to an imperial province is definitely connected to the military situation,<sup>10</sup> and indirectly indicates that several legions must have been stationed in Illyricum. However, the exact places where these legions were garrisoned are unknown.<sup>11</sup> It can be assumed that after 35 BC and all the way to 6 AD, i.e. until the start of Bato's rebellion, at least six or even seven legions spent a certain amount of time in Illyricum. These legions, based on all accounts, included the following: *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana*, *XI*, *XIII Gemina*, *XIV Gemina*, *XV Apollinaris* and *XX*.<sup>12</sup> Publications mention the following places as possible garrison centers: *Burnum* (legions VIII, XIII, XX), *Tilurium* (legions IX, XI) and *Poetovio* (legions XI, XIV). However, considering the major lack of reliable epigraphic evidence about legionary camps in Illyricum during Augustus' rule, that is, in the period before 6 AD, the question of mapping possible camps must be considered with care. These camps undeniably existed, but it might be wrong to envision them as permanent military fortresses like those from subsequent periods. During these first decades of Augustus' rule, probably no military camps were regarded as permanent bases of specific legions and troops could be transferred as needed. Short-term stay in the area, i.e. the participation in military operations during that time, did not necessarily mean that specific legions had to be permanently stationed in Illyricum. More probably, permanent garrisons of a number of

9 *Florus 2, 24; Velleius Paterculus, 2, 96; Mócsy 1962, 539-541; Mócsy 1974, 34; Barkóczi 1980, 90-91; Šašel Kos 1986, 152-161; Nagy 1991, 64-84; Hoti 1992, 138-140; Gruen 1996, 174-175; Šašel-Kos 1997a, 31-33; Domić Kunić 2006, 100-118; Šašel-Kos 2009, 181-182; Colombo 2010, 171-193; Dzino 2010, 112-136; Šašel-Kos 2011: 107-110; Džino 2012: 461-476; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 162-170; Kovács 2014, 27-29.*

10 Mócsy 1962, 540-542; Mócsy 1974, 34; Nagy 1991, 68-79; Fitz 1993, 48-49; Dzino 2010, 122-136; Kovács 2014, 28.

11 Ritterling 1925, 1215-1238; Syme 1933, 20-23, 25-28.

12 Syme 1933, 23, 25-26, 29-31; Keppie 1984, 208-211; Dzino 2010, 123-124; Šašel-Kos 2011: 112-115; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-164.

9 *Florus 2, 24; Velleius Paterculus, 2, 96; Mócsy 1962, 539-541; Mócsy 1974, 34; Barkóczi 1980, 90-91; Šašel Kos 1986, 152-161; Nagy 1991, 64-84; Hoti 1992, 138-140; Gruen 1996, 174-175; Šašel-Kos 1997a, 31-33; Domić Kunić 2006, 100-118; Šašel-Kos 2009, 181-182; Colombo 2010, 171-193; Dzino 2010, 112-136; Šašel-Kos 2011: 107-110; Džino 2012: 461-476; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 162-170; Kovács 2014, 27-29.*

10 Mócsy 1962, 540-542; Mócsy 1974, 34; Nagy 1991, 68-79; Fitz 1993, 48-49; Dzino 2010, 122-136; Kovács 2014, 28.

11 Ritterling 1925, 1215-1238; Syme 1933, 20-23, 25-28.

12 Syme 1933, 23, 25-26, 29-31; Keppie 1984, 208-211; Dzino 2010, 123-124; Šašel-Kos 2011: 112-115; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-164.

(*Aquileia*),<sup>13</sup> a daleko manje vjerojatno i Emona,<sup>14</sup> koja, po svemu sudeći, nije administrativno ni bila dijelom Ilirika.<sup>15</sup> Mada u samoj Emoni, odnosno na prostoru grada po svemu sudeći nije bio smješten legijski garnizon, arheološka istraživanja su nedvojbeno potvrdila nazočnost rimskih trupa tijekom augustovskog razdoblja na prostoru buduće kolonije, kao i u malo udaljenijoj Vrhnici (*Nauportus*). Nazočnost legionara je sasvim vjerojatna, no po svemu sudeći nije riječ o legijskom logoru. Na prostoru grada Ljubljane potvrđeno je postojanje vojnih instalacija koje se mogu interpretirati kao pohodni logor (lijeva obala Ljubljance), odnosno kao logistička vojna baza (Prule, desna obala Ljubljance). Logor u Prulama, čini se logističko središte (mada nije sasvim isključeno da je riječ o posadnom logoru za manju jedinicu, odnosno jednu kohortu), podignut je izgledno već tijekom Tiberijevog Panonskog rata, a po svemu sudeći je još bio u uporabi i tijekom gušenja Batonova ustanka, kada se i prostorno širi.

Namjena logora na lijevoj strani Ljubljance je, čini se, varirala ovisno o razdoblju. Moguće je razabrati barem dvije faze: između 15.-10. pr. Kr. i 5.-10. pos. Kr. taj je prostor rabljen kao vježbalište (valjda za trupe stacionirane u Prulama), ali i kao privremeni pohodni logor za jedinice koje su tuda prolazile na putu prema Iliriku, odnosno kao mjesto gdje su se čuvali konji i tovarna grla. Nije isključeno ni da je na tom mjestu mogao biti svojevrstni zaborljivički logor. U drugoj fazi, od 5.-10. do 15. pos. Kr., na tom su prostoru izgleda mogle biti smještene trupe koje su sudjelovale u gradnji Emona.<sup>16</sup>

Možemo pretpostaviti da su tijekom prvih desetljeća okupacije Ilirika legije redovito rotirane, te da se nijedna legija nije trajno zadržavala na istoj lokaciji. Glavna vojna baza iz koje su tijekom augustejskog razdoblja operirale trupe po Iliriku je po svemu sudeći bila Akvileja, gdje se u tom vremenu može dokumentirati duži ili kraći boravak barem 5 legija (IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XX). Akvileja je tada bila svojevrstna ishodišna točka za vojne operacije na zapadnom Balkanu, a pojedine legije i/ili veksilacije su po potrebi premještane unutar Ilirika, ali i između Akvileje i Ilirika. Nesumnjivo su najvažnije strateške lokacije vrlo brzo poprimile karakter trajnih rimskih vojnih uporišta, no njihove posade su izgleda bile podložne relativno čestoj rotaciji ljudstva i jedinica, što je, po svemu sudeći, i bila praksa u augustovsko vrijeme, kada su legije često mijenjale garnizone.<sup>17</sup> Razumno je pretpostaviti da su u Panoniji te strateške lokacije mogle biti Siscija, Sirmij i Petovij, a u Dalmaciji Burnum i Tilurij, no ne možemo tvrditi da su sva ta mjesta istovremeno postojala kao legijski logori. Iznimno je teško pokušati pretpostaviti kad je koje od tih mjesta moglo biti sjedište neke legije, iako je sasvim moguće da je okvirno barem između 13. pr. Kr. (u slučaju Siscije vjerojatno i prije) i 6. pos.

legions were in northern Italy, from where they could intervene in Illyricum when needed. A legionary garrison was quite probably in *Aquileia*,<sup>13</sup> and, far less likely, in *Emona*,<sup>14</sup> which was, apparently, not an administrative part of Illyricum.<sup>15</sup> Even though there was probably no legionary garrison stationed in *Emona*, i.e. on the city premises, archaeological excavations unquestionably confirmed the presence of Roman troops on the territory of the future colony during Augustus' reign, as well as in the nearby Vrhnika (*Nauportus*). Legionary presence is very probable, but, based on what is known, there was no legionary camp. The territory of Ljubljana yielded evidence for the existence of military installations that could be interpreted as a marching camp (left bank of Ljubljana) as well as a logistic base (Prule, right bank of Ljubljana). The camp in Prule appears to be a logistical center (although it could have served as a camp for a smaller unit, i.e. a cohort), and was probably built already during Tiberius' Pannonian war, remaining in use during the quelling of Bato's rebellion when it was also enlarged.

The purpose of the camp on the left bank of Ljubljana apparently varied depending on the period. It is possible to discern at least two phases: between 15-10 BC and 5-10 AD, the area was used as a training ground (presumably for the troops stationed at Prule), but also as a temporary marching camp for the units passing through the area on their way to Illyricum and as a place where horses and pack animals were kept. It could have been used as a kind of prisoner-of-war camp as well. In the second phase, between 5-10 and 15 AD, the area could have been used by troops that participated in the construction of *Emona*.<sup>16</sup>

It may be assumed that during the first decades of the occupation of Illyricum legions regularly rotated, and that no legion permanently stayed at the same location. The main military base from which troops moved round Illyricum during the Augustan period was most probably *Aquileia*, where shorter or longer stays of at least five legions from that period was recorded (IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XX). At the time, *Aquileia* was a sort of point of origin for military operations in the western Balkans, and certain legions and/or *vexillationes* were moved within Illyricum, but also between *Aquileia* and Illyricum, as needed. Undoubtedly the most important strategic locations quickly turned into permanent Roman military bases, but their garrisons were, by all accounts, susceptible to relatively frequent rotations of personnel and units, a common practice in Augustan times when legions frequently changed garrisons.<sup>17</sup> It is reasonable to assume that such strategic locations in Panonia could have been *Siscia*, *Sirmium* and *Poetovio*, and, in Dalmatia, *Burnum* and *Tilurium*, but it cannot be claimed that all of these places functioned as military camps at the same time. It is extremely difficult to assume when one of these places could

13 Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646, 1665, 1748; Wilkes 1969, 93, 109; Mann 1983, 31-32; Wheeler 2000, 270.

14 Saria 1938, 245-255; Mann 1983, 32; Visy 1988, 17; za argumentirano suprotstavljeno mišljenje cf. Šašel 1968, 561-566; Mócy 1974, 43; Šašel-Kos 1995, 227-244; Vičić 2003, 22-24.

15 Šašel-Kos 2002, 373-382; Šašel-Kos 2003, 11-19; Šašel-Kos 2013: 195-199; Šašel-Kos 2014a: 153-164; za suprotstavljeno mišljenje cf. Cortés Bârcena 2015, 117-131.

16 Gaspari 2010, 25-27, 88-99, 113-123, 141-145; Gaspari 2014, 110-119, 127-141; Gaspari *et alii* 2014, 137-165; Gaspari *et alii* 2015, 125-164; Novšak *et alii* 2017, 14-17, 26-29; Žerjal 2017, 58-67.

17 Parker 1928, 90-92; Syme 1933, 22.

13 Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646, 1665, 1748; Wilkes 1969, 93, 109; Mann 1983, 31-32; Wheeler 2000, 270.

14 Saria 1938, 245-255; Mann 1983, 32; Visy 1988, 17; for a founded opposing opinion cf. Šašel 1968, 561-566; Mócy 1974, 43; Šašel-Kos 1995, 227-244; Vičić 2003, 22-24.

15 Šašel-Kos 2002, 373-382; Šašel-Kos 2003, 11-19; Šašel-Kos 2013: 195-199; Šašel-Kos 2014a: 153-164; for a contrary opinion, cf. Cortés Bârcena 2015, 117-131.

16 Gaspari 2010, 25-27, 88-99, 113-123, 141-145; Gaspari 2014, 110-119, 127-141; Gaspari *et alii* 2014, 137-165; Gaspari *et alii* 2015, 125-164; Novšak *et alii* 2017, 14-17, 26-29; Žerjal 2017, 58-67.

17 Parker 1928, 90-92; Syme 1933, 22.

Kr. na svakoj od tih lokacija u nekom trenutku mogla boraviti i legijska posada. U literaturi se tako u kontekstu posade Burnuma prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka katkad spominju VIII,<sup>18</sup> XIII<sup>19</sup> i XX legija,<sup>20</sup> tilurijjski garnizon se pak dovodi u vezu s IX<sup>21</sup> i XI legijom, koju neki smještaju i u Poetovio,<sup>22</sup> kao i XIV legiju.<sup>23</sup> Kao što je već spomenuto, vjeruje se da je XV legio Apollinaris u Ilirik došla još za Oktavijanova pohoda, a čini se da je tijekom cijele Augustove vladavine operirala po Iliriku, možda iz baze u Akvileji, a možda i iz nekog logora u samom Iliriku.<sup>24</sup>

have been the base of which legion, although it is very likely that, approximately between 13 BC (in the case of Siscia probably even earlier) and 6 AD, each of these locations could also have housed legionary troops at some point. In the case of Burnum, before Bato's rebellion, scholarly publications refer to legions VIII,<sup>18</sup> XIII,<sup>19</sup> and XX.<sup>20</sup> The Tilurium garrison is connected to legions IX,<sup>21</sup> and XI, the latter being placed in Poetovio<sup>22</sup> by some, as well as legion XIV.<sup>23</sup> As mentioned above, it is believed that XV legio Apollinaris already arrived to Illyricum during Octavian's conquest, and it seems that,

- 18 Nema puno sumnje da je ta legija sudjelovala u gušenju Batonova ustanka a zasigurno je ostala u Panoniji i nakon 9. pos. Kr., no zasad nema pouzdanih dokaza da je u Ilirik bila premještena i prije tih događanja, mada postoji pretpostavka da je mogla boraviti u Liburniji, valjda u Burnumu; Tacitus, *Annales*, I, 23, 30; Ritterling 1925, 1645-1647; Betz 1938, 5, 50-52; Wilkes 1969, 92-95; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Bojanovski 1990, 704; Reddé 2000, 120-121.
- 19 XIII Gemina je sasvim vjerojatno nakon Akcija ostala među trupama u Transpadaniji ili Iliriku. Kao mogući garnizoni se u literaturi spominju Burnum i Emona, no potonje se mjesto, u svijetlu novih spoznaja, po svemu sudeći ne može opisati kao legijski logor; Ritterling 1925, 1711-1712; Syme 1933, 29; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Farnum 2005, 22, 64-65; za Emonu vide Šašel 1968, 561-566; Mócy 1974, 43; Šašel-Kos 1995, 227-244; Vičić 2003, 22-24; Gaspari 2010, 25-27, 88-99, 113-123, 141-145; Gaspari 2014, 110-119, 127-141; Gaspari *et alii* 2014: 137-165.
- 20 XX Valeria Victrix je, ako je suditi po Veleju Paterkulu, vjerojatno bila dijelom vojske u Iliriku i prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka (Velleius Paterculus 2, 112; cf. Cassius Dio 55, 30, mada je potonji autor ne spominje poimence), no ostaje otvoreno pitanje kada je točno tamo stigla. Čini se da je prethodno boravila u Hispaniji, gdje je sudjelovala u kantabrijskim ratovima (Bellum Cantabricum), odakle je mogla biti prekomandirana nakon 19. pr. Kr., možda radi sudjelovanja u alpskom pohodu 16.-15. pr. Kr. i/ili Tiberijevom panonskom ratu 13.-9. pr. Kr. Mogla je biti smještena u Burnumu, a vjerojatno i u Akvileji, odnosno njenoj okolici, odakle je mogla djelovati po Iliriku; Ritterling 1925, 1769-1771; Betz 1938, 20, 56-58; Wilkes 1969, 93; Farnum 2005, 24, 65; Malone 2006, 28-31; Cambi *et alii* 2007, 13-16; Dzino 2010, 148; Miletić 2010, 120.
- 21 IX legio Hispana je, čini se, s iberskog poluotoka prebačena u Ilirik između 19. pr. Kr. i 15. pr. Kr., odnosno najkasnije do 13. pr. Kr., no o njenom garnizonu prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka možemo samo nagađati, mada se u literaturi spominje Tilurij, gdje je navodno (ovisno o interpretaciji natpisa CIL III 13977) mogla biti smještena do gušenja ustanka 9. pos. Kr.; Ritterling 1925, 1664-1665; Syme 1933, 23; Betz 1938, 52; Wilkes 1969, 92; Keppie 2000, 26; Farnum 2005, 21, 65; iako je sasvim vjerojatno da je u tom razdoblju boravila u Iliriku, s obzirom na dvojbenu čitanje spomenutog natpisa, nije isključeno da je IX legija mogla biti stacionirana i negdje drugdje u Iliriku, pa tako i u sjevernom dijelu provincije, odnosno na panonskom prostoru, ili pak u Akvileji, otkud je mogla intervenirati u Iliriku po potrebi.
- 22 Za XI se legiju pretpostavlja da je bila stacionirana na Balkanu već nakon bitke kod Akcija, odnosno odmah po Oktavijanovoj reorganizaciji vojske, no o njenom garnizonu u tom razdoblju nema konkretnih podataka (Betz 1938, 20). Ritterling je pretpostavljao da je prije Batonova ustanka mogla biti smještena u sjevernom dijelu Ilirika, to jest u Panoniji, a kao mogući garnizon ne isključuje Poetovio (Ritterling 1925, 1691). Farnum pak pretpostavlja da je između 27. i 16. pr. Kr. mogla biti u Tiluriju, kada je premještena u Meziju (gdje je možda već boravila između 30. i 27. pr. Kr. – Naissus?), kamo je ostala do kraja Batonova ustanka (Viminacium?). Za svoje pretpostavke ne iznosi međutim nikakve konkretne argumente (Farnum 2005, 22, 64, 72-73).
- 23 XIV Gemina se na temelju raspoloživih podataka, isto kao i XIII legija, smješta u Ilirik ili sjevernu Italiju u razdoblju nakon Akcija. Možda je u jednom trenutku boravila u Akvileji, a kao mogućnost Farnum spominje i Poetovio. Čini se vjerojatnim da je Ilirik (ili sjevernu Italiju) napustila najkasnije do 13. pr. Kr. kada se pridružila legijama na Rajni i sudjelovala u Druzovim pohodima. Nakon toga se valjda vratila u Ilirik, no vjerojatno tek 6. pos. Kr. kao jedna od legija prvotno namijenjenih pohodu protiv Maroboda, no s kojima je Tiberije morao gušiti Batonov ustanak; Ritterling 1925, 1728; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 191-192; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65.
- 24 Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel-Kos 1995, 236-237; Wheeler 2000, 261-268, 270-272; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65; iako se katkad spominje u tom kontekstu, Emona, po svemu sudeći, otpada kao mogućnost (vide supra).

- 18 This legion undoubtedly participated in the suppression of Bato's rebellion, and it definitely stayed in Pannonia even after 9 AD. However, so far there is not a lot of relevant data that it was transferred to Illyricum before these events, although there is an assumption that it could have been in Liburnia, presumably in Burnum; Tacitus, *Annales*, I, 23, 30; Ritterling 1925, 1645-1647; Betz 1938, 5, 50-52; Wilkes 1969, 92-95; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Bojanovski 1990, 704; Reddé 2000, 120-121.
- 19 After the battle of Actium, XIII Gemina probably stayed among the troops in Transpadania or Illyricum. As its possible garrisons, publications mention Burnum and Emona, but the latter cannot, in light of recent insight, be considered as a legionary camp; Ritterling 1925, 1711-1712; Syme 1933, 29; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Farnum 2005, 22, 64-65; za Emonu vide Šašel 1968, 561-566; Mócy 1974, 43; Šašel-Kos 1995, 227-244; Vičić 2003, 22-24; Gaspari 2010, 25-27, 88-99, 113-123, 141-145; Gaspari 2014, 110-119, 127-141; Gaspari *et alii* 2014: 137-165.
- 20 XX Valeria Victrix was, according to Velleius Paterculus, probably a part of the military in Illyricum before Bato's rebellion started (Velleius Paterculus 2, 112; cf. Cassius Dio 55, 30, although the latter author does not mention it explicitly), but the question of when exactly it got there remains unanswered. It seems that prior to this it was in Hispania where it participated in the Cantabrian wars (Bellum Cantabricum), from where it could have been sent after 19 BC, possibly to participate in the Alpine campaign of 16-15 BC and/or Tiberius' Pannonian war of 13-9 BC. It could have been stationed at Burnum, but probably also in Aquileia, that is, in its vicinity from where it could have acted in Illyricum; Ritterling 1925, 1769-1771; Betz 1938, 20, 56-58; Wilkes 1969, 93; Farnum 2005, 24, 65; Malone 2006, 28-31; Cambi *et alii* 2007, 13-16; Dzino 2010, 148; Miletić 2010, 120.
- 21 IX legio Hispana was, seemingly, transferred from the Iberian peninsula to Illyricum between 19 BC and 15 BC, that is, in 13 BC at the latest, but its garrison before Bato's rebellion can only be supposed, although publications mention Tilurium, where allegedly (depending on the interpretation of the inscription CIL III 13977) it could have been stationed until the rebellion was crushed in AD 9; Ritterling 1925, 1664-1665; Syme 1933, 23; Betz 1938, 52; Wilkes 1969, 92; Keppie 2000, 26; Farnum 2005, 21, 65; Even though it is highly likely that it was in Illyricum at the time, considering the two-fold possible reading of the aforementioned inscription, it is not impossible that legion IX could have been stationed somewhere else in Illyricum, perhaps in the northern part of the province, i.e. on Pannonian territory, or even in Aquileia, from where it could act as needed in Illyricum.
- 22 The XI legion was supposedly stationed in the Balkans already after the battle of Actium, that is, right after Octavian reorganized the military. However, there is no data on its garrison from that time (Betz 1938, 20). Ritterling supposed that, before Bato's rebellion, it could have been garrisoned in the northern part of Illyricum, i.e. in Pannonia, and Poetovio is not excluded as a possible garrison (Ritterling 1925, 1691). Farnum supposes that, between 27 and 16 BC it could have been in Tilurium, when it was sent to Moesia (where it had possibly stayed between 30 and 27 BC – Naissus?), where it remained until the end of Bato's rebellion (Viminacium?). However, he does not have strong evidence for his assumptions (Farnum 2005, 22, 64, 72-73).
- 23 XIV Gemina was, based on the available data, just like legion XIII, situated in Illyricum or northern Italy, and Farnum also mentions Poetovio as a possible location. It seems more probable that it left Illyricum (or northern Italy) by 13 BC, when it joined the legions on the Rhine and participated in Drusus' campaigns. After that it returned to Illyricum, but probably only in AD 6, as one of the legions initially assigned to the campaign against Maroboduus, whom Tiberius had to use to fight Bato's uprising; Ritterling 1925, 1728; Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 191-192; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65.

Iako je oko identifikacije legija stacioniranih u Iliriku tijekom Augustove vladavine barem donekle postignut konsenzus u znanstvenoj literaturi, unatoč neriješenim kronološkim pitanjima, pitanje njihovih logora u razdoblju prije Batonova ustanka i dalje ostaje otvoreno. Emonu se, kako sad stvari stoje, može isključiti iz te priče, no ostaje pitanje ostalih mogućih legijskih garnizona, kao što su Burnum, Tilurij, Petovij, Siscija i Sirmij. Ne smijemo pritom nikako zaboraviti Akvileju, gdje su po svemu sudeći u tom razdoblju bile smještene trupe koje su po potrebi djelovale u Iliriku, što se može argumentirati i relevantnom epigrafičkom građom. Epigrafija nam, na žalost, nije od velike pomoći za potvrdu postojanja legijskih logora u augustovskom razdoblju na drugim navedenim lokalitetima (s izuzetkom donekle dvojbenog natpisa CIL III 13977 u slučaju Tilurija i nekoliko veteranskih natpisa iz kasnoaugustovskog vremena u slučaju XX legije), pa se sve pretpostavke temelje samo na više ili manje uvjerljivom nagađanju.

Načelno ne sumnjam da su legijski logori u Burnumu, Tiluriju i Petoviju mogli postojati prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka,<sup>25</sup> no začuđujuće je što se u tom kontekstu u znanstvenoj literaturi daleko rjeđe spominju Siscija i Sirmij. Antički izvori opravdano naglašavaju iznimnu stratešku važnost ta dva grada prilikom izbijanja Batonova ustanka te je stoga teško vjerovati da ih Rimljani nisu koristili kao vojne baze i prije 6. pos. Kr. Sirmij možda nije imao rimsku posadu prije panonskog rata (*Bellum Pannonicum*), no od tog trenutka pa sve do kraja Augustove vladavine bilo bi razumno za pretpostaviti da je makar i manja vojna posada morala biti prisutna u gradu ili njegovoj bližjoj okolici.<sup>26</sup>

Vjerujem da Siscija u tom razdoblju niti u jednom trenutku nije ostala bez vojne posade, mada je snaga garnizona nesumnjivo mogla varirati.<sup>27</sup> Iako za to nema konkretnih dokaza, s obzirom na raspoložive podatke, možda nije sasvim neuvjerljiva pretpostavka da su u razdoblju prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka XV i XX legija neko vrijeme mogle provesti u Sisciji. XV legija se, naime, ne dovodi u vezu s Burnumom, Tilurijem i Petovijom, pa stoga nije isključeno je da je operirala na relaciji Akvileja-Siscija. Ako su točno interpretirani navodi Veleja Paterkula i Diona Kasija (*Velleius Paterculus* 2, 112; *Cassius Dio* 55, 30), Tiberije je XX legiju pod zapovjedništvom Valerija Mesalina poslao kao prethodnicu svojih snaga prema Sisciji čim je saznao za izbijanje pobune. Mo-

during Augustus' entire rule, it operated within Illyricum, possibly from the base in *Aquileia*, or from a camp somewhere in Illyricum.<sup>24</sup>

Although a consensus has been reached in scientific publications on the issue of identifying legions stationed in Illyricum during Augustus' rule despite unresolved chronological matters, the question of where their camps were before Bato's rebellion still remains unanswered. *Emona* can, based on current knowledge, be excluded, but the question remains of other possible legionary garrisons, such as *Burnum*, *Tilurium*, *Poetovio*, *Siscia* and *Sirmium*. *Aquileia* should also not be forgotten because, at the time, it housed the troops that operated in Illyricum, as attested to by relevant epigraphic finds. Epigraphy is, unfortunately, not very helpful in confirming the existence of legionary camps in the Augustan period on other listed sites (with the exception of the somewhat questionable inscription CIL III 13977 in the case of *Tilurium*, as well as a few veteran inscriptions from the late Augustan period in the case of legion XX), so all of the assumptions are based on more or less convincing guesswork.

As a matter of fact, I do not question the possible existence of legionary camps in *Burnum*, *Tilurium* and *Poetovio* before Bato's rebellion,<sup>25</sup> but it is surprising that scientific publications rarely discuss *Siscia* and *Sirmium* in that context. Ancient sources justifiably emphasize the great strategic importance of these two cities during Bato's rebellion, and it is, therefore, difficult to believe that the Romans did not use them as military bases before AD 6. *Sirmium* might not have had a Roman garrison before the Pannonian war (*Bellum Pannonicum*), but it would be logical to assume that, after that moment and until the end of Augustus' rule, there was at least a small military unit in the city or its immediate vicinity.<sup>26</sup>

I am of the opinion that *Siscia* was never left without a garrison during this period, although its strength could indisputably have varied.<sup>27</sup> Even though there is no clear evidence, based on the available data, the assumption that legions XV and XX could have spent some time in *Siscia* before Bato's uprising does not seem unbelievable. Legion XV is not connected to *Burnum*, *Tilurium* or *Poetovio*, so the possibility that it operated on the *Aquileia-Siscia* route cannot be excluded. If the records of Velleius Patercu-

25 Burnum (Betz 1938, 57; Zaninović 1968, 121-122; Cambi *et alii* 2007, 13-16; Sanader 2008, 85-86; Miletić 2010, 120) i Tilurij (Zaninović 1984, 68-69; Sanader 2008, 87-88; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 45-46) mogli su postati legijski logori već u drugom desetljeću pr. Kr., ako ne čak i ranije (Periša 2008, 511-512), dok za legijski logor u Petoviju možemo pretpostaviti da je nastao oko 15. g. pr. Kr. ili koju godinu kasnije (Saria 1951, 1170; Mócsy 1959, 28; Horvat *et alii* 2003, 156; Šašel-Kos 2014b, 141-142).

26 Mócsy 1959, 77; Klemenc 1961, 23; Klemenc 1963, 67; Mócsy 1971, 44-45; Mócsy 1974, 43; S tom se pretpostavkom ne slaže J. W. Eadie, koji sumnja da su u Sirmiju prije 6. g. mogle biti stacionirane regularne rimske jedinice, cf. Eadie 1977, 210; M. Mirković dopušta mogućnost rimske vojne nazočnosti u Sirmiju u tom razdoblju, no smatra da nije riječ o stalnim legijskim bazama na panonskom prostoru već samo o augzilijarnim odredima i legijskim veksilacijama. cf. Saxer 1967, 5-6; Mirković 1971, 12; Mirković 1990, 639, ft. 42.

27 Mócsy 1974, 23, 43; Šašel 1974, 732-734; Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-168; Radman-Livaja 2010, 183-186; Radman-Livaja 2015, 30-44.

24 Ritterling 1925, 1747-1748; Šašel-Kos 1995, 236-237; Wheeler 2000, 261-268, 270-272; Farnum 2005, 23, 64-65; although sometimes mentioned in this context, *Emona*, based on the available data, is not a plausible option (*vide supra*).

25 *Burnum* (Betz 1938, 57; Zaninović 1968, 121-122; Cambi *et alii* 2007, 13-16; Sanader 2008, 85-86; Miletić 2010, 120) and *Tilurium* (Zaninović 1984, 68-69; Sanader 2008, 87-88; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 45-46) could have become legionary camps already in the second decade BC, if not earlier (Periša 2008, 511-512), while the legionary camp in *Poetovio* is assumed to have been created around 15 BC or a year or so earlier (Saria 1951, 1170; Mócsy 1959, 28; Horvat *et alii* 2003, 156; Šašel-Kos 2014b, 141-142).

26 Mócsy 1959, 77; Klemenc 1961, 23; Klemenc 1963, 67; Mócsy 1971, 44-45; Mócsy 1974, 43; J. W. Eadie does not agree with this assumption and doubts that Roman units could have been stationed in *Sirmium* before AD 6, cf. Eadie 1977, 210; M. Mirković allows for the possibility of Roman military presence in *Sirmium* at that time, but thinks that there were no permanent legionary bases on Pannonian territory, only auxiliary units and legionary *vexillationes*; Saxer 1967, 5-6; Mirković 1971, 12; Mirković 1990, 639, ft. 42.

27 Mócsy 1974, 23, 43; Šašel 1974, 732-734; Radman-Livaja 2007, 161-168; Radman-Livaja 2010, 183-186; Radman-Livaja 2015, 30-44



žemo samo nagađati o njegovim razlozima, no nije nerazumno pretpostaviti da je XX legija poslana prva upravo zato što je prethodno u nekom trenutku bila stacionirana u Sisciji te je zbog poznavanja terena mogla tamo najbrže i stići. Naravno, Tiberijevi razlozi su mogli biti i sasvim druge prirode. XX legiji je uloga prethodnice mogla biti zadana zbog nekog razloga isključivo vojne, odnosno operativne prirode, primjerice zbog svoje borbene učinkovitosti i ratnog iskustva.

Kako god bilo, u nedostatku iscrpnijih informacija u pisanim izvorima te epigrafičkih nalaza, moramo priznati da se naš stav o legijskom garnizonu u Sisciji tijekom Augustove vladavine temelji uglavnom na više ili manje uvjerljivim pretpostavkama. U stvari se Siscija kao rimski garnizon konkretno u izvorima spominje samo 35. pr. Kr. (*Appianus, Ill. 24; Cassius Dio 49.38*) – za pretpostaviti s legijskom posadom iako se to izričito ne navodi – te tijekom Batonova ustanka kad se nazočnost većeg broja legija u Sisciji izričito ističe, kao i činjenica da je Tiberije u Sisciju smjestio svoj stožer i da to mu je to mjesto služilo kao glavna vojna baza za operacije u Panoniji (*Cassius Dio 55, 30; Velleius Paterculus 2, 113*). Izbor Siscije vjerojatno nije slučajna. Za pretpostaviti je da je Tiberije tijekom Panonskog rata (*Bellum Pannonicum*) svoje snage također smjestio u Sisciji i da je bio više nego dobro upoznat sa strateškom važnošću tog geografskog položaja. Naime, nema dvojbe da su dvije ključne strateške točke za nadzor južne Panonije Siscija na zapadu i Sirmij na istoku.

### Batonov ustanak

Vijesti o ustanku u Iliriku su do Tiberijevog stožera u Carnuntumu doprle taman pred početak vojne protiv Markomana 6. godine.<sup>28</sup> Trenutak za podizanje bune je bio idealan jer je veći dio rimskih trupa inače stacioniranih u Iliriku bio privremeno premješten na sjever pod Tiberijevim zapovjedništvom kako bi učestvovali u spomenutom pohodu. Dezidijatima su se pridružili i Breuci, vjerojatno najsnažnije pleme u južnoj Panoniji, pod vodstvom jednog drugog Batona. Mnoga manja plemena su također pristupila ustanicima te je započeo sveopći masakr rimskih građana koji su se zatekli na tom području. Velej izričito spominje trgovce i vojne odrede koje je zatekla zla kob da se nađu izolirani usred odjednom neprijateljskog teritorija, no ustanici su odmah krenuli i na veća naselja pa čak i na susjedne provincije. Velej tek uzgred spominje pljačkaške pohode prema Makedoniji te pripreme za napad na Italiju no Dion Kasije izričito spominje napade na Salonu i Sirmij. Rimljani su, pritisnuti sa svih strana u Iliriku, morali brzo reagirati. Nije bilo pomoći za nesretnike koji su se zatekli u krajevima koja su zauzeli ustanici, no veća naselja su se još mogla spasiti. Prije svega je bilo nužno zadržati ustani-

lus and Cassius Dio were interpreted correctly (*Velleius Paterculus 2, 112; Cassius Dio 55, 30*), Tiberius sent legion XX, commanded by *Marcus Valerius Messalla Messallinus*, as the vanguard of his forces towards *Siscia* as soon as he found out about the rebellion. His reasons are up for discussion, but it is not unreasonable to assume that legion XX was sent first because it had previously, at some point, been stationed in *Siscia*, and could get there the fastest because it knew the terrain. Of course, Tiberius' reasons could have been of a different nature. Legion XX could have been chosen as the vanguard for some other reason of exclusively military, that is, operational character, for example its effectiveness in combat or its war experience.

In any case, with the lack of more detailed information in written sources and epigraphic finds, we have to admit that the existence of a legionary garrison in *Siscia* during Augustus' rule is based on more or less convincing assumptions. Realistically, the sources refer to *Siscia* as a Roman garrison only in 35 BC (*Appianus, Ill. 24; Cassius Dio 49.38*) – presumably with legionary troops, although it is not explicitly written – and during Bato's rebellion when the presence of a larger number of legions in *Siscia* is clearly emphasized, as is the fact that Tiberius placed his headquarters in *Siscia*, using the place as the main military base for operations in Pannonia (*Cassius Dio 55, 30; Velleius Paterculus 2, 113*). The choice of *Siscia* was probably not unintended. It can be assumed that, during the Pannonian war (*Bellum Pannonicum*), Tiberius also stationed his units in *Siscia*, and that he was more than familiar with the strategic importance of that geographical position. Explicitly, there is no doubt that the two strategic points for controlling southern Pannonia were *Siscia* in the west and *Sirmium* in the east.

### Bato's rebellion

The news of the uprising in Illyricum reached Tiberius' camp in *Carnuntum* right before the beginning of the campaign against the Marcomanni in 6 AD.<sup>28</sup> The moment chosen to start the rebellion was ideal because most Roman troops usually stationed in Illyricum were temporarily transferred to the north under Tiberius' command to participate in the aforementioned campaign. The Daesitiates were joined by the Breuci, probably the strongest tribe in southern Pannonia, under the command of another Bato. Many smaller tribes also joined the rebels, and the massacre of Roman citizens living in the area began. Velleius explicitly mentions traders and military units who met their gruesome fate, isolated within what suddenly became enemy territory, but the rebels moved towards bigger settlements as well, even the neighboring provinces. Velleius only briefly mentions raids towards

28 Za Batonov ustanak vidi slijedeća djela kao i citiranu bibliografiju: *Cassius Dio 55, 28-34; Velleius Paterculus 2, 110-116; Suetonius, Aug. 16, 25, Tib. 16, 20; Hirschfeld 1890, 351-362; Rau 1925, 313-346; Ritterling 1925, 1232-1236; Köstermann 1953, 345-378; Pavan 1955, 380; Pašalić 1956, 245-300; Mócsy 1962, 544-548; Wilkes 1969, 69-77; Mirković 1971, 12-13; Mócsy 1971, 43; Mócsy 1974, 37-39; Šašel 1974, 733-734; Barkóczy 1980, 88-89; Šašel-Kos 1986, 178-191; Zaninović 1986, 63; Gruen 1996, 176-178; Wilkes 1996, 553; Dizdar, Radman-Livaja 2004, 44-45; Sordi 2004, 221-228; Džino 2005, 138-157; Džino 2006: 145-155; Seager 2005, 33-35; Džino 2009: 29-39; Šašel-Kos 2009, 182-187; Džino 2010, 137-155; Radman-Livaja, Dizdar 2010, 47-56; Šašel-Kos 2011, 110-112; Radman-Livaja 2012, 165-166; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 170-179; Kovács 2014, 30-35; Radman-Livaja 2015, 36-40; Šašel-Kos 2015, 67-79.*

28 For Bato's rebellion, see the following works and the quoted bibliography: *Cassius Dio 55, 28-34; Velleius Paterculus 2, 110-116; Suetonius, Aug. 16, 25, Tib. 16, 20; Hirschfeld 1890, 351-362; Rau 1925, 313-346; Ritterling 1925, 1232-1236; Köstermann 1953, 345-378; Pavan 1955, 380; Pašalić 1956, 245-300; Mócsy 1962, 544-548; Wilkes 1969, 69-77; Mirković 1971, 12-13; Mócsy 1971, 43; Mócsy 1974, 37-39; Šašel 1974, 733-734; Barkóczy 1980, 88-89; Šašel-Kos 1986, 178-191; Zaninović 1986, 63; Gruen 1996, 176-178; Wilkes 1996, 553; Dizdar, Radman-Livaja 2004, 44-45; Sordi 2004, 221-228; Džino 2005, 138-157; Džino 2006: 145-155; Seager 2005, 33-35; Džino 2009: 29-39; Šašel-Kos 2009, 182-187; Džino 2010, 137-155; Radman-Livaja, Dizdar 2010, 47-56; Šašel-Kos 2011, 110-112; Radman-Livaja 2012, 165-166; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 170-179; Kovács 2014, 30-35; Radman-Livaja 2015, 36-40; Šašel-Kos 2015, 67-79.*

ke u područjima koja su već kontrolirali i ne dozvoliti im da krenu na druge provincije, posebice na samu Italiju. Taj se primarni strateški cilj mogao postići kontrolom Siscije i Sirmija. Obje strane su bile svjesne te činjenice pa je prva godina rata bila u znaku manevriranja snaga između ta dva grada. Izvori nam ne otkrivaju je li Siscija bila neposredno ugrožena kad je izbio ustanak no čini se da je Tiberije hitno poslao jednu legiju kako bi ojačao obranu grada čim je postao svjestan ozbiljnosti situacije (*Velleius Paterculus* 2, 112; *Cassius Dio* 55, 30). Po svemu sudeći je riječ o XX legiji koju je vodio Valerije Mesala Mesalin (*Valerius Messalla Messallinus*), guverner Ilirika.<sup>29</sup> Tiberije je ubrzo osobno s ostatkom svoje velike vojske stigao do Siscije gdje se i utaborio. Osim XX legije, može se pretpostaviti da je Tiberije sa sobom u Sisciju doveo i IX, XIII, XIV i XV legiju. Te su legije trebale sudjelovati u pohodu protiv Maroboda a većina je vjerojatno bila i prethodno stacionirana u Iliriku, s izuzetkom XIV legije koja je, čini se, prebačena s rajnske granice upravo zbog Tiberijeva pohoda protiv Markomana.<sup>30</sup> S obzirom na ograničene okvire ovog rada, nema potrebe ulaziti u detaljan opis operacija tijekom suzbijanja panonsko-delmatske pobune, no treba istaknuti činjenicu da je Siscija tada bila bez dvojbe najveći vojni garnizon u cijelom carstvu. Rimljani su kraj 6. godine dočekali u posjedu dva najvažnija grada na sjeveru, odnosno Siscije - koju su branile Tiberijeve trupe ojačane pojačanjima iz Italije - i Sirmija, pod nadzorom vojske Cecine Severa, ali i svih obalnih gradova. Ustanici su, po svemu sudeći, zadržali pod svojim kontrolom unutrašnjost Ilirika ali je strateška inicijativa prešla na stranu Rimljana. Ofenzivu su pokrenuli 7. godine, vjerojatno na proljeće, čim je to vrijeme dopustilo. Tri mezijske legije pod zapovjedništvom Cecine Severa (*Caecina Severus*), dvije legije premještene iz Male Azije pod vodstvom Marka Plautija Silvana (*M. Plautius Silvanus*) te tračka konjica pod vodstvom kralja Remetalka (*Rhoemetalces*) krenuli su prema Sisciji iz Sirmija, nesumnjivo u namjeri da osiguraju glavnu prometnicu preko Ilirika, dolinu Save. U stručnoj se literaturi pokušalo identificirati te legije, pa tako Wilkes pretpostavlja da su pod zapovjedništvom Cecine Severa u tom trenutku mogle biti VII, VIII i XI legija, dok su s istoka došle IV *Scythica* i V *Macedonica*, no njegovo mišljenje ne dijele svi. Pitanje je da li je Cecina Sever uopće na taj pohod poveo sve 3 mezijske legije, pa nije isključeno da su samo dvije legije u Cecininoj i Plautijevoj zajedničkoj vojsci bile u stvari iz mezijskih garnizona. IV *Scythica* bila je vjerojatno jedna od Cecininih legija jer je, po svemu sudeći, bila trajno smještena u Meziji tijekom Augustove vladavine. S istoka, odnosno iz Galatije su pod zapovjedništvom Plautija Silvana vrlo vjerojatno prebačene V *Macedonica* i VII legija, no ostaju dvojbe za VIII i XI legiju. Za VIII legiju se, ovisno o autorima, pretpostavlja da je prije izbijanja Batonova ustanka mogla biti stacionirana u Iliriku, Meziji, na Istoku, u sjevernoj Africi ili Egiptu, dok je za XI dosta vjerojatno da je u tom vremenu uistinu bila stacionirana na Balkanu, no nemoguće je točno reći gdje. Treća Plautijeva legija (ako je pretpostavka o tri istočne legije uopće točna) bi eventualno mogla biti VIII legija, no ona dolazi isto tako u obzir kao jedna od 3 mezijske legije, zajedno s IV i XI. Također nema odgovora na pitanje koju je legiju Cecina Se-

Macedonia and preparations for attacking Italy, but Cassius Dio explicitly refers to attacks on *Salona* and *Sirmium*. The Romans, pressed from all sides in Illyricum, had to act fast. There was no help for the unlucky ones who found themselves in areas already taken by the rebels, but there was still hope for larger settlements. Primarily, it was important to keep the rebels on the territories that already were under their control, and not to let them move on to other provinces, especially Italy itself. This primary military goal could be achieved by controlling *Siscia* and *Sirmium*. Both sides were aware of that fact, so the first year of war was marked by maneuvering between the two cities. The sources do not reveal whether *Siscia* was directly under threat when the rebellion began, but it seems that Tiberius urgently sent one legion to strengthen the city's defenses as soon as he became aware of the gravity of the situation (*Velleius Paterculus* 2, 112; *Cassius Dio* 55, 30). Based on the available data, this was legion XX, commanded by Valerius Messalla Messallinus, the governor of Illyricum.<sup>29</sup> Tiberius soon reached *Siscia* with the rest of his army where he also made an encampment. In addition to legion XX, it can be assumed that Tiberius also led legions IX, XIII, XIV and XV to *Siscia*. These legions were to participate in the campaign against Maroboduus, and most had probably previously been stationed in Illyricum, with the exception of legion XIV that was, as it seems, transferred from the Rhine border precisely due to Tiberius' campaign against the Marcomanni.<sup>30</sup> With regard to the limitations of this paper, there is no need to provide a detailed description of the operations that occurred during the suppression of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, but the fact that *Siscia* was at that time undoubtedly the largest military garrison in the entire Empire should be emphasized. The Romans saw the end of the year 6 in possession of the two most important cities in the north, *Siscia* - defended by Tiberius' troops with reinforcements from Italy - and *Sirmium*, garrisoned by Caecina Severus' army, as well as all coastal cities. The rebels, seemingly, kept the interior of Illyricum under control, but the strategic initiative switched to the Romans. The offensive began in AD 7, probably in the spring, as soon as the weather allowed. Three Moesian legions commanded by Caecina Severus, two legions transferred from Asia Minor commanded by Marcus Plautius Silvanus, and the Thracian cavalry commanded by king Rhoemetalces, moved from *Sirmium* to *Siscia*, undoubtedly with the aim of securing the main road in Illyricum, the Sava River valley. Attempts at identifying these legions were made in scientific publications, so Wilkes supposes that Caecina Severus could have commanded legions VII, VIII and XI, while legions IV *Scythica* and V *Macedonica* came from the east, but his opinion is not shared by all authors. The question is whether Caecina Severus took all three Moesian legions into this campaign, or if it is possible that only two legions in the combined army of Caecina and Plautius were actually from the garrisons in Moesia. IV *Scythica* probably was one of Caecina's legions because it was, as it appears, permanently stationed in Moesia during Augustus' rule. Legions V *Macedonica* and VII were probably transferred from the east, i.e. from Galatia under the command of Plautius Silvanus, but the issue of legions VIII and XI is a matter of discussion. Le-

29 Fitz 1993, 66-67.

30 Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 192; Keppie 2000, 26; Wheeler 2000, 271; Farnum 2005, 5; Ritterling je vjerovao da su dijelom iliričke vojske prije izbijanja ustanka bile VIII, IX, XI, XV i XX legija (Ritterling 1925, 1235).

29 Fitz 1993, 66-67.

30 Wilkes 1969, 92-93; Franke 2000, 192; Keppie 2000, 26; Wheeler 2000, 271; Farnum 2005, 5; Ritterling believed that the Illyrian army before the rebellion included legions VIII, IX, XI, XV and XX (Ritterling 1925, 1235).

ver eventualno mogao ostaviti u Meziji.<sup>31</sup> Na svom su putu rimske trupe upale u zasjedu u močvarnom području poznatom kao *Hiulca Palus* (ali i kao *Volcae Paludes*), negdje na prostoru današnje jugoistočne Slavonije ali se su uspjele probiti do Siscije, gdje se u tom trenutku, odnosno 7. godine pos. Kr. sakupila najveća rimska vojska još od Građanskih ratova. Vjerojatno su to bile IX, XIII, XIV, XV i XX legiji iz Tiberijeve vojske te *IX Scythica*, *V Macedonica*, *VII*, *VIII* i *XI* legija koje su došle iz Mezije, odnosno s Istoka. Tolika koncentracija trupa se pokazala nepotrebnom, a vjerojatno je zahtijevala i golem logistički napor, pa je dio jedinica uskoro opet vraćen u Meziju.

Bitka kod Volcejskih močvara je Tiberija vjerojatno uvjerila da se rat neće lako dobiti na bojnopolju, odnosno jednom presudnom bitkom, pa se odlučio na strategiju „spaljene zemlje“, odnosno na metodično uništavanje usjeva i naselja kako bi u konačnici izgledno stanovništvo i uništio njihovu volju za borbom. Plan se pokazao dobar jer je dogodne urodio plodom: 3. kolovoza 8. godine, izgladnjeli Breuci na čelu s njihovim vladarom Batonom položili su oružje kod rijeke *Bathinus*. Mnogim Breucima je kapitulacija očito bila mrska, a razumljivo je izazvala i zgražanje glavnih saveznika Dezidijata te je dezidijački Baton pokrenuo ofenzivu prema Panoniji, gdje je uspio zbaciti s vlasti i ubiti Batona Breučkog. Ipak, tu zadnju pobunu iscrpljenih Breuka lako je još iste godine ugušio Plautije Silvan koji je u protunapadu s trupama iz Sirmija dezidijačkog Batona prisilio na povlačenje, definitivno time skršivši svaki otpor sjeverno od Save. Panonija je tako smirena a zadnji otpor su ustanici pružili u Dalmaciji gdje su konačno poraženi iduće godine kada Tiberije okončava rat pobjedom nad opkoljenim Batonovim snagama u Andetriju.

### Legijski garnizoni u Panoniji nakon sloma ustanka

Tek nakon što je s velikom mukom skršena ta zadnja velika pobuna, počinje konačan proces romanizacije panonskog prostora. Pred sam kraj ustanka ili neposredno nakon suzbijanja pobune, Panonija možda postaje zasebna provincija, ako ne već 8. ili 10. godine, onda koju godinu kasnije, za Tiberijeve vladavine. Ilirik je tad podijeljen na dva dijela, prvotno nazvanima *Illyricum Superius*, buduća provincija Dalmacija i *Illyricum Inferius*, odnosno Panonija. Iako to mišljenje prevladava u stručnoj literaturi, nije isključeno da je do formalne podjele došlo kasnije, možda tijekom Klaudijeve vladavine ili tek za Vespazijana.<sup>32</sup> Skršivši otpor domorodaca, kojima su nesumnjivo nanoseni strašni ljudski i materijalni gubici, carstvo je moglo u značajnoj mjeri smanjiti koncentraciju trupa na ovom prostoru, te je velik dio rimskih vojnih snaga prebačen u druge provincije, posebice na rajnsku granicu gdje se nakon Varova katastrofalnog poraza i gubitka tri legije pojavilo novo krizno žarište. U Panoniji su nakon 9. godine, po svemu sudeći, ostale samo tri legije: *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana* i *XV*

*VIII* is, depending on the author, assumed to have been stationed in Illyricum, Moesia, the East, northern Africa or Egypt, while legion *XI* seems to have been stationed in the Balkans, but it is impossible to establish where exactly. The third of Plautius' legions (if the assumption of three legions from the east is even true), could have possibly been legion *VIII*, but this unit could also be one of the three Moesian legions alongside *IV* and *XI*. There is also no answer to the question of which legion could have been left in Moesia by Caecina Severus.<sup>31</sup> On their way, the Roman troops were ambushed in the marshy area known as *Hiulca Palus* (but also as *Volcae Paludes*), somewhere in today's Slavonia, but they managed to reach *Siscia*, a place where, in AD 7, the largest Roman army since the civil wars gathered. This army probably included legions *IX*, *XIII*, *XIV*, *XV* and *XX* from Tiberius' army, as well as legions *IV Scythica*, *V Macedonica*, *VII*, *VIII* and *XI* that came from Moesia, i.e. from the east. Such a concentration of troops proved to be unnecessary, and probably also involved many logistical issues, so a part of the troops soon returned to Moesia.

The battle of the *Volcae* marshes was crucial, because it probably convinced Tiberius that the war would not be easily won on the battlefield, so he decided to employ the “scorched earth” strategy, i.e. the methodical destruction of crops and settlements with the aim of starving the population and destroying their will to fight. The plan proved valid: the following year, on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, AD 8, the famished Breuci, with their leader Bato, laid down their weapons at the *Bathinus* river. Many Breuci did not approve of the capitulation, and, understandably, it caused outrage among the Daesitiates, whose leader Bato started a campaign in Pannonia and managed to overthrow and kill the Bato of the Breuci. However, this last rebellion of the exhausted Breuci was easily contained in the same year by Plautius Silvanus who, in a counteroffensive from *Sirmium*, forced Bato the Daesitiate to retreat, definitively crushing all resistance north of the Sava river. Pannonia was thereby pacified, and the last resistance of the rebels occurred in Dalmatia, where they were finally defeated the following year when Tiberius ended the war with a victory over Bato's surrounded troops in *Andetrium*.

### Legionary garrisons in Pannonia after the rebellion

Only after the last troublesome efforts to crush the last big uprising did the process of Romanization finally begin in Pannonia. Perhaps right before the end of the rebellion, or right after its end, Pannonia became a separate province, if not already in the year 8 or 10, then a few years later, during Tiberius' rule. Illyricum was then divided into two parts, at first called *Illyricum Superius*, the future province of Dalmatia, and *Illyricum Inferius*, i.e. Pannonia. Although this is the prevalent view in publications, it is also possible that the formal division occurred later, perhaps during Claudius' or as late as Vespasian's rule.<sup>32</sup> By crushing the rebellion of the

31 Ritterling 1925, 1234-1236, 1645, 1691; Wilkes 1969, 93; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Reddé 2000, 120-121; Speidel 2000, 327-328; Strobel 2000, 520, 525, 527; Farnum 2005, 4-5, 18-19, 20-22, 95; Radman-Livaja 2012, 166.

32 Klemenc 1961, 6; Mócsy 1962, 583, 588-589; Wilkes 1969, 80-84; Mócsy 1974, 39; Barkóczy 1980, 89; Toth 1981, 13-33; Fitz 2000, 65-71; Fitz 2003, 48-49; Kovács 2008, 243-252; Džino 2010, 159-162; Šašel-Kos 2010, 123-130; Kovács 2014, 40-67; Šašel-Kos 2015, 79-82.

31 Ritterling 1925, 1234-1236, 1645, 1691; Wilkes 1969, 93; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984, 397; Reddé 2000, 120-121; Speidel 2000, 327-328; Strobel 2000, 520, 525, 527; Farnum 2005, 4-5, 18-19, 20-22, 95; Radman-Livaja 2012, 166.

32 Klemenc 1961, 6; Mócsy 1962, 583, 588-589; Wilkes 1969, 80-84; Mócsy 1974, 39; Barkóczy 1980, 89; Toth 1981, 13-33; Fitz 2000, 65-71; Fitz 2003, 48-49; Kovács 2008, 243-252; Džino 2010, 159-162; Šašel-Kos 2010, 123-130; Kovács 2014, 40-67; Šašel-Kos 2015, 79-82.

*Apollinaris*.<sup>33</sup> Iako nitko u znanstvenoj literaturi ne dvoji o tome, pitanje njihovih garnizona ostaje otvoreno, pa se tako kao više ili manje vjerojatni legijski logori spominju *Poetovio*, *Siscia*, *Sirmium*, *Savaria*, *Emona* i *Carnuntum*.<sup>34</sup> Sudeći po Tacitu, u trenutku vojničke pobune 14. godine, sve su tri legije dijelile zajednički ljetni logor, možda kod Petovija ili čak vjerojatnije kod Siscije, no nema sumnje da inače nisu bile zajedno stacionirane, barem ne tijekom zimskih mjeseci.<sup>35</sup> Pravih dvojni nema oko stalnog logora (*hiberna*) VIII legije, čiji se garnizon u tom razdoblju gotovo sigurno smješta u *Poetovio*, za što uostalom postoje i nedvosmislene epigrafičke potvrde.<sup>36</sup> Najkasnije od 14. ili 15. godine *XV Apollinaris* boravi na sjeveru provincije, možda u *Vindoboni* (u starijoj literaturi se smatralo da je već tada bila u *Karnuntu*, no čini se da je tamo prešla tek tijekom Klaudijeve vladavine, oko 39. ili 40., a možda tek 49. godine),<sup>37</sup> no ne zna se gdje je mogla biti do 14. godine. Prije se vjerovalo da je mogla biti u *Emoni*, no *Emona* gotovo sigurno nije bila legijski logor,<sup>38</sup> pa se kao mogući garnizon spominje *Siscia*, uz koju se najčešće vezuje *IX Hispana*, za koju se pak pretpostavlja da je bila stacionirana u *Sisciji* od Tiberijeve vladavine sve do odlaska za *Britaniju* 43. godine, odnosno najkasnije između 42. i 45. godine kada *Siscia* ostaje bez legijskog garnizona.<sup>39</sup> Nije isključeno ni da je *Sirmij* mogao biti legijski logor nakon sloma ustanka i tijekom Tiberijeve vladavine, barem neko kraće vrijeme, možda kao garnizon *IX* ili pak *XV* legije.<sup>40</sup>

Iako nema razloga sumnjati da je *Siscia* ostala legijski garnizon i nakon sloma *Batonova* ustanka, moramo priznati da ne raspoložemo konkretnim dokazima o boravku *IX* legije u *Sisciji*. Kao i za prethodna desetljeća, nevoljko moramo ustvrditi da se naša argumentacija mahom temelji na tvrdnjama tipa „ako nije bila tamo, onda je valjda mogla biti tu“.

natives, who unquestionably suffered great human and material losses, the Empire could significantly reduce the concentration of troops in the area, and a large portion of them was transferred to other provinces, especially on the Rhine border where a new crisis point appeared after Varus' catastrophic defeat and the loss of three legions. After AD 9, only three legions remained in Pannonia: *VIII Augusta*, *IX Hispana* and *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>33</sup> Although there is no doubt about this fact in publications, the question of their garrisons remains unanswered, and the more or less probable legionary camps are placed in *Poetovio*, *Siscia*, *Sirmium*, *Savaria*, *Emona* and *Carnuntum*.<sup>34</sup> According to Tacitus, at the moment of the military rebellion in AD 14, all three legions shared a common summer camp, possibly near *Poetovio* or, even more likely, near *Siscia*, but there is no doubt that they were not usually stationed together, at least not during the winter months.<sup>35</sup> There is no real dilemma about the permanent camp (*hiberna*) of legion VIII, whose garrison was, at the time, almost certainly stationed in *Poetovio*, as attested to by unambiguous epigraphic finds.<sup>36</sup> In AD 14, or 15 at the latest, legion *XV Apollinaris* stayed in the north of the province, possibly in *Vindobona* (older publications place it in *Carnuntum*, but it seems that it transferred there during Claudius' rule, about AD 39 or 40, and possibly in AD 49),<sup>37</sup> but its whereabouts before AD 14 remain a mystery. It used to be believed that it could have been in *Emona*, but *Emona* almost certainly did not have a military camp,<sup>38</sup> so *Siscia* is mentioned as a possible garrison, most often connected with legion *IX Hispana* that was, presumably, stationed in *Siscia* since Tiberius' rule until it left for Britain in 43, or between 42 and 45 at the latest, when *Siscia* lost its legionary garrison.<sup>39</sup> It is also possible that *Sirmium* was a legionary camp after the end of the rebellion and during Tiberius' rule, at least for a shorter amount of time, possibly as a garrison of legion *IX*, or legion *XV*.<sup>40</sup>

33 *Tacitus, Annales, 1.16-30*; Ritterling 1925, 1363; Mócsy 1959, 18, 25, 28, 77; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 612-613; Klemenc 1963, 57; Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1980, 131; Šašel Kos 1995, 236-237; Wilkes 1996, 569-571; Ferjančić 2002, 29; Lolić 2003, 133-134; Farnum 2005, 60; Dzino 2010, 167-168; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169-170; Šašel-Kos 2015, 76-79.

34 za pregled hipoteza vidi Wheeler 2000, 271.

35 Šašel-Kos 2014, 83-85.

36 Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646; Parker 1928, 125; Reddé 2000, 121; CIL III 10878 = AIJ 371, CIL III 10879 = AIJ 381, CIL III 4060 = 10869 = AIJ 260, AIJ 262; između 43. i 45. godine *VIII Augusta* napušta *Poetovio* gdje je zamjenjuje *XIII Gemina*; Ritterling 1925, 1647-1649, 1713; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 613; Mócsy 1974, 48; Fitz 1980, 131; Reddé 2000, 121; Wolff 2000, 203-204; S. Ferjančić pak smatra da se to nije dogodilo prije 57. g., cf. Ferjančić 2002, 29-30; Sanader 2003, 465; Sanader 2008, 97.

37 Wheeler 2000, 271-274; Mosser 2003, 14, 16; Gugl 2003, 55-57; Harl 2003, 53; 62. ili 63. godine *XV Apollinaris* odlazi na istok te je u *Carnuntumu* zamjenjuje *X Gemina*; Mócsy 1962, 613; Fitz 1980, 131; Wheeler 2000, 274-278.

38 *vide supra*, bilješke 14. i 16.; Šašel Kos 1995, 227-244; Ferjančić 2002, 36-38; Šašel-Kos 2014, 80-93.

39 *IX* legija privremeno je bila prebačena u Sjevernu Afriku, od 20. do 24. godine, kako bi pomogla u suzbijanju *Takfarinove* pobune, nakon čega se vratila u Panoniju, za pretpostaviti u *Sisciju*. Ritterling 1925, 1647, 1665-1666; Mócsy 1959, 25; Mócsy 1962, 613; Klemenc 1961, 8,10; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel 1974, 734-735; Fitz 1980, 131; Hoti 1992, 142; Keppie 2000, 26; Gaspari 2010, 143-144; Radman-Livaja 2010, 190; Gaspari 2014, 129-131; Radman-Livaja 2015, 41-42.

40 Parker 1928, 125; Mócsy 1971, 45-46; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel Kos 1995, 237; Šašel-Kos 2014, 80.

33 *Tacitus, Annales, 1.16-30*; Ritterling 1925, 1363; Mócsy 1959, 18, 25, 28, 77; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 612-613; Klemenc 1963, 57; Mócsy 1974, 42-43; Fitz 1980, 131; Šašel Kos 1995, 236-237; Wilkes 1996, 569-571; Ferjančić 2002, 29; Lolić 2003, 133-134; Farnum 2005, 60; Dzino 2010, 167-168; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169-170; Šašel-Kos 2015, 76-79.

34 For an overview of the hypotheses, see Wheeler 2000, 271.

35 Šašel-Kos 2014, 83-85.

36 Ritterling 1925, 1645-1646; Parker 1928, 125; Reddé 2000, 121; CIL III 10878 = AIJ 371, CIL III 10879 = AIJ 381, CIL III 4060 = 10869 = AIJ 260, AIJ 262; between 43 and 45, *VIII Augusta* left *Poetovio* where it was replaced by *XIII Gemina*; Ritterling 1925, 1647-1649, 1713; Klemenc 1961, 7; Mócsy 1962, 613; Mócsy 1974, 48; Fitz 1980, 131; Reddé 2000, 121; Wolff 2000, 203-204; S. Ferjančić thinks that it did not occur before AD 57, cf. Ferjančić 2002, 29-30; Sanader 2003, 465; Sanader 2008, 97.

37 Wheeler 2000, 271-274; Mosser 2003, 14, 16; Gugl 2003, 55-57; Harl 2003, 53; in 62 or 63, *XV Apollinaris* goes to the east and is replaced in *Carnuntum* by *X Gemina*; Mócsy 1962, 613; Fitz 1980, 131; Wheeler 2000, 274-278.

38 *Vide supra*, notes 14 and 16; Šašel Kos 1995, 227-244; Ferjančić 2002, 36-38; Šašel-Kos 2014, 80-93.

39 Legion *IX* was temporarily transferred to Northern Africa, between 20 and 24, so that it could assist with the suppressing of *Tacfarinas'* rebellion, after which it returned to Pannonia, presumably to *Siscia*. Ritterling 1925, 1647, 1665-1666; Mócsy 1959, 25; Mócsy 1962, 613; Klemenc 1961, 8,10; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel 1974, 734-735; Fitz 1980, 131; Hoti 1992, 142; Keppie 2000, 26; Gaspari 2010, 143-144; Radman-Livaja 2010, 190; Gaspari 2014, 129-131; Radman-Livaja 2015, 41-42.

40 Parker 1928, 125; Mócsy 1971, 45-46; Mócsy 1974, 43; Šašel Kos 1995, 237; Šašel-Kos 2014, 80.

Već spomenuti pisani izvori jasno daju do znanja koliko je važna bila strateška uloga Siscije tijekom Augustove vladavine, a možemo se složiti da je tu ulogu grad zadržao i tijekom gotovo cijelog julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, no epigrafija i arheologija nam po tom pitanju pružaju samo indicije. Sisak je poznat po nalazima rimske vojne opreme, a dobar dio se nesumnjivo može datirati u julijevsko-klaudijevsko razdoblje, no ti nam artefakti u konačnici samo svjedoče o neupitnom prisustvu rimske vojske.<sup>41</sup>

### Epigrafski i numizmatički nalazi

Na sisačkim nalazima vojne opreme iz tog vremena sačuvano je nekoliko urezanih natpisa, no na njima se vojne postrojbe ne spominju eksplicitno. Kaciga tipa Hagenau pronađena u Savi po svemu sudeći je pripadala nekom vojniku stacioniranom u Sisciji, no ne možemo ništa više reći o jedinici kojoj su služili *Varro* i njegov centurion *Luccius* (Sl. 1).<sup>42</sup> Gentilicij *Luccius* nije baš učestao, a većina zabilježenih primjera poznata nam je iz Italije i južne Galije.<sup>43</sup> Kognomen ili idionim *Varro* se daleko češće susreće, barem u Italiji i Dalmaciji, rijeđe u drugim provincijama.<sup>44</sup> Ta je kaciga mogla pripadati nekom legionaru, odnosno rimskom građaninu, ali je vlasnik isto tako mogao biti i auxilijar.

Žvale iz Kupe se zato nesumnjivo mogu pripisati rimskom građaninu, *Veturiu Vivu* (*Veturius Vivus*) (Sl. 2).<sup>45</sup> Njegov *nomen gentile*, *Vet(t)urius*, nije baš raširen, ali je ipak riječ o nerijetkom gentiliciju među Italicima.<sup>46</sup> Kognomen *Vivus* je daleko rijede zabilježen, a i vrlo je neuobičajen izvan Italije.<sup>47</sup> Čovjek je gotovo sigurno bio Italik, možda legijski konjanik, a možda čak i časnik, odnosno zapovjednik neke auxilijarne jedinice,<sup>48</sup> no treba naglasiti da se ovakve žvale ipak datiraju u širi kronološki okvir od julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja.

Da je kojim slučajem danas sačuvan, nadgrobni spomenik mladog centuriona XV legije, Tiberija Klaudija Pontija (*Ti(berius) Claudius Pontius, centurio legionis XV Apollinaris*), mogao bi nam biti jedini ozbiljan epigrafički trag nazočnosti neke legije u Sisciji tijekom julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja.<sup>49</sup> Taj se izgubljeni spomenik datira u 1. st., što je sasvim prihvatljivo, no precizniju dataciju nije moguće ponuditi s obzirom da raspolažemo samo transkribiranim natpisom i da ne znamo kako je spomenik izgledao. S obzirom na mladost centuriona (25 godina), možemo pretpostaviti da je potjecao iz imućnijeg sloja, što mu je omogućilo da vojnu karijeru odmah započne kao časnik, no očito nije bio

Although there is no reason to question whether *Siscia* remained a legionary garrison after the end of *Bato's* rebellion, I must admit that there is no reliable data about the stay of legion IX in *Siscia*. Just like for the previous decades, we have to reluctantly conclude that this argumentation is mostly based on assumptions like "if it was not there, then it was probably here".

The aforementioned written sources clearly reveal how important the strategic position of *Siscia* was during Augustus' rule, and it can be agreed that the city kept that role almost during the entire Julio-Claudian period. However, epigraphy and archaeology only provide indications on that matter. Sisak is known for its finds of Roman military equipment, and a good portion of it can be dated to the Julio-Claudian period, but, ultimately, these finds only attest to the presence of the Roman army.<sup>41</sup>

### Epigraphic and numismatic finds

The finds of Roman military equipment from Sisak dated to that period have several incised inscriptions, but no military units are explicitly mentioned. The Hagenau type helmet found in the Sava River probably belonged to a soldier who was stationed in *Siscia*, but nothing else is known about the unit *Varro* and his centurion *Luccius* belonged to (Fig. 1).<sup>42</sup> The gentilicium *Luccius* is not very common, and most recorded examples originate from Italy and southern Gaul.<sup>43</sup> The cognomen or idionym *Varro* appears far more often, at least in Italy and Dalmatia, and far less in other provinces.<sup>44</sup> The helmet may have belonged to a legionnaire, i.e. a Roman citizen, but the owner could have been an auxiliary soldier as well.

The bit found in the Kupa river can undoubtedly be ascribed to *Veturius Vivus*, a Roman citizen (Fig. 2).<sup>45</sup> His *nomen gentile*, *Vet(t)urius*, is not very widespread, but is still not an uncommon *gentilicium* among Italians.<sup>46</sup> The cognomen *Vivus* appears far less frequently, and is very uncommon outside Italy.<sup>47</sup> The man was almost certainly of Italian origin, possibly a legionary cavalryman, maybe even an officer, i.e. a commander of an auxiliary unit,<sup>48</sup> but it should be mentioned that this type of bit can be dated to a wider chronological span than that of the Julio-Claudian period.

If it was preserved today, the gravestone of the young centurion *Tiberius Claudius Pontius (Ti(berius) Claudius Pontius, centurio legionis XV Apollinaris)* could be the only serious epigraphic trace of legionary presence in *Siscia* during the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>49</sup>

41 vide Radman-Livaja 2004.

42 Hoffiller 1937, 30-31; MacMullen 1960, 35, nr. 33; Radman-Livaja 2004, 68-71, kat. 126; Radman-Livaja, Vukelić 2015, 400.

43 Schulze 1904, 424; Solin, Salomies 1994, 107; Lőrincz 2000, 34.

44 Krahe 1929, 123; Mayer 1957, 354; Kajanto 1965, 69, 118, 264; Alföldy 1969, 321-322; Mócsy 1983, 301; Solin, Salomies 1994, 418; Lőrincz 2002, 148.

45 Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, kat. 388; Radman-Livaja, Vukelić 2015, 400-401.

46 Schulze 1904, 259, 380, 411, 428, 432, 448; Solin, Salomies 1994, 206; Lőrincz 2002, 164.

47 Kajanto 1965, 274; Solin, Salomies 1994, 425.

48 Barem dva *Veturija* su nam poznati kao časnici i pripadnici viteškog staleža tijekom julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, *L. Veturius Homuncio* i *Q. Veturius Pexsus*, ME V, 85, 86; Demougin 1992, 170, 327.

49 CIL III 10853; Mócsy 1959, 57/1; Mosser 2003, 261, Kat. 188; Radman-Livaja, Vukelić 2015, 401-402; tekst je navodno glasio *Ti(berio) Claudio / Pontio / (centurio) legionis XV Apo(l)linaris / an(norum) XXV / h[er]es / [...]*.

41 Vide Radman-Livaja 2004.

42 Hoffiller 1937, 30-31; MacMullen 1960, 35, nr. 33; Radman-Livaja 2004, 68-71, cat. 126; Radman-Livaja, Vukelić 2015, 400.

43 Schulze 1904, 424; Solin, Salomies 1994, 107; Lőrincz 2000, 34.

44 Krahe 1929, 123; Mayer 1957, 354; Kajanto 1965, 69, 118, 264; Alföldy 1969, 321-322; Mócsy 1983, 301; Solin, Salomies 1994, 418; Lőrincz 2002, 148.

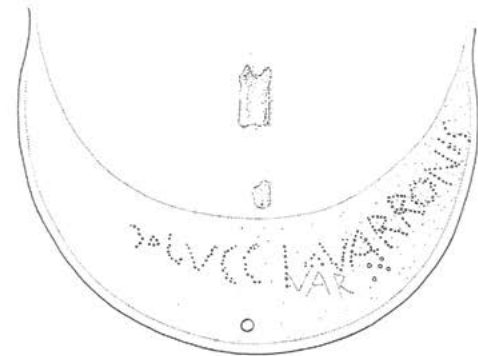
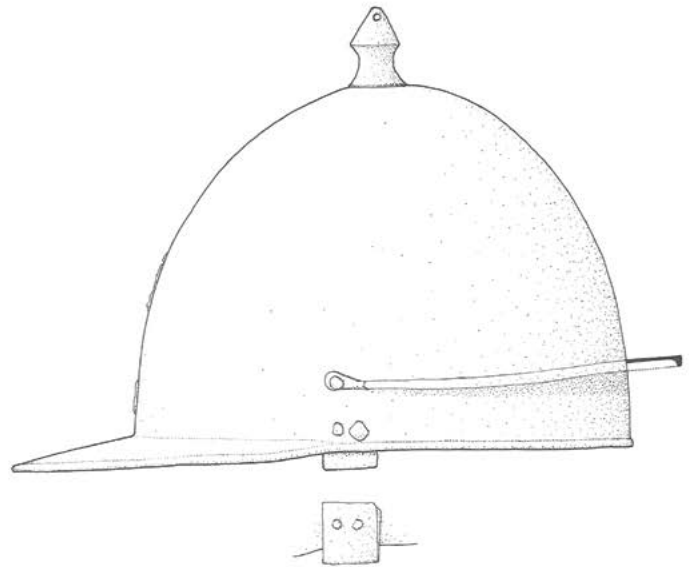
45 Radman-Livaja 2004, 102, cat. 388; Radman-Livaja & Vukelić 2015, 400-401.

46 Schulze 1904, 259, 380, 411, 428, 432, 448; Solin, Salomies 1994, 206; Lőrincz 2002, 164.

47 Kajanto 1965, 274; Solin, Salomies 1994, 425.

48 At least two people called *Veturius* are known as officers and members of the equestrian order from the Julio-Claudian period, *L. Veturius Homuncio* and *Q. Veturius Pexsus*, ME V, 85, 86; Demougin 1992, 170, 327.

49 CIL III 10853; Mócsy 1959, 57/1; Mosser 2003, 261, Kat. 188; Radman-Livaja, Vukelić 2015, 401-402; the text allegedly said *Ti(berio) Claudio / Pontio / (centurio) legionis XV Apo(l)linaris / an(norum) XXV / h[er]es / [...]*.



Sl. 1.  
Kaciga tipa Hagenau iz Save kod Siska s natpisom  
(snimio: I. Krajcar; crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 1.  
The Hagenau type helmet found in the Sava near Sisak  
(photo: I. Krajcar; drawing: M. Galić)

pripadnik viteškog staleža. Njegova nomenklatura jasno upućuje na peregrinsko porijeklo obitelji, koja je rimsko građansko pravo valjda stekla za Klaudija ili pak za Nerona, mada je potonje manje vjerojatno. Otac mu je tako mogao steći građansko pravo tijekom Klaudijeve vladavine, te je time preuzeo carev *praenomen* i gentilicij. Pontije, valjda kao najstariji sin, dobio je isti *praenomen* kao i otac. Ukoliko prihvatimo ovu pretpostavku, nadgrobni spomenik nije mogao biti podignut puno prije sredine 1. st., a svakako ne prije 41. godine. Nema dokaza da je Tiberije Klaudije Pontije postao rimski građanin i časnik odmah početkom Klaudijeve vladavine, a uskoro zatim i preminuo. Možda uvjerljivije zvuči da je umro nešto kasnije, možda bliže kraju Klaudijeve vladavine, za Nerona ili pak tijekom flavijevskog razdoblja. Kako se spomenik ne može datirati pomoću tipoloških i stilskih kriterija, teško se može odrediti uži kronološki okvir. Mócsy je vjerovao, iako je to nemoguće dokazati, da je mladić bio Panonac, a možda čak i rođeni Siscijanac. To bi svakako objasnilo zašto je sahranjen u Sisciji u trenutku kad je njegova legija bila stacionirana u Karnuntu ili možda već vojevala na Istoku.<sup>50</sup> Predložena datacija i interpretacija mi se čine uvjerljive, no što ako je spomenik bitno raniji, odnosno iz Tiberijevog vremena? Je li otac našeg centuriona mogao dobiti rimsko građansko pravo zahvaljujući Tiberiju dok potonji još nije bio car već samo vojskovođa, ali i najvažniji i najutjecajniji Rimljanin u Panoniji, odnosno *legatus Augusti pro praetore*?<sup>51</sup> Nema dvojbe da je Tiberije proveo niz godina ratujući u Panoniji, te je vjerojatno bio u prilici steći i niz klijenata i sljedbenika među domorodačkom elitom. Dok ga August nije posinio 4. godine pos. Kr., ime mu je bilo *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, a otac na-

This lost monument is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, which is completely acceptable, but it is impossible to provide a more precise dating because only the transcribed inscription is preserved, and all other descriptions are non-existent. Considering the youth of the centurion (25 years old), it can be assumed that he came from a wealthier class, enabling him to start his military career as an officer. However, he was clearly not of equestrian rank. His nomenclature clearly points to a peregrine family origin that could have acquired its Roman citizenship during Claudius' or Nero's rule, the latter being less likely. His father could have obtained the citizenship during Claudius' rule, thereby taking the emperor's *praenomen* and *gentilicium*. Pontius, probably as the eldest son, got the same *praenomen* as his father. If this assumption is accepted as true, the gravestone could not have been made long before the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and certainly not before AD 41. There is no evidence that Tiberius Claudius Pontius became a Roman citizen and officer right at the start of Claudius' rule, and died soon after. Perhaps a more convincing assumption is that he died somewhat later, possibly closer to the end of Claudius' rule, during Nero's, or even during the Flavian period. Since the monument cannot be dated based on its typological and stylistic characteristics, it is difficult to determine a narrower chronological framework. Mócsy, despite the impossibility to prove the claim, believed the youth was from Pannonia, possibly even born in *Siscia*. This would certainly explain why he was buried in *Siscia* at the moment when his legion was stationed in *Carnuntum*, or was already waging war in the east.<sup>50</sup> The suggested dating and interpretation seem plausible but what if the monument is signif-



SL. 2.  
Žvale iz Kupe kod Siska s natpisom  
(snimio: I. Krajcar; crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 2.  
Fragmented bit found in the Kupa near Sisak  
(photo: I. Krajcar; drawing: M. Galić)

50 Wheeler 2000, 271-282; Mosser 2003, 15-28, 138-157.

50 Wheeler 2000, 271-282; Mosser 2003, 15-28, 138-157.

51 Fitz 1993, 51-56.

šeg Tiberija Klaudija Pontija je možda služio pod njim tijekom panonskog rata te se istaknuo u dovoljnoj mjeri da stekne rimsko građansko pravo i preuzme nomenklaturu svog patrona? Riječ je samo o pretpostavci, no ukoliko je prihvatimo, mladi Pontije je daleko ranije mogao postati centurion, te je možda u Sisciji umro dok je XV legija tamo mogla biti stacionirana, recimo prije 14. godine, ili pak tijekom boravka IX legije u Africi, ako pretpostavimo da ju je u Sisciji zamijenila veksilacija neke druge panonske legije, u ovom slučaju XV legije? U nedostatku samog spomenika, nemoguće je ovu hipotezu potkrijepiti čvršćim argumentima.

Određenih indicija za nazočnost nekih legija, iako ih nikako ne možemo smatrati dokazima, možemo naći i među drugim epigrafičkim materijalom pronađenim u Sisciji. Na sisačkim se teserama, mahom datiranima u 1. i prvu polovicu 2. st., nerijetko nalaze i imena koja zasigurno nisu ni autohtona ni latinska. Među njima je zanimljiva relativna učestalost iberških imena.<sup>52</sup> O multikulturalnosti rimskog carstva, posebice u urbanim centrima, ne treba posebno trošiti riječi, no ipak se možemo pitati što svi ti Hispanci rade u Sisciji tijekom 1. st.? Je li možda riječ o ljudima koji su svojevremeno ili prisilno došli u Panoniju slijedeći rimske trupe, odnosno o njihovim direktnim potomcima? Barem tri legije koje smo višekratno spominjali, IX, XV i XX, služile su u Hispaniji odakle su prebačene u Panoniju tijekom Augustove vladavine. Kao što smo napomenuli, svaka od njih je vjerojatno neko kraće ili duže vrijeme provela u Sisciji. Nema dokaza da je IX Hispana s iberškog poluotoka odmah oko 16. ili 15. pr. Kr. prešla u Sisciju jer se čini vjerojatnijim da je neko vrijeme provela u Tiluriju i da je tek tijekom Batonova ustanka zasigurno završila u Sisciji, ali i to je samo hipoteza. U stvari ne znamo ništa pouzdano o kretanju te legije po Iliriku između 16.-15. pr. Kr. i 9. pos. Kr., pa i koju godinu kasnije. Jednaka tvrdnja vrijedi i za XX legiju, koja je iberški poluotok napustila oko 19. pr. Kr., prvo sudjelujući u alpskim pohodima 16. i 15. pr. Kr., da bi se Tiberijevoj vojsci u Panoniji pridružila između 13. i 9. pr. Kr. U Iliriku je sigurno ostala do kraja Batonova ustanka kada je prebačena na Rajnu. Nema sumnje da je prošla i kroz Sisciju, iako je nemoguće odrediti koliko je dug mogao biti njen boravak tamo. I legio XV Apollinaris se borila protiv Kantabrijaca, Astura i Luzitanaca između 27. i 19. pr. Kr. Gotovo sigurno se nakon 16. pr. Kr. našla u Iliriku, gdje je sudjelovala kako u Tiberijevom Panonskom ratu tako i u gušenju Batonova ustanka, a u Panoniji je i ostala nakon toga.<sup>53</sup> Sve te legije su napuštajući iberški poluotok sa sobom jamačno odvele i određen broj civila, od robova i služinčadi do

icantly older, originating from the time of Tiberius? Could the father of our centurion have obtained citizenship precisely thanks to Tiberius while the latter was not yet the emperor, but only a high ranking commander, and, at the same time, the most important and most influential Roman in Pannonia, i.e. *legatus Augusti pro praetore*?<sup>52</sup> Tiberius undoubtedly spent years waging war in Pannonia, and probably had the opportunity to attract a lot of clients and followers from the native elite. Until Augustus adopted him in AD 4, his name was Tiberius Claudius Nero. The father of our centurion, Tiberius Claudius Pontius, might have served under him during the Pannonian war, and could have distinguished himself enough to obtain Roman citizenship and take over the nomenclature of his patron. This is only an assumption, but if taken as true, young Pontius could have become a centurion much earlier, and could have died in *Siscia* while legion XV was stationed there, possibly before AD 14. Or perhaps when legion IX was in Africa, assuming that it was temporarily replaced in *Siscia* by a *vexillatio* of some other Pannonian legion, in this case legion XV. Because the monument itself is missing, it is impossible to provide more plausible arguments for this hypothesis.

Certain indications, which cannot be viewed as evidence, for the presence of some legions can be found among other epigraphic material found in *Siscia*. The *tesserae* from Sisak, generally dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, often contain names that are most certainly neither autochthonous nor Latin. The relatively high frequency of Iberian names is interesting.<sup>52</sup> The multiculturalism of the Roman Empire, especially in urban centers, does not have to be additionally discussed, but the question of what all of these Iberians were doing in *Siscia* during the 1<sup>st</sup> century is nonetheless noteworthy. Did these people come to Pannonia by choice or were they somehow forced to follow Roman troops? Could they be their original descendants? At least three legions that have been frequently mentioned, IX, XV and XX, served in Hispania, from where they were transferred to Pannonia during Augustus' rule. As was mentioned above, each of them probably spent some amount of time in *Siscia*. There is no evidence supporting the claim that IX Hispana moved directly from the Iberian peninsula to *Siscia* about 16 or 15 BC, as it seems more probable that it spent some time in *Tilurium*, and ended up in *Siscia* after Bato's rebellion. However, this is also just an assumption. In effect, nothing reliable is known about the movements of this legion around Illyricum between 16-15 BC and AD

52 Radman-Livaja 2014, 142-143; *Bardilus Viriatus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.21), *Celtius Exostiti* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.28), *Cilia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.20), *Urbani Fulvinus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.70), *Melo Savini* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 08.14), *Oclatia Mela* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 01.35), *Tusculus Congoni* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.24), *Tuscul[us?]* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.18); nešto manje sigurni ali vjerojatni Hispanci bi mogli biti *Aia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 08.18, 17.28, 21.100), *Ara* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 13.05), *Astura* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 15.19), *Balausus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.74), *Cebala Callua* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.08), *Crespus Flavi* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.01), *Fortuna* i *Fortuna Sta.tiis* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.86, 26.115), *(H)i(r)suta Cinžežae* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 06.15), *(H)ispanus* i *(H)ispanus Felicis* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 07.06, 11.07), *Lovita* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 24.09), *Seppronius* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 20.06), *Simpus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 23.71), *Spana* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 11.05), *Vera Melvii* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.132), *Vitilia (Maxima?)* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 18.04); Radman-Livaja 2016, 179-184.

53 Radman-Livaja 2016, 185-186.

51 Fitz 1993, 51-56.

52 Radman-Livaja 2014, 142-143; *Bardilus Viriatus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.21), *Celtius Exostiti* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.28), *Cilia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.20), *Urbani Fulvinus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.70), *Melo Savini* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 08.14), *Oclatia Mela* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 01.35), *Tusculus Congoni* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.24), *Tuscul[us?]* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.18); somewhat less certain, but possible Iberians could be *Aia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 08.18, 17.28, 21.100), *Ara* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 13.05), *Astura* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 15.19), *Balausus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.74), *Cebala Callua* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.08), *Crespus Flavi* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 19.01), *Fortuna* and *Fortuna Sta.tiis* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.86, 26.115), *(H)i(r)suta Cinžežae* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 06.15), *(H)ispanus* and *(H)ispanus Felicis* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 07.06, 11.07), *Lovita* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 24.09), *Seppronius* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 20.06), *Simpus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 23.71), *Spana* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 11.05), *Vera Melvii* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 26.132), *Vitilia (Maxima?)* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 18.04); Radman-Livaja 2016, 179-184.





Sl. 3.  
Augustov as kovan 7. godine pr. Kr. s kontramarkom APOL na aversu (snimio: I. Krajcar)

FIG. 3.  
As minted in 7 BC with the countermark APOL on the obverse (photo: I. Krajcar)

konkubina i raznoraznih pratitelja koji se uvijek prilijepe svakoj vojsci, poput trgovaca, obrtnika, krčmara, svodnika i prostitutki, te kojekakvih još mutnijih tipova.<sup>54</sup> Svima njima su primanja dobrim dijelom ili isključivo ovisili o vojnicima, te su nerijetko pratili svoje vojničke mušterije i redovito se naseljavali uz garnizone. Tesere bi možda mogle predstavljati trag njihova prisustva u Sisciji, a samim time i legija za kojima su došli u Panoniju. Nekoliko Afrikanaca čija se imena nalaze na siscijanskim teserama<sup>55</sup> možda isto tako imaju veze s boravkom IX legije u Africi između 20. i 24. godine? Legionari su, vrativši se u svoj stari garnizon, sa sobom zasigurno doveli i određen broj civila, prvenstveno robova i konkubina, mada je nemoguće procijeniti njihov broj.<sup>56</sup>

Za kraj treba spomenuti i numizmatičke nalaze. Asevi kovani 7. pr. Kr. s kontramarkom APOL na aversu dovode se u vezu s XV legijom i mada se nikako ne bi mogli smatrati dokazom prisustva te legije na mjestu nalaza, treba napomenuti da su ti novci zabilježeni na barem dva lokaliteta koja se u literaturi ističu kao potencijalni garnizoni XV legije, odnosno Emona i Siscija (Sl. 3). Mada Emona nije bila legijski logor, zasigurno je bilo i legionara među vojnicima koji su tamo boravili kroz duže ili kraće razdoblje. Uz pojedinačne nalaze iz Ljubljane i Siska, još su dva primjerka otkrivena u Sotinu (*Cornacum*).<sup>57</sup>

### Položaj vojnog logora u svijetlu arheoloških istraživanja

Značajan problem predstavlja činjenica da na području Siska nije pouzdano identificiran prostor na kojem se nalazio rimski vojni logor, odnosno rimski vojni logori jer ih je tijekom desetljeća vjerojatno bilo više. Svojevremeno sam, među ostalim, pi-

9, or even later. The same can be said of legion XX, which left the Iberian peninsula around 19 BC, first to participate in the campaigns in the Alps in 16 and 15 BC, only to join Tiberius' army in Pannonia between 13 and 9 BC. It stayed in Illyricum until the end of Bato's rebellion, when it was transferred to the Rhine. It undoubtedly passed through *Siscia*, but it is impossible to determine how long it could have stayed there. Legion XV *Apollinaris* fought against the Cantabrians, Astures and Lusitanians between 27 and 19 BC. After 16 BC, it was almost certainly in Illyricum, where it participated in Tiberius' Pannonian war, as well as the crushing of Bato's rebellion, after which it stayed in Pannonia.<sup>53</sup> All of these legions certainly took some civilians with them when they left the Iberian Peninsula, including slaves and servants, concubines and different followers that always attach themselves to the army, such as traders, artisans, grocers, pimps and prostitutes, as well as other kinds of shady characters.<sup>54</sup>

All of them earned most, if not all, of their money from soldiers, and they often followed their military customers and settled along the garrisons. *Tesseræ* could possibly be traces of their presence in *Siscia*, and, therefore, traces of the presence of the legions they followed to Pannonia. Several Africans, whose names can be found on the *tesseræ* from Sisak,<sup>55</sup> could also possibly be connected to the stay of legion IX in Africa between AD 20 and 24. The legionaries, once they returned to their old garrison, definitely brought along a certain number of civilians, primarily slaves and concubines. However, it is impossible to establish the exact numbers.<sup>56</sup>

Lastly, numismatic finds will be discussed. Asses minted in 7 BC with the countermark APOL on the obverse are connected to legion XV and, although they should never be seen as evidence for the presence of this legion at the place they were found, it should be mentioned that these coins were found on at least two sites mentioned in publications as possible garrisons of legion XV, i.e. in *Emona* and *Siscia* (Fig. 3). Even though *Emona* was not a legionary camp, there must have been legionaries among the soldiers who spend some time there. Along with individual finds from Ljubljana and Sisak, two additional finds were discovered in Sotin (*Cornacum*).<sup>57</sup>

### The position of the camp in the light of archaeological excavations

A significant problem is posed by the fact that, on the territory of Sisak, the area where a Roman military camp, i.e. Roman military camps (there were probably more of them over the decades) stood has not been identified. Previously, I discussed military camps on the territory of Sisak, and, due to lack of evidence, I expressed an opinion about one definitive location for the legionary camp, presuma-

54 von Petrikovits 1980, 1027-1035; Speidel 1989, 239-247; Gilliver 1999, 29-31; Roth 1999, 91-115; Feig Vishnia 2002, 265-272; Radman-Livaja 2007, 166-167.

55 Radman-Livaja 2014, 142; *Bano Saturi* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.18), *Claudia Cnitinia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 15.21), *G(a)etulus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, 12.08), *Repentinus Afer* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 24.40); Radman-Livaja 2016, 184-186.

56 Zanimljivo je da se na sisačkim teserama pojavljuje i žensko ime *Fortuna*, koje je gotovo isključivo zabilježeno samo na iberском poluotoku i u sjevernoj Africi; Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.86, 26.115; Radman-Livaja 2016, 185.

57 Kos, Šemrov 1995, 29, 56.

53 Radman-Livaja 2016, 185-186.

54 von Petrikovits 1980, 1027-1035; Speidel 1989, 239-247; Gilliver 1999, 29-31; Roth 1999, 91-115; Feig Vishnia 2002, 265-272; Radman-Livaja 2007, 166-167.

55 Radman-Livaja 2014, 142; *Bano Saturi* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.18), *Claudia Cnitinia* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 15.21), *G(a)etulus* (Radman-Livaja 2014, 12.08), *Repentinus Afer* (Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 24.40); Radman-Livaja 2016, 184-186.

56 It is interesting to note that several *tesseræ* from Sisak bear the female name *Fortuna*, which has almost exclusively been recorded on the Iberian peninsula and in northern Africa; Radman-Livaja 2014, kat. 21.86, 26.115; Radman-Livaja 2016, 185.

57 Kos, Šemrov 1995, 29, 56.

sao o rimskim vojnim logorima na prostoru Siska, pa sam, u nedostatku konkretnih dokaza, izrazio mišljenje da je vjerojatno već za Tiberijeva Panonskog rata, a najkasnije nakon slamanja pobune 9. godine, kao konačna lokacija za legijski logor izabrana jedna lokacija, i to po mom mišljenju Pogorelec. Pritom nisam odbacivao mogućnost postojanja vojne infrastrukture na lijevoj obali Kupe u razdoblju od opsade 35. god. pr. Kr. pa sve do konačnog gušenja panonskog ustanka.<sup>58</sup> Velike koncentracije trupa, naime, počevši od same opsade Segestike, preko Tiberijeva Panonskog rata i Batonova ustanka, nesumnjivo su iziskivale izgradnju dodatne infrastrukture za smještaj vojnika, pa bi bilo za očekivati da je barem dio rimskih jedinica već od 35. pr. Kr. bio smješten na lijevoj obali Kupe, odnosno na prostoru gdje se u konačnici razvio rimski grad.<sup>59</sup>

Na postojanje trajnog vojnog logora na tom mjestu tijekom augustovskog razdoblja može upućivati i Strabonovo spominjanje utvrde zvane Siskija u neposrednom susjedstvu Segestike (VII. 5, 2.), ukoliko se Strabon referira samo na rimski vojni logor a ne na protohistorijsko naselje.<sup>60</sup> Bio sam sklon pretpostavljati da je stalni legijski logor bio na Pogorelcu, odnosno na prostoru domorodačke Segestike jer vjerujem da je protohistorijski grad *de facto* prestao postojati kao urbana cjelina nakon pobune 34. pr. Kr., što bi Rimljanima omogućilo korištenje tog položaja, a istovremeno se civilno naselje, odnosno kanabe, moglo slobodno razvijati na suprotnoj, lijevoj obali Kupe. Ipak, ukoliko je neki rimski vojni logor bio izgrađen na prostoru buduće rimske Siscije, civilni stanovnici su također lako mogli iskoristiti tu lokaciju nakon što ju je vojska napustila te je postupno uključiti u civilno naselje. Još su starija istraživanja na više mjesta u Sisku u slojevima ispod rimskih zidanih temelja ukazala na postojanje ostataka drvenih konstrukcija kao i elemenata sustava drvene pilotaže kojim se pokušalo učvrstiti močvarno tlo između Kupe i Save.<sup>61</sup> Po svemu sudeći je riječ o prvim tragovima rimskih konstrukcija na prostoru antičke Siscije, a sasvim je moguće da su ti objekti pripadali vojnom logoru ili logorima, što su neki autori već i prije pretpostavljali.<sup>62</sup> I novija istraživanja, vođena od kraja 20. stoljeća sve do današnjih dana, su bitno ojačala argumente u prilog hipotezi o vojnom logoru na lijevoj obali Kupe, posebice zahvaljujući sustavnoj obradi keramičkog materijala iz tih ranih slojeva. Keramološka analiza je omogućila preciznije datiranje slojeva s drvenom arhitekturom kao i izdvajanje stratigrafskih jedinica koje se mogu pouzdanije smjestiti u augustovsko i tiberijevsko razdoblje, a u nekim slučajevima prepoznati su i slojevi nivelacije koji ukazuju na opsežne zemljane radove kakve je, po svemu sudeći, mogla provesti samo vojska.<sup>63</sup> Posebice treba izdvojiti nalaze italske keramike iz augustovskog i ranotiberijevskog razdoblja, kao što su *terra sigi-*

bly Pogorelac, and probably already during Tiberius' Pannonian war, and after the rebellion was crushed in AD 9 at the latest. When doing so, I did not reject the possibility that there was some military infrastructure as well on the left bank of the Kupa river in the period between the siege of 35 BC and the final end of the Pannonian rebellion.<sup>58</sup> Large concentrations of troops, starting from the siege of *Segestica*, including Tiberius' Pannonian war and Bato's rebellion, undeniably required additional infrastructure for housing soldiers, so it seems reasonable to assume that, starting from 35 BC, at least some of the Roman units were situated on the left bank of the Kupa River, i.e. the area where the Roman city subsequently developed.<sup>59</sup>

The existence of a permanent military camp in the area during Augustus' period is pointed to by Strabo's note on a fortress called *Siskia* in the immediate vicinity of *Segestica* (VII. 5, 2.), if in fact he was only referring to the Roman military camp, and not the proto-historical settlement.<sup>60</sup> I was inclined to assume that the permanent legionary camp was at Pogorelac, i.e. on the territory of the native *Segestica*, especially because I believed that the proto-historical city *de facto* ceased to exist as an urban unit after the uprising in 34 BC, enabling the Romans to use the position, while the civilian settlement, i.e. the *canabae*, could have developed on the opposite, left bank of Kupa at the same time. However, if a Roman military camp was built on the territory of the future Roman *Siscia*, the civilians could also have easily used that position after it was abandoned by the army, and could gradually incorporate it into the civilian settlement. Old excavations on several positions in Sisk, i.e. the layers found under Roman foundations, hint at the existence of wooden constructions, as well as elements of the system of wooden pilotage intended to reinforce the marshy soil between the Kupa and the Sava rivers.<sup>61</sup> Based on current knowledge, these are the first traces of Roman construction on the territory of ancient *Siscia*, and it is very likely that these structures belonged to a military camp or camps, as previously suggested by some authors.<sup>62</sup> More recent excavations, conducted from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the present day, have significantly strengthened the claims in support of the hypothesis about the military camp being on the left bank of the Kupa river, especially thanks to the systematic processing of pottery material from these early layers. The pottery analysis allowed for a more precise dating of layers containing wooden architecture, as well as for the identification of stratigraphic units that can be dated to the periods of Augustus and Tiberius. In some cases, layers of terrain leveling were clearly recognized, which suggest large-scale works that could only, based on current knowledge, have been performed by the military.<sup>63</sup>

Finds of Italic pottery should be especially emphasized, such as *terra sigillata* or thin-walled pottery, which are, in the discussed period,

58 Radman-Livaja 2007, 166-168.

59 Na toj lijevoj obali Kupe su tijekom opsade Segestike gotovo sigurno postojale poljske fortifikacije koji su činile dio cirkumvalacije oko Segestike, pa se može pretpostaviti da je rimska vojska već 35. god. pr. Kr. izgradila neke objekte na prostoru buduće rimske Siscije, lako moguće i barem jedan od logora (ako ne i više njih) u kojem je bio smješten dio Oktavijanovih trupa koje su opsjedale grad.

60 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 148-199.

61 Vrbanić 1981, 196; Nenadić 1987, 76; Buzov 1993, 55; Burkowsky 2000, 42-44; Lolić 2003, 141; Lolić 2014, 110-111; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 55.

62 Faber 1973, 153-154; Lolić 2003, 142-143.

63 Lolić 2014, 289; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 56-57.

58 Radman-Livaja 2007, 166-168.

59 The left bank of the Kupa River must have had field fortifications that made up the circumvallation around *Segestica* during the siege, so it can be assumed that the Roman army had already built some structures on the territory of the future *Siscia* in 35 BC, and possibly at least one of the camps (if not several), where a part of Octavian's troops was stationed during the siege.

60 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 148-199.

61 Vrbanić 1981, 196; Nenadić 1987, 76; Buzov 1993, 55; Burkowsky 2000, 42-44; Lolić 2003, 141; Lolić 2014, 110-111; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 55.

62 Faber 1973, 153-154; Lolić 2003, 142-143.

63 Lolić 2014, 289; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 56-57.

//ata ili keramika tankih stijenki, koji se u tom vremenu prvenstveno vezuju uz vojsku i italske došljake a ne uz domorodačko stanovništvo.<sup>64</sup> Zasad nema nepobitnih dokaza da se ti rani građevinski slojevi s drvenim konstrukcijama nužno moraju povezati s vojskom, kao što nema ni građevina čija se namjena isključivo može vezati uz vojne logore, no svi su ti nalazi vrlo indikativni. Ujedno bi teško bilo objasniti kako i zašto bi ti građevinski zahvati - nesumnjivo velikih razmjera - bili izvedeni bez uključivanja vojske. Arheološka istraživanja, posebice novija, nedvojbeno upućuju na nazočnost rimske vojske na lijevoj obali Kupe tijekom augustovskog razdoblja i tiberijevskog razdoblja, no još uvijek nije moguće jasno definirati prostor koji je mogao pokrivati taj rimski vojni logor, kojeg je još uvijek prerano nazvati legijskim logorom, iako je to sasvim moguće. Razvoj civilnog naselja nije naravno započeo tek nakon 43. godine, preuzimanjem lokacije tog - vjerojatnog - logora. Civilno naselje, koje možemo okarakterizirati kao kanabe, je na lijevoj obali Kupe nesumnjivo desetljećima koegzistiralo sa susjednim logorom da bi se jednostavno proširilo na taj prostor nakon odlaska vojske. Iako zasad nema konkretnih arheoloških potvrda nazočnosti rimske vojske, još uvijek ne bih isključio mogućnost postojanja nekog rimskog vojnog logora (ili više njih) i na Pogorelcu,<sup>65</sup> prvenstveno u svijetlu velikih koncentracija trupa zabilježenih u pisanim izvorima, no zasad se ipak čini vjerojatnije postojanje vojnog logora na lijevoj obali Kupe, barem tijekom kasnoaugustovskog i tiberijevskog razdoblja.

## Zaključak

Kakav nam zaključak preostaje? Da je Siscija bila legijski logor od Augustove do Klaudijeve vladavine nije dvojbeno. Pisani izvori, koliko god bili manjkavi, jasno ističu nazočnost legija u Sisciji, iako ne nužno kroz cijelo navedeno razdoblje. Problematična je pouzdana identifikacija legija koje su činile taj garnizon, a još više i činjenica da mi u stvari zasad nemamo konkretnih saznanja o lokaciji rimskih vojnih logora u samom Sisku, kao i na Pogorelcu te u bližoj okolici. Analizom izvora vjerojatno možemo dosta pouzdano raščlaniti kojih je 10 legija boravilo u Sisciji 7. godine (*IV Scythica, V Macedonica, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV i XX*), no riječ je o iznimnoj situaciji, a ujedno i kratka vijeka. Pravo pitanje je koja, odnosno točnije rečeno, koje su legije duže vremena provele u Sisciji i za koje se uistinu može ustvrditi da su bile dijelom siscijanskog garnizona. Na to je pitanje daleko teže dati nedvosmislen odgovor. Izdvojio sam tri legije za koje vjerujem da postoje više ili manje uvjerljivi argumenti da kroz Sisciju nisu tek prošle, no nisam siguran da samo IX, XV i XX legiju možemo izdvojiti kao jedinice čiji se boravak u Sisciji ne može mjeriti tek tjednima ili mjesecima. Preostaje nam samo nada da će buduća istraživanja ili novi epigrafički nalazi dati odgovor na barem neka od pitanja istaknutih u ovom radu.

primarily connected to the military and immigrants from Italy, and not to the native inhabitants.<sup>64</sup> Currently, there is no irrefutable evidence indicating that these early architectural layers with wooden constructions should necessarily be connected to the military, and there are also no buildings the function of which could exclusively be related to military camps. However, all of the evidence is indicative. It is also difficult to explain how and why these construction works - undoubtedly large-scale - would be done without the military. Archaeological excavations, especially more recent ones, unquestionably indicate the presence of the Roman army on the left bank of the Kupa River during the period of Augustus and Tiberius, but it is, at present, impossible to clearly define the area occupied by this military camp that still cannot be definitively designated as a legionary camp. The development of the civilian settlement, naturally, did not begin after AD 43 by taking over this - probable - camp. The civilian settlement, which can be characterized as *canabae*, on the left bank of the Kupa River, undoubtedly coexisted with the neighboring camp for decades, only to spread to that area after the army left. Although there is, at this point, no clear archaeological evidence confirming the presence of the Roman army, the author does not exclude the possible existence of a Roman military camp (or several of them) on Pogorelac as well,<sup>65</sup> primarily in regard to the large concentration of troops recorded in written sources. However, currently it seems more probable that the camp was on the left bank of the Kupa river, at least during the late Augustan and the Tiberian period.

## Conclusion

What kind of conclusion can be drawn from all of this? The fact that *Siscia* was a legionary camp from the time of Augustus' to the time of Claudius' rule is unquestionable. Written sources, scanty as they might be, clearly emphasize the presence of legions in *Siscia*, although not necessarily throughout the entire period. The definitive identification of the legions that made up the garrison is problematic, and more so is the fact that there is currently no information about the location of Roman military camps in Sisak itself, Pogorelac, or the immediate vicinity. After analyzing the sources, it is possible to rather reliably establish which 10 legions stayed in *Siscia* in AD 7 (*IV Scythica, V Macedonica, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV and XX*), but having in mind that this was an exceptional and short-term situation. The right question is which one, or, more precisely, how many and which legions spent a longer amount of time in *Siscia*, and which can definitively be ascribed to the garrison of *Siscia*? This question is very difficult to answer in an unambiguous way. I chose three legions for which I believe there are more or less credible arguments to substantiate the claim that they did not only pass through *Siscia*. However, I do not assume that legions IX, XV and XX are the only units which could have stayed in *Siscia* more than a few weeks or months. We may only hope that future research, or new epigraphic finds, will provide answers to at least some of the questions posed in this paper.

64 Mócsy 1962, 682; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 153; Miletić Čakširan 2014, 126-131; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 59; u ovom svesku vidi studiju „Ranorimska fina keramika augustovskog horizonta Siscije s položaja Željeznički kolodvor“ autorice Ivane Miletić Čakširan.

65 Za trenutno stanje istraženosti Pogorelca vidi članak koji će biti objavljen u svesku 51 Vjesnika Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu za 2018. godinu, pod naslovom „Iskopavanja i geofizička prospekcija željeznodobnog i rimskog nalazišta na poziciji Sisak - Pogorelac (2012-2017)“, autora Ivana Drnića i Stefana Groha.

64 Mócsy 1962, 682; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 153; Miletić Čakširan 2014, 126-131; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2015, 59; in this tome, see the paper “Early Roman pottery of the Augustan period in *Siscia* from the Željeznički kolodvor (train station) position”, authored by Ivana Miletić Čakširan.

65 For the current state of research at Pogorelac, see the paper that will be published in tome 51 of Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu for 2018, entitled E Excavations and geophysical prospection of the Iron age and Roman-period site at Sisak - Pogorelac position (2012-2017), authored by Ivan Drnić and Stefan Groh.

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# ZAŠTITNA ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA NA POZICIJI SISAK-ŽELJEZNIČKI KOLODVOR U 2013. I 2014. GODINI

## RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED AT THE SISAK-RAILWAY STATION POSITION IN 2013 AND 2014

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*U radu se donose preliminarni rezultati zaštitnog arheološkog iskopavanja provedenog 2014. godine na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor u Sisku. Na površini nešto manjoj od 3000 m<sup>2</sup> istraženi su kulturni slojevi predrimskog, mladeželjeznodobnog naselja, ali i iz razdoblja najranije rimske prisutnosti na ovom prostoru, s ostacima drvene arhitekture, koji pripadaju rimskom vojnom logoru. Kronološki slijede ostatci civilnog naselja – Colonije Flavije Siscije, iz svih faza urbanog razvoja, pri čemu se važnošću ističe nalaz glavnog gradskog foruma s dijelovima kamenog popločenja. Također, zabilježeni su i malobrojni nalazi iz razdoblja ranog srednjeg vijeka, za sada malobrojni na sisačkom području.*

*This paper brings the preliminary results of excavations conducted in 2014 at the Railway station position in Sisak. An area of about 3000 m<sup>2</sup> yielded cultural layers from the pre-Roman, Late Iron Age settlement, as well as those from the time of the earliest Roman presence in this territory, including the remains of wooden architecture that can be ascribed to a Roman military camp. These remains are chronologically followed by those of a civilian settlement – Colonia Flavia Siscia, dated to all phases of urban development. The discovery of the main city forum with traces of a stone pavement is an exceptionally important find. In addition, the site yielded finds from the early medieval period that are, so far, sparse in the Sisak area.*

**Ključne riječi:**  
mlade željezno doba, antika, Siscija, vojni logor, forum, *cardo*

**Key words:**  
Late Iron Age, Roman period, Siscia, military camp, forum, *cardo*

### Uvod

Tijekom arheološkog nadzora na području rekonstrukcije trase drugog kolosijeka i gradnje otočnog perona u sklopu rekonstrukcije Željezničkog kolodvora u Sisku, obavljanog tijekom listopada 2013., definirane su kasnoantičke arheološke strukture i slojevi, zbog čega je terenskim pregledom obavljenim 22. listopada 2013. godine Konzervatorski odjel u Sisku propisao zaštitna arheološka istraživanja. Arheološka istraživanja nastavljena su 23. siječnja 2014. i trajala su do 20. kolovoza 2014. godine.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Archaeological surveillance was conducted during the reconstruction of the railway station in Sisak in October 2013. The area where the second trackside was being reconstructed and a new platform was being built revealed archaeological structures and layers dated to Late Antiquity. The Conservation Department in Sisak, conducted a field survey on October 22, 2013, and determined that rescue archaeological excavations should be conducted. The archaeological excavations were continued on January 23, 2014, and lasted until August 20, 2014.<sup>1</sup>

1 Arheološke radove provele su tvrtke Arheo Plan d.o.o. iz Konavala i Kaukal d.o.o. iz Splita. Po Rješenju Konzervatorskog odjela od 3. veljače 2014. stručni voditelj zaštitnog arheološkog istraživanja je Tomislav Jerončić, dipl. arh., a zamjenici voditelja su Maris Kristović, dipl. arh. i Ante Paro, dipl. arh. Konzervatorski nadzor su obavili Ivana Miletić Čakširan i Dalibor Sušnjić, djelatnici Konzervatorskog odjela u Sisku pri Ministarstvu kulture, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine.

1 The archaeological works were conducted by Arheo Plan d.o.o. from Konavle and Kaukal d.o.o. from Split. In accordance with the ordinance issued by the Conservation Department on February 3, 2014, the head of the rescue excavations was Tomislav Jerončić, with two deputy heads - Maris Kristović and Ante Paro, all archaeologists. Conservation surveillance was conducted by Ivana Miletić Čakširan and Dalibor Sušnjić, employees of the Conservation Department in Sisak of the Ministry of Culture, the Department for the Protection of Cultural Heritage.



Tijekom istraživanja na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor u Sisku istražena je površina veličine 2 812 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Nalazište je smješteno sjeverno od postojeće kolodvorske zgrade i ima oblik izduženog pravokutnika dužine oko 210 m i širine oko 10 m zapadno od položaja planiranog pothodnika, te 35,60 m dužine i 11,20 – 14,00 m širine istočno od navedenog pothodnika. Relativna dubina iskopa varira na nalazištu. Zbog gusto građenih objekata i ostalih arhitektonskih elemenata iz različitih faza razvoja grada, nije bilo moguće istražiti cijelu površinu do sterilnog geološkog sloja - zdravice koja je na lokalitetu zabilježena na relativnoj dubini od 4,10 do 5,25 m. Zabilježene su ukupno 1522 stratigrafske jedinice od kojih svaka predstavlja određeni duži ili kraći vremenski period tijekom kojeg određena ljudska djelatnost odnosno geološki procesi utječu na uslojavanje na određenom prostoru. Na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor dokumentirana je velika količina posebnih nalaza (1924) od kojih su najbrojniji oni izrađeni od keramike, zatim bronce, kamena, stakla i željeza, a u manjem broju kosti, olova i srebra. U urbanom razvoju antičke Siscije može se pratiti nekoliko faza izgradnje: 1) vrijeme vojnog logora koje karakteriziraju drvene arhitekture i pilotaža terena čime će se koristiti i kasnije civilno naselje, a čiji su ostaci i danas prisutni na lokalitetu; 2) ranocarski period, od Tiberija do prerastanja Siscije u koloniju; 3) razvijeno carsko razdoblje; 4) kasnoantičko razdoblje.<sup>3</sup> Sve faze izgradnje Siscije dokumentirane su i na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor. Zabilježeni su i slojevi mlađeželjeznodobnog naselja koje prethodi uspostavi rimskog vojnog logora.

## Stratigrafija nalazišta

### Probne sonde

Tijekom iskopavanja na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor istraženo je ukupno dvanaest probnih sondi, raspoređenih po cijeloj površini nalazišta, s ciljem utvrđivanja stratigrafskih odnosa i dubine sterilnog pedološkog sloja – zdravice. S obzirom na to da je prosječna relativna dubina iskopa na lokalitetu od 4,10 do 5,25 m, zbog gustoće arhitekture i zbog sigurnosnih razloga nije bilo moguće čitavu predviđenu površinu istražiti do zdravice. Stoga su, u dogovoru s nadležnim Konzervatorskim odjelom u Sisku, istražene probne sonde na određenim pozicijama površine od 0,80 m<sup>2</sup> do 10,25 m<sup>2</sup> (Sl. 1). U pet od dvanaest sondi dokumentirani su prapovijesni, točnije mlađeželjeznodobni slojevi koji su sadržavali pokretne nalaze, uglavnom ulomke keramičkih posuda.

Na istočnom dijelu iskopne površine u sondama 3 i 4 zabilježene su prapovijesne jame ukopane u zdravicu. Primjerice, u sondi 3 je na visini 97,44 – 96,75 m n/v pronađena zapuna jame (SJ 708/770) tamnosive rahle zemlje s komadima ugljena i pepela te gorenim kostima u jednom dijelu i nalazima prapovijesne keramike (Sl. 2: 1). U sondi 4 je na 97,55 – 97,25 m n/v pronađena manja jama (SJ 719/720) s prapovijesnom keramikom među kojom se izdvaja ulomak latenske posude ukrašene valovitom linijom, slično ulomku zdjele iz sonde 9 (Sl. 4: 4), kao i jama zapunjena kućnim ljepom (SJ 778/779) (Sl. 2: 2). Iznad mlađeželjeznodobnih slojeva slijedio je ranorimski (SJ 589) s ulomcima keramike tankih stijenki, čaše tipa *Aco*, šalice tipa *Sarius* i tera sigilata. Na spomenutim ulomci-

The excavations conducted at the Railway station position in Sisk included an area of 2812 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The site is situated north of the existing train station building, and is of an elongated rectangular shape, measuring about 210 m in length and about 10 m wide in the area west of the future underpass, and 35.60 m in length and 11.20-14 m wide east of the underpass. The relative depth varies across the site. Due to the dense distribution of structures and other architectural elements dated to different phases of the city's development, it was impossible to excavate the entire surface down to the sterile layer, recorded at a relative depth of 4.10 to 5.25 m. A total of 1522 stratigraphic units were recorded, each one denoting a longer or shorter period during which specific human activities or geological processes affected the formation of layers at a given area. The Railway station position yielded a large amount of special finds (1924), and the most common were made of pottery, bronze, stone, glass and iron, while less common ones were made of bone, lead and silver. It is possible to track several phases of construction in ancient *Siscia*: 1) the time of the military camp with traces of wooden architecture and terrain divisions that would also be used by the later civilian settlement that also left visible traces at the site; 2) the Early Empire, from Tiberius to the time *Siscia* became a colony; 3) the developed Empire; 4) Late Antiquity.<sup>3</sup> All phases of construction at *Siscia* were documented at the Railway station position. Additionally, traces of the Late Iron Age settlement that preceded the Roman military camp were also discovered.

## Site stratigraphy

### Test trenches

Twelve trenches were excavated during the excavations of the Railway station position. They were dispersed throughout the site with the aim of determining stratigraphic relations and the depth of the sterile pedological layer. Seeing as the average depth of the excavated zone at the site is 4.10-5.25 m, it was impossible to excavate the entire area down to the sterile layer due to the density of architectural remains and safety. Therefore, in agreement with the amenable Conservation Department in Sisk, the excavated test trenches vary between 0.80 m<sup>2</sup> to 10.25 m<sup>2</sup> at certain places (Fig. 1). Five out of the twelve trenches yielded prehistoric layers, dated to the Late Iron Age, which contained movable finds – mostly fragments of ceramic vessels.

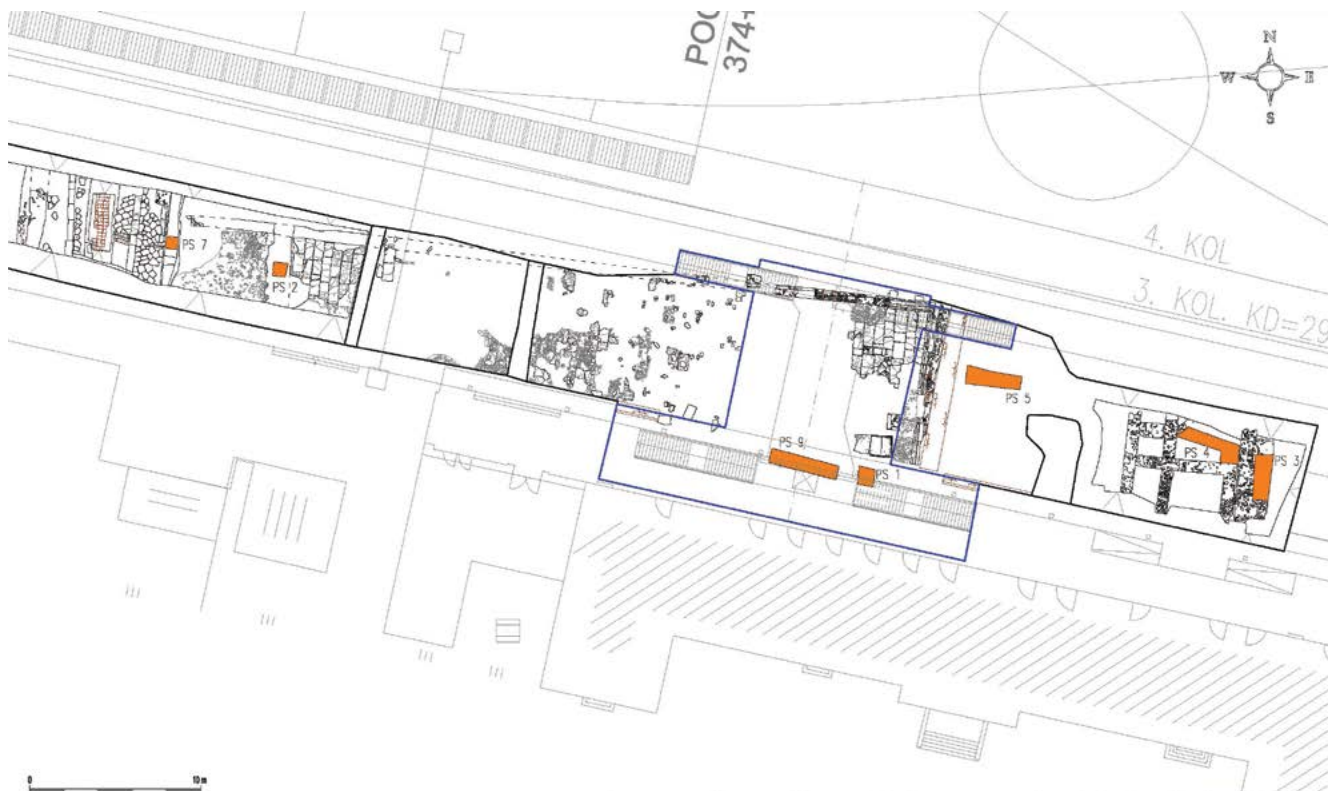
Trenches 3 and 4, in the eastern part of the excavated area, yielded prehistoric pits dug into the sterile layer. For example, trench 3, at a depth of 97.44-96.75 m a.s.l., yielded the fill of a pit (SU 708/770) with dark gray loose soil with pieces of charcoal and ash, as well as fragments of burnt bone and pottery on one side (Fig. 2: 1). Trench 4, at a depth of, yielded a smaller pit (SU 719/720) with prehistoric pottery. Some finds stand out – a fragment of a La Tène vessel decorated with a wavy line, similar to a fragment from trench 9 (Fig. 4: 4), as well as a pit filled with daub (SU 778/779) (Fig. 2: 2). The Late Iron Age layers were followed by early Roman ones (SU 589), with thin-walled pottery, glasses of the *Aco* type, cups of the *Sarius* type and *terra sigillata*. The mentioned

2 U navedenu kvadraturu nije uključeno 450 m<sup>2</sup> na lokaciji budućeg pothodnika gdje su istraživanja nastavljena u svibnju 2016.

3 Buzov 2000, 112-116; Lolić 2003; Lolić 2014.

2 The said quadrant did not include 450 m<sup>2</sup> excavated in May 2016 at the construction site of the future underpass.

3 Buzov 2000, 112-116; Lolić 2003; Lolić 2014.



**Sl. 1.**  
Položaji probnih sondi na poziciji Sisak–Željeznički kolodvor  
(izradili: A. Butorac i M. Mesarić)

**FIG. 1.**  
The positions of test trenches at the Sisak-Railway station position  
(made by: A. Butorac and M. Mesarić)

ma tere sigilate nalaze se pečati Saturnina (*Saturninus*) (SATVR) te M. Serija Homula (*M. Serius Homullus*) (M.SER/HOMVLL), datirani u razdoblje od 15. godine pr. Kr. do 15. po Kr.<sup>4</sup> U sondi 5 nađena je ostava s drvenom oplatom u kojoj su se nalazile jedna rodska amfora i jedna amfora tipa *Dressel 8*.<sup>5</sup>

Najzanimljiviji rezultati zabilježeni su u sondi 9 koja je pozicionirana u istočnom dijelu nalazišta, sjeverno od zgrade Željezničkog kolodvora (Sl. 1; Sl. 3). Sonda 9 je otvorena s ciljem jasnijeg definiranja stratigrafskih odnosa ispod razine foruma, te utvrđivanja razine geološkog sloja - zdravice koja je zabilježena na 96,01 m n/v. Dimenzije sonde 9 su 6,10 m x 1,25 m x 2,38 m, ukupne površine 7,65 m<sup>2</sup>. Istraživanje je u velikoj mjeri bilo otežano zbog vode koja je kontinuirano plavila sondu uslijed snažnih oborina.

U najstarijem dokumentiranom kulturnom sloju od masne sive gline s primjesama gara (SJ 1480), pronađen je ulomak fibule tipa Beletov vrt (Sl. 4: 1). Treba napomenuti da je primjerk cjelovite fibule ovog tipa (varijanta 1b) pronađen u augustovskom sloju na zapadu lokaliteta SJ 1335 (Sl. 4: 2). Najveći broj fibula ovoga tipa potječe s nalazišta mokronoške skupine u Dolenjskoj, ali su zabilježene i na susjednim područjima, osobitio na japodskom prostoru.<sup>6</sup> Fibule tipa Beletov vrt datiraju se u LT D1-D2 stupnjeve, a primjerci pronađeni na Magda-

fragments of *terra sigillata* include stamps of Saturninus (SATVR) and M. Serius Homullus (M.SER/HOMVLL), which have been dated to the period between 15 BC and 15 AD.<sup>4</sup> Trench 5 yielded a pantry with wooden paneling that contained one amphora from Rhodes and one of the Dressel 8 type.<sup>5</sup>

The most interesting results were recorded in trench 9, positioned in the eastern part of the site, north of the railway station building (Fig. 1). Trench 9 was excavated with the aim of defining the stratigraphic relations underneath the vertical alignment of the forum, and to establish the level where the sterile layer starts – at the depth of 96.01 m a.s.l. Trench 9 measured 6.10 m x 1.25 m x 2.38 m, and had a total area of 7.65 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3). The excavations were made significantly more difficult because of water that consistently flooded the trench due to frequent rain.

The oldest recorded cultural layer contained greasy clay with inclusions of ash (SU 1480), and yielded a fragment of a fibula of the Beletov vrt type (Fig. 4: 1). It should be mentioned that a completely preserved fibula of this type (variant 1b) was discovered in the Augustan layer at the western part of the site, in SU 1335 (Fig. 4: 2). The largest number of this type of fibula originates from sites of the Mokronog group in the Dolenjska region, but some have been recorded in neighboring areas, especially in Iapodian territories.<sup>6</sup>

4 Miletić Čakširan 2017; Miletić Čakširan 2018.

5 Paro, Novaković, Radman-Livaja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

6 Dizdar, Božić 2010, 153; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 185-190, karta 1.

4 Miletić Čakširan 2017; Miletić Čakširan 2018.

5 Paro, Novaković, Radman-Livaja 2018 (in this publication).

6 Dizdar, Božić 2010, 153; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 185-190, map 1.



**Sl. 2.**  
1. Probna sonda 3; 2. probna sonda 4 (snimio: B. Rožanković)



**FIG. 2.**  
1. Test trench 3; 2. Test trench 4 (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 3.**  
Probna sonda 9 s ostacima drvene pilotaže (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 3.**  
Test trench 9 with remains of wooden beams (photo: B. Rožanković)

lensbergu datirani su između 40. i 25. pr. Kr.<sup>7</sup> Slijedio je sloj koji u potpunosti sadrži mladeželznodobni keramički materijal (SJ 1474), a iznad njega je dokumentiran sloj gline sivo-plave boje (SJ 1449) u kojem su pronađeni ulomci mladeželznodobne keramike, među njima i redukcijski pečene zdjele S-profilacije izrađene u tradiciji latenske materijalne kulture (Sl. 4: 4). Na unutrašnjoj strani ulomka posude nalazi se ukras u obliku valovite linije izvedene plitkim žlijebljenjem, slično primjerku s pozicije Sisak - Povijesni arhiv.<sup>8</sup> Zatim je slijedio sloj s većom koncentracijom gara (SJ 1448) u kojem je pronađena mjedena fibula tipa *Tierkopf* Ial prema tipologiji S. Demetz,<sup>9</sup> zoomorfno ukrašenog luka (Sl. 4: 3) koja se datira u rano i srednjeaugustovsko razdoblje. U ovom je sloju zabilježena i veća koncentracija ostataka drvenih greda vidljivih u sjevernom i zapadnom profilu sonde. Istraživanjem su pronađena tri drvena pilota od kojih je najzapadniji ukopan u sloj sive gline s koncentracijom gara koja se nalazi izravno na zdravici. Ostala dva pilota nalaze se u istočnom dijelu sonde u kojem je registrirana veća koncentracija ostataka drvenih dasaka (Sl. 3).<sup>10</sup> Istraženi piloti vjerojatno predstavljaju ostatke rimske pilotaže terena koja je prethodila glinenom naboju na tom dijelu istražene površine.

### Nivelacija terena

Sudeći po dosadašnjim istraživanjima na drugim pozicijama u Sisku, a prvenstveno uzevši u obzir ovo istraživanje, na području Siska se tijekom njegovog povijesnog razvoja nasipavanjem slojeva zemlje i građevinskog otpada u nekoliko navrata umjetno podizala razina funkcioniranja grada. Razlog tome su učestale poplave i izlivanja rijeka Kupe i Save. Posljednji takav veliki zahvat poduzet je vjerojatno nakon polovice 19. stoljeća kada počinje i gradnja željezničkog kolodvora, pruge i pripadajuće infrastrukture. Spomenuti nivelacijski sloj registriran je na čitavoj istraženoj površini (SJ 404, SJ 22), a radi se o ponegdje gotovo dva metra debelom nasipu tamnosive ili crne rahle zemlje s visokom koncentracijom građevinskog otpada iz raznih razdoblja povijesnog razvoja, u kojemu se nalazio raznovrstan pokretni materijal, recentan, ali i arheološki iz rimskog razdoblja. Na tom nasipu sagrađeni su temelji građevina modernog Siska. Prilikom istraživanja, unutar ovog nasipnog sloja, zabilježena je i recentna arhitektura koja je nakon dokumentiranja djelomično uklonjena. Radi se o kolodvorskoj infrastrukturi građenoj od opeke polovicom 19. stoljeća.

Antička nivelacija rasprostire se gotovo cijelom širinom iskopa. Radi se o umjetno nastalom sloju gotovo sterilne, teško drobljive gline tamnožute boje debljine do 130 cm. Kulturni sloj koji prelazi ovoj nivelaciji (Sl. 5: 1) prema ulomcima fine keramike, kao što je primjerice reljefna aretinska sigilata, te na osnovu *Aucissa* fibula datiran je u kasnoaugustovsko razdoblje.<sup>11</sup> Osim toga, pri uklanjanju ove nivelacije uz zgradu kolodvora, u samom naboju gline, pronađen je Augustov novac, kovan 16. godine pr. Kr.

Beletov vrt type fibulas are dated to the LT D1-D2 phases, and finds from Magdalensberg have been dated to between 40 and 25 BC.<sup>7</sup> This was followed by a layer comprised exclusively of Late Iron Age material (SU 1474), and a layer of gray-blue clay above it (SU 1449) that yielded fragments of Late Iron Age pottery, including bowls with an S-profiled fired in a reduction atmosphere that were made in the tradition of the La Tène material culture (Fig. 4: 4). The inner side of the fragment is decorated with a shallow gauged wavy line, similar to that on a find from the Sisak-Povijesni arhiv position.<sup>8</sup> This was followed by a layer with a large concentration of ash (SU 1448), and it yielded a brass fibula of the *Tierkopf* Ial type as defined by S. Demetz,<sup>9</sup> with a zoomorphic decoration on the bow (Fig. 4: 3) that can be dated to the early and middle Augustan period. This layer also yielded a large concentration of wooden beams, visible in the northern and western profile of the trench. The excavations revealed three wooden pillars, the westernmost of which was dug into a layer of hard clay with a concentration of ash, deposited right above the sterile layer. The other two pillars were in the eastern part of the trench that also yielded a large concentration of wooden planks (Fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> The excavated pillars probably represent the remains of a Roman nivellation that occurred before the clay layer was deposited at that part of the excavated surface.

### Terrain nivellation

Based on the excavations conducted thus far in other parts of Sisak, and particularly the ones described in this paper, the level of the city was intentionally raised several times during its historical development by filling it with layers of soil and construction waste. The reasons for this were the frequent floods and outpours of the Kupa River. The last large works of this kind were probably done after the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the railway station, the train tracks and the accompanying infrastructure were being built. The mentioned layer of nivellation was registered across the entire excavated area (SU 404, SU 22). It is a layer of greasy clay with a large concentration of construction waste, which is sometimes two meters thick, and which contained material from all stages of the city's historical development, including different movable finds, both recent, as well as archaeological ones that were dated to the Roman period. This nivellation served as the basis for the construction of buildings in modern Sisak. In the excavations, this nivellation layer also yielded more recent architecture that was partially removed after it was documented. The remains included railway station infrastructure made of brick that was constructed around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Roman nivellation spans across almost the entire excavated area. This was an artificially created layer composed of almost sterile and hard to crush dark yellow clay that was up to 130 cm thick. Based on fine pottery fragments, such as relief *terra sigillata* from Arezzo or fibulas of the *Aucissa* type, the cultural layer that preceded this nivellation (Fig. 5a) can be dated to the late Augustan period.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, when this nivel-

7 Sedlmayer 2009, 14.

8 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 187, T. 5: 23.

9 Demetz 1999, 137-138, 147; Sedlmayer 2009, 25.

10 Sva tri pilota su uzorkovana, a uzorci su poslani na dendrokronološku analizu u laboratorij Sveučilišta Ithaca, New York, SAD. Nažalost, rezultati analize do objave ovog članka nisu poznati.

11 Miletić Čakširan 2017; Miletić Čakširan 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

12 PN (posebni nalaz); RIC I, 379

7 Sedlmayer 2009, 14.

8 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 187, T. 5: 23.

9 Demetz 1999, 137-138, 147; Sedlmayer 2009, 25.

10 All three pillars were sampled, and the samples were sent to the laboratory of Ithaca University in New York, USA for dendrochronological analyses. Unfortunately, the results of the analyses were not obtained before the publication of this paper.

11 Miletić Čakširan 2017; Miletić Čakširan 2018, in this publication.



SL. 4.

1. Ulomak fibule tipa Beletov vrt iz SJ 1480; 2. fibula tipa Beletov vrt iz SJ 1335; 3. *Tierkopffibel* iz SJ 1448; 4. ulomci keramičkih posuda iz SJ 1449 i SJ 1472 (snimili: V. Mesarić, I. Drnić; crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 4.

1. Fragment of a Beletov vrt type fibula from SU 1480; 2. the Beletov vrt type fibula from SU 1335; 3. the *Tierkopf*-type fibula from SU 1448; 4. pottery fragments from SU 1449 and SU 1472 (photo: V. Mesarić, I. Drnić; drawing: M. Galić)

(Sl. 6).<sup>12</sup> Nalazi drevnih greda, dobro sačuvanih zahvaljujući podzemnim vodama, kao i koncentracija keramike datirane u augustovsko razdoblje upućuju na mogućnost da se na prostoru foruma ranije nalazio dio vojnog logora (Sl. 5: 2).

#### **Forum Sisciense**

U istraživanju uklanjanjem spomenutog novovjekovnog nasipa (SJ 404, SJ 22) nađeni su ostatci antičkog foruma. Dužina foruma, od istočnog do zapadnog ruba, iznosi 70 m, a zbog kronološke pozicije kulturnog sloja koji mu prethodi, a koji je datiran u kasnoaugustovsko-tiberijevsko razdoblje, nesumnjivo se radi o glavnom forumu Siscije, nastalom u klaudivjevskom razdoblju (Sl. 7).

lation was removed alongside the railway station building, a coin of Augustus was discovered that was minted before 16 BC (Fig. 6).<sup>12</sup> Finds of wooden beams, well preserved due to underground water flows, as well as concentrations of pottery dated to the Augustan period, point to the possibility that the area of the forum had previously been occupied by a part of the military camp (Fig. 5: 2).

#### **Forum Sisciense**

When the mentioned modern day nivellation was removed (SU 404, SU 22), the excavations revealed the remains of the ancient forum. The length of the forum, from the eastern to the west-

<sup>12</sup> PN (posebni nalaz); RIC I, 379.

<sup>12</sup> SF (special find); RIC I, 379.



**Sl. 5.**  
1. Kasnoaugustovski sloj dokumentiran ispod umjetnog nasipa; 2. ostatak daske u augustovskom sloju (snimio: B. Rožanković)



**FIG. 5.**  
1. The late Augustan layer documented under the artificial nivellation (photo: B. Rožanković); 2. the remains of a wooden board in the Augustan layer (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 6.**  
As cara Augusta kovan 16. godine pr. Kr. (snimio: T. Jerončić)

**FIG. 6.**  
The as of emperor Augustus, minted before 16 AD (photo: T. Jerončić)

To je, naime, razdoblje kada Siscija prerasta iz vojnog uporišta u civilno naselje, nakon odlaska legija 46.- 47. godine.<sup>13</sup>

Forum je građen na način da su kamene vapnenačke ploče položane na podlogu načinjenu od manjih komada nepravilnog kamena utisnutog u pjeskovitu podlogu (Sl. 10). Ponegdje je za ovu svrhu korišten sivkasti pijesak, a mjestimično i žučkasti grublji pijesak s primjesom šljunka. Pronađene vapnenačke ploče su pravilne, dobro obrađene, četvrtastog oblika, dužine do dva metra, širine do jedan metar, te debljine petnaest centimetara. Najbolje sačuvani dio antičkog foruma nalazi se u središnjem dijelu istražene površine, na prostoru prethodno predviđenom za izgradnju pothodnika glavnog sisačkog željezničkog kolodvora, na 100,06 m n.v. (Sl. 7-8). Upravo je na ovom području nađen sjeveroistočni rub foruma. Uz sam rub masivnog popločenja nađen je masivni kameni odvodni kanal koji se pruža u smjeru istok - zapad, te okomiti spoj s kanalom smjera sjever - jug (Sl. 9). On se pru-

ern edge, is 70 m. Due to the chronological position of the cultural layer that preceded it, and which was dated to the late Augustan-Tiberian period, these are undoubtedly the remains of the main forum of *Siscia*, constructed during the Claudian period (Fig. 7). In other words, that was the period when *Siscia* grew from a military base in to a civilian settlement, i.e. after the legions left in the year 46-47.<sup>13</sup>

The forum was constructed in such a way that limestone panels were placed onto a surface made of smaller pieces of irregularly shaped rock that was impressed into the sandy base (Fig. 10). In some places, grayish sand was used, and somewhere also yellowish coarser sand with inclusions of gravel. The recorded limestone panels were standardized, well processed, had a square shape, measuring up to 1 m in width and 15 cm in thickness. The best preserved part of the ancient forum was in the central part of the excavated area; on the surface that had previously been

<sup>13</sup> Radman-Livaja 2004; Radman-Livaja 2010; Tončinić 2014, 89. Jedino nalazište u središtu Siska koje se u posljednjih šezdesetak godina navodilo kao potencijalni položaj foruma Siscije je područje Šetnice uz rijeku Kupu i to pored i u samoj zgradi Malog Kaptola, ponajprije zbog pronalaska šest velikih kamenih ploča na dubini od 1,7 m koje na rubnom dijelu imaju usječen utor za otjecanje vode (Lolić 2014, 145-146).

<sup>13</sup> Radman-Livaja 2004; Radman-Livaja 2010; Tončinić 2014, 89. The only site in the center of Sisak that was, in the last sixty years, listed as the potential position of the *Siscia* forum was the Šetnica (walkway) area along the Kupa River, next to and within the Mali Kaptol building. This was suggested primarily due to the six large stone panels that were discovered at a depth of 1.7 m, and which had indented slots for water drainage on their edges (Lolić 2014, 145-146).

žao punom širinom foruma u dužini 70 m, od kojih je bilo moguće istražiti samo navedeni sjeveroistočni ugao.

Južno od definiranog ruba foruma, na 100,05 m n/v, nađen je kameni postament većih dimenzija (3,4 x 1,9 x 0,35 m) s profiliranim rubovima. Postament se nalazi na 80 cm visokom kamenom temelju ukopanom u nivelacijski sloj gline (SJ 67). Postament je u cijelosti bio prekriven sitnijim kamenjem koje je korišteno kao podloga za kameno popločenje, što bi značilo da je u jednom trenutku popravkom popločenja negirana njegova funkcija, odnosno da pripada ranijoj fazi antičke urbanizacije Siscije kada je mogao služiti kao potporanj ili baza arhitektonskog ili ukrasnog elementa većih dimenzija i mase (Sl. 10).

Na istočnom rubu foruma otkriven je uzdignuti kameni prag odnosno kamena stepenica koja je položena na rub ogranka kamenog drenažnog kanala smjera sjever-jug (Sl. 9). Kameni blokovi koji čine prvu stepenicu nasjedaju izravno na uklesani utor na istočnom rubu tog kanala. Sačuvani su ostatci tri razine stepenica kojima se pristupalo na istočni povišeni dio koji se nastavljao na forum, dok su ostali blokovi uklonjeni ili uništeni tijekom novovjekovne devastacije. S obzirom na sustavnu i opsežnu devastaciju antičkih struktura tijekom gradnje kolodvora u 19. stoljeću, nisu pronađeni dokazi za eventualno postojanje više od tri stepenice.

Na površini koja se prostire zapadno od sjeveroistočnog ugla foruma, pronađeni su ostaci popločenja od pravokutnih ploča izrađenih od druge vrste kamena - pješčenjaka, lošije kvalitete (Sl. 8 –

intended for the walkway of the main railway station in Sisak, at a depth of 100.06 m a.s.l. (Fig. 7-8). Precisely this part yielded the northeastern border of the forum. The very edge of the massive pavement yielded a massive drainage canal, spanning from east to west, and a perpendicular merger with a canal that spanned from north to south (Fig. 9). This canal followed the forum in its full width of 70 m, but only its northeastern edge was included in these excavations.

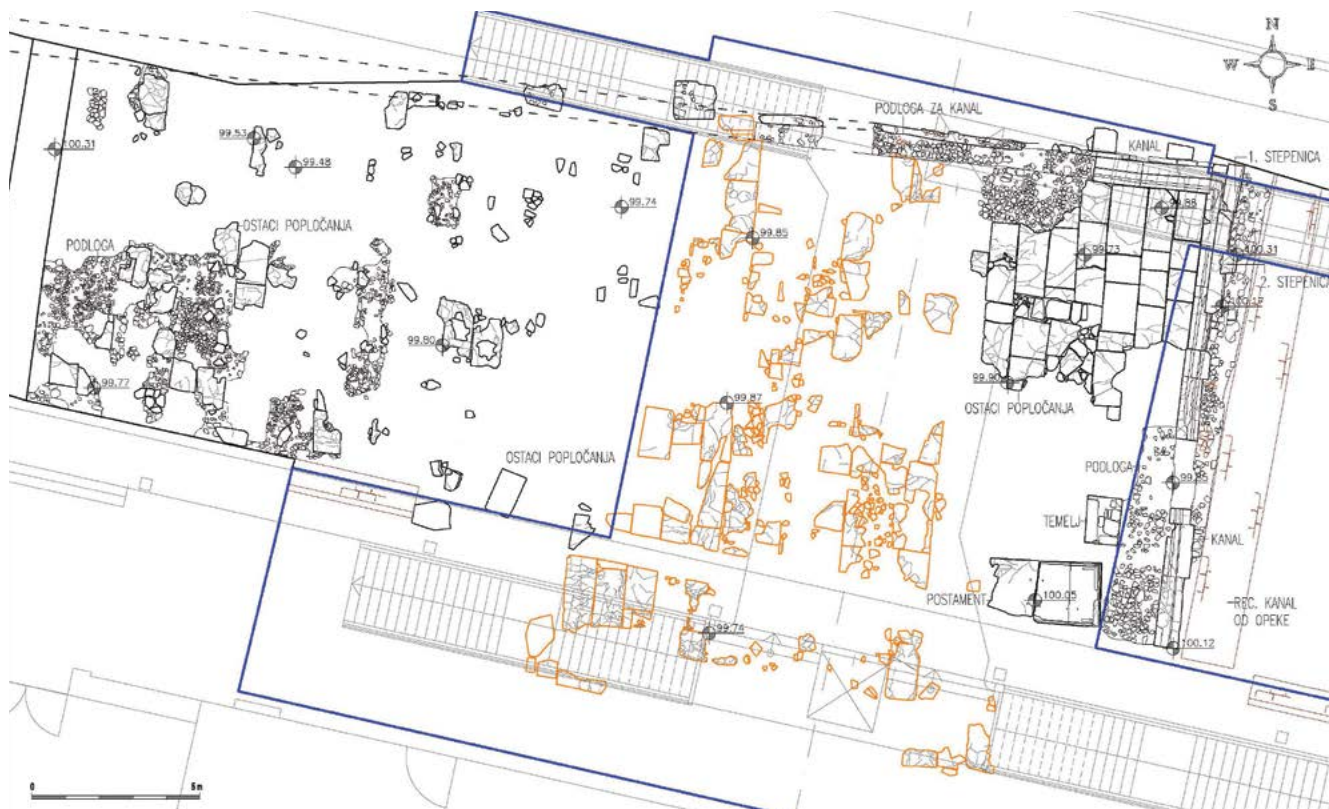
The area south of the defined edge of the forum, at a depth of 100.05 m a.s.l., yielded a larger stone pedestal (3.4 x 1.9 x 0.35 m) with profiled edges. The pedestal was on an 80-cm-tall stone base that was buried into the clayey layer of nivellation (SU 67). The pedestal was completely covered with smaller rocks that were used as the base for the stone panels, which means that its original function was negated at a point when the panels were being reconstructed, i.e. that it belongs to an earlier phase of the urbanization of Sisak, when it could have been used as a support or base of some larger or heavier architectural or decorative element (Fig. 10).

The eastern part of the forum yielded an elevated stone doorstep, i.e. a step that was placed along the edge of a part of the stone drainage canal that spread from north to south (Fig. 9). The stone blocks that make up the first step were placed directly onto the sculpted gauge at the eastern part of that canal. The remains include three steps that were used to enter the eastern elevated area that continued from the forum, while the other blocks were removed or destroyed during modern-day devastation. Considering the systematic and wide-spread devastation of ancient struc-



Sl. 7. Sjeveroistočni ugao glavnog foruma (snimio: B. Rožanković)

FIG. 7. The northeastern corner of the main forum (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 8.**  
Raster nekadašnjeg forumskog popločenja (ploče od pješčenjaka označene žutom bojom) (izradili: A. Butorac i M. Mesarić)

**FIG. 8.**  
The distribution of the ancient panels on the forum (limestone panels marked in yellow) (made by: A. Butorac and M. Mesarić)



**Sl. 9.**  
Kamena stepenica položena na rub ogranka kamenog drenažnog kanala (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 9.**  
The stone step placed along the edge of a part of the stone drainage canal (photo: B. Rožanković)



označeno žuto na planu). Ova je vrsta kamena korištena kasnije pri jednoj od rekonstrukcija ili popravaka rimskog foruma u vremenu njegovog kasnijeg korištenja. Ovo popločenje je u većem opsegu devastirano gradnjom kolodvorske infrastrukture, odnosno nivelacijom prostora. Unatoč vrlo malom broju sačuvanih kamenih ploča, tragovi podloge od lomljenog kamena i sivo-crne prahovite gline koja se slijegala kroz fuge samih kamenih ploča sačuvali su raster nekadašnjeg popločenja, po kojemu se može pretpostaviti broj redova ploča koje su činile ovaj javni prostor (Sl. 11). Prilikom uklanjanja jedne od tih pješčenjačkih ploča, u njoj je podlozi pronađen brončani novovjekovni mjerni instrument - šestar, što uz različitu kvalitetu kamenih ploča upućuje na popravke i dugogodišnje korištenje foruma, možda sve do 18. i početka 19. stoljeća.

Forum je znatno devastiran gradnjom pruge sredinom 19. stoljeća. Primjerice na središnjem dijelu je istražen ukop ciglarske peći, promjera 2,5 m i dubine 1 m, postakljenih stijenki, koja vjerojatno potječe iz razdoblja gradnje kolodvorske zgrade (Sl. 12: 1). Peć je imala pripadajuću otpadnu jamu s kojom je bila odvojena konkavno isklesanom pješčenjačkom pločom. Unutar otpadne jame je, osim većih količina vapna, pronađeno i nekoliko ulomaka novovjekovne keramike. Važno je naglasiti kako je pri funkcioniranju ciglarske peći korišteno i okolno popločenje rimskog foruma.

Također, u središnjem dijelu foruma pronađena je i otpadna jama promjera 3,7 m i dubine 2 metra (SJ 299/300), unutar koje se nalazilo nekoliko slomljenih i cjelovitih vapnenačkih ploča koje su

tures during the construction of the railway station in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no evidence was recovered that would indicate the existence of more than three steps.

The area that spans west of the southeastern edge of the forum yielded the remains of pavement made of rectangular blocks made of different rock – sandstone, which is of poorer quality (Fig. 8 – marked in yellow on the layout). This kind of rock was used later, when the Roman forum was reconstructed or repaired during later periods of its use. This pavement was mostly destroyed in the construction of the railway station infrastructure, i.e. when the terrain was nivellated. Despite the small number of preserved stone panels, the layout of the ancient pavement was preserved due to the traces of its base made of crushed rock and gray-black powdery clay that fell through the joints between the stone panels, so that the number of lines of stone block that made up this public area can be assumed (Fig. 11). When one of these sandstone panels was being removed, a modern day brass compass as found that, along with the different quality of the stone panels, suggests that the forum was reconstructed and used over a long period of time, possibly even until the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The forum was significantly damaged when the railway was being constructed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the central part of the site yielded a brick kiln, measuring 2.5 m in diameter and 1 m in depth. It had vitrified walls and can probably be dated to the period when the railway station was constructed (Fig.



Sl. 10. Kameni postament s pripadajućom podlogom (snimio: B. Rožanković)

FIG. 10. The stone pedestal with its base (photo: B. Rožanković)



Sl. 11.  
Raster nekadašnjeg forumskog popločenja (snimio: G. Đurić)

FIG. 11.  
The distribution of the ancient forum pavement (photo: G. Đurić)

nekad činile hodnu površinu središnjeg foruma (Sl. 12: 2). Unutar jame pronađeno je najmanje petnaest srednjovjekovnih posuda od kojih prevladavaju lonci manjih i većih dimenzija, u pojedinim slučajevima ukrašeni karakterističnim valovnicama s visokim primjesama kalcita u glinenoj smjesi. Preliminarna datacija za navedeni keramički materijal je 10. stoljeće.

#### **Nivelacija i objekt s monumentalnim zidovima u istočnom dijelu lokaliteta**

Istočno od glavnog foruma nalazio se umjetno nastali sloj nabijene žute gline debljine tridesetak centimetara. Materijal pronađen u slojevima koji prethode naboju (primjerice SJ 576) potječe iz klaudivjevskog razdoblja. Primjerice, u SJ 576 pronađeni su ulomci panonske keramike tankih stijenki, ulomak čaše tipa *Sarius* i ulomak tere sigilate s nečitljivim pečatom *in p. p.*<sup>34</sup>

Uklanjenjem navedenog nivelacijskog sloja, koji je sadržavao pokretni materijal datiran od 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. do 1. po Kr., pronađeni su ostatci zidanih struktura koji se mogu vezati za raniju fazu urbanizacije Siscije. Pojedini zidovi sačuvani su do visine od jednog metra, iako je većina devastirana do razine temelja. Na ovom prostoru registrirano je šest zidova koji zatvaraju nekoliko prostorija antičkog objekta (Sl. 13: 1-2). Istražena monumentalna građevina nastaje u vrijeme cara Klaudija, odnosno u vrijeme izgrad-

12: 1). The kiln was divided from an accompanying waste pit by a concave sculpted limestone panel. The waste pit, in addition to large amounts of lime, also yielded several fragments of modern day pottery. It is important to note that surrounding Roman pavement was also used when the brick kiln was functional.

Additionally, the central part of the forum yielded a waste pit, measuring 3.7 m in diameter and 2 m in depth (SU 299/300). The pit contained several broken and whole limestone panels that used to be part of the forum's walking surface (Fig. 12: 2). The pit yielded at least fifteen medieval vessels, mostly smaller and larger pots that were, in some cases, decorated with wavy lines, and contained a lot of calcite inclusions in the clay paste. The said material was preliminarily dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **Nivellation and the structure with monumental walls in the eastern part of the site**

The area east of the main forum revealed an artificially created layer of compacted yellow clay that was about thirty cm thick. The material discovered in the layers that preceded this one (e.g. SU 576) were dated to the Claudian period. For example, SU 576 yielded fragments of Pannonian thin-walled pottery, a fragment of a *Sarius* type glass, and a fragment of *terra sigillata* with an illegible stamp, *in p. p.*<sup>34</sup>



**SL. 12.**  
1. Ostaci ciglarske peći iz 19. stoljeća; 2. ukop srednjovjekovne jame (snimio: B. Rožanković)



**FIG. 12.**  
1. The remains of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brick kiln; 2. the cut of a medieval pit (photo: B. Rožanković)

nje glavnog foruma. Zidovi ovoga objekta široki su oko jednog metra, a građeni su od više ili manje pravilnih i obrađenih četvrtastih kamenih blokova raznih dimenzija međusobno povezanih vapnenom žbukom. Za gradnju zidova korišteno je nekoliko različitih vrsta kamena, a zanimljivo je da su mjestimično korišteni i obrađeni komadi sedrenih naslaga. Unutar samih prostorija objekta, koje su registrirane kao prostorije A, B, C i D, neposredno iznad temeljnih stopa, uz stijenke zidova, nađeni su i dijelovi podnica prostorija na visini od 98,50 m n/v (SJ 585). Ova visina ujedno predstavlja razinu funkcioniranja objekta, odnosno hodnu površinu. U slojevima funkcioniranja objekta (SJ 535) pronađen je novac Klaudija, kovan u Rimu između 50. i 54. godine (Sl. 15),<sup>35</sup> te Vespazijana. Najistočniji zid smjera sjever-jug širok je čak 1,45 m, a na njegovo istočno (vanjsko) lice naslonjena su dva kontrafora dimenzija 1,60 x 1,30 m. Kontrafori su međusobno udaljeni točno 4 m. Ovaj zid, koji se izdvaja od ostalih svojom širinom i pripadajućim kontraforima, temeljen je dublje od ostalih istraženih zidova na istočnom dijelu lokaliteta, odnosno ukopan je pedesetak centimetara u zdravicu (Sl. 14), dok su ostali zidovi temeljeni otprilike 40 cm iznad razine zdravice, odnosno u najstarijim arheološkim slojevima koji se mogu datirati u mlađe željezno doba. Kronološki najmlađi materijal u sloju kojim je zasipan opisani objekt (SJ 280) i koji markira prestanak njegovog funkcioniranja potječe iz kraja 1. stoljeća.

Uklanjanjem recentnih slojeva na najistočnijem dijelu istražene površine nađena je podloga za kameno popločenje. Taj je prostor mogao predstavljati istočni otvoreni javni prostor (trg) koji se nastavljao na središnji forumski prostor, iako to zbog visokog stupnja devastacije nije moguće sa sigurnošću potvrditi.

#### **Cardo maximus**

Na zapadnom rubu središnjeg antičkog javnog prostora - foruma nađena je glavna gradska prometnica smjera sjever - jug, odnosno *cardo* (Sl. 16-17). Ova je cesta, širine 5,5 metara, otkrivena cijelom širinom iskopa, s rubnicima i pločnicima za pješake, širine 3 metra, s obje strane koji su uzdignuti u odnosu na samu cestu. Vidljivo je da su kamene vapnenačke ploče koje čine ce-

When the said nivellation layer, which contained material dated to between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, was removed, the remains of built structures, tied to an earlier phase of the urbanization of *Siscia*, were revealed. Certain walls were preserved up to one meter in height, although most were destroyed down to their foundations. This area yielded six walls that enclosed several rooms of a Roman structure (Fig. 13: 1-2). The excavated monumental structure was built during the reign of emperor Claudius, i.e. at the time when the main forum was built. The walls of this structure were about one meter wide, and were constructed out of more or less regularly shaped and processed square stone blocks of different size that were tied with mortar. The walls were constructed out of several kinds of rock, and it interesting to note that some processed pieces of tuff were also used. The rooms of the structure, documented as rooms A, B, C and D, situated right on top of the foundations, also revealed parts of the floor along the walls, at a height of 98.50 m a.s.l. (SU 585). This height also represents the level used when the structure was in function, i.e. the walking surface. The functional layers of the structure (SU 535) yielded a coin of emperor Claudius, minted in Rome between the years 50 and 54 (Fig. 15),<sup>35</sup> as well as that of Vespasianus. The easternmost wall, spanning from north to south, was 1.45 m wide, and its eastern (outer) face leaned against two buttresses, measuring 1.60 x 1.30 m. The buttresses were exactly 4 m apart. This wall, which stands out because of its width and the accompanying buttresses, had deeper foundations than the other excavated walls in the eastern part of the site, i.e. it was dug about fifty centimeters deeper into the sterile layer (Fig. 14). The other walls had foundations about 40 cm above the sterile layer, i.e. in the oldest archaeological layers that can be dated to the Late Iron Age. The chronologically youngest material from the layer that filled the described structure (SU 280), which also marks the end of its functionality, was dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

The removal of recent layers in the easternmost part of the excavated area revealed the base of the stone pavement. This area might have been the eastern open public space (square) that continued from the forum, although it is not possible to fully prove this assumption due to the high level of devastation.

15 PN 378; RIC I, 116; Kristović, Jerončić 2014, 15.

15 SF 378; RIC I, 116; Kristović, Jerončić 2014, 15.



**Sl. 13.**  
1. Tlocrt zidanog objekta na istoku nalazišta (izradili: A. Butorac i M. Mesarić);  
2. zidani objekt na istoku nalazišta (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 13.**  
1. The layout of the structure in the east of the site (made by: A. Butorac and M. Mesarić); 2. The structure in the east of the site (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 14.**  
Zid objekta smještenog istočno od foruma s jednim od kontrafora  
(snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 14.**  
The wall of the structure situated east of the forum with one of the buttresses (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 15.**  
Novac cara Klaudija kovan u Rimu između 50. i 54. godine (snimio: T. Jerončić)

**FIG. 15.**  
Emperor Claudius' coin, minted in Rome between 50 and 54 AD  
(photo: T. Jerončić)



**Sl. 16.**  
*Cardo* Siscije s ostacima kanalizacijskog sustava  
(snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 16**  
The *cardo* of Siscia with the remains of the sewage system  
(photo: B. Rožanković)

stu i pločnik na pojedinim mjestima utisnute dublje u podlogu od ostalih, što se vjerojatno može objasniti dugogodišnjim opterećenjem gornjih slojeva zemlje uslijed frekventnog prometovanja vlakova uklonjenim kolosijecima, te propadanjem kamenih ploča unutar pretpostavljenih ranijih ukopa ispunjenih rahlijim zapunama (Sl. 17). Kamene ploče koje su pokrivala kolnik ceste sačuvane su samo pored uzdignutih rubnika, dok su na sredini ceste devastirani i uklonjeni. Naime, ispod razine same ceste, na njenoj središnjoj osi, nalazio se kanalizacijski sustav odvodnje otpadnih i oborinskih voda koji je bio građen od opeke koja je gotovo u potpunosti uklonjena za vrijeme novovjekovnog korištenja rimskog građevinskog materijala. Od odvodnog kanala ostalo je sačuvano samo dno kanalizacije u vidu opeka poslaganih na podlogu od lomljenog kamena i žbuke (Sl. 16). U sloju koji se nalazio izravno na kamenim pločama ceste pronađeni su nalazi koji potječu iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja, poput kasnoantičkog brončanog novca cara Jovijana (Sl. 18: 1).<sup>16</sup> Također, u samim fugama kamenog popločenja ceste, rubnika i nogostupa, pronađeno je nekoliko primjeraka kasnocarskog novca, poput primjerka brončanog novca Valentinijana i Valensa (Sl. 18: 2).<sup>17</sup> Ovaj novac svjedoči o funkcioniranju ovoga popločenja i u vrijeme kasne antike, kao i jedan pješčenjački kamen postavljen u istočni rubnik ceste, koji upućuje na kasniju upotrebu i popravke. Uz pločnik karda nalazio se drenažni kanal od kojeg je ovdje ostao samo negativ u pravcu sjever - jug. Voda iz tog drenažnog kanala otjecala je u kanalizacijski kanal koji se pružao u pravcu istok - zapad i vodio do kolektora ispod ceste. Kamene ostaci drenažnog kanala, sačuvani samo ispod istočnog kolnika ceste, protežu se više-manje cijelom širinom iskopa, a u zapadnom profilu su vidljivi u punoj dužini (Sl. 19). Sjeverno uz ostatke drenažnog kanala nalazi se temelj četvrtastog oblika, dimenzija 120 x 120 x 160 cm, građen od kamena povezanog žbukom koji je možda podupirao stup koji je mogao činio dio kolonade trijema uz cestu. Prethodnim istraživanjima na okolnim sisačkim položajima sv. Kvirin i Lučka kapetanija, također je ubicirana glavna antička gradska cesta smjera sjever - jug koja slijedi pravac opisane prometnice.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Strukture na zapadnom dijelu nalazišta**

Neposredno uz zapadni nogostup karda registriran je povišeni antički nivelacijski sloj u kojem je istraženo nekoliko većih i manjih kružnih ili nepravilnih kasnoantičkih i novovjekovnih ukopa (Sl. 20). Radi se o jamama zasada nepoznate namjene, a u jednom od tih ukopa pronađen je i oštećeni kapitel u podlozi od lomljenog kamena kakva je registrirana na istočnom dijelu iskopa kao podloga za popločenje (Sl. 21). Također, prema zapadu se nalaze recentni ukopi mnogo većih dimenzija i dubine. Pretpostavlja se da su ovi ukopi nastali tijekom potrage za građevinskim materijalom potrebnim za gradnju novovjekovnog Siska, tijekom koje su razgrađene antičke javne građevine. Ovoj tezi u prilog ide i novovjekovni pijuk pronađen pri iskopavanju jednog od navedenih ukopa. Među njima se veličinom (14,00 x 4,50 m) i dubinom izdvaja ukop SJ 504 koji je samo djelomično istražen jer se većim dijelom rasprostirao prema jugu izvan gabarita istražne površine (Sl. 22). Ovaj je ukop zapunjen iznimno velikom količinom tamnosive pjeskovite i prahovite gline s velikom koncentracijom drobljenog

#### **Cardo maximus**

The western edge of the central Roman public surface – the forum, revealed the main city roadway that spanned from north to south, i.e. the *cardo* (Fig. 16-17). This road, 5,5 m wide, was discovered along the entire width of the excavated area, and included curbs and sidewalks for pedestrians, 3 m wide, on both sides, and which were elevated in relation to the road. It was clear that the limestone panels that made up the road and the sidewalk were, at some places, pressed deeper into the surface, probably due to the yearlong pressure put on the upper layers of the soil due to the frequent train traffic, the removed tracks and the fact that the stone panels sunk into assumed earlier cuts that were filled with looser soil (Fig. 17). The stone panels that covered the road were only preserved when next to the elevated curbs, and were destroyed and removed in the central part of the road. It appears there was a sewage system used to remove waste and rain water was built under the level of the road, along its central axis. It was made of bricks that were almost completely removed in recent times when the Roman material was reused for construction. Only the bottom of the drainage canal was preserved, consisting of bricks that were placed onto a base of crushed rocks and mortar (Fig. 16). The layer recorded right on top of the stone panels in the road yielded finds that can be dated to Late Antiquity, such as the late Roman coin of emperor Jovian (Fig. 18: 1).<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the slits between stone pavement of the road, the curbs and sidewalks, also yielded several finds of late imperial coins of the emperors Valentinian and Valens (Fig. 18: 2).<sup>17</sup> These coins suggest that this pavement was also used during Late Antiquity, as does one piece of limestone placed into the eastern curb, and which indicates subsequent use and repair. A drainage canal was situated alongside the sidewalk of the *cardo*, but was only preserved as a negative spanning from north to south. The water from this drainage canal went into the sewage canal that spanned from east to west to reach a collector that was under the road. The stone remains of the drainage canal, preserved only under the eastern part of the road, span more or less throughout the entire excavated area, and their full length is visible in the western profile (Fig. 19). The area north of the drainage canal yielded square foundations, measuring 120 x 120 x 160 cm, made of stone that was connected with mortar, and which might have supported a column that could have been part of a colonnade of a porch along the road. Previous research conducted on the surrounding position in Sisak, sv. Kvirin and Lučka kapetanija, also revealed the main Roman city road that spanned from north to south, following the described roadway.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Structures in the western part of the site**

An elevated Roman nivellation layer was recorded alongside the western sidewalk of the *cardo*. It yielded several larger and smaller circular and irregular cuts dated to Late Antiquity and the Modern era (Fig. 20). The function of these pits is still unknown, and one of them yielded a damaged capital, situated within a base composed of crushed rock, similar to the one registered in the eastern part of the site as the base of the pavement (Fig. 21). Additionally, significantly larger and deeper cuts were discovered further to the west. It was assumed that these cuts were made

16 PN 195; RIC VIII, 234.

17 PN 582; RIC 5B iii.

18 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 79; Lolić 2014.

16 SF 195; RIC VIII, 234.

17 SF 582; RIC 5B iii.

18 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 79; Lolić 2014.



**SL. 17.**  
Ulegnuće arhitekture na prostoru antičke prometnice  
(snimio B. Rožanković, 2014.)

**FIG. 17.**  
Sunken architecture on the Roman road  
(photo: B. Rožanković)



**SL. 18.**  
1. Novac cara Jovijana kovan 363.-364. godine; 2. Novac cara Valensa kovan između 364. i 367. (snimio: T. Jerončić)



**FIG. 18.**  
1. The coin of emperor Jovian minted in 363-364 AD; 2. The coin of emperor Valens minted between 364 and 367 AD (photo: T. Jerončić)

građevinskog otpada, a ukopan je u sloj šljunka, kamenčića i žbuke pomiješane sa zeleno-sivom glinom na kojoj se na većoj površini rasprostire djelomično očuvano nepravilno kamenje unutar kompaktne žbuke. Ova struktura vrlo je slična podlozi za kamene ploče kakva je već registrirana na središnjem foramskom prostoru. Stoga se na ovom prostoru, smještenom zapadno od glavne antičke gradske ceste (*cardo*), unatoč potpunom izostanku kamenog popločenja može ubicirati još jedan otvoreni javni popločeni prostor. S obzirom na veliku količinu drobljenog mramora, kao i nalaz jedne cjelovite mramorne ploče, moguće je da se ovdje radi o kompleksu kapitolija koji je, kao primjerice u antičkoj Jaderi, na zapadnoj strani od foruma bio razdvojen kardom.<sup>39</sup>

during the search for building material that was necessary for the construction of modern-day Sisak, when the Roman public buildings were destroyed. This is supported by the find of a modern-day pick in one of the said cuts. Cut SU 504 stands out due to its size (14.00 x 4.50 m) and depth. It was only partially excavated because it mostly spanned towards the south, outside the designated excavation area (Fig. 22). This cut was filled with an exceptionally large amount of dark gray powdery clay with a large concentration of crushed building material, and was dug into a layer of gravel, small stones and mortar mixed with green-gray clay that was mostly covered by partially preserved rocks of irregular shape and more compact mortar. This structure is very similar to the base



Sl. 19.  
Zapadni profil istočnog kolnika (snimio: B. Rožanković)

FIG. 19.  
The western profile of the eastern roadway (photo: B. Rožanković)

Prva faza arhitekture na ovom dijelu nalazišta istovremena je s nastankom glavnog foruma, kao i arhitekturom istraženom istočno od foruma.

Zapadno od karda na udaljenosti od 70 metara nalazi se još jedan kanalizacijski sustav smjera sjever – jug koji se vjerojatno nalazio ispod središnje osi kamenom popločane antičke gradske prometnice. Radi se o djelomično očuvanoj zidanoj strukturi od opeke koja zatvara odvodni kanal koji je prikupljao vodu iz poprečno postavljenih manjih kanala sagrađenih od opeke na višoj razini, a koji su dovodili otpadne i oborinske vode s ulice ili iz pojedinih stambenih objekata (Sl. 23). S obzirom na navedene karakteristike, prethodno opisana kao i ova struktura čine ostatke antičkih urbanih prometnica koje omeđuju gradske četvrti (*insulae*), širine sedamdesetak metara, odnosno 35 metara. Naime, otvoreni javni prostori poput foruma mogli su se rasprostirati na površini od dvije ili više četvrti.

Na najzapadnijem dijelu nalazišta istraženi su pravokutni novovjekovni ukopi nastali razgradnjom antičkih zidova. Baš kao i na istočnom dijelu istražne površine, antički zidovi su tijekom novovjekovnog razdoblja devastirani i razgrađeni zbog sekundarnog korištenja antičkog građevnog materijala. Nakon takve sustavne devastacije preostaju duguljasti pravokutni rovovi koji predstavljaju negativne ukopa antičkih zidova. Na pojedinim mjestima u navedenim ukopima pronađeni su ostaci zidova ili njihove temeljne podloge u vidu grubog šljunka.

used for stone panels that was registered on the central part of the forum. Therefore, it is possible to define another open public paved area at this part of the site, situated west of the main Roman road (*cardo*), despite the complete lack of stone panels. Considering the large amount of crushed marble, as well as one whole marble panel, it is possible that this was the *capitolium* that was, for example in the Roman *lader*, separated from the forum by the *cardo* on the western side.<sup>19</sup> The first phase of architecture at this part of the site is contemporaneous with the creation of the main forum, as well as the architecture discovered east of the forum.

Another sewage system, spanning from north to south, was discovered 70 m west of the *cardo*, and was probably placed under the central axis of the paved Roman road. It included a partially preserved structure made of bricks that closed off the sewage canal used to collect water from the perpendicular smaller canals made of brick that were on a higher level, and which were used to collect waste and rain from the street or specific residential buildings (Fig. 23). Considering the listed characteristics, both this and the previously mentioned structure make up the remains of urban Roman roads that enclosed the neighborhoods (*insulae*), which were about 35 or 70 meters wide. Open public spaces, such as forums, could have spread over an area of two or more neighborhoods.

The westernmost part of the site yielded rectangular modern-day cuts made by the deconstruction of Roman walls. Just like



Ova je površina, na mjestima gdje je to bilo moguće, istražena do zdravice. Kao i na drugim dijelovima nalazišta potvrđen je kontinuitet naseljavanja od mlađeg željeznog doba. Analizom prikupljenog materijala potvrđeni su i najraniji rimski slojevi vezani vjerojatno uz funkcioniranje vojnog logora (SJ 1300, SJ 1311).<sup>20</sup> Naseljavanje iz razdoblja Klaudija i Flavijevaca potvrđeno je slojem SJ 1067 u kojemu su, između ostalog, pronađeni i ostatci drvenih greda. Uz to su na najzapadnijem dijelu ovog kompleksa, uz urušenje jednog zida, pronađene i relativno dobro očuvane urušene freske s geometrijskim i floralnim raznobojnim motivima. Zidane građevine funkcionirale su i tijekom trajanovskog razdoblja (Sl. 24), o čemu svjedoči skupni nalaz pet sestercija, jedan kovan za Vespazijana i četiri u vrijeme Trajanove vladavine (Sl. 25).<sup>23</sup> Oni su uz mjestimične pregradnje i dogradnje funkcionirali sve do kasnoantičkog razdoblja.

### Grobovi

U središnjem i zapadnom dijelu lokaliteta pronađena su i četiri groba (Sl. 26: 1-2). Radi se o kosturnim ukopima bez grobne arhitekture. Dva groba imala u grobnu raku, dok su dva groba pronađena bez grobne rake, u recentnom nasipu, odnosno izravno ispod njega (SJ 22 / SJ 404). Niti u jednom grobu nisu pronađeni grobni prilozi koji bi pomogli u kronološkom pozicioniranju ovih ukopa.

Slična situacija s ukopima skeletnih grobova u ostacima antičke arhitekture je zabilježena je na poziciji Povijesni arhiv, smještenoj dvjestotinjak metara jugoistočno od sisačkog kolodvora.<sup>22</sup> Slični su ukopi pronađeni tijekom iskopavanja 2016. godine na poziciji Sisak-Holandska kuća gdje je analiza uzoraka kosti skeleta C14 metodom pokazala da se radi o ukopima iz 11. stoljeća, što u dosadašnjim arheološkim istraživanjima u Sisku još nije bilo potvrđeno ovakvim analizama.<sup>23</sup>

### Valorizacija nalazišta i zaključak

U zaštitnim arheološkim iskopavanjima na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor 2013. i 2014. godine istraženi su nasebinski tragovi iz nekoliko različitih razdoblja. Najstariji istraženi kulturni slojevi potječu iz mlađeg željeznog doba i predstavljaju ostatke naselja, poznatog iz antičkih pisanih izvora pod imenom Segest(ik)a, a koje se prostiralo na lijevoj i desnoj obali rijeke Kupe. Uz Željeznički kolodvor, njegovi su ostatci zabilježeni na drugima pozicijama u neposrednoj blizini, kao što su Državni arhiv (Povijesni arhiv), Dunavski Lloyd i Frankopanska b.b.<sup>24</sup>

Odmah iznad mlađeželjeznodobnih slojeva slijede najraniji rimski slojevi s ostacima pilotaže i drvenih dasaka koje pokretni materijal datira u augustovsko-tiberijevsko razdoblje. Uzevši u obzir karakter prikupljenog materijala, kao što je primjerice velika količina kvalitetne stolne keramike (aretinska tera sigilata, šalice tipa *Sarius*, čaše tipa *Aco* itd.), ali i povijesni kontekst, ovi se

the eastern part of the excavated area, in modern times, Roman walls were destroyed here and taken apart so that the Roman building material could be reused. Such systematic destruction leaves elongated rectangular ditches that represent the negatives of Roman walls. At some places, the said cuts yielded the remains of walls or their bases, such as coarse gravel.

This surface, where possible, was excavated all the way to the sterile layer. Just like at other parts of the site, the continuity of settlement from the Late Iron Age was confirmed. The analysis of the recovered material also confirmed that the earliest Roman layers were probably connected with the military camp (SU 1300, SU 1311).<sup>20</sup> Settlement from the Claudian and Flavian times is attested to by layer SU 1067 which, among other things, yielded the remains of wooden beams. Additionally, the westernmost part of this complex yielded relatively well-preserved frescoes decorated with geometrical and floral motifs in different colors. They were discovered next to one collapsed wall. These structures were also used during the rule of Trajan (Fig. 24), as attested to by a group find of five *sestertii*, one minted for Vespasianus, and four during the rule of Trajan (Fig. 25).<sup>23</sup> The structures, although occasionally rebuilt and expanded, functioned until Late Antiquity.

### Graves

The central and western part of the site also yielded four graves (Fig. 26: 1-2). These were skeletal graves without any grave goods. Two graves had a burial chamber, discovered in the recent rubble, i.e. right below it (SU 22 / SU 404). None of the graves contained grave goods that could help with the chronological determination of these burials.

A similar situation, where skeletal graves were discovered among the remains of Roman architecture, was marked at the Povijesni arhiv position, about two hundred meters southeast of the Sisak railway station.<sup>22</sup> Also, similar burials were also discovered in the 2016 excavations at the Sisak-Holandska kuća position. The analysis of bone samples, conducted by applying the C14 method, revealed that these were 11<sup>th</sup> century burials – something that had not previously been confirmed through such analyses in Sisak.<sup>23</sup>

### Site valorization and conclusion

The 2013 and 2014 rescue archaeological excavations conducted at the Sisak-Railway station position revealed traces of settlement from several different periods. The oldest excavated cultural layers were dated to the Late Iron Age and include the remains of a settlement known from ancient written sources as *Segest(ic)a*, and which spanned on the left and the right bank of the Kupa River. Along with the railway station, its remains were noted at other positions in the immediate vicinity, such as Državni arhiv (Povijesni arhiv), Dunavski Lloyd and Frankopanska b.b.<sup>24</sup>

20 Miletić Čakširan 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

21 PN 648; RIC II, 1, 378; RIC II, 391; RIC II, 625; RIC II, 624; RIC II, 492.

22 Burmaz 2004.

23 <http://www.muzej-sisak.hr/article/651/zastitno-arheolosko-istrazivanje-na-lokalitetu-quot-sisak-holandska-kucaquot>

24 Bačani *et al.* 2012; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015.

20 Miletić Čakširan 2018 (in this publication).

21 SF 648; RIC II, 1, 378; RIC II, 391; RIC II, 625; RIC II, 624; RIC II, 492.

22 Burmaz 2004.

23 <http://www.muzej-sisak.hr/article/651/zastitno-arheolosko-istrazivanje-na-lokalitetu-quot-sisak-holandska-kucaquot>

24 Bačani *et al.* 2012; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015.



**Sl. 20.**  
Zapadni profil istočnog kolnika (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 20.**  
The western profile of the eastern roadway (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 21.**  
Antički kapitel u ukopu (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 21.**  
The Roman capital in the cut (photo: B. Rožanković)



**Sl. 22.**  
Novovjekovni ukop (SJ 504) nastao tijekom recentne potrage za građevinskim materijalom (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 22.**  
Modern-day cut (SU 504), made during the recent search for building material (photo: B. Rožanković)



**SL. 23.**  
Ostatci kanalizacijskog kanala i kolektora na zapadu dijelu nalazišta  
(snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 23.**  
The remains of the sewage system and the collector in the western part of the  
excavated area (photo: B. Rožanković)



SL. 24.  
Ostatci antičke arhitekture na zapadnom dijelu nalazišta  
(snimio: B. Rožanković)

FIG. 24.  
The remains of Roman architecture on the western part of the excavated area  
(photo: B. Rožanković)



SL. 25.  
Skupni nalaz sestercija careva Vespazijana i Trajana iz SJ 791 (nije u mjerilu)  
(snimio: T. Jerončić)

FIG. 25.  
The group find of sestertius coins of emperors Vespasianus and Trajan from  
SU 791 (not in scale) (photo: T. Jerončić)

slojevi mogu pripisati vojnom logoru, također posvjedočenom u pisanim izvorima.<sup>25</sup>

Slijedio je mjestimično do 1,3 metra deo nivelacijski sloj na početku intenzivne građevinske aktivnosti, počevši od cara Klaudija kada vojska odlazi iz Siscije koja se postupno pretvara u civilno središte. Iz te faze istraženi su dijelovi sedam rimskih gradskih četvrti (*insulae*) objedinjenih u četiri veće antičke građevne cjeline (Sl. 27). Na najistočnijem dijelu nalazišta nalazio se javni otvoreni prostor (trg) prekriven kamenim pločama ispod kojeg su djelomično sačuvani kameni masivni zidovi, temelji zidova i kontrafori čija se zadnja faza funkcioniranja datira u kraj 1. stoljeća. Središnji forumski prostor nalazio se na nižoj razini i prema istoku je stepeništem bio povezan s istočnim trgom. Središnji forumski prostor, čija se gradnja može se datirati u klaudijevsko razdoblje, istražen je u punoj duljini od 70 metara u smjeru istok-zapad, dok mu širina protezanja prema jugu još nije poznata. Dijelovi foruma su najvjerojatnije su bili u funkciji sve do kraja postojanja rimske Siscije, a mjestimično su bili vidljivi ili čak korišteni sve do 18./19. stoljeća, o čemu svjedoči i popločenje uz nađenu novovjekovnu ciglarsku peć.

Zapadno od foruma nalazi se antička gradska cesta (*cardo*) sa zidanim kanalizacijskim kolektorom. Prostor zapadno od karda predstavlja otvoreni javni prostor (trg) koji je vjerojatno bio popločan kamenim pločama, od kojih, nažalost, osim podloge od žbuke i lomljenog kamena ništa nije sačuvano. Na ovom prostoru vjerojatno nalazili zidani objekti javnog karaktera i većih dimenzija na što upućuju nalazi mramornih ploča i kapitela. Rub ovog zapadnog trga zatvarala je druga gradska prometnica, također sa sustavom odvodnje koji je gotovo identičan onome pronađenom oko 70 metara istočno. Kamene ploče ove prometnice na ovom su dijelu potpuno uklonjene tijekom novovjekovne devastacije.

Četvrta građevinska cjelina se nalazi zapadno od opisanog otvorenog prostora, a čine ju brojni arhitektonski elementi poput zidova, temelja zidova, podnica i odvodnih kanala. Ovaj kompleks objekata i pripadajućih im prostorija predstavlja antički stambeni prostor čiji se nastanak pokretnim arheološkim nalazima može datirati od sredine 1. stoljeća, a prethode mu mlađežljeznodobni i ranorimski slojevi vezani uz postojanje vojnog logora.

S obzirom na nepostojanje grobnih priloga ili dijelova nošnje, ali i radiokarbonskih analiza, za sada ostaje nepoznanica potječu li četiri kosturna groba pronađena u iskopavanju na sisačkom Željezničkom kolodvoru iz kasnoantičkog ili ranosrednjovjekovnog razdoblja, kao što je slučaj s grobovima na pozicijama Državni arhiv i Holandska kuća. Doista rijedak nalaz u sisačkom kontekstu predstavlja jama većih dimenzija s materijalom preliminarno datiranim u 8. – 9. stoljeće.

The Late Iron Age layers were followed by the earliest Roman layers with remains of pilotage and wooden planks that date the movable material to the Augustan-Tiberian period. Considering the characteristics of the collected material, such as, e.g. the large quantity of table ware (*terra sigillata* from Arezzo, *Sarius* type cups, *Aco* type beachers and the like), as well as the historical context, these layers can be ascribed to the military camp that is also mentioned in written sources.<sup>25</sup>

These were followed by an up to 1.3 meter thick nivellation layer that marks the beginning of intense building activities during the reign of emperor Claudius when the army left *Siscia*, which gradually became a civilian center. This phase yielded the remains of seven Roman city neighborhoods (*insulae*), fused into four larger Roman construction units (Fig. 27). The easternmost part of the site revealed an open public space (square), covered with stone panels that were placed on top of partially preserved massive stone walls, wall foundations and buttresses that functioned up to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The central part of the forum was situated at a lower elevation and was, in the east, connected with the eastern square with a staircase. The central forum was excavated in the full length of 70 meters, spanning from east to west, and its width towards the south is still unknown. The construction of the main forum can be dated to the Claudian period. Parts of the forum were probably used until Roman *Siscia* ceased to exist, and were partially visible or even used until the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century, as attested to by the use of pavement discovered next to a modern-day brick kiln.

The area west of the forum revealed a Roman city road (*cardo*) with a sewage collector. The area west of the *cardo* was an open public space (square), probably paved with stone panels that have, unfortunately, not been preserved. The only remains include their base made of mortar and crushed stone. This area was probably full of larger public structures, as suggested by the remains of marbles, panels and capitols. The edge of this western square was closed off by another city road, as well as a drainage system that is almost identical to the one found about 70 meters to the east. The stone panels of this road were completely removed during modern-day devastation.

The fourth construction unit is situated west of the described open area, and includes numerous architectural elements such as walls, wall foundations, floors and drainage canals. This complex of structures and accompanying rooms represents Roman residential areas that were, based on movable archaeological finds, dated to after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and was preceded by Late Iron Age and early Roman layers connected to the military camp.

Considering that there were no grave goods and parts of attire, as well as radiocarbon analyses, it is still unknown whether the four skeletal burials discovered at the Railway station position in Sisak can be dated to Late Antiquity or the Early Middle Ages, just like the graves discovered at the Državni arhiv and Holandska kuća positions. An exceptionally rare find in the context of Sisak is a larger pit with material that was preliminarily dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century.

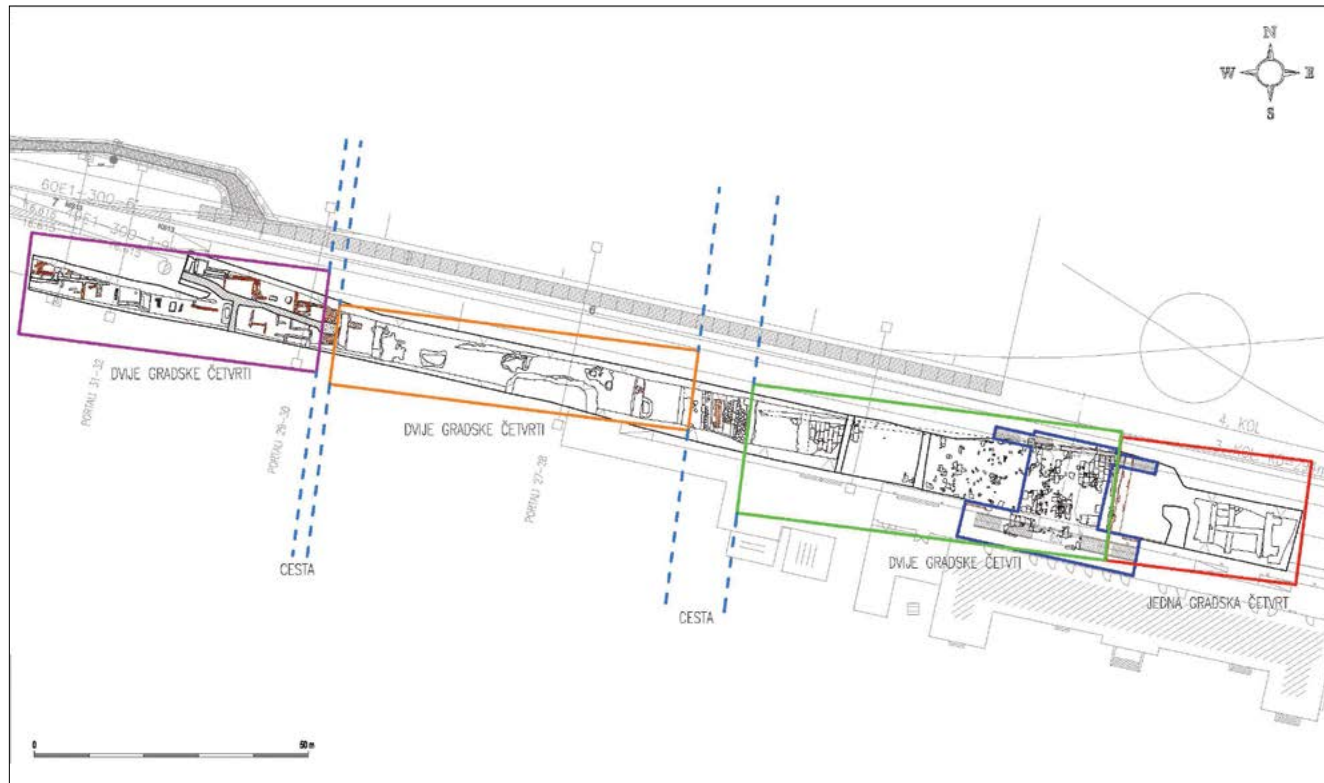
25 Domić-Kunić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi); Dzino 2018 (u ovoj knjizi); Radman-Livaja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

25 Domić-Kunić 2018 (in this volume); Dzino 2018 (in this volume); Radman-Livaja 2018 (in this volume).



Sl. 26. Kosturni grobovi 2 i 3 (snimio: B. Rožanković)

FIG. 26. Skeletal graves 2 and 3 (photo: B. Rožanković)



**SL. 27.**  
Plan istražne površine na poziciji Sisak - Željeznički kolodvor s četiri rimske građevinske cjeline (izradili: A. Butorac i M. Mesarić)

**FIG. 27.**  
The layout of the excavated area at the Sisak-Railway station position with four Roman architectural units (made by: A. Butorac and M. Mesarić)

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# RANORIMSKA FINA KERAMIKA AUGUSTOVSKOG HORIZONTA SISCIE S POLOŽAJA ŽELJEZNIČKI KOLODVOR

## EARLY ROMAN POTTERY OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD IN SISCIA FROM THE RAILWAY STATION POSITION

Ivana Miletić Čakširan

*Položaj Željeznički kolodvor iznimno je važan za sisačku arheologiju kako s aspekta urbanizma tako i tipologije pokretnog arheološkog materijala Siscije. Analiza fine rimske keramike iz SJ 650, 1311 i 1300 datira slojeve u srednje do kasno augustovsko razdoblje. Zabilježena fina rimska keramika istovjetna je materijalu koji se pojavljuje i na drugim augustovskim logorima i naseljima rimskog carstva. U radu se prezentira keramika tankih stijenki, tera sigilata, keramika s crnim premazom te reljefna keramika šalice tipa Sarius i čaša tipa Aco.*

*The Railway station position is tremendously important for the archaeology in Sisak both from the perspective of urbanism, and the perspective of the typology of movable archaeological material from Siscia. The analysis of fine Roman pottery from SU 650, 1311 and 1300 dates from the middle to late Augustan period. The recorded fine Roman ware is the same as the material discovered at other Augustan camps and settlements in the Roman Empire. Thin-walled pottery, terra sigillata, black-slip pottery and relief pottery of the Sarius and Aco types are presented in this paper.*

### Ključne riječi:

Sisak, Siscija, fina keramika, augustovski horizont

### Key words:

Sisak, Siscia, fine ware, the Augustan period

### Uvod

U literaturi koja je obrađivala razdoblje netom prije i poslije osvajanja Segestike, problem određivanja položaja vojnog logora i vremena najranijih rimskih slojeva na lijevoj obali Kupe, kao i zaključci vezani uz ovo razdoblje temeljili su se na nedostatku, tj. manjku pokretnog arheološkog materijala vezanog uz augustovski horizont. Najviše obrađenog materijala iz augustovskog razdoblja nađeno je u rijeci Kupi. Većinom su to metalni nalazi. Razlog nedostatnom keramičkom materijalu može biti i u činjenici da se keramika nije u istom opsegu obrađivala ili prikupljala kao metalni nalazi. U posljednjih deset godina, novija arheološka istraživanja u Sisku ukazala su na to kako se na lijevoj obali Kupe (položaju rimske Siscije) nalaze slojevi koji datiraju u mlađe željezno doba, vjerojatno kasnolatensko razdoblje, ali i oni augustovsko-ranotiberijskog horizonta. Analizom stratigrafije, kao i pokretnog keramičkog materijala, utvrđeno je kako se protopovijesna Segestika s desne obale Kupe u 2. st. pr. Kr. formirala i na lijevoj obali Kupe.<sup>1</sup> Potreba utvrđivanja na lije-

### Introduction

In publications discussing the period right before and after the conquest of *Segestica*, the questions on the position of the military camp and the time when the earliest Roman layers were created on the left bank of the Kupa River, as well as conclusions pertaining to this period, were based on the lack of, i.e. the shortage of movable archaeological material dated to the Augustan period. Most material ascribed to Augustan times was discovered in the Kupa River, and generally includes metal finds. The reason for insufficient amounts of pottery could be the fact that it has not been processed or collected as much as metal finds. The archaeological excavations conducted in Sisak over the last ten years have revealed that the left bank of the Kupa (the position of the Roman *Siscia*) contains layers date to Late Iron Age, or more precisely to the Late La Tène period, but also to Augustan-early Tiberian times. The analyses of stratigraphy and pottery finds have shown that the proto-historic *Segestica* from the right bank of the Kupa was also developing on the left bank in

1 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 90-198.

1 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 90-198.

voj obali Kupi i zaštita ključne pozicije prema Savi mogu se povezati s podacima iz povijesnih izvora o upadima rimske vojske od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. na područje Panonije, ali i s intenzivnijom trgovinom i korištenjem rijeke Save kao glavnog plovnog puta. Zato je smještaj naselja na potezu između meandra Kupe i rijeke Save strateški iznimno značajan. Upravo je na tom području u novijim istraživanjima zabilježen i augustovsko-ranotiberijski horizont. Položaji na kojima su zabilježeni ranorimski slojevi rezultat su zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja u sklopu urbane arheologije i otežanih uvjeta istraživanja na dubinama od 4 do 6 m, te nemogućnosti otvaranja većih površina zbog gustoće rimske arhitekture mlađih građevinskih horizonata. Najraniji rimski slojevi augustovskog razdoblja, nastali na kasnolatskim kulturnim slojevima, zabilježeni su na položajima Povijesni arhiv,<sup>2</sup> Željeznički kolodvor,<sup>3</sup> Frankopanska bb,<sup>4</sup> Dunavski Llyod<sup>5</sup> te ulici S. i A. Radića 38.<sup>6</sup>

Položaj Željeznički kolodvor iznimno je važan ne samo za razumijevanje urbanizma već i tipologije ukupnog pokretnog arheološkog materijala Siscije.<sup>7</sup> Preliminarnim pregledom materijala nađeni su do sada u Sisku nezabilježeni primjeri fine keramike augustovskog razdoblja kao što su to ulomci rane keramike tankih stijenki, keramika s crnim premazom, radionički pečati italjske tere sigilate (*A. Avillivs Clarvs, Diophanes, Passivs Telamo, Satvrninvs, L. Savfeivs Gavsa, Serivs* i dr.), zatim reljefna aretinska tera sigilata te brojni ulomci reljefne keramike *Aco* i *Sarius* tipa. Nađeni je materijal iznimno brojan te će kompletna analiza upotpuniti znanje o tipologiji keramike osobito augustovskog i tiberijskog horizonta, ali i kasnijih naseobinskih horizonata Siscije.

### Analiza fine keramike iz stratigrafskih jedinica SJ 650, 1300 i 1311

Za ovaj rad izdvojena je fina rimska keramika augustovskog horizonta iz slojeva SJ 650, 1300 i 1311: keramika tankih stijenki, keramika s crnim premazom, tera sigilata te reljefna keramika šalica tipa *Sarius* i čaša tip *Aco*. U slojevima je nađena veća količina rimske keramike, ali i keramike lokalne proizvodnje. Kulturni sloj SJ 650 sloj je žutosive boje s koncentracijom spaljenog drveta i dosta nalaza keramike. Sloj je rahle konzistencije, srednje drobljive gline. Prostire se u kvadrantima A / B 53 (Sl. 1). Podjednako je zastupljena rimska i lokalna keramika. Kulturni sloj SJ 1300 masna je, teško drobljiva glina tamnosmeđe boje s većom koncentracijom gara. Prostire se kvadrantima B 15 / 16 / 17 (Sl. 2). Kulturni sloj SJ 1311 glina je smeđe boje s većom koncentracijom gara i keramike i prostire se u kvadrantima A 13 / 14<sup>8</sup> (Sl. 3). Iako se radi o manjim istraženim površinama, kao i slojevima bez nalaza građevinskih struktura, velika koncentracija gara upućuje na slojeve vezane uz drvenu arhitekturu.

the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.<sup>1</sup> The need to fortify the left bank of the Kupa and protect the key position towards the Sava River can be connected to data from historical sources that discuss the attacks of the Roman army on Pannonian territory starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and the intensive trade that took place on the main sailing route – the Sava River. That is why the positioning of a settlement between the meander of the Kupa and the Sava River is strategically exceptionally important. In more recent excavations, precisely this area yielded Augustan - early Tiberian layers. The positions that yielded early Roman layers were discovered in rescue archaeological excavations that took place within the scope of urban archaeology and difficult working conditions at depths between 4 and 6 meters, accompanied by the inability to open larger surfaces due to the density of younger Roman architecture. The earliest Roman layers of the Augustan period were deposited on top of Late La Tène cultural layers, and were recorded at the Povijesni arhiv,<sup>2</sup> Railway station,<sup>3</sup> Frankopanska b.b.,<sup>4</sup> Dunavski Llyod<sup>5</sup> and the S. i A. Radića 38<sup>6</sup> positions.

The Railway station position is particularly important for understanding not only urbanism, but also the typology of the entire assemblage of movable archaeological finds from *Siscia*.<sup>7</sup> A preliminary assessment of the material revealed so far unrecorded examples of fine ware of the Augustan period in Sisak, such as fragments of early thin-walled pottery, black-slip pottery, workshop stamps of Italian *terra sigillata*: *A. Avillivs Clarvs, Diophanes, Passivs Telamo, Satvrninvs, L. Savfeivs Gavsa, Serivs*, etc., relief Aretine *terra sigillata* and numerous fragments of relief pottery of the *Aco* and *Sarius* types, and relief pottery of the eastern Adriatic type. The amount of discovered material is exceptionally large, and a complete analysis will add to the knowledge on the typology of pottery from the Augustan and the Tiberian periods, but also from the subsequent phases of *Siscia*.

### The analysis of fine ware from stratigraphic units (SU) 650, 1300, and 1311

This paper includes fine Roman ware of the Augustan period from layers SU 650, 1300 and 1311: thin-walled pottery, black-slip pottery, *terra sigillata*, relief pottery of *Sarius* cup and *Aco* beaker types and relief pottery of the eastern Adriatic type. The layers yielded a larger amount of Roman, but also of locally produced pottery. Cultural layer SU 650 was yellow-gray in color with a concentration of coal and a lot of pottery. The layer was of loose consistency, and contained medium friable clay. It spanned over quadrants A / B 53 (Fig. 1). Roman and locally produced pottery is equally represented. Cultural layer SU 1300 contained oily, barely friable dark brown clay with a larger concentration of ashes. It spanned over quadrants B 15 / 16 / 17 (Fig. 2). Cultural layer SU 1311 contained brown clay with a larger concentration of ashes and pot-

2 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159-161.

3 Kristović, Jerončić 2015.

4 Tomaš Barišić 2012.

5 Škrgulja 2010.

6 Leleković 2013.

7 Zahvaljujem voditeljima istraživanja Maris Kristović i Tomislavu Jerončiću na ustupljenom keramičkom materijalu.

8 Zahvaljujem Anti Pari na podatcima o slojevima i nalazima.

2 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 159-161.

3 Kristović, Jerončić 2015.

4 Tomaš Barišić 2012.

5 Škrgulja 2010.

6 Leleković 2013.

7 I would like to thank excavation leaders Maris Kristović and Tomislav Jerončić for granting me access to the pottery material.



**SL. 1.**  
Kulturni sloj SJ 650 s pozicije Željeznički kolodvor (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 2.**  
Cultural layer SU 650 from the Railway station position (photo: B. Rožanković)



**SL. 2.**  
Kulturni sloj SJ 1300 s pozicije Željeznički kolodvor (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 2.**  
Cultural layer SU 1300 from the Railway station position  
(photo: B. Rožanković)



**SL. 3.**  
Kulturni sloj SJ 1311 s pozicije Željeznički kolodvor (snimio: B. Rožanković)

**FIG. 3.**  
Cultural layer SU 1311 from the Railway station position (photo: B. Rožanković)

## Keramika tankih stijenki

### **Keramika tankih stijenki glatke površine (Sl. 4: 1, 4, 6; Sl. 9: 1, 2, 5)**

Glatka keramika tankih stijenki pojavljuje se u ranim slojevima augustovskog vremena. Zdjelice su glatke površine bez premaza. Ulomci zdjelica Sl. 4: 4 i Sl. 9: 5 ukrašeni su kanelurom na truhu. Faktura pripada fabrikatu A, zdjelici tipa 28 prema podjeli s lokaliteta Magdalensberg.<sup>9</sup> Zdjelica s utorom nađena je i u fazi IIIa - III naseobinskog dijela Gornji trg 3<sup>10</sup>, Gornji trg 30<sup>11</sup> te Gornji trg 15<sup>12</sup> u Ljubljani, datiranog od srednjeg do kasnog augustovskog razdoblja. Ulomak s utisnutim motivom uz kaneluru Sl. 9: 2 odgovara tipu 36 fabrikata A.<sup>13</sup> Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor nađena je cilindrična čaša tankih stijenki bez premaza, glatka, narančaste boje (Sl. 4: 1). Tip cilindrične čaše zabilježen je i u Oberadenu, Cosi,<sup>14</sup> Nijmegenu.<sup>15</sup> Datira se u augustovsko vrijeme. Nađena je i na položaju Dunavski Lloyd u Sisku.<sup>16</sup> Pojavljuje se i u naseobinskom sloju IIIa - III Gornji trg 30 u Ljubljani, datiranom u srednje do kasnoaugustovski horizont,<sup>17</sup> a traje i u Tiberijevom IIIb horizontu.<sup>18</sup>

### **Keramika tankih stijenki grube površine (Sl. 4: 2, 3; Sl. 9: 4, 6)**

Zdjelice grube površine dobro su pečene, tvrde, oker- crvene boje, bez premaza. Odgovaraju fabrikatu B, tipu 50 (Sl. 4: 2; Sl. 9: 4) prema podjeli na Magdalensbergu.<sup>19</sup> Pojavljuju se od 25. godine pr. Kr. do 15. po. Kr. Ulomak vrata i trbuha (Sl. 4: 3) ima fakturu s primjesama kvarca i s ostacima crnog mat premaza. Čaša izvijenog ruba i truh grube strukture s primjesama kvarca (Sl. 9: 6) odgovara fabrikatu B, tipu 56 prema podjeli na Magdalensbergu.<sup>20</sup>

### **Keramika tankih stijenki s ukrasom „kommaregen“ u negativu (Sl. 13: 2)**

Ulomak čaše s „kommaregen“ ukrasom u negativu (Sl. 13: 2) grublje je obrađene površine, bez premaza. Ukrašen je izveden kotačićem, nejednakih ubodnih oblika. Analogije nalazimo u materijalu Magdalensberga,<sup>21</sup> ali i u vojnim logorima srednje augustovskog razdoblja.<sup>22</sup>

### **Keramika tankih stijenki pjeskaste površine (Sl. 4: 5; Sl. 9: 3)**

Zdjelice imaju u glinenoj smjesi sitni pijesak koji površinu čini hrapavom. Sive su boje, vrlo dobro pečene. Siva keramika tankih stijenki pjeskaste površine do sada je zabilježena na položajima sv. Kvirin<sup>23</sup> i Starčevićeva 37 u Sisku,<sup>24</sup> a prema fakturi pripada skupini Sisc.kts.3.<sup>25</sup>

tery, and spanned over quadrants A 13 / 14<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 3). Even though the excavated surfaces were small, and the layers did not contain specific structures, the large concentration of ashes points to the fact that these layers can be connected to wooden architecture.

## Thin-walled pottery

### **Thin-walled pottery with a smooth surface (Fig. 4: 1, 4, 6; Fig. 9: 1, 2, 5)**

Smooth thin-walled pottery appears in early Augustan layers. Bowls have a smooth surface and no slip. Small cups fragments shown on Fig. 4: 4 and Fig. 9: 5 are decorated with a cannellure on the body. Their structure is characterized as manufacture A, type 28 cup, according to the division from Magdalensberg.<sup>9</sup> Thin-walled pottery with a gauge was also discovered in phase IIIa-III of the settlement parts of Gornji trg 3,<sup>10</sup> Gornji trg 30,<sup>11</sup> and Gornji trg 15<sup>12</sup> in Ljubljana, dated from the middle to the late Augustan period.

A fragment with an imprinted motif next to the cannellure shown on Fig. 9: 2 matches type 36 of manufacture A.<sup>13</sup> The Railway station position yielded a smooth, orange, cylindrical thin-walled beaker with no slip (Fig. 4: 1). This type of cylindrical beaker was recorded at Oberaden, Cosa,<sup>14</sup> Nijmegen.<sup>15</sup> It is dated to the Augustan period. It was found at the Dunavski Lloyd position in Sisk,<sup>16</sup> and in settlement layers IIIa-III at Gornji trg 30 in Ljubljana, where it was dated to the middle-late Augustan period,<sup>17</sup> lasting until the Tiberian IIIb phase.<sup>18</sup>

### **Thin-walled pottery with a coarse surface (Fig. 4: 2, 3; Fig. 9: 4, 6)**

Thin-walled cup with a coarse surface is well fired, hard, ochre-red in color, and has no slip. Bowls match the manufacture B type 50 (Fig. 4: 2; Fig. 9: 4) according to the division from Magdalensberg.<sup>19</sup> It was used from 25 BC until 15 AD. Fragment (Fig. 4: 3) of the neck and body has a quartz inclusions in the structure and the remains of black slip. Beaker with inverted rim with quartz inclusions (Fig. 9: 6) matches manufacture B, type 56 according to the division from Magdalensberg.<sup>20</sup>

### **Thin-walled pottery with “kommaregen” decorations in the negative (Fig. 13: 2)**

A beaker fragment with “kommaregen” decorations in the negative (Fig. 13: 2) has a coarser surface and no slip. The decorations

9 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, T. 10: 5a; Schindler-Kaudelka, Schneider 1998, 397.

10 Vičić 2002, 195, T. 1: 8.

11 Vičić 1994, 29-34.

12 Vičić 1993, T. 2: 2.

13 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, T. 8, 36b; Niemeijer 2014, Sl. 12: 4.

14 Marabini Moevs 1973, 95-96, T. 14, 16; Ricci 1985, 275, T. LXXXVIII/10.

15 Niemeijer 2014, Sl. 12: 8.

16 Bačani *et al.* 2012, kat. br. 102, inv. br. 510: SIK 22918.

17 Vičić 1994, T. 9: 2.

18 Vičić 1994, T. 11: 2, 3.

19 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, T. 10; T. 11: 56; Schindler-Kaudelka 1998, 398.

20 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, T. 11.

21 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, T. 2: 5a.

22 Niemeijer 2014, Sl. 10: 9, 10.

23 Miletić Čakširan 2014, 121.

24 Vidošević 2003, 24, T. 21: 1, 2.

25 Miletić Čakširan 2014, 85.

8 I would like to thank Ante Paro for the data on the layers and finds.

9 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, Pl. 10: 5a; Schindler-Kaudelka, Schneider 1998, 397.

10 Vičić 2002, 195, Pl. 1: 8.

11 Vičić 1994, 29-34.

12 Vičić 1993, Pl. 2: 2.

13 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, Pl. 8, 36b; Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 12: 4.

14 Marabini Moevs 1973, 95-96, Pl. 14, 16; Ricci 1985, 275, Pl. LXXXVIII/10.

15 Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 12: 8.

16 Bačani *et al.* 2012, cat. no. 102; inv. no. 510: SIK 22918.

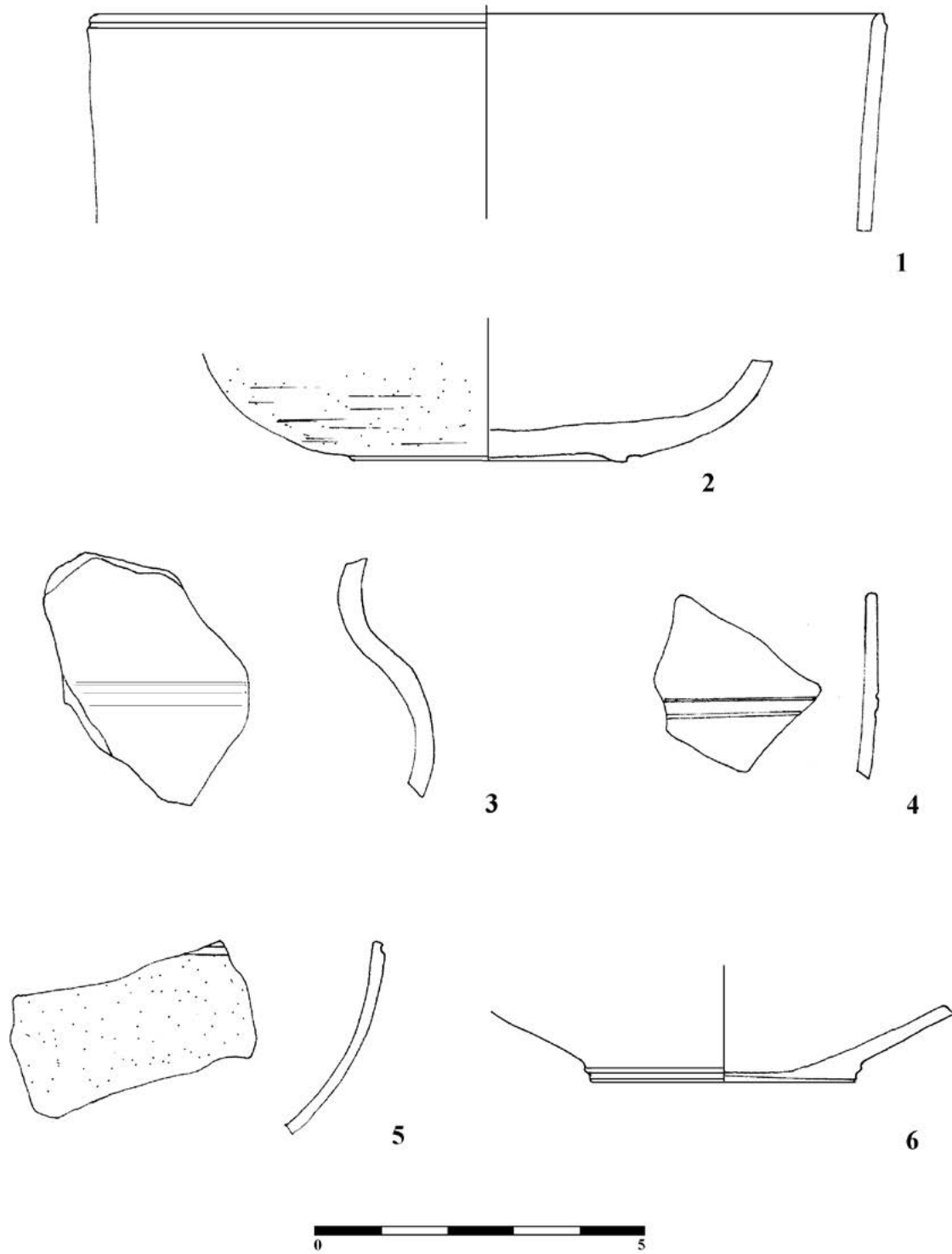
17 Vičić 1994, Pl. 9: 2.

18 Vičić 1994, Pl. 11: 2, 3.

19 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, Pl. 10; Pl. 11: 56; Schindler-Kaudelka 1998, 398.

20 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, Pl. 11.

SJ 1311



Sl. 4. Keramika iz SJ 1311, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 4. Pottery from SU 1311, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

**Keramika tankih stijenki s glazurnim premazom (Sl. 13: 1)**

Rub i vrat čaše sa smeđim glazurnim premazom izuzetno je fine izrade. Keramika tankih stijenki s glazurom proizvodila se u italjski i galskim radionicama.<sup>26</sup> Kako se radi o izuzetno malom ulomku, ne može se sa sigurnošću odrediti tip kojem je on pripadao.

**Keramika s crnim premazom (Sl. 15:1)**

Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor u SJ 650 zabilježen je prvi nalaz keramike s crnim premazom u Sisku (Sl. 15: 1). Nalaz je to tanjura s ravnim prema van zakrivljenim rubom, s tamnosivim sjajnim slabo očuvanim premazom, oker-crvene boje presjeka, sjevernoidalne proizvodnje. Oblik je analogan tanjuru/zdjeli keramike s crnim premazom koji se pojavljuje u Fazi 3 na Magdalensbergu.<sup>27</sup> Pripada obliku Lamboglia 5/7 koji je karakterističan za augustovsko vrijeme.

**Reljefna keramika Aco i Sarius tipa (Sl. 5: 7, 8; Sl. 8; Sl. 10: 4; Sl. 12: 1-4; Sl. 13: 3)**

U preliminarnoj analizi materijala s položaja Željeznički kolodvor utvrđen je do sada najveći broj reljefne keramike čaša tipa Aco i šalice tipa Sarius.<sup>28</sup> Do sada je u Sisku nađena na položaju Dunavski Lloyd,<sup>29</sup> Povijesni arhiv, Sv. Kvirin,<sup>30</sup> a za nekoliko primjeraka koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu nema podatka o mjestu nalaza.<sup>31</sup> Iz SJ 650, 1300 i 1311 analizirane su čaše tipa Aco i šalice tipa Sarius prema obliku i ukrasu koji se na pojavljuje. Primijećeno je kako se ne mogu naći izravne analogije, već samo analogni motivi koji se na posudama različito kombiniraju (Tabla 1.).

**Čaše tipa Aco (Sl. 5: 7; Sl. 10: 4; Sl. 13: 3)**

U analiziranom materijalu zabilježena su tri ulomka čaša tipa Aco. Rub sa sigilatnim premazom (Sl. 10: 4) pripada obliku Atlante ID, tip B,<sup>32</sup> Magdalensberg I.<sup>33</sup> Ulomak bez premaza (Sl. 5: 7) ukra-

were made by rouletting uneven stabbed shapes. Analogies are found within the Magdalensberg material,<sup>21</sup> but also in military camps of the middle Augustan period.<sup>22</sup>

**Thin-walled pottery with a sandy surface (Fig. 4: 5; Fig. 9: 3)**

The clay paste includes tiny sand that makes the surface coarse. The pottery is gray and well fired. Gray thin-walled cup with a sandy surface has, so far, been recorded at the Sv. Kvirin<sup>23</sup> and the Starčevićeva 37 positions in Sisak.<sup>24</sup> Based on its structure, it belongs to the Sisc.kts.3 group.<sup>25</sup>

**Thin-walled pottery with a glazed slip (Fig. 13: 1)**

The rim and neck of a cup with a glazed brown slip is exquisitely finely made. Thin-walled glazed pottery was produced in workshops in Italy and Gaul.<sup>26</sup> Seeing as this is an exceptionally small fragment, the type of vessel cannot be precisely determined.

**Black-slip pottery (Fig. 15: 1)**

SU 650 (Fig. 15: 1) from the Railway station position yielded the first find of black-slip pottery in Sisak. It is a plate with a straight outward-facing rim, a glossy dark gray and poorly preserved slip, an ochre-red cross-section, probably of northern Italian origin. The shape is analogous to a plate with a black slip from phase 3 at Magdalensberg.<sup>27</sup> It belongs to Lamboglia 5/7 type, which is characteristic for Augustan period.

**Relief pottery of the Aco and Sarius types (Fig. 5: 7, 8; Fig. 8; Fig. 10: 4; Fig. 12: 1-4; Fig. 13: 3)**

The preliminary analysis of material from the Railway station position revealed, thus far, the largest number of relief *sigillata* of the Aco beaker and Sarius cups.<sup>28</sup> So far, these have been recorded in Sisak at the Dunavski Lloyd,<sup>29</sup> Povijesni Arhiv, and the Sv. Kvirin positions,<sup>30</sup> with the addition of some finds without a

26 Desbat 2001, 23.

27 Schindler Kaudelka 2012, 327, T. 3: 22.

28 Čaše tipa Aco i šalice tipa Sarius predstavljaju bogatu produkciju fine reljefne keramike s kraja 1. stoljeća pr. Krista pa do prve polovine 1. stoljeća po. Kr. (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 175-230). Čaše tipa Aco/ (Forma 1 D) (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, T. LXIX, br. 2) imaju visoko tijelo i mali rub. Reljefna se dekoracija nalazi na donje dvije trećine čaše. Čaše koje nisu prevučene sigilatnim premazom počinju se proizvoditi oko sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Krista, dok primjerci sa sigilatnim premazom datiraju iz prve polovine 1. st. (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 182). Šalice tipa Sarius pripadaju tipu 13D (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 222-224), Magdalensberg 2 (Schindler Kaudelka 1980, 13-15) Conspectus R13 (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 182-183). Šalice tipa Sarius dvodijelnog su tijela čiji je donji polukuglasti reljefno ukrašeni dio izrađen u kalupu, dok je gornji dio, izrađen na lončarskom kolu, konveksno profiliran i završava blago izvijenim rubom naglašenim plitkim utorom. Na tijelo posude su naknadno dodane dvije prstenaste trakaste ručke i prstenasta noga. Donji dio ukrašen je floralnim, vegetabilnim, antropomorfnim, apstraktnim i drugim motivima koji su raspoređeni slobodno ili u geometrijskim okvirima (Schindler Kaudelka 1980, 30-35).

29 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 128-130.

30 Miletić 2007, 36.

31 Makjanić 1995, 61, T. 205-210.

32 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 209.

33 Schindler Kaudelka 1980, T. 17: 32-37, T. 18: 38-39.

21 Schindler-Kaudelka 1975, Pl. 2: 5a.

22 Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 10: 9, 10.

23 Miletić Čakširan 2014, 121.

24 Vidošević 2003, 24, Pl. 21: 1, 2.

25 Miletić Čakširan 2014, 85.

26 Desbat 2001, 23.

27 Schindler-Kaudelka 2012, 327, Pl. 3: 22.

28 Aco beaker and Sarius cups (relief goblets on a foot) represent the richest production of fine relief pottery from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC until the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 175-230). Aco beaker (Form 1 D) (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, Pl. LXIX, no. 2) have a tall body and a small rim. The relief decoration is placed on the bottom two thirds of the beaker. Beaker without a slip were first produced around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, while examples with a slip can be dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 182). Sarius cups belong to the 13D type (Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 222-224), Magdalensberg 2 (Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 13-15) Conspectus R 13 (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 182-183). Sarius cups have a two-partite body with a semispherical bottom part that was made in a mold, and a convex profiled upper part made on a potter's wheel that ends with a slightly inverted rim accentuated with a shallow gouge. The body of the vessel was additionally adorned with two round ribbon-like handles and a ring-like foot. The lower part is decorated with floral, vegetative, anthropomorphic, abstract and other motifs that are freely distributed or are placed within geometrical frames (Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 30-35).

29 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 128-130.

30 Miletić 2007, 36.

šen motivom reljefnih zarez (,,kommaregen“) rađen je u kalupu izuzetno fine izrade. Analogan primjer nađen je na položaju Dunavski Lloyd u Sisku,<sup>34</sup> dok dno s ukrasom reljefnih zarez s položaja Sv. Kvirin ima sigilatni premaz.<sup>35</sup> Radi se o malom ulomku s nemogućnošću rekonstrukcije cijele čaše, a tako i i čitavog ukrasa. Čaša tipa Aco bez premaza s „kommaregen“ ukrasom u pozitivu i ukrasom stiliziranih ovnovskih rogova ukrašenih urezima (Sl. 13: 3) rađena je u kalupu i izuzetno je fine izrade. Paralele u samom ukrasu stiliziranih ovnovskih rogova<sup>36</sup> ali ne i u kompoziciji nalazimo na nalazištima Magdalensberg,<sup>37</sup> Abanu<sup>38</sup> i Adriji<sup>39</sup> datiranim u srednje i kasnoaugustovsko vrijeme. Čaše tipa Aco bez premaza mogu biti iz sjevernoitalskih ili galskih radionica.

#### Šalice tipa Sarius (Sl. 5: 8; Sl. 8; Sl. 12: 1-4)

U slojevima SJ 1311 i 1300 šalice tipa *Sarius* ukrašene su floralnim ukrasima, kombinacijom floralnih i figuralnih ukrasa, geometrijskim i apstraktnim ukrasima. Šalice tipa *Sarius* (Sl. 8) u najvećoj je mjeri sačuvan primjerak reljefne sigilate s položaja Željeznički kolodvor. Sačuvani su dio ruba i tijela te trakaste ručke oblika Atlante 13D tip B šalice. Ukrašen je kombinacijom floralnog i figuralnog ukrasa: na trupu se nalazi niz u desno postavljenih parova uskih listova ispod kojih<sup>40</sup> je niz češera, dok je centralni dio ukrašen s dvije stapke različitih oblika listova i nižom travom s plodovima; s jedne strane vegetabilnog motiva nalazi se ptica (sačuvan stražnji dio i krilo), a s druge je očuvan stražnji dio vjerojatno vepa. Analogije s istom kombinacijom ukrasa nisu nade ne, nego samo pojedinačni dijelovi kompozicije i motivi. Motiv vepa sa savinutim repom<sup>41</sup> kao i motiv vitice s pupoljkom<sup>42</sup> nalazi se na šalici lončara Clemensa nađenog na Magdalensbergu i datiranoj u augustovsko vrijeme. Pojedinačni motivi visoke stapke s lišćem slični ovom pripisuju se lončaru Clemensu na materijalu iz Retratta u Adriji.<sup>43</sup> Radionica majstora Clemensa djelovala je u trokutu Padova – Bologna – Ravenna te u Akvileji.<sup>44</sup> Najraniji primjerci radionice Clemens imaju slova istaknuta u okviru slobodne dekorativne sheme datirane u Augustovo vrijeme - razdoblje od 10. godine pr. Kr. do početka novoga vijeka,<sup>45</sup> što bi odgovaralo kompoziciji ukrasa iz Siska, organiziranoj u ritmu ponavljanja cvjetnog motiva i lista te životinja bez geometrijskih elemenata. Prema obliku, veličini i dekoraciji šalice bi pripadala prvoj fazi proizvodnje.<sup>46</sup>

Ulomak dna sačuvan u dva dijela Sl. 5: 8 ukrašen je u pozitivu oti snutim motivom rozeta u nizu. Ulomci Sl. 12: 1, 2 ukrašeni su geometrijskim motivom četverostrukih i dvostrukih traka između

recorded place of discovery that are kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>34</sup> The analysis of *Aco* beaker and *Sarius* cups from SU 650, 1300 and 1311 was made based on their shapes and decorations. It was established that no direct analogies are possible, but only analogous motifs that appear on vessels in different combinations (Table 1).

#### *Aco* beaker (Fig. 5: 7; Fig. 10: 4; Fig. 13: 3)

The analyzed material yielded three fragments of *Aco* beaker. The rim with a *sigillata* slip (Fig. 10: 4) belongs to the Atlante ID form, type B,<sup>32</sup> Magdalensberg I.<sup>33</sup> The fragment without a slip (Fig. 5: 7), decorated with relief slanted lines (,,kommaregen“) was made in a high-quality mold. An analogous example was found at the Dunavski Lloyd position<sup>34</sup> in Sisak, and the find of a bottom with decorative relief commas from the sv. Kvirin position has a *sigillata* slip.<sup>35</sup> In this case, it is a small fragment, so it is impossible to reconstruct the entire beaker and, hence, all the decorations. The *Aco* beaker without a slip with „kommaregen“ decorations in the positive and stylized ram's horns adorned with slits (Fig. 13: 3) was made in a mold and is of high quality. Parallels for the decorative stylized ram's horns,<sup>36</sup> but not for the composition, can be found at Magdalensberg,<sup>37</sup> Abanu<sup>38</sup> and Adria,<sup>39</sup> dated to the middle and the late Augustan period. *Aco* beaker without a slip could have originated from workshops in northern Italy or Gaul.

#### Relief pottery of the *Sarius* type (Fig. 5: 8; Fig. 8; Fig. 12: 1-4)

Layers SU 1311 and 1300 yielded *Sarius* type relief *sigillata* decorated with floral motifs, and a combination of floral and figural, geometric and abstract decorations.

A *Sarius* cup (Fig. 8) is the best preserved example of relief *sigillata* from the Railway station position. A part of the rim and body, as well as ribbon-like handles of Atlante 13D form, type B cups is preserved.<sup>40</sup> It is decorated with a combination of floral and figural motifs: the body has a line of right-facing pairs of thin leaves with a row of pinecones underneath, while the central part has two stems with differently shaped leaves, short grass and fruits, with a bird (the back part and a wing are preserved) on one side, and a probable back part of a boar on the other side of the vegetative motif. Analogies with the same combination of decorations have not been found, but individual parts of the compositions, the motifs, were. The motif of a boar with a bent tail was found on a cup made by crafter Clemens at Magdalensberg, dated to Augustan times,<sup>41</sup> as was the motif of a vine with a bud.<sup>42</sup>

34 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 128, kat. br. 103, inv. br. 25621.

35 Miletić 2007, 36.

36 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 91, T. 4: 2, T. 5: 9, T. 12: 2.

37 Schindler Kaudelka 2000, 51-67; Schindler Kaudelka 1998, 326, 327, br. 26.

38 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 91, T. 4: 2, T. 5: 9, T. 12: 2.

39 Mantovani 2011a, 169.

40 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 220, T. LXXIV, T. LXXV.

41 Schindler Kaudelka 1998, 373, T. 184.

42 Schindler Kaudelka 1980, T. 60, 136; Schindler Kaudelka 1998, 373, T. 184; Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 220, T. LXXIII: 4.

43 Mantovani 2011, 199-201, T. LXVII/2e, T. LXVIII/3c; Brusić 1999, 180, sl. 48 n. 282.

44 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 92-98.

45 Brusić 1989, 93; Brusić 1999, 24.

46 Brusić 1989, 98-102.

31 Makjanić 1995, 61, Pl. 205-210.

32 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 209.

33 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, Pl. 17: 32-37, Pl. 18: 38-39.

34 Bačani *et al.* 2012, 128, cat. no. 103, inv. no. 25621.

35 Miletić 2007, 36.

36 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 91, Pl. 4: 2, Pl. 5: 9, Pl. 12: 2.

37 Schindler-Kaudelka 2000, 51-67; Schindler-Kaudelka 1998, 326, 327, no. 26.

38 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 91, Pl. 4: 2, Pl. 5: 9, Pl. 12: 2.

39 Mantovani 2011a, 169.

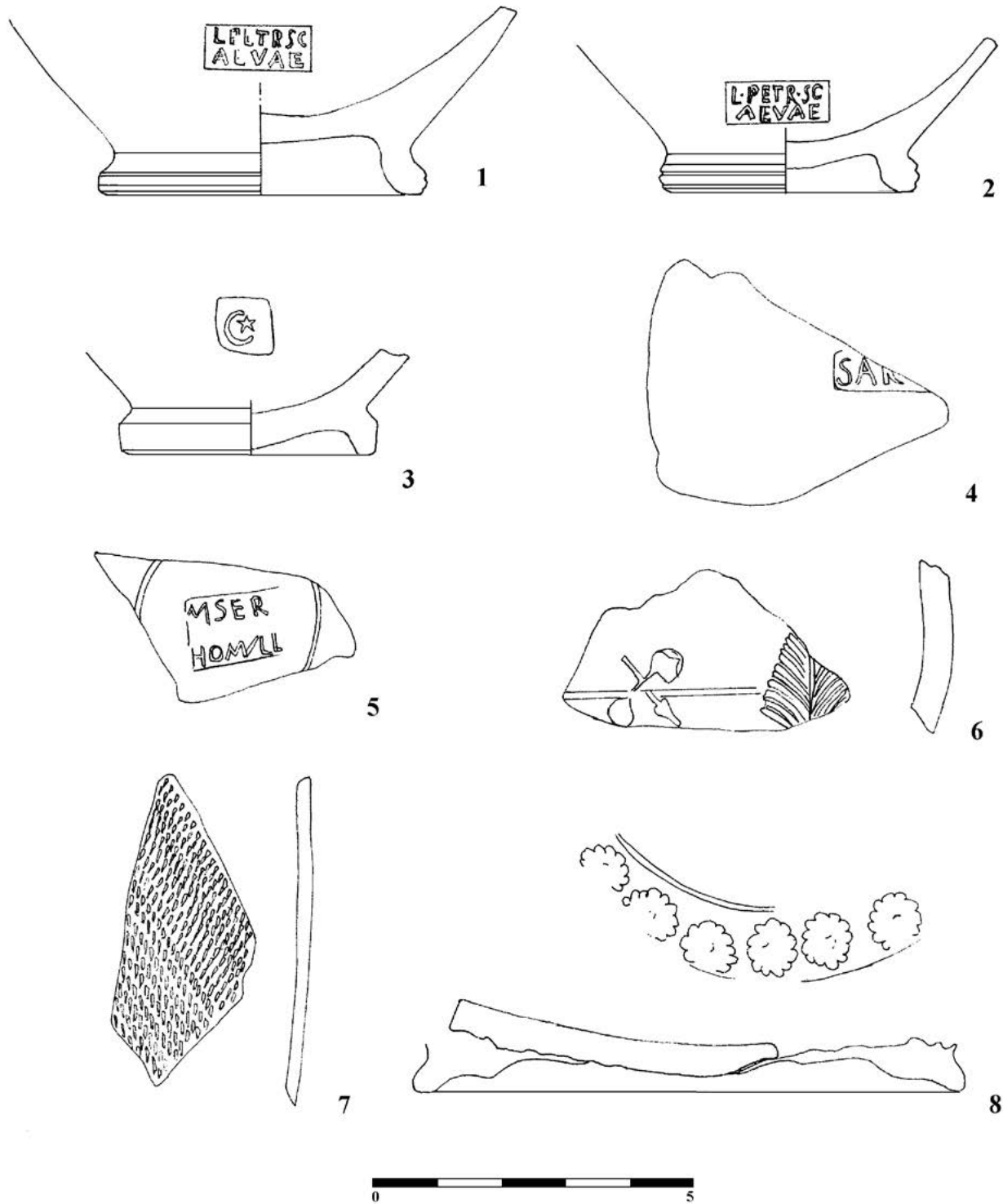
40 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 220, Pl. LXXIV, Pl. LXXV.

41 Schindler-Kaudelka 1998, 373, Pl. 184.

42 Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, Pl. 60, 136; Schindler-Kaudelka 1998, 373, Pl. 184; Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 220, Pl. LXXIII: 4.



SJ 1311



SL. 5. Keramika, SJ 1311, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 5. Pottery from SU 1311, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

kjih je na jednom ulomku sačuvano slovo R, dok je na drugom uz dvostruku traku sačuvan dio slova L. Šalica je imala potpis lončara L. SARIVS SVRVS.

Ulomak šalice tipa *Sarius* (Sl. 12: 4) ukrašen je kombinacijom floralnog, vegetabilnog i apstraktnog ukrasa izrađenog u kalupu. Ispod ručke, na gornjem dijelu donjeg dijela šalice nalazi se niz rozeta sa sedam latica ispod kojih je sačuvan motiv okomito postavljenog niza zavojitih parova krila, te manje i veće ptice. Ispod veće ptice sačuvano je slovo I. Premaz je crvenkast, dobro očuvan. Prema ukrasu parova krila te sačuvanom slovu I, šalica je imala pečat *Lucundus*. Malo je primjera šalice s pečatom tog lončara koji je bio aktivan u Augustovo vrijeme u dolini rijeke Po. Ovaj tip šalice nađen je u Akvileji, Bolonji i Adriji. Primjer iz Akvileje ima i ukras kornjače.<sup>47</sup>

### Reljefna keramika istočnojadranskih radionica (Sl. 5: 6)

Na ulomku Sl. 5: 6 nalazi se floralni motiv palminog lišća i graničica s plodovima ili delfin? Ulomak ima narančasto - sivi premaz. S obzirom na palmin list može se pripisati istočnojadranskoj reljefnoj keramici.<sup>48</sup> Nalaz svjedoči o vezama s jadranskom obalom iz smjera Senije.

#### Tera sigilata

U Panoniji, sigilata je bila jedna od prvih vjesnika nove vojno-političke situacije. Upravo su se na nedostatku većeg broja najranijih primjeraka rane tere sigilate augustovskog konteksta temeljile teze kako pokretni nalazi ne prati povijesne izvore o događajima od Augustovog osvajanja do Tiberijevog vremena. Tera sigilata s položaja Željeznički kolodvor upućuje na to kako se u Sisciju uvezio najfiniji materijal prisutan i na drugim važnim uporištima Rimskog Carstva augustovskog razdoblja. Zabilježeni su pečati i oblici augustovskog razdoblja do sada nepoznati u Sisciji.

#### Reljefna tera sigilata (Sl. 14: 5)

Od reljefne tere sigilate u SJ 650 zabilježen je ulomak ruba i vrata kupe oblika *Consp. R2*<sup>49</sup> izuzetno dobre kvalitete tamnocrvenog premaza i tamnocrvene boje stijenke s bijelim i crnim primjesama. Kvalitetom, bojom premaza i presjeka, kao i oblikom razlikuje se od ostalih proizvoda tere sigilate obrađene u ovom radu.

#### Glatka tera sigilata (Sl. 5: 1-5; Sl. 6: 1-2; Sl. 7: 1-7; Sl. 10: 1-3; Sl. 11: 1-6; Sl. 13: 4, 5; Sl. 14: 1-4; Sl. 15: 2, 3)

U SJ 650 nađeni su ulomci tere sigilate oblika zdjelice *Consp. 12* (Sl. 14: 3, 4) i tanjura/pladnja *Consp. 14* (Sl. 14: 1, 2). S obzirom na presjek blijedocrvene – narančastocrvene boje te mat crveni premaz, proizvodi su sjevernoitalskih radionica. Tanjur oblika *Consp. 2.1.2* (Sl. 15: 2) oker je presjeka te kredastog koraljno-crvenog sjajnog premaza srednje kvalitete. Kvalitetom mat premaza ujednačene oker-narančaste boje te oker presjeka izdvaja se rub zdjelice (šalice) *Consp. 13* (Sl. 13: 5).<sup>50</sup>

In the material from *Retratto*, individual motifs of a stem with leaves similar to this example are ascribed to the potter *Clemens*.<sup>43</sup> Clemens was a workshop owned by a craftsman who worked in the Padua-Bologna-Ravenna triangle and *Aquileia*.<sup>44</sup> The earliest examples from the Clemens workshop have letters accentuated within the frame of a free-range decorative scheme dated to Augustan times - the period between 10 BC and the beginning of the New era,<sup>45</sup> matching the decorative composition from Sisak, organized in a rhythm of repetitive floral motifs and leaves, as well as animals without geometrical elements. Based on its shape, size and decorations, this cup would belong to the first phase of production.<sup>46</sup>

Fragment of the bottom preserved in two parts, shown on Fig. 5: 8, has a motif of rosettes in a line in the positive. Two fragments (Fig. 12: 1, 2) have a geometrical motif of quadruple and double ribbons with a preserved letter 'R' in between on one example, and a double ribbon with a partial letter 'L' on another. The cup also had the potter's signature L. SARIVS SVRVS.

A cup fragment is decorated with a combination of floral, vegetative and abstract decorations made in a mold (Fig. 12: 4). Below the handle, on the upper part of the bottom half of the cup, there is a line of rosettes with seven petals above a motif of perpendicularly positioned curved pairs of wings, and smaller and larger birds. The letter 'I' is placed below the larger bird. The slip is reddish and well preserved. Based on the decoration of pairs of wings and the preserved letter 'I', the cup can be ascribed to the potter *IVCVNDI*. There are only few examples of *Sarius* type vessels with the stamp of *Lucundus* who was active during Augustan times in the valley of the Po River. This type of vessel was recorded at *Aquileia*, Bologna, and *Adria*. The find from *Aquileia* also includes the depiction of a turtle.<sup>47</sup>

### Relief pottery of the eastern adriatic type (Fig. 5: 6)

The fragment shown on Fig. 5: 6 has a floral motif of palm leaves and branches with fruits. The fragment has an orange-gray slip. Based on the depiction of palm leaves, it can be ascribed to eastern Adriatic relief ware.<sup>48</sup> These finds attest to trade with the territory along the Adriatic coast from the direction of *Senia*.

#### Terra sigillata

In Pannonia, *sigillata* was the first sign of the new military and political situation. Precisely the lack of larger quantities of the earliest examples of early *terra sigillata* from the Augustan context was used as the basis for the assumption that pottery did not follow the historical sources discussing historical events between Augustus' conquests and Tiberian times. The *terra sigillata* from the Railway station position shows that *Siscia* imported the finest goods, which were also present at other important strongholds of

47 Mantovani 2011, 131, 134, n. 7.

48 Brusić 1999, 11-17.

49 Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 168; Ricci 1985, T. LXXVII/4.

50 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, T. 18: 14; Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 4, 13.2.

43 Mantovani 2011, 199-201, Pl. LXVII/2e, Pl. LXVIII/3c; Brusić 1999, 180, fig. 48 no. 282.

44 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1987, 92-98.

45 Brusić 1989, 93; Brusić 1999, 24.

46 Brusić 1989, 98-102.

47 Mantovani 2011, 131, 134, no. 7.

48 Brusić 1999, 11-17.



1

**SL. 6.**

1. Dno tere sigilate s pečatom L. PETR. SC/AEVAE (snimio: V. Mesarić);
2. Detalj sigilatnog premaza na dnu šalice s pečatom L. PETR. SC/AEVAE (snimio: N. Peko)

**FIG. 6.**

1. The base of a *terra sigillata* fragment with the L. PETR. SC/AEVAE stamp (photo: V. Mesarić);
2. Detail of a *sigillata* slip from fragment with the L. PETR. SC/AEVAE stamp (photo: V. Mesarić)



2

the Roman Empire, during Augustan times. Some new stamps and forms from the Augustan period were recorded for the first time.

**Relief terra sigillata (Fig. 14: 5)**

Relief *terra sigillata* includes a fragment of the rim and neck of a cup on a foot ascribed to the *Conspectus R2* form.<sup>49</sup> It is of exceptionally high quality, has a dark red slip and dark red walls with white and black inclusions. It differs from other plain *sigillata* discussed in this paper by quality, the color of the slip and the cross-section, as well as by its shape.

**Plain terra sigillata (Fig. 5: 1-5; Fig. 6: 1-2; Fig. 7: 1-7; Fig. 10: 1-3; Fig. 11: 1-6; Fig. 13: 4, 5; Fig. 14: 1-4; Fig. 15: 2, 3)**

SU 650 yielded fragments of *terra sigillata* of *Consp. 12* type bowls (Fig. 14: 3, 4) and *Consp. 14* type plates/platters (Fig. 14: 1, 2). Based on their pale red-orange cross-sections and matte red slip, these products originated from workshops in northern Italy. The *Consp. 2. 1.2* type plate (Fig. 15: 2) has an ochre cross-section and a chalky coral red glossy slip of medium quality. The rim of a *Consp. 13* type bowl (cup) (Fig. 13: 5) stands out due to its matte slip of even ochre-orange color and an ochre cross-section.<sup>50</sup>

The platter fragment shown on Fig. 15: 3 is different from the standard types. Based on the rim, it belongs to the *Consp. 2.1*, based on its bottom to the *Consp. 4.4.*, and, based on its foot, to the *Consp. B 1. 6. variant*.<sup>51</sup> The fragment of a bottom shown on Fig. 13: 4 also has an orange slip and cross-section. Decorations were made in a mold, the slip is matte, glossy and of very high quality. Based on its shape and the pronouncedly orange color, these fragments could be ascribed to the Campanian Orange Ware dated to Augustan period.<sup>52</sup> This would be the first recorded example of Campanian orange *sigillata* in Sisak and Pannonia.

Forms discovered in SU 1311 and 1300 include fragments of *Conspectus 10* (Fig. 10: 3)<sup>53</sup> and *Consp. 12* (Fig. 7: 2, 5; Fig. 10: 2; Fig. 11: 1, 4, 5)<sup>54</sup> plates, *Consp. 14* bowls (Fig. 7: 1, 3, 4; Fig. 10: 1; Fig. 11: 3),<sup>55</sup> and a *Consp. 22* cup (Fig. 11: 2).<sup>56</sup>

The bottoms were ascribed to types B 3.8 (Fig. 7: 6), B 1.3 (Fig. 11: 6) and B. 1.1. (Fig. 7: 7). Based on its cross-section and silt color, the *terra sigillata* from SU 1300 and 1311 is the product of northern Italian workshops, except the light powder-colored bottom with the L.PETR.SC / AEVAE stamp, a partially preserved red slip and a powdery surface (Fig. 5: 1, 2, Fig. 6a, 6b).

All of the recorded forms appear in military camps in Oberaden and Dangstetten, the trading center in Magdalensberg,<sup>57</sup> the pre-

49 Ettliger *et al.* 1990, 168; Ricci 1985, Pl. LXXVII/4.

50 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, Pl. 18: 14; Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 4, 13. 2.

51 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, Pl. 18: 2.

52 The term "Campanian orange ware" was introduced by Ph. Kenrick in 1996 (Kenrick 1996, 43). Based on finds from Pompeii, the pottery is dated to the period between the middle of the 1st century BC and the late Augustan-Tiberian period, sporadically to the Claudian period (Gassner 2012, 6).

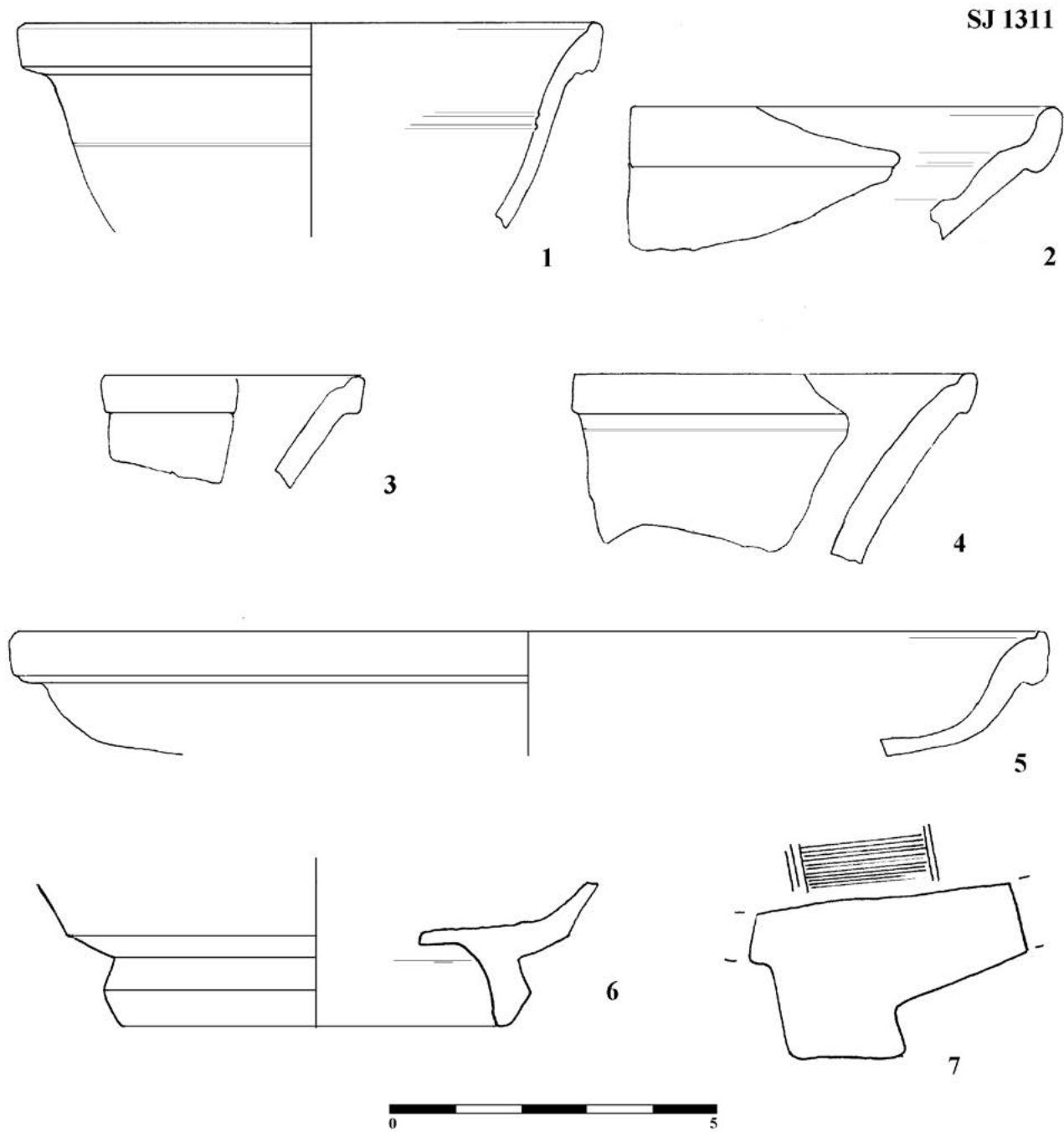
53 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, Pl. 4. 2

54 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, Pl. 22: 5; Niemeijer 2014, Abb. 5, 12.2.

55 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, Pl. 26: 2; Niemeijer 2014, 12-13; Abb.4, 14.1.

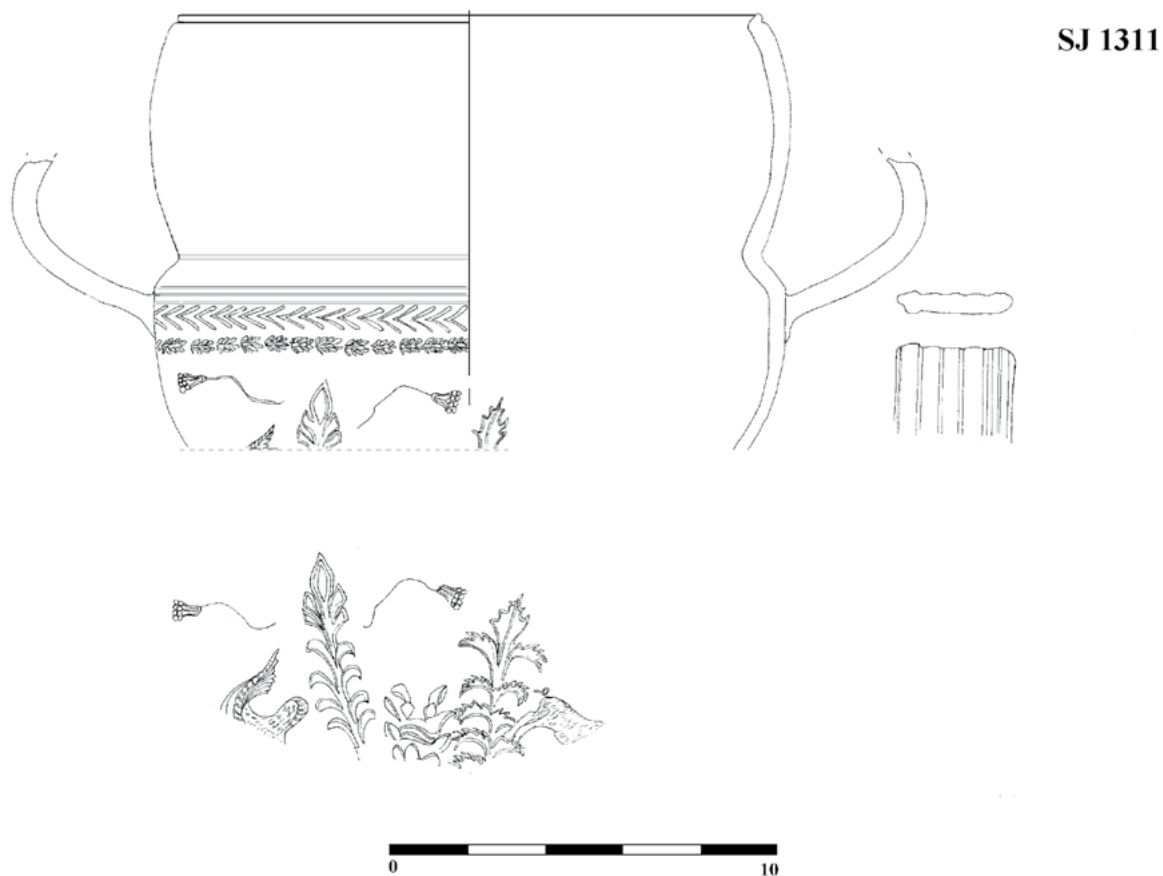
56 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, Pl. 38/7-39/5.

57 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, Pl. 22/5, Pl. 24a/12



Sl. 7.  
Keramika iz SJ 1311, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 7.  
Pottery from SU 1311, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)



SL. 8.  
KerAMIKA iz SJ 1311, mjerilo 1:2 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 8.  
Pottery from SU 1311, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

Ulomak pladnja narančaste boje premaza Sl. 15: 3 razlikuje se od standardnih tipova. Prema rubu pripada varijanti Consp. 2.1, oblikom dna Consp. 4.4., a oblikom noge Consp. B1.6.<sup>51</sup> Narančaste boje premaza i presjeka je i ulomak dna Sl. 13: 4. UkraS je rađen u kalupu, premaz je mat i sjajan, izuzetno kvalitetan, a premaz i presjek su narančaste boje. Ulomci se mogu pripisati kampanskim radionicama. Odgovaraju klasifikaciji "Campanian orange ware"<sup>52</sup> i datiraju se u augustovsko razdoblje. To bi bio prvi zabilježeni primjer kampanske narančaste sigilate u Sisku, ali i u Panoniji.

Od oblika u SJ 1311 i 1300 nađeni su ulomci tanjura Consp. 10 (Sl. 10: 3),<sup>53</sup> Consp. 12 (Sl. 7: 2, 5; Sl. 10: 2; Sl. 11: 1, 4, 5),<sup>54</sup> zdjele Consp. 14 (Sl. 7: 1, 3, 4; Sl. 10: 1; Sl. 11: 3)<sup>55</sup> i šalice Consp. 22 (Sl. 11: 2).<sup>56</sup> Izdvojena su dna tipa B3.8 (Sl. 7: 6), tipa B1.3 (Sl. 11: 6) te tipa B1.1. (Sl. 7: 7). Prema presjeku i boji premaza tera sigilata iz SJ 1300 i 1311 proizvod je sjevernoitalskih radionica, osim dna s pečatom *L. PETR. SC/AEVAE*

building layers of Emona - the site of NUK II,<sup>58</sup> but also in the settlement layers on the positions of Gornji trg 3, 15 and 30 of phase IIIa-III in Ljubljana.<sup>59</sup> Consp. 12 and 14 forms were also discovered in grave 55 in Novo Mesto-Beletov Vrt.<sup>60</sup> All of the recorded forms can be dated to the middle and the late Augustan period.<sup>61</sup>

#### Workshop stamps (Fig. 5: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Fig. 6: 1-2)

At Railway station in Sisak, SU 1311 yielded two bottoms of *terra sigillata* with the same stamp *L.PETR.SC / AEVAE* (Fig. 5: 1, 2). The fragments contain small traces of red slip that is mostly not preserved. The bottom has visible gouges from rotation. The structure and color of the clay is different, ochre-light brown color with a powdery sheen. The stamp is interesting and has no parallels in available publications. The stamp is not recorded in the *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum*.<sup>62</sup> It could be, based on the name and the described structure, connected to the heterogeneous group of Petronius (OCK 1435), active between 40 and 10 BC,

51 ZabeHlicky-ScheffeneGger 1998, T. 18: 2.

52 Termin "Campanian orange ware" uvodi Ph. Kenrick 1996. godine (Kenrick 1996, 43). Prema nalazima iz Pompeja datira se od sredine 1. stoljeća prije Kr. do kasnoaugustovsko-tiberijevskog razdoblja, sporadično do klaudivijevskog razdoblja (Gassner 2012, 2, 6).

53 ZabeHlicky-ScheffeneGger 1998, T. 4: 2

54 ZabeHlicky-ScheffeneGger 1998, T. 22: 5; Niemeijer 2014, Sl. 5, 12.2.

55 ZabeHlicky-ScheffeneGger 1998, T. 26: 2; Niemeijer 2014, 12-13; Sl. 4, 14.1.

56 Schindler, ScheffeneGger 1977, T. 38/7-39/5.

58 Gaspari 2010, 32, 107.

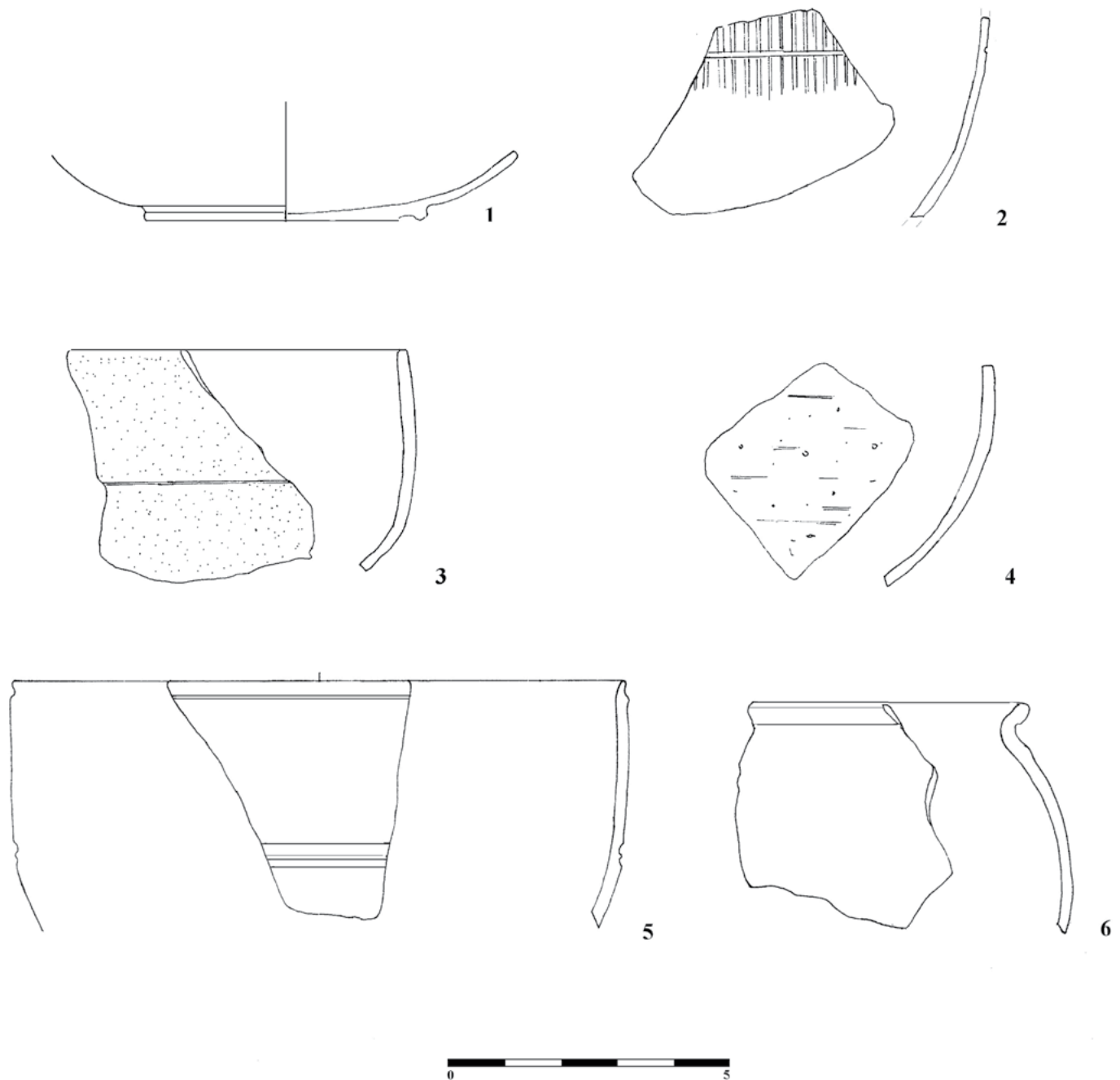
59 Vičić 1993; Vičić 1994; Vičić 2002.

60 Knez 1992, grave 55.

61 Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 54-76; Vičić 1993, 157, 160, Pl. 1: 2, 3; Pl. 2: 1, 18; Vičić 1994, 33, 34, Pl. 5; Vičić 2002, 195, Pl. 1: 5; Pl. 2: 8; Pl. 4: 3, Pl. 4: 2, 3, 6-10.

62 Oxè, Comfort, Kenrick 2000. (OCK)

SJ 1300



Sl. 9. Keramika iz SJ 1311, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 9. Pottery from SU 1311, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

s crvenim premazom praškaste površine svijetle puderaste boje, očuvanim u tragovima (Sl. 5: 1, 2, Sl. 6a, 6b).

Svi evidentirani oblici nalaze se u vojnom logoru u Oberadenu, Nijmegenu, trgovištu Magdalensberg,<sup>57</sup> u slojevima koji prethode izgradnji Emone na poziciji NUK II,<sup>58</sup> ali i u naseobinskim slojevima na položajima Gornji trg 3, 15 i 30 IIIa - III faze u Ljubljani.<sup>59</sup> Oblici Consp. 12 i 14 nađeni su i u grobu 55 s groblja Beletov vrt u Novome mestu.<sup>60</sup> Svi evidentirani oblici mogu se datirati od srednje do kasnoaugustovskog razdoblja.<sup>61</sup>

#### Radionički pečati (Sl. 5: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; Sl. 6: 1-2)

S položaja Željeznički kolodvor SJ 1311 potječu dva dna tere sigilate s istim pečatom *L. PETR. SC/AEVAE* (Sl. 5: 1, 2). Na ulomcima ima manjih ostataka crvenog premaza, dok veći dio premaza nije sačuvan. Na dnu su vidljivi rotacijski utori. Struktura je oker – svijetlosmeđe boje puderastog odsjaja. Pečat je vrlo zanimljiv i u dostupnoj literaturi nisu mu nađene paralele niti je zabilježen u *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* (CVA).<sup>62</sup> Mogao bi se, prema imenu i opisu strukture, vezati uz heterogenu grupu Petronija (Petronius) (OCK 1435) aktivnu od 40. pr. Kr. do o. godine koja je do sada posvjedočena samo u Porajnju (Mainz, Neuss i Wiesbaden) (Sl. 6: 1-2).<sup>63</sup>

U sloju SJ 1311 nađen je na ulomku dna oblika Consp. B4.8 pečat sa zvijezdom i mjesecom koji ima analogije s istovjetnim pečatom u Magdalensbergu (Sl. 5: 3).<sup>64</sup> Na ulomku padanske sigilate zabilježen je pečat *SARIVS* (Sl. 5: 4), lončar koji je proizvodio glatku sigilatu od 10. pr. Kr. do 20. godine.<sup>65</sup> Pečat *Sarius* se pojavljuje i u Burnumu,<sup>66</sup> Tiluriju,<sup>66</sup> i u naseobinskom dijelu na položaju pod Grajskim gričem - Gornji trg 30 u Ljubljani.<sup>68</sup> Na Magdalensbergu je datiran od 15. g. pr. Kr. do 15. g. po. Kr.<sup>69</sup> Pečat *M. SER/HOMVLL* (Sl. 5: 5) oznaka je padanskog lončara M. Serija Homula (*M. Serius*

that has, so far, been recorded only in the Rheine region (Mainz, Neuss, Wiesbaden) (Fig. 6a, 6b).<sup>63</sup>

Layer 1311 yielded a fragment of a Consp. B4. 8. type bottom with a stamp depicting a star and moon that is analogous to a stamp from Magdalensberg (Fig. 5: 3).<sup>64</sup>

*SARIVS* (Fig. 5: 4) was a potter from the Padua area who produced plain *terra sigillata* between 20 BC and 10 AD.<sup>65</sup> *Sarius* also appears at *Burnum*,<sup>66</sup> *Tilurium*,<sup>67</sup> and the settlement part of the Grajskim Gričem-Gornji trg 30 position in Ljubljana.<sup>68</sup> At Magdalensberg, it is dated to between 15 BC and 15 AD.<sup>69</sup>

The *M.SER/HOMVLL* stamp (Fig. 5: 5) is the mark of 'M. Serius Homvlls', a potter from Padua who started producing plain *sigillata* in 15 BC.<sup>70</sup> Finds containing this stamp are rare, and the *Corpus* only notes four examples, making this find exceptionally valuable.<sup>71</sup>

#### Conclusion

The analysis of fine Roman pottery from SU 650, 1311 and 1300 dates the earliest Roman layers from Sisak into the middle Augustan period. The recorded fine Roman ware is the same as the material discovered at other Augustan camps and settlements in the Roman Empire. The Railway station position yielded early material that has never been recorded before, including the first find of pottery with a black slip from Sisak. It is an outward-facing rim of a bowl with a poorly preserved shiny black-brown slip, an ochre-red cross-section, probably of northern Italian origin. Early Italian thin-walled pottery was also found, including the significant find of a beaker with "kommaregen" decorations in the negative, examples of *Aco* beakers and *Sarius* cups produced in northern Italy and Gaul, as well as eastern Adriatic relief ware.

57 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, T. 22/5, T.24a/12

58 Gaspari 2010, 32, 107.

59 Vičić 1993; Vičić 1994; Vičić 2002.

60 Knez 1992, grob 55.

61 Ettlinger *et al.* 1990, 54-76; Vičić 1993, 157, 160, T. 1: 2, 3; T. 2: 1, 18; Vičić 1994, 33, 34, T. 5; Vičić 2002, 195, T. 1: 5; T. 2: 8; T. 4: 3, T. 4: 2, 3, 6-10.

62 Oxè, Comfort, Kenrick 2000 (OCK).

63 Pri obradi pečata zatraženo je mišljenje Eleni Schindler Kaudelka. Pregledom crteža i fotografija dna s pečatom potvrđeno je kako se radi o pečatu *L. PETR. SC/AEVAE. E.* Schindler Kaudelka smatra kako bi se pečat mogao vezati uz radionicu iz grupe Petronija (OCK 1435 T. *Petronius Scae()*). Zatraženo je i mišljenje S. Zabehlicky - Scheffenecker te P. Kenricka. S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker smatra da se ne radi o spomenutoj grupi jer je ona poznata samo na zapadu. P. Kenrick također naglašava kako se pečat ne može vezati uz *T. Petronius Scae()* koji nije produktivan lončar i poznat je samo na zapadu. Također smatra kako nema povezanice ni s nešto značajnijom ranom augustovskom radionicom *L. + C. Petronius Coria* (OCK 1430) iz Arezza. No smatra, kao i E. Schindler Kaudelka, kako je lončar mogao biti povezan s Petronijevom radionicom, a proizvoditi slične posude u Panoniji. Zahvaljujem P. Kenricku, S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker i E. Schindler Kaudelka na savjetima pri obradi pečata s dvije šalice iz Siska.

64 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, 260-261, T. 31: 4.

65 Oxè, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 378, OCK 1782.

66 Borzić 2013, 143, 146.

67 Šimić Kanaet 2003, 456.

68 Vičić 2002, 195, T. 2: 6.

69 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, 254, 338, T. 116; Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, 244, T. 23:1.

63 When stamps were being studied, the opinion of Eleni Schindler-Kaudelka was asked. After studying the drawings and photographs of the bottom with a stamp, it was confirmed that the stamp was *L.PETR.SC/AEVAE. E.* Schindler-Kaudelka feels that the stamp could be connected to a workshop from the *Petronius* group (OCK 1435 T. *Petronius Scae()*). The opinions of S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker and P. Kenrick were also asked. S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker feels that it is not the said group because it is only known in the west. P. Kenrick also points out that the stamp cannot be connected to *T. Petronius Scae()*, who was not a productive potter and is only known in the west. He also feels that there is no connection to the somewhat more significant early Augustan *L. + C. Petronius Coria* workshop (OCK 1430) from Arezzo. However, he feels, as does E. Schindler-Kaudelka, that the potter could have been connected to Petronius' workshop, and produced similar vessels in Pannonia. I would like to thank P. Kenrick, S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker and E. Schindler Kaudelka on their advice during the study of the two cups from Sisak.

64 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, 260-261, Pl. 31: 4.

65 Oxè, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 378, OCK 1782.

66 Borzić 2013, 143, 146.

67 Šimić Kanaet 2003, 456.

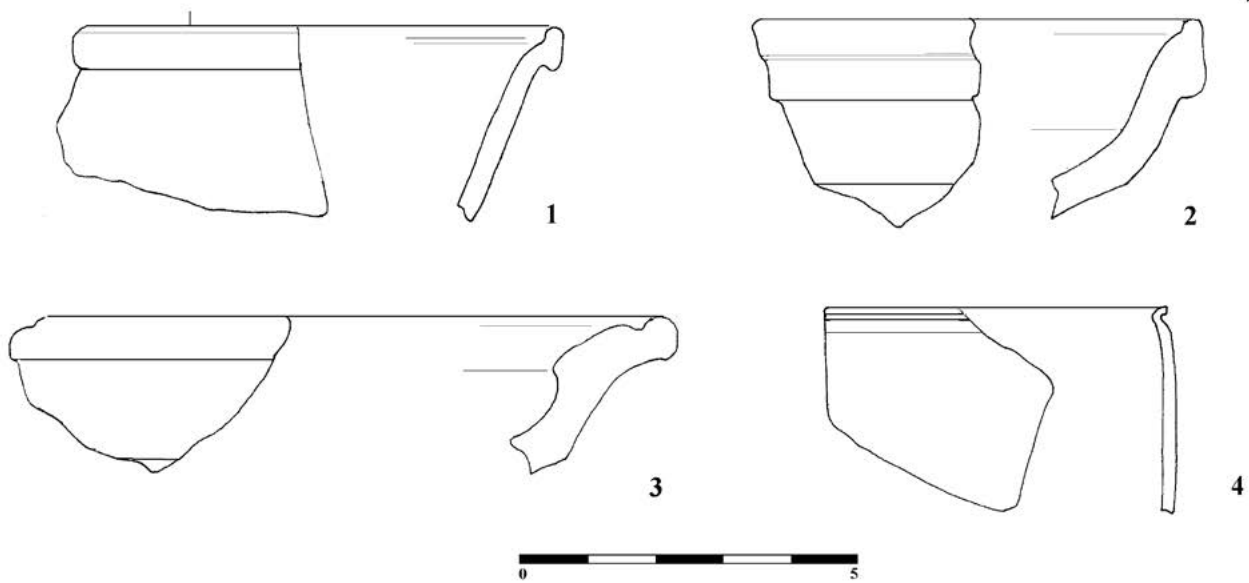
68 Vičić 2002, 195, Pl. 2: 6.

69 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, 254, 338, Pl. 116; Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1998, 244, Pl. 23:1.

70 Oxè, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 397, OCK 1902.

71 Schindler, Scheffenecker 1977, Pl. 118.

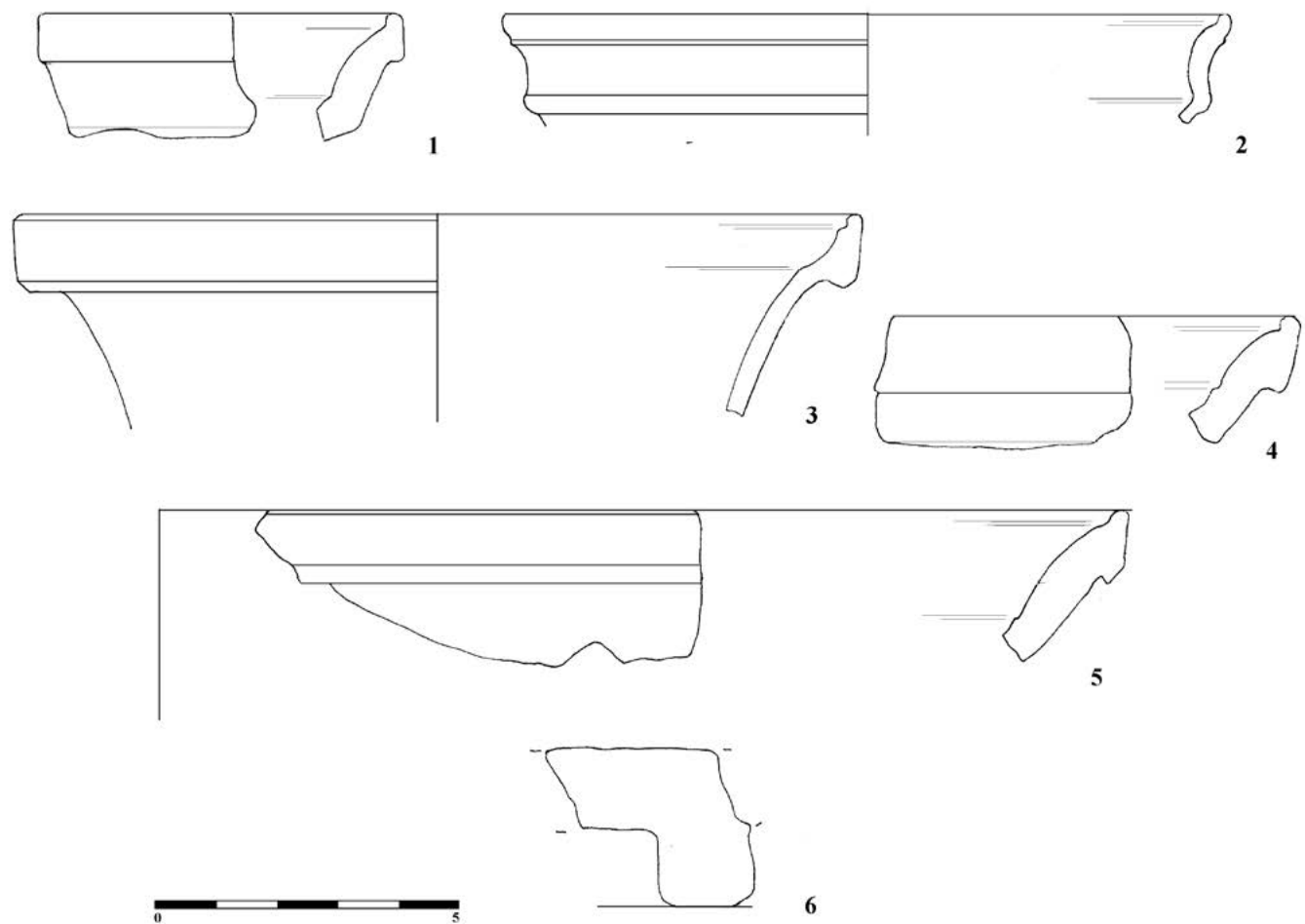
SJ 1300



Sl. 10. Keramika iz SJ 1300, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 10. Pottery from SU 1300, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

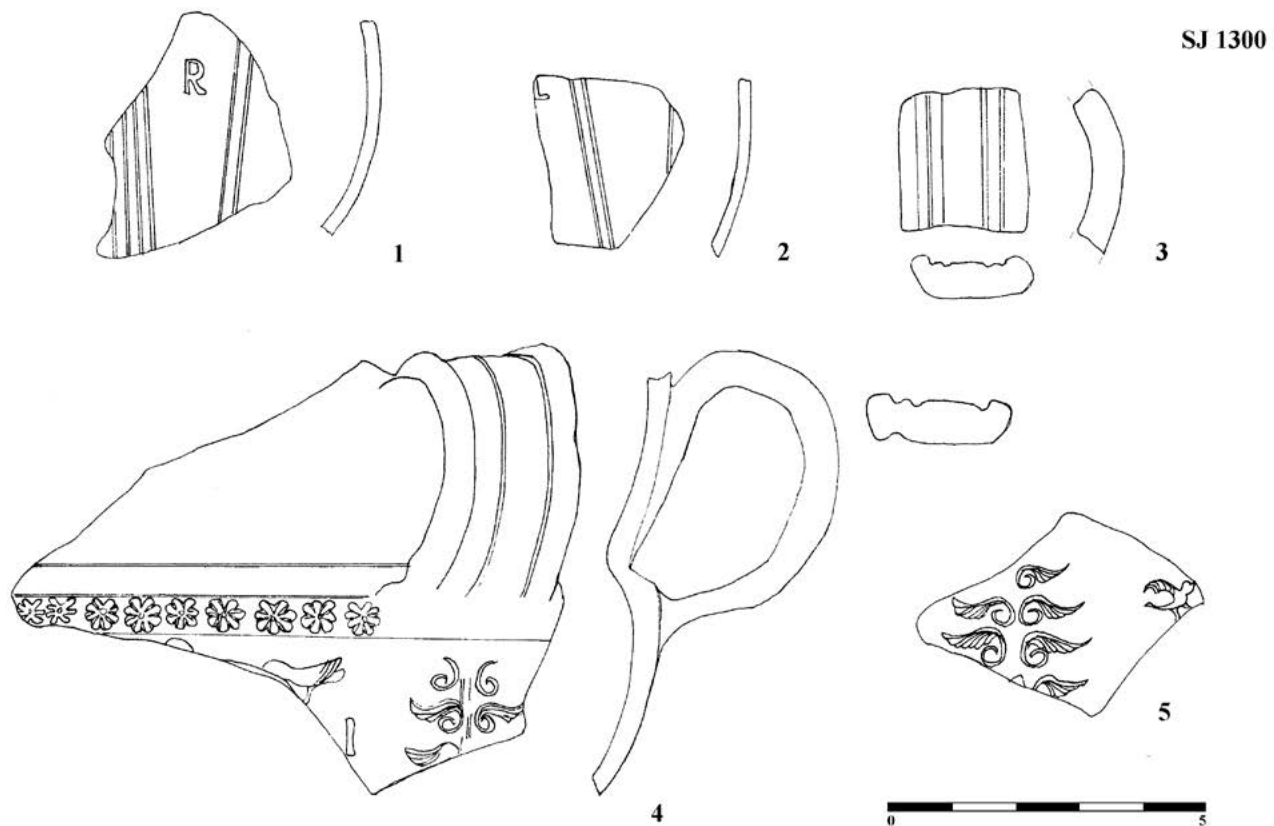
SJ 1300



Sl. 11. Keramika iz SJ 1300, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

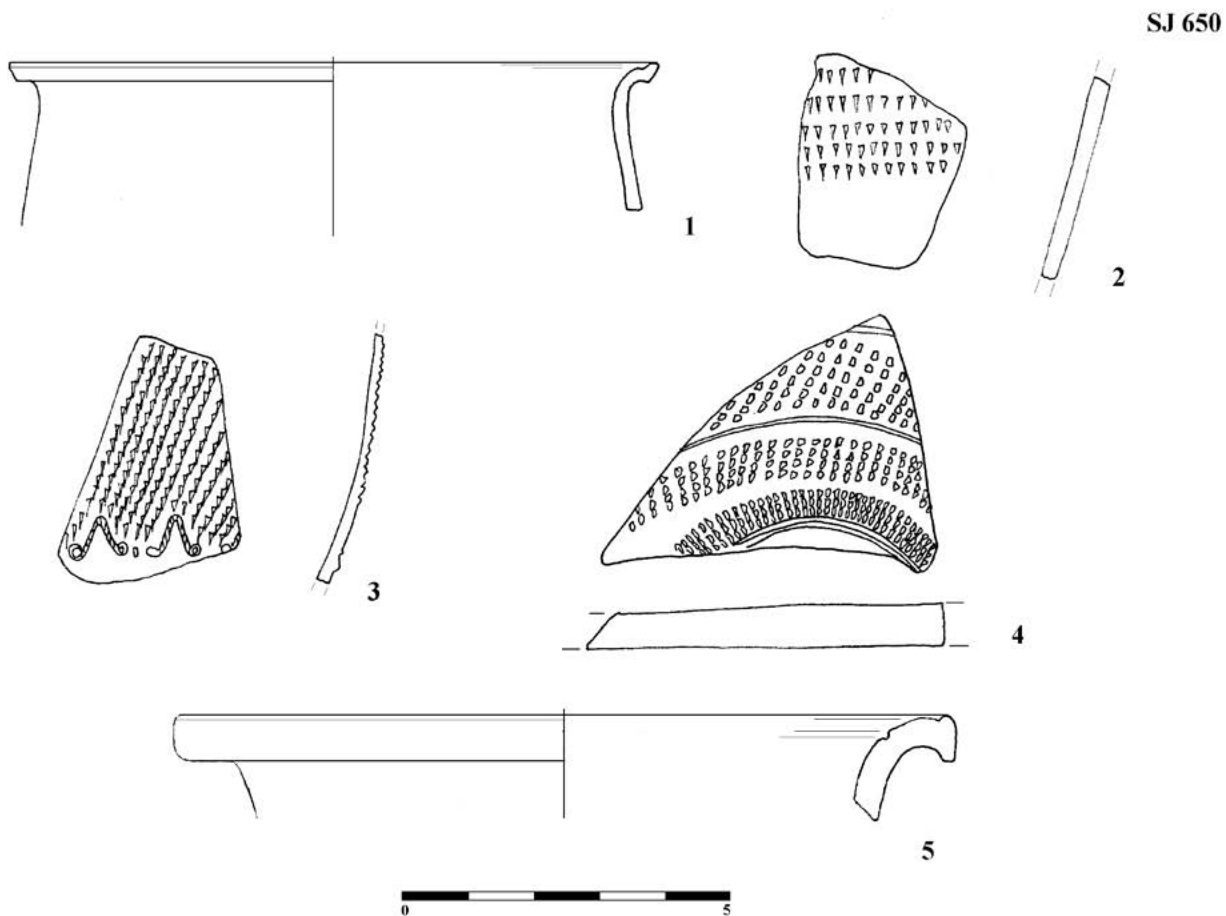
FIG. 11. Pottery from SU 1300, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)





SL. 12. Keramika iz SJ 1300, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: I. Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 12. Pottery from SU 1300, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)



SL. 13. Keramika, SJ 650, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

FIG. 13. Pottery from SJ 650, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

*Homullus*) koji je proizvodio glatku sigilatu od 15. g. pr. Kr.<sup>70</sup> Nalazi tog pečata su rijetki, u CVA zabilježena su samo četiri primjera.<sup>71</sup>

## Zaključak

Analiza fine rimske keramike iz stratigrafskih jedinica SJ 650, 1311 i 1300 s položaja Željeznički kolodvor datira analizirane rimske slojeve u Sisku u srednje do kasnoaugustovsko razdoblje. Sisačka fina rimska keramika istovjetna je materijalu koji se pojavljuje i u drugim augustovskim logorima i naseljima Rimskog Carstva. Na položaju Željeznički kolodvor pronađen je do sada nezabilježen rani materijal, uključujući i prvi nalaz keramike s crnim premazom u Sisku. Riječ je o ravnom, prema van izvijenom rubu zdjele s crnosmeđim sjajnim slabo očuvanim premazom, oker-crvene boje presjeka, vjerojatno sjevernoitalske proizvodnje. Nađena je i rana italska keramika tankih stijenki, a značajni su i nalaz čaše s „kommaregen“ ukrasom u negativu, primjeri čaša tipa *Aco* i šalice tipa *Sarius* sjevernoitalske i galske proizvodnje te istočnojadranske reljefne keramike. S ukupnim zbrojem ulomaka reljefne keramike šalice tipa *Sarius* i čaša tipa *Aco*, Siscija postaje najbogatije nalazište u Panoniji.<sup>72</sup> Značajan je nalaz tere sigilate oblika Consp. 10, Consp. 12, Consp. 13, Consp. 14, Consp. 2 i Consp. 22, sve srednje do kasnoaugustovski oblici. Zabilježen je i prvi nalaz kampanske narančaste sigilate u Sisku, kao i nalaz reljefne sigilate *Conspectus R2* oblika. Fina rimska keramika potvrđuje kako se u Sisciju slijevala najfinija rimska uvozna roba iz raznih dijelova Rimskog Carstva.

Organizirani uvoz pojedinih artikala namijenjenih potrebama rimske vojske i doseljenika stizao je u Sisciju koristeći ustaljene u početku prapovijesne trase i riječne komunikacije. O trgovačkim putovima podatke nalazimo u antičkim izvorima. Strabon donosi informacije o načinu i putu trgovine; navodi *Nauport* (Vrhnika) kao naselje gdje se roba kolima dovozila iz *Akvileje* i pretovarivala u čamce koji su je prenosili rijekom *Korkoras* (Ljubljanicom) i Savom preko *Segestike* do Dunava.<sup>73</sup> Izgradnjom cesta otvoreni su do Siscije i kroz Sisciju putovi u sve dijelove Carstva. Iz smjera *Akvileje* preko *Emone* u Sisciju, iz *Poetovija* u Sisciju, dalje preko *Moslavačke gore* na istok za *Mursu* s odvojkom za *Sirmij*. Kao potencijalni put uvoza najranije robe može se pretpostaviti i put iz *Senije*, preko *Banovine* do Siscije. Naime nalaz većeg broja fine keramike ranorimskog razdoblja na položaju *Žuta lokva*,<sup>74</sup> kao i nalaz jadranske reljefne keramike upućuju na ovu trgovačku trasu.

Položaj Željeznički kolodvor iznimno je važan za sisačku arheologiju kako s aspekta urbanizma tako i tipologije pokretnog arheološkog materijala Siscije. Peta je to pozicija na lijevoj obali Kupe koja potvrđuje kontinuitet života u razdoblju mladog željeznog doba tj. prostiranje *Segestike*, osim na prostoru *Pogorelca* na desnoj, i na lijevoj obali Kupe. Od iznimnog je značaja i potvrda augustovske faze, a daljnja će analiza struktura i cjelokupnog materijala riješiti pitanje jesu li najraniji zabilježeni slojevi vezani uz položaj vojnog logora.

The total number of discovered fragments of relief pottery of the *Sarius* cup and *Aco* beaker makes *Siscia* the richest site on Pannonian territory.<sup>72</sup> Other significant finds include *terra sigillata* of Consp. 10, Consp. 12, Consp. 13, Consp. 14, Consp. 2 and Consp. 22 forms, all middle to late Augustan. The first find of Campanian orange ware from Sisak was also discovered, and the relief *sigillata* of the *Conspectus R2* form. Fine Roman ware confirms that the finest Roman imported goods from various parts of the Empire flowed to this place right after the conquest.

The organized import of specific items to *Siscia*, intended to fulfill the needs of the Roman army and immigrants, took place through the traditional, originally prehistoric, routes and river flows. Trading routes are discussed in ancient sources. Strabo provides information on the modes and paths of trade, listing *Nauportus* (Vrhnika) as the settlement where goods were brought on wagons from *Aquileia* and transferred to ships that took it via the *Korkoras* (Ljubljana) and the Sava River next to *Segestica* and into the Danube.<sup>73</sup> Road construction opened paths through and from *Siscia* to all parts of the Empire - from *Aquileia* over *Emona* to *Siscia*, from *Poetovio* to *Siscia*, over the *Moslavačka gora* Mountain eastward to *Mursa* with a separate road to *Sirmium*. The potential earliest import route could have gone from *Senia*, over the *Banovina* region, and into *Siscia*. Namely, the large numbers of early Roman fine ware found at the *Žuta lokva* position,<sup>74</sup> as well as the find of Adriatic relief ware, point to a possible trade route.

The Railway station position is tremendously important for the archaeology in Sisak both from the perspective of urbanism, and the perspective of the typology of movable archaeological material from *Siscia*. It is the fifth position on the left bank of the Kupa River that attests to the continuity of life in the Late Iron Age period, i.e. the spatial distribution of *Segestica*, apart from on *Pogorelac* on the right, also spread on the left bank of the Kupa River. The confirmation of an Augustan phase in *Siscia* is also very important, and further analyses of architecture, structures and the entire material will solve the question of whether the earliest recorded layers can be connected to the position of the military camp.

70 Oxe, Comfort, Kenrick 2000, 397, OCK 1902.

71 Schindler, Scheffener 1977, T. 118.

72 S ukupnim brojem od 67 ulomaka reljefne keramike šalice tipa *Sarius* i čaša tipa *Aco*, Siscija postaje najbogatije nalazište u Panoniji (Miletić Čakširan 2019, 80-102).

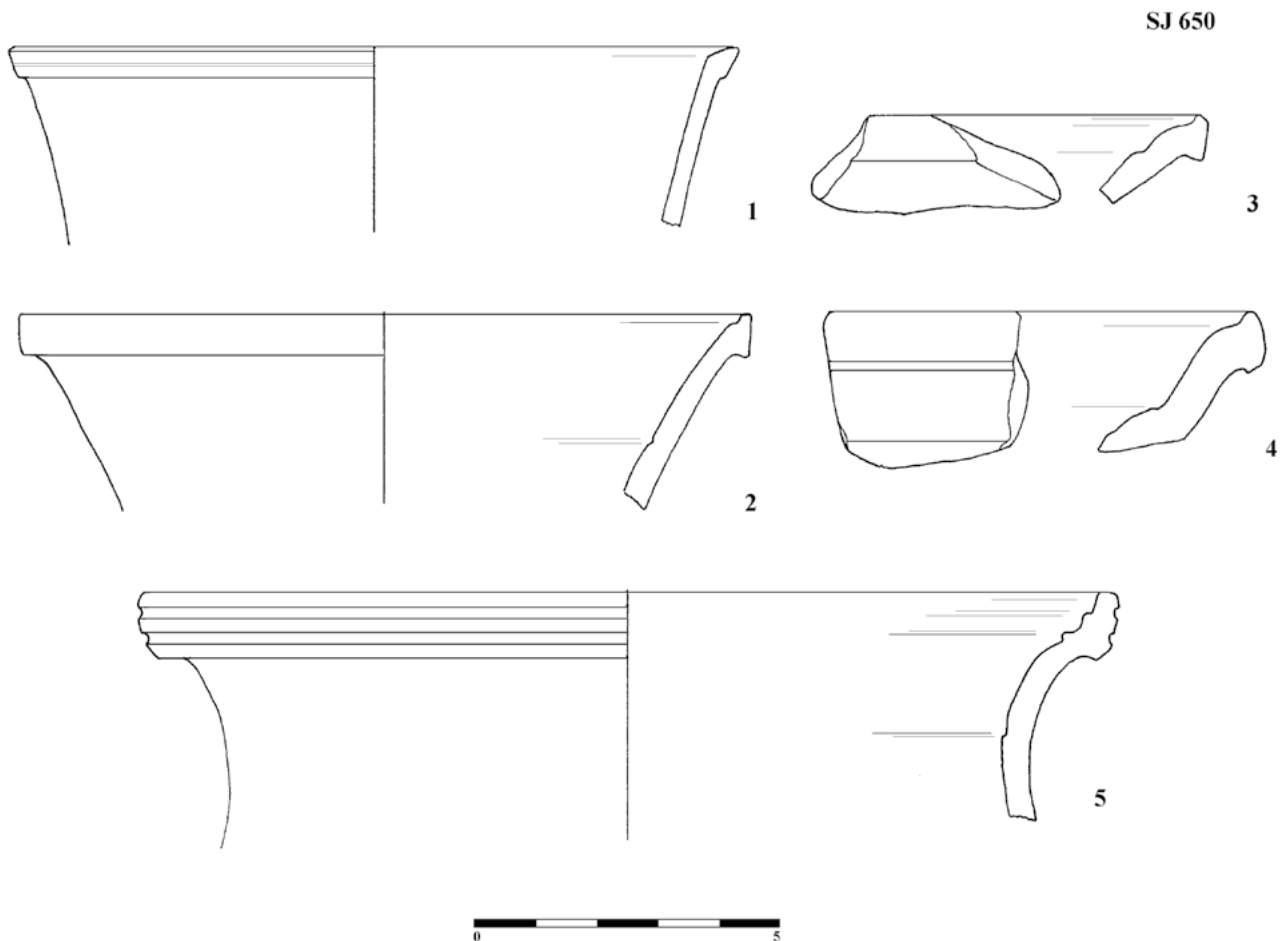
73 Domić Kunić 2003, 89.

74 Ožanić 2016; Borzić 2013, 142, n. 48.

72 With a total of 67 fragments of relief pottery, *Sarius* cups and *Aco* beakers, *Siscia* is the richest site in Pannonia (Miletić Čakširan 2019, 80-102).

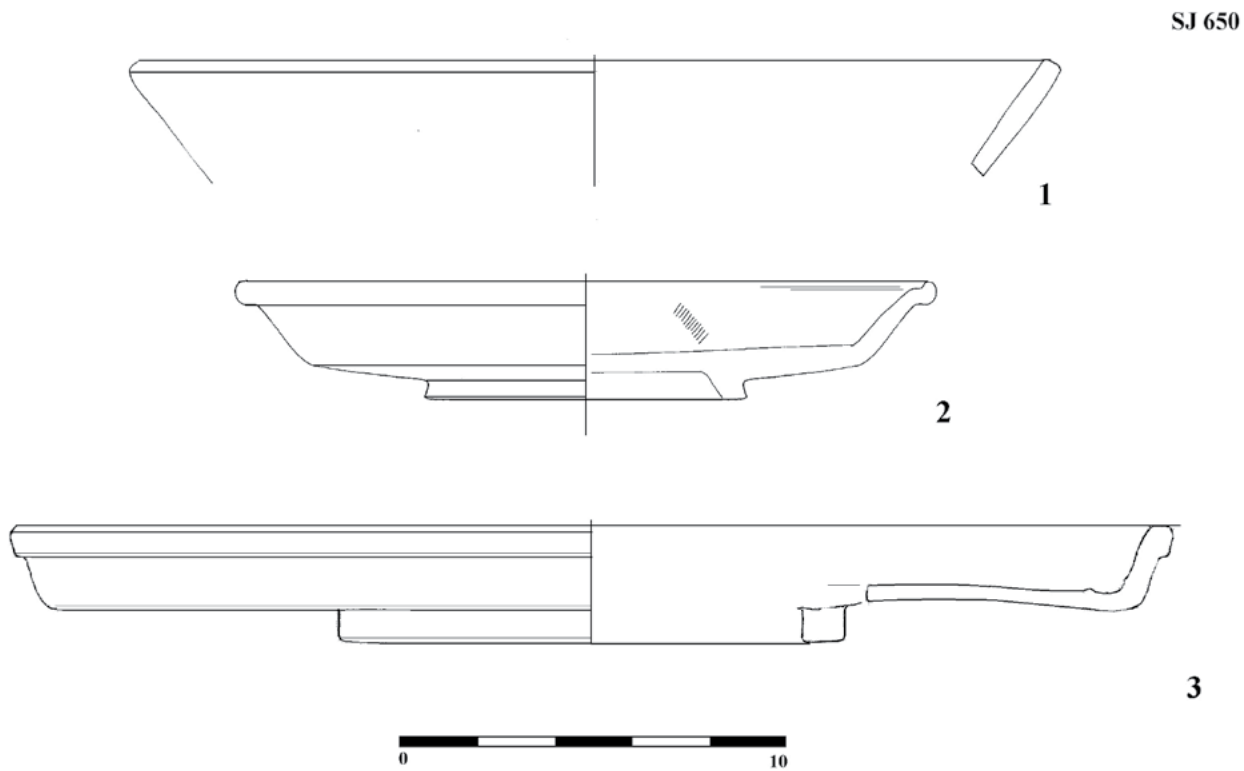
73 Domić Kunić 2003, 89.

74 Ožanić 2016; Borzić 2013, 142, no. 48.



**Sl. 14.**  
Keramika, SJ 650, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

**FIG. 14.**  
Pottery from SU 650, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)







**Sl. 15.**  
Keramika, SJ 650, mjerilo 1:1 (crtež: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

**FIG. 11.**  
Pottery from SU 650, scale 1:1 (drawing: I. Miletić Čakširan)

TIP / TYPE	OBLIK / FORM	PREMAZ / SLIP	KVALITETA PREMAZA / SLIP QUALITY	UKRAS / DECORATION	PEČAT / STAMP	RADIONICA PREMA UKRASU / WORKSHOP BASED ON DECORATIONS	DATACIJA po kontekstu / DATATION based on context	Slika / Fig.
Čaša tipa <i>Aco</i> / <i>Aco beaker</i>	Ulomak / Fragment	-	-	U pozitivu zarezi „kommaregen“ / “Kommaregen” incisions in the positive		-	15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 5: 7
Čaša tipa <i>Aco</i> / <i>Aco beaker</i>	Rub / Rim	+	Izuzetno kvalitetan / Very high quality	-		-	15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 10: 4
Čaša tipa <i>Aco</i> / <i>Aco beaker</i>	Ulomak / Fragment	-	-	„Kommaregen“ ukras u pozitivu i ukrasom obrnutog slova V Radena je u kalupu / “Kommaregen” decorations in the positive and a reversed letter ‘V’ Made in a mold			15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 13: 3
Šalica tipa <i>Sarius</i> / <i>Sarius cup</i>	Rub, vrat i trbuh / Rim, neck and body	+	Izuzetno kvalitetan / Very high quality	Nizovi tankih listića, ispod kojeg je niz češera, a na trbuhu ukras stapka s listovima, palmete te životinje: ptica i vepar / Lines of thin small leaves with a line of pinecones underneath, the body is decorated with stems with leaves, palmettes and animals: a bird and a boar		CLEMENS	15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 8
Šalica tipa <i>Sarius</i> / <i>Sarius cup</i>	Dno-dva dijela / Bottom- two-partite	+	Loše očuvan / Poorly preserved	Na donjem dijelu posude na koji se lijepilo dno utisnut je motiv rozeta u nizu / The lower part of the vessel where the bottom was attached with a line of impressed rosettes		-	15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 5: 8
Šalica tipa <i>Sarius</i> / <i>Sarius cup</i>	Ulomci / Fragments	+	Srednje kvalitetan / Medium quality	Dvostruke i četverostruke trake sa slovom R između; ulomak s dijelom slova L i dvostrukom trakom / Double and quadruple ribbons with the letter ‘R’ in-between; fragment with a partial letter ‘L’ and a double ribbon	L(. SARIVS SV)R(VS)		15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 12: 1, 2
Šalica tipa <i>Sarius</i> / <i>Sarius cup</i>	Ulomak / Fragment	+	Srednje kvalitetan / Medium quality	Niz rozeta ispod kojeg je motiv parova krila i ptica / A line of rosettes and pairs of wings and birds undemeath	(IVCVND)I		15. g. pr. Kr- 0. g. / 15 BC- 0	Sl. / Fig. 12: 4

**TABLICA 1.**  
Ukrasi, pečati na reljefnoj keramici čaša tipa *Aco* i šalica tipa *Sarius*  
(autor: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

**TABLE 1.**  
Decorations, stamps on relief pottery types of *Aco* beakers and *Sarius* cups  
(author: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

PEČAT / STAMP	OBLIK / SHAPE	CVATP 2000	DATACIJA / DATATION	PORIJEKLO / ORIGIN	ANALOGIJE / ANALOGIES	Slika / Fig.
L.PETR.SC/AEVAE		-	15. g. pr. Kr.-0. g. / 15 BC-0	?	-	Sl. / Fig. 5: 1, 2
ZVIJEZDA I MJESEC / STAR AND MOON		-	15. g. pr. Kr-0. g. / 15 BC-0	Sj. Italija / North Italy	Magdalensberg	Sl. / Fig. 5: 3
SAR(IVS)		OCK 1782 (1655)	10. g. pr. Kr.-20 g. po Kr. / 10 BC-20 AD	Sj. Italija / North Italy	Emona, Magdalensberg	Sl. / Fig. 5: 4
M.SER/HOMVLL		OCK 1902 (1761)	15. g. pr. Kr. / 15 BC	Sj. Italija / North Italy		Sl. / Fig. 5: 5

**TABLICA 2.**  
Pečati na teri sigilati (autor: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

**TABLE 2.**  
Stamps on *terra sigillata* (author: Ivana Miletić Čakširan)

# KATALOG

Za određivanje boja korišten je Munsell Soil Color Chart, New York, 1998.

Pri opisu ulomaka korištena makroskopska metoda.

Autor crteža: Ivana Miletić Čakširan

Mjesto nalaza: Sisak–Željeznički kolodvor

<b>Bs</b>	boja stjenke
<b>Bp</b>	boja premaza
<b>Dr</b>	promjer ruba
<b>Dd</b>	promjer dna
<b>Ds</b>	debljina stjenki

## Sl. 4 – SJ 1311

1. Čaša; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak ruba; tvrda; primjese; bez premaza; Bs: 7.5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Dr: 12 cm; Ds: 2 mm.
2. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak dna; tvrda; primjese; gruba; Bs: 5yR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Dd: 4.4 cm; Ds: 3 mm.
3. Ulomak; tvrda; primjese; gruba; premaz loš; Bs: 5yR6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 5yR3 / 2 dark reddish brown; ds: 4 mm.
4. Zdjelica, keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak; mekana; kanelura na trbuhu; Bs: 5yR 5 / 4 reddish brown; Ds: 2 mm.
5. Zdjelica, keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak; primjese; kanelura na trbuhu; Bs: 7.5yR 5 / 1 gray; Ds: 1,5 mm.
6. Zdjelica, keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak dna; tvrda; Bs: 5yR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Dd: 4 cm; Ds: 2 mm.

## Sl. 5 – SJ 1311

1. Zdjelica; tera sigilata, ulomak dna s pečatom; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: nije očuvan; Dd: 5,4 cm; Ds: 4 mm.
2. Zdjelica; tera sigilata, ulomak dna s pečatom; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: nije očuvan; Dd: 5 cm; Ds: 2,5 mm.
3. Zdjelica, tera sigilata, ulomak dna Consp. B4.8.; tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Dd: 4 cm; Ds: 4 mm.
4. Ulomak dna s pečatom; tera sigilata, tvrda; kvalitetan premaz, mat / sjajno; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 6 mm.
5. Ulomak dna s pečatom; tera sigilata, tvrda; kvalitetan premaz, mat / sjajno; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 5 mm

# CATALOGUE

The Munsell Soil Color Chart, New York, 1998, was used to determine the color.

The fragments were described using the macroscopic method.

Author of drawings: Ivana Miletić Čakširan

Place of discovery: Sisak-Railway station

<b>Cw</b>	color of vessel wall
<b>Cs</b>	color of slip
<b>Dr</b>	rim diameter
<b>Tw</b>	thickness of vessel wall
<b>Db</b>	base diameter

## Fig. 4 – SU 1311

1. Glass; thin-walled pottery, rim fragment; hard; inclusions; no slip; Cw: 7.5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Dr: 12 cm; Tw: 2 mm.
2. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, base fragment; hard; inclusions; coarse; Cw: 5yR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Db: 4.4 cm; Tw: 3 mm.
3. Fragment; hard; inclusions; coarse; slip of poor quality; Cw: 5yR6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 5yR3 / 2 dark reddish brown; Tw: 4 mm.
4. Small bowl, thin-walled pottery, fragment; soft; cannellure on the body; Cw: 5yR 5 / 4 reddish brown; Tw: 2 mm.
5. Small bowl, thin-walled pottery, fragment; inclusions; cannellure on the body; Cw: 7.5yR 5 / 1 gray; Tw: 1.5 mm.
6. Small bowl, thin-walled pottery, base fragment; hard; Cw: 5yR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Db: 4 cm; Tw: 2 mm.

## Fig. 5 – SU 1311

1. Small bowl; *terra sigillata*, base fragment with a stamp; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: not preserved; Db: 5.4 cm; Tw: 4 mm.
2. Small bowl; *terra sigillata*, base fragment with a stamp; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: not preserved; Db: 5 cm; Tw: 2.5 mm.
3. Small bowl, *terra sigillata*, base fragment, Consp. B4.8.; hard; slip of high quality; matte, Cw: 5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Db: 4 cm; Tw: 4 mm.
4. Base fragment with a stamp; *terra sigillata*, hard; of high quality slip, matte / glossy; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 6 mm.
5. Base fragment with a stamp; *terra sigillata*, hard; of high quality slip, matte / glossy; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 5 mm

6. Ulomak s ukrasom; reljefna keramika istočnojadranskih radi-  
onica, tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; Bs: 5yR 7 / 4 pink; Bp unutraš-  
nja: 5yR 5 / 8 red; BP vanjska: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red, ukras 2.5yR 4 / 1  
dark reddish gray; Ds: 4,5 mm.

7. Čaša tipa *Aco*; ulomak s ukrasom; tvrda; svilenkasta; ukras ra-  
đen u kalupu; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Ds: 2mm.

8. Šalica tipa *Sarius*, Ulomak dna s ukrasom; tvrda; loše očuvana;  
premaz izlizan; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red;

### Sl. 7 – SJ 1311

1. Consp. 14, tera sigilata, šalica (zdjelica); ulomak ruba i trbuha;  
Dr: 8,5 cm; Ds: 2,5 mm.

2. Consp. 12.3.2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; srednje tvrda; premaz  
kvalitetan; mat, točkasto otpao; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Bp: 2.5yR  
5 / 6 red; Ds: 4,5 mm.

3. Consp. 14; tera sigilata, ulomak ruba; Ds: 4 mm.

4. Consp. 14; tera sigilata, zdjela; ulomak ruba; Ds: 5 mm.

5. Consp. 12.2; tera sigilata, tanjur; ulomak ruba, trbuha i dna;  
mekana; premaz loš; mat / sjajno; Bs: 5yR6 / 6 reddish yellow;  
Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 16 cm; Ds: 2-3 mm.

6. Consp. B.3.8, tera sigilata, ulomak dna i noge; mekana; premaz  
srednje kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR  
5 / 8 red; Dd: 6 cm; Ds: 3 mm.

7. Consp. B.1.1, tera sigilata, ulomak dna i noge; tvrda; premaz  
izuzetno kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 10R 6 / 4pale red; Bp: 10R 4 / 6 red;  
Ds: 1,4cm.

### Sl. 8 – SJ 1311

1. Šalica tipa *Sarius*, tvrda; premaz izuzetno kvalitetan; mat; Bs:  
2.5yR 6 / & light red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 15 cm; ds: 3-5 mm.

### Sl. 9 – SJ 1300

1. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak dna; mekana; Bs:  
2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Dd: 5 cm; Ds: 1,5 mm.

2. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak s ukrasom; tvrda;  
Bs: 5yR 6 / 4 light reddish brown; Ds: 1,5 mm.

3. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak ruba i trbuha; tvrda;  
Bs: 5yR 4 / 1 dark gray; Ds: 2 mm.

4. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak; tvrda; gruba; Bs:  
7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Ds: 2 mm.

5. Zdjelica; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak ruba, trbuha; meka-  
na; Bs: 5yR 6 / 8 reddish yellow; Dr: 11 cm; Ds: 2 mm.

6. Čaša; keramika tankih stijenki, ulomak ruba i trbuha; srednje  
tvrda; primjese crne sjajne; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Ds: 2 mm.

6. Decorated fragment; relief pottery from workshops on the  
eastern Adriatic, hard; slip of high quality; Cw: 5yR 7 / 4 pink; Cc  
inner: 5yR 5 / 8 red; Cc outer: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red, decorations  
2.5yR 4 / 1 dark reddish gray; Tw: 4,5 mm.

7. *Aco* type beaker; decorated fragment; hard; silky; decorations  
made in a mold; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Tw: 2mm.

8. *Sarius* cup, Base decorated fragment; hard; poorly preserved;  
worn-out slip; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red;

### Fig. 7 – SU 1311

1. Consp. 14, *terra sigillata*, cup (small bowl); fragment of rim and  
body; Dr: 8.5 cm; Tw: 2.5 mm.

2. Consp. 12.3.2; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; medium hardness;  
slip of high quality; matte, fell off in spots; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light  
red; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Tw: 4.5 mm.

3. Consp. 14; *terra sigillata*, rim fragment; Tw: 4 mm.

4. Consp. 14; *terra sigillata*, bowl; rim fragment; Tw: 5 mm.

5. Consp. 12.2; *terra sigillata*, plate; fragment of rim, body and  
base; soft; slip of poor quality; matte / glossy; Cw: 5yR6 / 6 red-  
dish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 16 cm; Tw: 2 – 3 mm.

6. Consp. B.3.8, *terra sigillata*, fragment of base and foot; soft;  
slip of medium quality; matte; Cw: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs:  
2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Db: 6 cm; Tw: 3 mm.

7. Consp. B.1.1, *terra sigillata*, fragment of base and foot; hard;  
slip of exceptional quality; matte; Cw: 10R 6 / 4pale red; Cs: 10R 4  
/ 6 red; Tw: 1.4cm.

### Fig. 8 – SU 1311

1. *Sarius* cup, hard; slip of exceptional quality; matte; Cw: 2.5yR 6  
/ & light red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 15 cm; Tw: 3 – 5 mm.

### Fig. 9 – SU 1300

1. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, base fragment; soft; Cw: 2.5yR  
6 / 6 light red; Db: 5 cm; Tw: 1.5 mm.

2. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, decorated fragment; hard;  
Cw: 5yR 6 / 4 light reddish brown; Tw: 1.5 mm.

3. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, fragment of rim and body;  
hard; Cw: 5yR 4 / 1 dark gray; Tw: 2 mm.

4. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, fragment; hard; coarse; Cw:  
7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Tw: 2 mm.

5. Small bowl; thin-walled pottery, fragment of rim and body;  
soft; Cw: 5yR 6 / 8 reddish yellow; Dr: 11 cm; Tw: 2 mm.

6. Glass; thin-walled pottery, fragment of rim and body; medi-  
um hardness; black shiny inclusions; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yel-  
low; Tw: 2 mm.

**Sl. 10 – SJ 1300**

1. Consp. 14; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; mekana; premaz loš; mat; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Bp: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 11 cm; Ds: 3 mm.

2. Consp. 12; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Ds: 5 mm.

3. Consp. 10.3.2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; mekana; premaz loš; mat / sjajno; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Ds: 6 mm.

4. Čaša tipa Aco; ulomak ruba i vrata; tvrda; izuzetno kvalitetan premaz; mat / sjajno; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Bp: 10R 4 / 8 red; Ds: 2 mm.

**Sl. 11 – SJ 1300**

1. Consp. 12; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; mekana; premaz vanjski loš, unutarnji kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 5-6 mm.

2. Consp. 22; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; mekana; premaz srednje kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 7 / 8 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 12 cm; Ds: 2-3 mm.

3. Consp. 14.2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; mekana; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 14 cm; Ds: 3 mm.

4. Consp. 12.1.3; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; mekana; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Ds: 6 mm.

5. Consp. 12; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i trbuha; mekana; premaz kvalitetan na unutarnjoj stijenci, dok je vanjskoj otpao; Bs: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 32 cm; Ds: 6-7 mm.

6. Consp. B.1.3; tera sigilata; ulomak dna; mekana; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 13 mm.

**Sl. 12 – SJ 1300**

1. Šalica tipa *Sarius*; ulomak s ukrasom; tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 2 mm.

2. Šalica tipa *Sarius*; ulomak s ukrasom; tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Bp: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Ds: 2 mm.

3. Ulomak ručke; šalice tipa *Sarius*; ds: 5 mm.

4. Šalica tipa *Sarius*; ulomak vrata i trbuha s ručkom; tvrda; premaz kvalitetan; mat; Bs: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Ds: 2,5 – 3 mm.

**Fig. 10 – SU 1300**

1. Consp. 14; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; soft; slip of poor quality; matte; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Cs: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 11 cm; Tw: 3 mm.

2. Consp. 12; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; hard; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Tw: 5 mm.

3. Consp. 10.3.2; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; soft; slip of poor quality; matte / glossy; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Tw: 6 mm.

4. Aco type beaker; fragment of rim and neck; hard; exceptionally high quality slip; matte / glossy; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red; Cs: 10R 4 / 8 red; Tw: 2 mm.

**Fig. 11 – SU 1300**

1. Consp. 12; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; soft; outer slip of poor quality, inner of high quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 5-6 mm.

2. Consp. 22; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; soft; slip of medium quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 7 / 8 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 12 cm; Tw: 2-3 mm.

3. Consp. 14.2; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; soft; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 14 cm; Tw: 3 mm.

4. Consp. 12.1.3; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; soft; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Tw: 6 mm.

5. Consp. 12; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and body; soft; slip of high quality on the inner walls, and not preserved on the outer walls; Cw: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Dr: 32 cm; Tw: 6-7 mm.

6. Consp. B.1.3; *terra sigillata*; base fragment; soft; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 13 mm.

**Fig. 12 – SU 1300**

1. *Sarius* cup; decorated fragment; hard; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 2 mm.

2. *Sarius* cup; decorated fragment; hard; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Cs: 2.5yR 4 / 8 red; Tw: 2 mm.

3. Handle fragment; *Sarius* cup; Tw: 5 mm.

4. *Sarius* cup; fragment of neck and body with a handle; hard; slip of high quality; matte; Cw: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Tw: 2.5-3 mm.

**Sl. 13 – SJ 650**

1. Čaša; ulomak ruba; tvrda; glazurni premaz; mat / sjajno; Bs: 5YR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Bp: 5YR 5 / 8 (unutrašnja) 5 / 6 (vanjska) yellowish red; Dr: 10 cm; Ds: 2 mm.
2. Čaša; ulomak; tvrda; bez premaza; ukras izveden kotačićem; Bs: 5YR 5 / 8 yellowish red; Ds: 2-3 mm.
3. Čaša tipa Aco; ulomak s ukrasom; u kalupu; tvrda; bez premaza; Bs: 5YR 7 / 4 pink; Ds: 1,5-2 mm.
4. Ulomak dna; tera sigilata; ukras nizova zareza-točka; u kalupu; tvrda; premaz; mat / sjajno; izuzetno kvalitetan; Bs i Bp: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red
5. Consp. 13; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; tvrda; premaz mat; izuzetno kvalitetan; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Dr: 12 cm; Ds: 4 mm.

**Sl. 14 – SJ 650**

1. Consp. 14.2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; tvrda; premaz; mat; kvalitetan; Bs: 7.5yR 5 / 8 red; Bp: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Dr: 12 cm; 3 mm.
2. Consp. 14.1.5; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; mekana; premaz mat; Bs: 5YR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Dr: 12 cm; Ds: 4 mm.
3. Consp. 12; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; mekana; premaz mat; izuzetno kvalitetan; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Bp: 10R 4 / 6 red; Ds: 4-5mm.
4. Consp. 12.1.3; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; mekana; premaz mat / sjajno; kvalitetan; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 10R 4 / 6 red; Ds: 6 mm.
5. Consp R2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba i vrata; tvrda; premaz mat; izuzetno kvalitetan; Bs: 10R 5 / 6 red; Bp: 10R 4 / 6 red; Dr: 16 cm; Ds: 4-5 mm.

**Sl. 15 – SJ 650**

1. Ulomak ruba zdjele; keramika s crnim premazom; mekana; premaz mat / sjajno; loše očuvan; kvalitetan; Bs: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Bp: 5yR 3 / 1 very dark gray; Dr: 24 cm; Ds: 5 mm.
2. Consp. 2.1.2; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba, trbuha i dna; mekana; premaz kvalitetan; sjajno; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 18 cm; Dd: 8 cm; Ds: 5-7 mm.
3. Consp.4?; tera sigilata; ulomak ruba; tvrda; premaz mat / sjajno; izuzetno kvalitetan; Bs: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Bp: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 30 cm; Ds: 5 mm.

**Fig. 13 – SU 650**

1. Glass; rim fragment; hard; glazed slip; matte / glossy; Cw: 5YR 5 / 6 yellowish red; Cs: 5YR 5 / 8 (inner) 5 / 6 (outer) yellowish red; Dr: 10 cm; Tw: 2 mm.
2. Glass; fragment; hard; no slip; decorated with the help of a wheel; Cw: 5YR 5 / 8 yellowish red; Tw: 2 – 3 mm.
3. Aco type beaker; decorated fragment; in a mold; hard; no slip; Cw: 5YR 7 / 4 pink; Tw: 1.5 – 2 mm.
4. Base fragment; *terra sigillata*; series of commas-dots; in a mold; hard; slip; matte / glossy; exceptionally high quality; Cw and Cs: 2.5yR 6 / 8 light red
5. Consp. 13; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; hard; slip matte; exceptionally high quality; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 8 red; Dr: 12 cm; Tw: 4 mm.

**Fig. 14 – SU 650**

1. Consp. 14.2; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; hard; slip; matte; of high quality; Cw: 7.5yR 5 / 8 red; Cs: 7.5yR 7 / 6 reddish yellow; Dr: 12 cm; 3 mm.
2. Consp. 14.1.5; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; soft; slip matte; Cw: 5YR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 2.5yR 5 / 6 red; Dr: 12 cm; Tw: 4 mm.
3. Consp. 12; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; soft; slip matte; exceptionally high quality; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Cs: 10R 4 / 6 red; Tw: 4 – 5 mm.
4. Consp. 12.1.3; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; soft; slip matte / glossy; of high quality; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 10R 4 / 6 red; Tw: 6 mm.
5. Consp R2; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim and neck; hard; slip matte; of exceptionally high quality; Cw: 10R 5 / 6 red; Cs: 10R 4 / 6 red; Dr: 16 cm; Tw: 4 – 5 mm.

**Fig. 15 – SU 650**

1. Rim fragment of a bowl; pottery with a black slip; soft; slip matte / glossy; poorly preserved; of high quality; Cw: 2.5yR 6 / 6 light red; Cs: 5yR 3 / 1 very dark gray; Dr: 24 cm; Tw: 5 mm.
2. Consp. 2.1.2; *terra sigillata*; fragment of rim, body and base; soft; slip of high quality; glossy; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 18 cm; Db: 8 cm; Tw: 5 – 7 mm.
3. Consp.4?; *terra sigillata*; rim fragment; hard; slip matte / glossy; exceptionally high quality; Cw: 5yR 6 / 6 reddish yellow; Cs: 10R 5 / 8 red; Dr: 30 cm; Tw: 5 mm.



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# AMFORE S POZICIJE SISAK-ŽELJEZNIČKI KOLODVOR S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA DRESSEL 8 AMFORU S NATPISOM

## AMPHORAE FROM THE POSITION OF SISAK-RAILWAY STATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A DRESSEL 8 TYPE AMPHORA WITH AN INSCRIPTION

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Ante Paro  
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*Jedan od nezaobilaznih arheoloških lokaliteta u proučavanju rimske provincijalne arheologije na prostoru Panonije zasigurno je antička Siscija. Zahvaljujući zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima na poziciji željezničkog kolodvora u Sisku, nađeno je mnoštvo bogatih arheoloških pokretnih i nepokretnih nalaza koji otkrivaju kako je funkcionirao jedan rimski grad. Među značajnije nalaze treba uvrstiti i 257 ulomaka amfora. Prikupljeni ulomci amfora, ambalaže koja je služila za transport i skladištenje robe iz čitavog Carstva, otkrivaju kako je funkcionirala trgovina različitom robom, koje su potrebe građani Siscije imali, kakve su bili platežne moći te u nekim slučajevima tko je i odakle naručivao pojedine proizvode po vlastitom ukusu. Pri tome se ističe nalaz amfore tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom (titulus pictus) sa, za sada, najstarijim spomenom rimske Siscije. U radu je izvršena tipološka i kronološka klasifikacija nađenih amfora s osvrtom na trgovačke veze rimske Siscije i ostalih dijelova Carstva odakle potječe roba koja se dopremala u amforama.*

*One of the crucial archaeological sites in the study of Roman provincial archaeology on the territory of Pannonia is certainly the ancient Siscia. During the rescue archaeological excavations of the Railway station position in Sisak, numerous rich movable and non-movable archaeological finds have been discovered that reveal the workings of a Roman city. Undoubtedly, 257 amphora fragments should be considered as some of the most significant finds. The collected fragments of amphorae, packaging used to transport and store goods from the entire Empire, speak of the trade of different goods, what the needs of the population in Siscia were, what they could afford, and, in some cases, who ordered what and from where to suit their own tastes. In this context, the find of a Dressel 8 amphora fragment with an inscription (titulus pictus) stands out due to the, so far, oldest reference to the Roman Siscia. The paper also brings the typological and chronological classification of the discovered amphorae, accompanied by a review of trading connections between the Roman Siscia and the rest of the Empire where the goods, transported in the amphorae, were produced.*

**Ključne riječi:**  
Siscija, amfore, Dressel 1B, Dressel 6B, Dressel 8, *titulus pictus*

**Key words:**  
*Siscia, amphorae, Dressel 1B, Dressel 6B, Dressel 8, titulus pictus*

Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je stjecanje uvida u trgovinu amforama koja se odvijala u antičkoj Sisciji. Od Augustove vladavine i početka romanizacije sve do stjecanja statusa kolonije, ali i u kasnoantičkom razdoblju, Siscija je zbog svog geostrateškog položaja i vojničkog značaja bila privlačna trgovcima jer su vojnici i italiski doseljenici zahtijevali kvalitetno vino, maslinovo ulje, masline, riblje umake i razno voće, odnosno namirnice na koje su bili naviknuti. Ti kvalitetni proizvodi u Sisciju su stizali u amforama i s istoka i sa zapada Carstva. Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor pronađeni su ulomci 257 amfora (Sl. 1).<sup>1</sup>

The goal of this research was to gain insight into the trade of amphorae that took place in Roman Siscia. From the time of Augustus' rule and the beginnings of Romanization until it gained colonial status, but also in Late Antiquity, Siscia was, due to its geostrategic position and military significance, attractive to traders because soldiers and immigrants from Italy residing here demanded high-quality wine, olive oil, olives, fish sauces and various fruit, i.e. the goods they were used to. These high-quality products arrived to Siscia in amphorae from the East and the West of the Empire. The position of Sisak-Railway station yielded fragments of 257 amphorae (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

## Amfore za transport vina

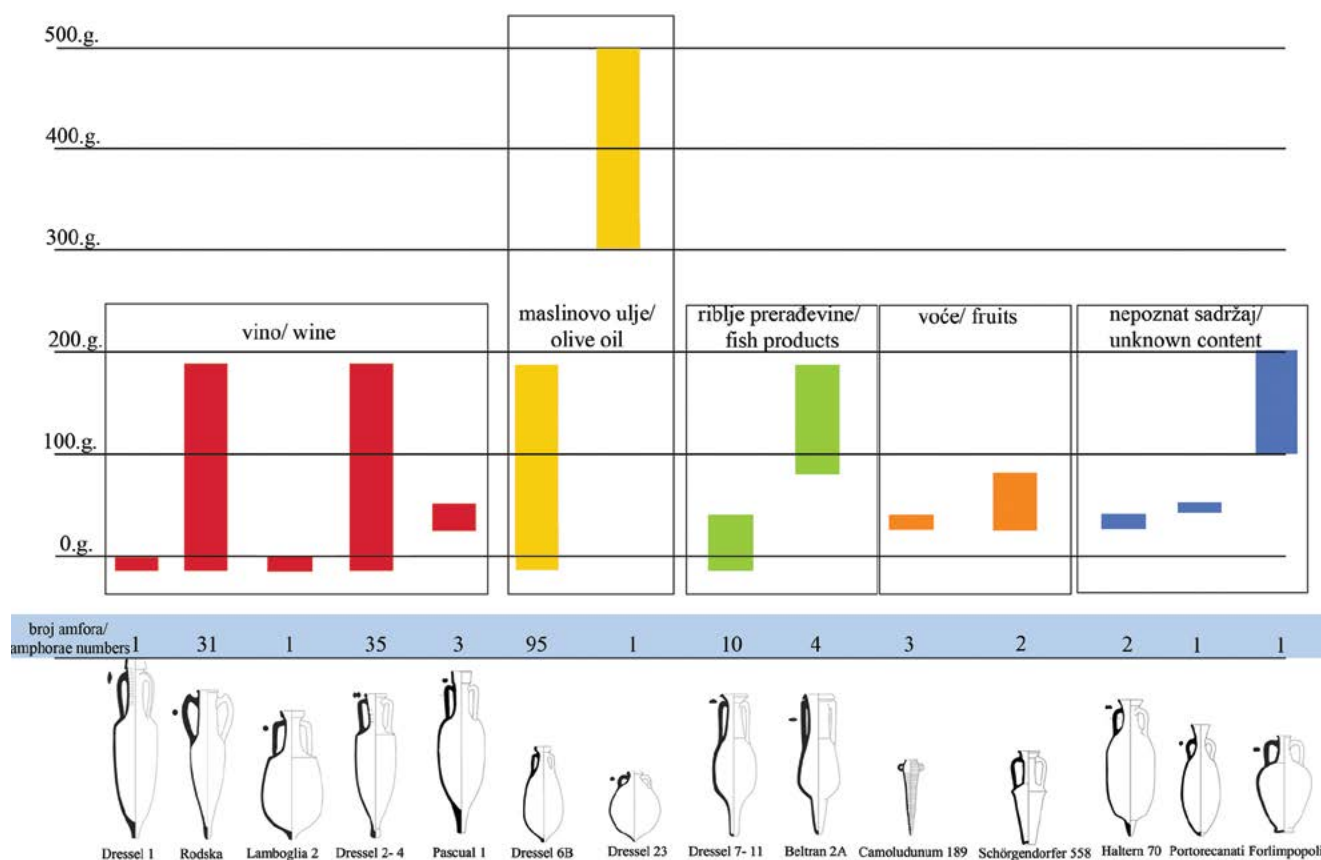
### Dressel 1B

Dressel 1 najčešći je oblik republikanskih amfora. Proizvodile su se uglavnom u Kampaniji, Laciju i Etruriji, od prve četvrtine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. do zadnjeg desetljeća 1. st. pr. Kr.<sup>2</sup> *Tituli picti* upućuju na to da su služile prvenstveno za transport vina.<sup>3</sup> Ovaj tip bio je rasprostranjen po čitavom Mediteranu, poglavito na zapadu.<sup>4</sup> Tekstura ima visoku koncentraciju primjesa (Sl. 4: 1) specifičnih za italjsko podrijetlo. Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor pronađen je cjeloviti obod Dressel 1B amfore u rano/srednje augustovskom sloju (Sl. 2). Promjer oboda iznosi 18 cm, a visina oboda 6 cm.

## Amphoras for transporting wine

### Dressel 1B

Dressel 1 is the most common form of Republican amphorae. They were mostly produced in Campania, Lazio and Etruria from the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the last decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC.<sup>2</sup> The *tituli picti* suggest that they were primarily used for transporting wine.<sup>3</sup> This type was distributed all over the Mediterranean, especially the west.<sup>4</sup> Their fabric has a large concentration of inclusions (Fig. 4: 1) specific for items of Italian origin. The Sisak-Railway station position yielded a completely preserved rim of a Dressel 1B amphora in the early/middle Augustan layer (Fig. 2). The diameter of the rim is 18 cm, and its height is 6 cm.



Sl. 1. Tipološka distribucija amfora na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor (izradili: A. Paro i O. Novaković)

FIG. 1. The typological distribution of amphorae on the Sisak-Railway station position (made by: A. Paro and O. Novaković)

### Lamboglia 2

Općenito se smatra da proizvodnja Lamboglia 2 amfora počinje na istočnoj obali južne Italije nakon pada Korinta 146. godine pr. Kr. No, do te inovacije nije došlo odjednom, nego kroz postupan razvoj forme grčko-italjskih amfora. Prestaju se proizvoditi kra-

### Lamboglia 2

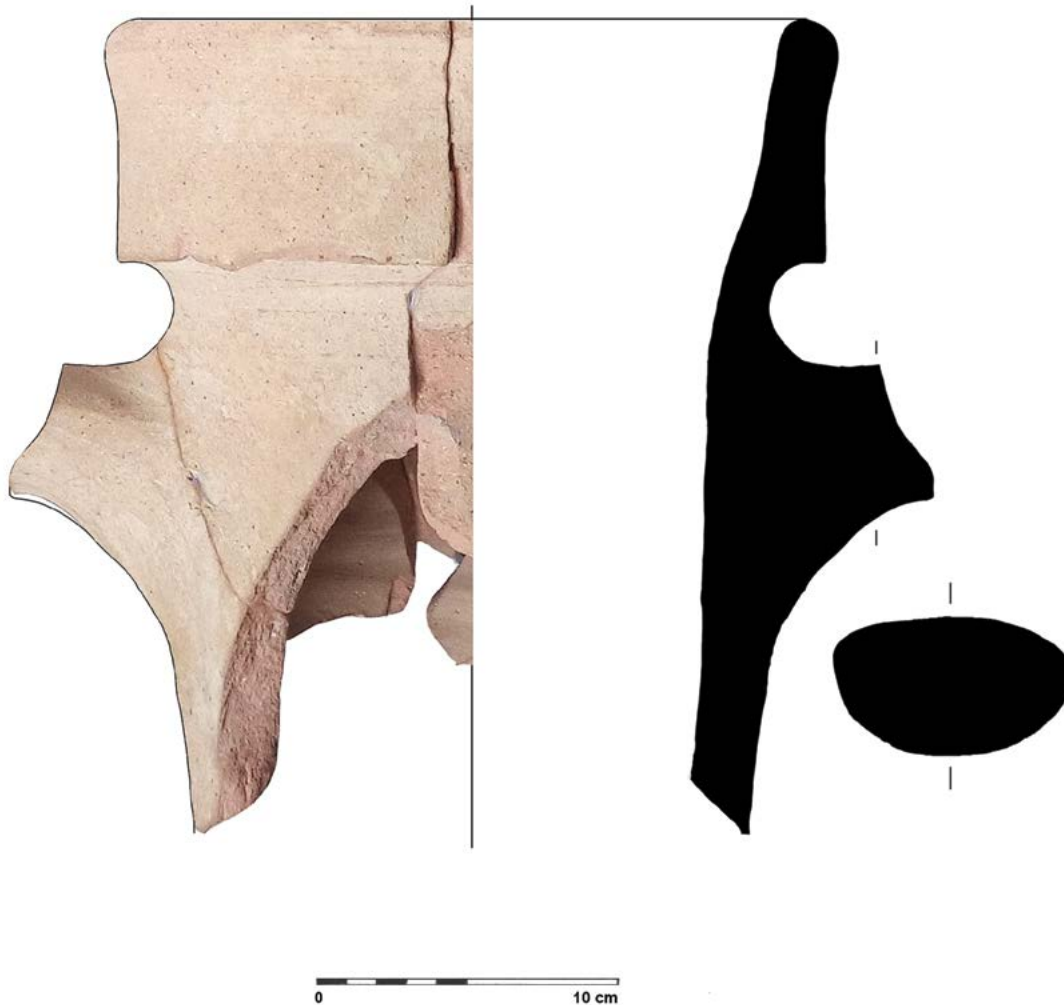
It is generally acknowledged that the production of Lamboglia 2 amphorae began on the eastern coast of southern Italy after the fall of Corinth in 146 BC. However, the innovation was not sudden, but was achieved through a gradual development of Greco-Italic

1 Zahvaljujemo dr. sc. Tamásu Bezeckom na pomoći pri tipološkom definiranju pojedinih ulomaka amfora, kao i Hrvatskom restauratorskom zavodu na infracrvenom snimanju natpisa (*tituli picti*) na pronađenim amforama.  
2 Bezeckzy 1998, 228.  
3 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 316.  
4 Bezeckzy 1998, 228; Peacock, Williams 1986, 90.

1 We would like to thank dr. Tamás Bezeckzy for his help with the typological determination of certain amphora fragments, and the Croatian Conservation Institute for the infra-red photographs of the inscriptions (*tituli picti*) on the retrieved amphorae.  
2 Bezeckzy 1998, 228.  
3 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 316.  
4 Bezeckzy 1998, 228; Peacock, Williams 1986, 90.

jem 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. ustupajući mjesto novorazvijenom tipu Dressel 6A. Proizvodni centri Lamboglia 2 amfora dokumentirani su na jadranskoj obali Italije, no s obzirom na njihovu izrazitu brojnost u priobalju istočnog Jadrana, pretpostavljena je lokalna proizvodnja i u srednjoj Dalmaciji.<sup>5</sup> Služile su za transport vina.<sup>6</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor ulomak oboda Lamboglia 2

amphorae. Their production stopped at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, giving room to the newly-developed type of Dressel 6A. Production centers of Lamboglia 2 amphorae have been documented on the Adriatic coast of Italy, but, considering large numbers of them were found on the eastern Adriatic coast, local production in central Dalmatia is also suggested.<sup>5</sup> They were used to transport



**Sl. 2.**  
Ulomak amfore tipa Dressel 1B  
(izradio: O. Novaković)

**FIG. 2.**  
The Fragment of the Dressel 1B type amphora  
(made by: O. Novaković)

tipa pronađen je u umjetnom nasipu koji je nastao u klaudivjevskom razdoblju (Sl. 1), ali je materijal u sloju izmiješan pa se sloj može datirati od Augustove do Klaudijeve vladavine.

#### **Pascual 1**

Ovaj tip amfora služio je za transport vina proizvedenog na španjolskoj obali i u južnoj Francuskoj, a razvio se iz Dressel 1B oblika. Rasprostranjene su prvenstveno po zapadnom Mediteranu, no dokumentirane su i u Augstu, Panoniji i na obalama Crnog mora.<sup>7</sup> Proizvodile su se od kasnorepublikanskog vremena do

wine.<sup>6</sup> The Sisak-Railway station position yielded a rim fragment of a Lamboglia 2 type amphora in the artificial mound that was made in the Claudian period. However, the layer yielded mixed material and can be dated to times between Augustus' and Claudius' rule.

#### **Pascual 1**

This type of amphora was used to transport wine produced on the Spanish coast and in southern France, and developed from the Dressel 1B form. These amphorae are primarily found on the Mediterranean, but some have also been recorded in Augst, Pan-

5 Starac 2006, 88.

6 Bezeczyk 1998, 228; Starac 2006, 89.

7 Peacock, Williams 1986, 94; Martin-Kilcher 1994, 335-336.

5 Starac 2006, 88.

6 Bezeczyk 1998, 228; Starac 2006, 89.

druge trećine 1. stoljeća.<sup>8</sup> Dva ulomka (1 %) oboda Pascual 1 amfore pronađena su u tiberijevskom, odnosno kladijevskom sloju na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor (Sl. 1).

#### Dressel 2-4

Duguljaste, cilindrične amfore Dressel 2-4, cilindrična vrata s karakterističnim bifidnim, koljenasto savijenim ručkama, šiljatom nožicom i tankim prstenastim obodom u Rimskom su Carstvu predstavljale najrašireniji i najdugotrajniji tip amfora za prijevoz vina. Proizvodile su se od sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. u tiruskoj Italiji, razvivši se u radionicama Kampanije iz roduških i koskih prototipova.<sup>9</sup> Nekoliko desetljeća kasnije proizvodile su se i u provincijama, osobito na zapadnom Mediteranu. Prestaju se proizvoditi u 2. stoljeću.<sup>10</sup> Nakon Dressel 6B amfora ovaj je tip najzastupljeniji i čini 14 % amfora pronađenih na lokalitetu (Sl. 1). Na jednoj od amfora ovog tipa nalazi se pečat GA-EBIDIE (Sl. 3: 1) smješten na bifidnoj ručki. Dok skraćena EBIDIE označava gentilicij vlasnika radionice, skraćena GA upućuje na ime radioničkog majstora, najvjerojatnije roba ili oslobođenika.<sup>11</sup> Pečati gens *Ebidia* i *Ebidiena* pronađeni su i na Dressel 6A i Dressel 2-4 amforama.<sup>12</sup> Te su obitelji, izgleda, imale dugu tradiciju trgovanja vinom, no njihova je roba rijetko prelazila granice Cisalpine, a izgleda da se ta trgovina oslanjala na riječne tokove. Središte proizvodnje nalazilo se u Emiliji ili pak u Venetu.<sup>13</sup> Ulomci ovog tipa amfora pronađeni na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor heterogeni su s obzirom na više vrsta faktura koje se pojavljuju. Samo daljnjom obradom ulomaka i njihovom petrografskom analizom moći ćemo definirati točno podrijetlo tih ulomaka. Oni su otkriveni u slojevima datiranima od Augustove vladavine do vremena Antonina.

#### Rodske amfore

Kasnorodske amfore zajednički je naziv za heterogenu skupinu amfora nastalih u egejskome bazenu istočnoga Mediterana, razmjerno čestih u zapadnim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva. Tijelo im je vretenasto, vrat cilindričan, otvor lagano prstenasto zadebljan, a ručke okruglog presjeka s karakterističnim rogom na gornjem dijelu. Ne nose pečate, za razliku od starijih roduških amfora koncentriranih na prostoru Grčke. Nastale su krajem 1. st. pr. Kr. na egejskom području, nasljeđujući tradiciju helenističkih roduških amfora vinarija i korištene su slijedeća dva stoljeća. Vjerojatno je postojanje većeg broja proizvodnih centara tih amfora, pri čemu se kao proizvodne zone ističu područje Rodosa i Male Azije, no moguće su i imitacije zapadnomediterranskoga, možda cisalpinskog podrijetla.<sup>14</sup> Veća koncentracija ulomaka dokumentirana je u vojnim logorima duž limesa te u Britaniji.<sup>15</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor ovo je jedan od najzastupljenijih tipova (12 %) (Sl. 1). Amfore ovog tipa pronađene su u slojevima koje možemo datirati od srednjeaugustovskog do antoninskog razdoblja.

nonia, and on the shores of the Black Sea.<sup>7</sup> They were produced from Late Republican times until the second third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> Two rim fragments (1 %) of Pascual 1 amphorae were discovered in the Tiberian, i.e. the Claudian layer at the Sisak-Railway station position.

#### Dressel 2-4

The elongated, cylindrical Dressel 2-4 amphorae with cylindrical necks and characteristic bifid, knee-like handles, a pointy foot and a thin ring-like rim were the most widespread and long-lasting type of amphorae used to transport wine in the Roman Empire. They were produced from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in Tyrrhenian Italy, and developed in Campanian workshops out of prototypes from Rhodes and Kos.<sup>9</sup> Several decades later, they were also produced in the provinces, especially in the western Mediterranean. Their production stopped in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> Following Dressel 6B type amphorae, this type is the most represented and amounts to a total of 14 % of amphorae discovered at the site. One of these amphorae has a stamp 'GA-EBIDIE' (Fig. 3: 1) placed on the bifid handle. The abbreviation EBIDIE denotes the *gentilicium* of the workshop owner, the abbreviation GA points to the name of the workshop craftsman, most probably a slave or freedman.<sup>11</sup> The stamps bearing the 'Ebidia' and 'Ebidiena' gens were also found on Dressel 6A and Dressel 2-4 amphorae.<sup>12</sup> It seems that these families had a long tradition of wine trading, but their goods rarely crossed the border of Cisalpinia, and it appears that the trade was conducted via rivers. The center of production was in Emilia or Veneto.<sup>13</sup> The fragments of this type of amphora discovered at the Sisak-Railway station position display heterogeneous fabrics. Only a further inspection of the fragments and their petrographic analysis will enable the defining of the precise origin of the retrieved fragments. The fragments were discovered in layers dated to between Augustus' rule and the Antonine dynasty.

#### Rhodes amphorae

'Late Rhodes amphorae' is a common term for a heterogeneous group of amphorae that developed in the Aegean Sea region of the eastern Mediterranean, and which are also relatively frequently found in the western parts of the Roman Empire. They have spindly bodies, a cylindrical neck, a slightly thickened ring-like rim, and handles with a round cross-section and a characteristic horn on the upper part. They do not have stamps like the earlier Rhodes amphorae concentrated on the territory of Greece. They developed at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC on Aegean territory, following the tradition of Hellenistic Rhodes amphorae for transporting wine, and were used during the next two centuries. The existence of a large number of production centers of these amphorae is probable, noting production zones on the territory of Rhodes and Asia Minor, but imitations of western Mediterranean types, possibly Cisalpine in origin, also appear.<sup>14</sup> Larg-

8 Bezeczký 1998, 232.

9 Freed 2000, 462; Peacock, Williams 1986, 105; Starac 2006, 93.

10 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 358.

11 Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

12 Kelemen 1990, 6; Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

13 Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

14 Starac 2006, 94-95.

15 Bezeczký 1998, 233.

7 Peacock, Williams 1986, 94; Martin-Kilcher 1994, 335-336.

8 Bezeczký 1998, 232.

9 Freed 2000, 462; Peacock, Williams 1986, 105; Starac 2006, 93.

10 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 358.

11 Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

12 Kelemen 1990, 6; Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

13 Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 109.

14 Starac 2006, 94-95.

## Amfore za transport maslinovog ulja

### Dressel 6B

Ovo je najzastupljeniji tip amfora na poziciji Sisak – Željeznički kolodvor, s čak 37 % zastupljenih amfora od ukupnog broja nalaza (Sl. 1). Radi se o amforama vrečasta tijela, čepastih nožica, kraćeg vrata i naglašeno zadebljana oboda, namijenjenim prvenstveno skladištenju i prijevozu maslinovog ulja.<sup>16</sup> Proizvodile su se u Istri, dok su se pretpostavljeni proizvodni centri u Transpadaniji nalazili u Padovi, Veroni i Trstu.<sup>17</sup> U radionici u Fažani kod Pule amfore ovog tipa su se proizvodile od kasnoaugustovskog razdoblja do posljednje trećine 2. ili početka 3. stoljeća.<sup>18</sup>

Zahvaljujući prozopografskim podacima poznati su nam vlasnici fažanske radionice. Od prve polovice 1. stoljeća do 78. godine radionica je bila u vlasništvu senatorske obitelji Lekanija iz koje potječe nekoliko konzula u razdoblju od 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. do 2. stoljeća. Prvi poznati vlasnik bio je *Caius Laecanius Bassus, praetor urbanus* 32. godine te *consul suffectus* 40. godine. Kako je posljednji istaknuti član obitelji Lekanija - koji je nosio isto ime kao i njegov otac, *Caius Laecanius Bassus*, inače konzul 64. godine - umro nešto prije 78. godine, i to bez nasljednika, radionica nakon njegove smrti prelazi u carsko vlasništvo, o čemu svjedoče epigrafski podaci na pečatima. Pečati iz fažanske radionice nalaze se na obodu otvora amfore unutar izdužene kartuše zaobljenih uglova i izvedeni su utiskivanjem drvene matrice u svježju još nepečenu glinu, čime se na glini dobivaju otisci slova u reljefu. Ime vlasnika (*dominus*) Gaja Lekanija Basa na pečatima se pojavljuje u skraćenom obliku u nekoliko varijanti, te ponekad čini jedinstven znak nalik monogramu ili su pak slova u ligaturi. Jedna od posebnosti fažanske radionice su pečati radioničkih majstora (*officinator*) koji se često pojavljuju uz pečat vlasnika. Do sada je poznato 38 imena koja se nalaze na amforama uz pečate Lekanija Basa.<sup>19</sup> Druga radionica u Istri nalazila se u Loronu, sjeverno od Poreča. Prvi poznati vlasnik je Statilije Tauru Sisena koji je bio konzul 16. godine.<sup>20</sup> Kasnije, u Neronovo doba, radionica prelazi u vlasništvo Kalvije Krispinile, da bi u vrijeme Flavijevaca, kao i radionica u Fažani, prešla u carsko vlasništvo.<sup>21</sup>

Potpuna dominacija cisalpinskih i istarskih Dressel 6B amfora nad hispanskim Dressel 20 amforama u Sisciji uopće ne začuđuje ako uzmemo u obzir udaljenosti proizvodnih centara, koje razumljivo utječu na cijenu, to jest na troškove i rizik transporta. Brojni ulomci ovog tipa amfora pronađeni su u slojevima datiranim od augustovskog do antoninskog razdoblja.

### Pečati

Na lokalitetu je pronađen loše očuvan pečat iz Lekanijeve radionice. Sačuvana je samo zadnja riječ na pečatu, BASS, koja označava kraticu kognomena i potvrđuje da je amfora došla iz istarske radionice Lekanija Basa (Sl. 3: 2). Inače se uz troimensku varijantu C LAE BASS pojavljuje pečat majstora po imenu *Amethystus*.<sup>22</sup> Po-

er concentrations of fragments have been documented in military camps along the *limes*, and in Britain.<sup>35</sup> On the Sisak-Railway station position, this is one of the most represented types (12 %). Amphorae of this type were discovered in layers that can be dated from the middle Augustan to the Antonine period.

## Amphoras for transporting olive oil

### Dressel 6B

This is the most frequent type of amphora on the Sisak-Railway station position, amounting to 37 % out of the total number of finds. These amphorae have pear-shaped bodies, cork-like feet, short necks, highly thickened rims, and were primarily used to store and transport olive oil.<sup>36</sup> They were produced in Istria, and the suggested production centers in Transpadana were in Padua, Verona and Trieste.<sup>37</sup> In the Fažana workshop, near Pula, they were produced from the late Augustan period until the last third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>38</sup>

Thanks to prosopographic data, the owners of the workshop in Fažana are known. Since the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century until the year 78, the workshop was owned by the senatorial Laecanii family that provided several consuls between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The first known owner was Caius Laecanius Bassus, *praetor urbanus* in the year 32, and *consul suffectus* in the year 40. Seeing as the last distinguished member of the Laecanii family - who bore the same name as his father, Caius Laecanius Bassus, otherwise a consul in year 64 - died before 78 and had no successors, the workshop became imperial property, as attested to by epigraphic data on the stamps. The stamps from the workshop in Fažana were placed on the rim of the amphorae inside elongated cartridges with rounded edges, and were made by pressing a wooden matrix into the fresh, still unfired clay, leaving relief-like imprints of the letters. The name of the owner (*dominus*) Caius Laecanius Bassus appears on the stamps in abbreviated form in several variations, and is sometimes shaped into a single sign resembling a monogram, or with the letters in ligature. Stamps of craftsmen from the workshop (*officinator*), which often appear alongside owner stamps, are one of the special features of the workshop in Fažana. So far, 38 names have been recorded that appear alongside stamps of Laecanius Bassus.<sup>39</sup> The second workshop in Istria was in Loron, north of Poreč. The first known owner is Statilius Taurus Sisena, who was consul in AD 16.<sup>40</sup> Later, in Nero's period, the workshop became the property of Calvia Crispinilla, only to become imperial property in the Flavian period, just like the workshop in Fažana.<sup>41</sup>

The complete domination of Cisalpine and Istrian Dressel 6B amphorae over the Hispanic Dressel 20 amphorae in *Siscia* is not in the least surprising if the distance of these production centers is considered, which, understandably, influenced their price, i.e.

16 Starac 2006, 91; Cipriano 1992, 44-45.

17 Starac 2006, 91-92; Starac 1997, 144-145.

18 Bulić 2009, 257-258.

19 Bulić 2009, 258.

20 Marion, Starac 2001, 99.

21 Marion, Starac 2001, 102.

22 Starac 1994-1995, 144.

15 Bezeczyk 1998, 233.

16 Starac 2006, 91; Cipriano 1992, 44-45.

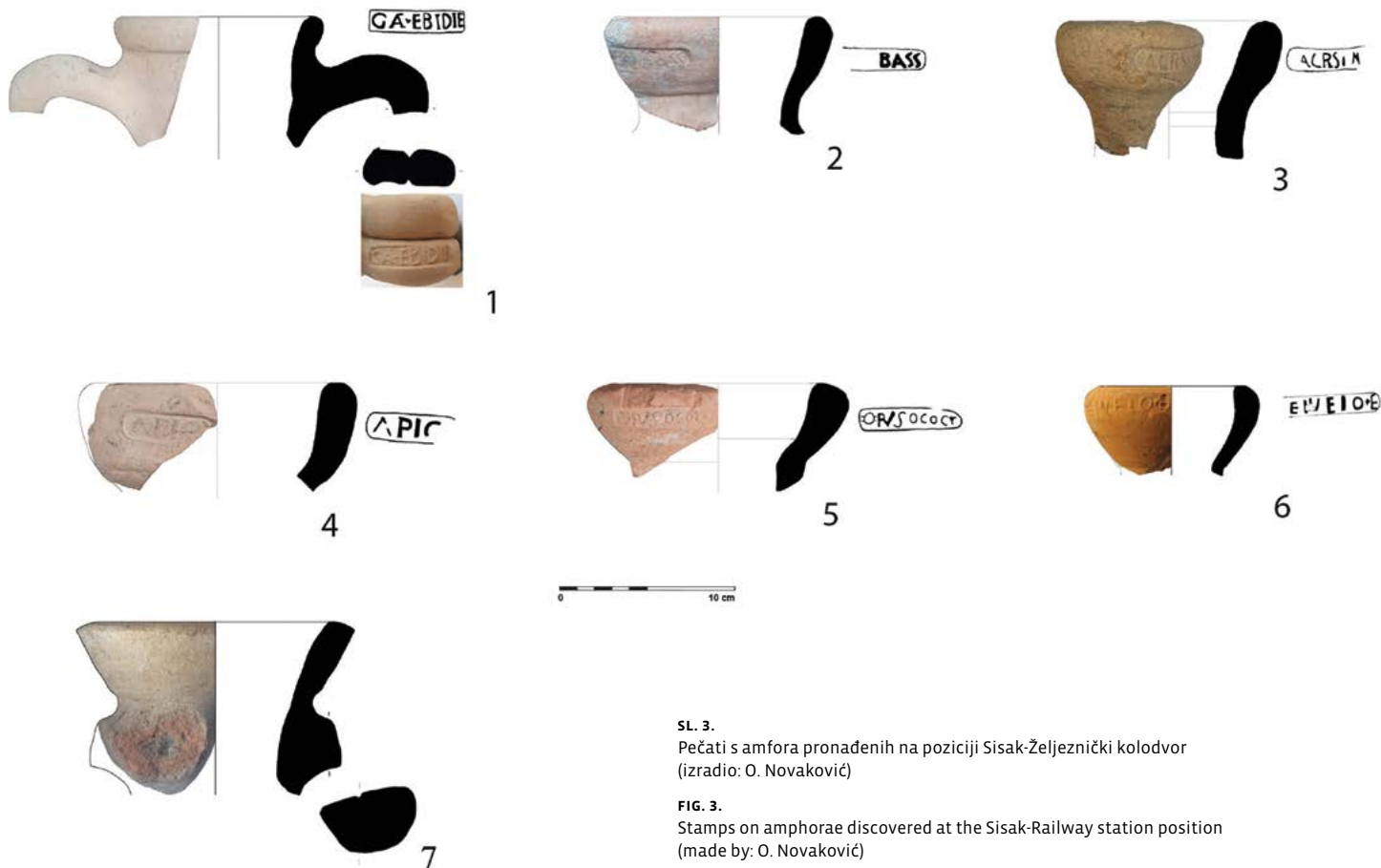
17 Starac 2006, 91-92; Starac 1997, 144-145.

18 Bulić 2009, 257-258.

19 Bulić 2009, 258.

20 Marion, Starac 2001, 99.

21 Marion, Starac 2001, 102.



Sl. 3.  
Pečati s amfora pronađenih na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor  
(izradio: O. Novaković)

FIG. 3.  
Stamps on amphorae discovered at the Sisak-Railway station position  
(made by: O. Novaković)

javljuju se već u kasnoklaudijevskom razdoblju i najčešće se nalaze u neronsko-flavijevskim slojevima,<sup>23</sup> a u ovom je slučaju ulomak pronađen u novovjekovnom artifičijalnom sloju.

Ulomak oboda s dosta loše očuvanim pečatom ACRSPN također svjedoči o trgovini s istarskom radionicom (Sl. 3: 3).<sup>24</sup> Ovaj put se radi o loronskoj radionici Kalvije Krispinile. Ulomak je pronađen u sloju koji se za sada ne može preciznije datirati, no sam pečat radionice Kalvije Krispinile možemo datirati u razdoblje od vladavine cara Nerona do početka vladavine flavijevske dinastije, kada radionica prelazi u carsko vlasništvo.<sup>25</sup>

O trgovini sa sjevernom Italijom svjedoči ulomak oboda s pečatom APIC (Sl. 3: 4). Zapravo, kako je pečat na zadnjem dijelu oštećen, nije sigurno radi li se o pečatu APIC ili APICI. Pečat APICI nađen je na osamnaest lokaliteta, koji se svi, osim Gomolave u Meziji i Magdalensberga u Noriku, nalaze u sjevernoj Italiji, s najvećom koncentracijom nalaza u Padovi, Este i Veroni.<sup>26</sup> Pečati pronađeni na Magdalensbergu i u Emoni datiraju se u kladijevsko razdoblje, dok se primjerci iz Altina datiraju u augustovsko razdoblje.<sup>27</sup> Pečat APIC puno je rjeđi od APICI, a pronađen je na deset lokaliteta.<sup>28</sup> Najviše primjeraka, čak četiri, potječe s Magdalensberga,

the cost and risk of transport. Numerous fragments of this type of amphora were found in layers dated to between the Augustan and the Flavian period.

### Stamps

The site yielded a poorly preserved stamp from Laecanius' workshop. Only the last word on the stamp is preserved, 'BASS', denoting the abbreviation of the *cognomen* and confirming that the amphora originated from the Istrian workshop of Laecanius Bassus (Fig. 3: 2). Usually, the three-name variant 'C LAE BASS' is accompanied by the stamp of a craftsman named Amethystus.<sup>22</sup> The stamps appear already in the late Claudian period, and are most often found in Nero-Flavian layers.<sup>23</sup> In this case, the stamp was found in a modern-day artificial layer.

The rim fragment with quite a poorly-preserved stamp, 'ACRSPN', also testifies to trade with an Istrian workshop (Fig. 3: 3)<sup>24</sup> - in this case, Calvia Crispinilla's workshop in Loron. The fragment was recovered from a layer that, so far, cannot be precisely dated. However, the stamp of Calvia Crispinilla's workshop itself can be dated to the period between the rule of Emperor Nero and the beginning of the rule of the Flavian dynasty, when the workshop became imperial property.<sup>25</sup>

23 Gostenčnik 2002, 168.

24 Starac 1997, T. 1: 6; Starac 1999, T. 4: 4.

25 Marion, Starac 2001, 102.

26 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, Sl. 6: 161-162.

27 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

28 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

22 Starac 1994-1995, 144.

23 Gostenčnik 2002, 168.

24 Starac 1997, Pl. 1: 6; Starac 1999, Pl. 4: 4.

25 Marion, Starac 2001, 102.

jedinog lokaliteta izvan sjeverne Italije gdje je pronađen pečat ovog tipa.<sup>29</sup> Primjerci s Magdalensberga datiraju se u augustovsko i tiberijevsko-kladijevsko razdoblje. Pečati ove radionice imaju i ovalne i pravokutne kartuše.<sup>30</sup> Gens *Apicius* bila je raširena Cisalpinom, poglavito oko središnjeg toka rijeke Pada, gdje se dovodi u vezu s tadašnjom radionicom opeka koja se najvjerojatnije nalazila na području grada Este ili grada Como.<sup>31</sup> Nalazi iz Emone i Gomolave upućuju na transport maslinovog ulja iz Cisalpine rijekom Savom do istočnih provincija.<sup>32</sup> Procvat radionica u sjevernoj Italiji najvjerojatnije odgovara vremenu između propasti brindizijske proizvodnje amfora i uspona istarskih radionica.<sup>33</sup> Ulomak oboda amfore s pečatom APIC pronađen na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor datira se u kasno augustovsko razdoblje.

Zanimljiv je nalaz pečata RVSOCOC u kladijevsko-neronskom sloju (Sl. 3: 5) s krunom koja podsjeća na pečate Statilija Sisene.<sup>34</sup>

U sloju novovjekovne devastacije pronađen je necjelovit, teško razumljiv pečat E++EIO·E (Sl. 3: 6) za koji analogije nalazimo u Sirmiju<sup>35</sup> i Viminaciju.<sup>36</sup> Posljednji ulomak s pečatom odskače donekle od ostalih ulomaka ovog tipa amfora. Makroskopskom analizom ulomka i po samim dimenzijama oboda amfore vidljiva je razlika u usporedbi s amforama ovog tipa iz Istre i sjeverne Italije. Do sada pronađeni pečati, izuzev ovog nalaza iz Siska, pronađeni su u istočnom dijelu provincije Panonije te u provinciji Meziji. Iz svega navedenog smatramo kako se vrlo vjerojatno radi o nekom drugom tipu amfore, možda lokalnoj imitaciji forme Dressel 6b.

### Dressel 23

Ovaj se tip razvio iz Dressel 20 amfora, a najviše se razlikuje znatno manjom zapreminom u odnosu na svog prethodnika (Sl. 5). Također, ima dosta kraće ovalne ručke od Dressel 20 amfora. Inače je ovaj tip, kao i njegov prethodnik, služio za transport maslinovog ulja.<sup>37</sup> Dressel 20 je do druge polovice 3. stoljeća bio najrasprostranjeniji tip amfore za transport maslinovog ulja, s najvećom koncentracijom nalaza u Rimu (Monte Testaccio), te na germanskom i britanskom limesu.<sup>38</sup> Zbog morfoloških razlika te su amfore podijeljene u četiri tipološke grupe: julijevsko - kladijevsko faza, flavijevsko - trajanovska faza, antoninska faza te faza od Severa do sredine 3. stoljeća.<sup>39</sup> Opseg trgovine Dressel 20 amforama na području Donje Germanije uvelike je porastao početkom vladavine Flavijevaca te nastavio i dalje rasti.<sup>40</sup> Kako je trgovina tim amforama bila pod strogom kontrolom tijekom njihove dugotrajne proizvodnje, s obzirom na to da je riječ o maslinovom ulju koje se prikupljalo kroz porez (*annona*), pečati i nat-

Trade with northern Italy is attested to by a rim fragment with the stamp 'APIC' (Fig. 3: 4). Truthfully, as the end part of the stamp is damaged, it is unclear whether it says 'APIC' or 'APICI'. The 'APICI' stamp was recorded on eighteen sites, all of which, apart from Gomolava in Moesia and Magdalensberg in Noricum, are in northern Italy, mostly concentrated in Padua, Este and Verona.<sup>26</sup> The stamps found at Magdalensberg and *Emona* are dated to the Claudian period, while the finds from Altino are dated to the Augustan period.<sup>27</sup> The 'APIC' stamp is significantly less common than 'APICI'.<sup>28</sup> It was found at ten sites. Most finds, four of them, were found at Magdalensberg, which is the only site where this type of stamp was found outside Italy.<sup>29</sup> The finds from Magdalensberg are dated to the Augustan and the Tiberian-Claudian period. Stamps from this workshop have oval and rectangular cartridges.<sup>30</sup> The 'Apicius' gens was widespread in Cisalpina, especially around the central flow of the Po River, where it is connected to the contemporary brick workshop, which was probably situated on the territory of the city of Este or Como.<sup>31</sup> Finds from *Emona* and Gomolava suggest that olive oil was transported from Cisalpina to the eastern provinces via the Sava River.<sup>32</sup> The bloom of workshops in northern Italy probably coincides with the time of decay of the Brindisi and the rise of Istrian workshops.<sup>33</sup> The amphora rim fragment with the 'APIC' stamp discovered at the Sisak-Railway station position is dated to the late Augustan period.

A find of the 'RVSOCOC' stamp in the Claudian-Nero layer is interesting (Fig. 3: 5), and bears a crown that resembles the stamps of Statilius Sisena.<sup>34</sup>

The layer of modern-day devastation yielded an incomplete, hardly understandable stamp, 'E++EIO·E' (Fig. 3: 6), that is analogous to finds from *Sirmium*<sup>35</sup> and *Viminacium*.<sup>36</sup> The last fragment with a stamp is somewhat different from other fragments of this type of amphora. A macroscopic analysis of the fragment and the dimensions of the amphora rim reveal differences in comparison to other amphorae of this type from Istria and northern Italy. The stamps unearthed so far, apart from this find from Sisak, were discovered in the eastern part of the province of Panonia, and in the province of Moesia. Based on what was said, the authors feel that this is probably some other type of amphora, possibly a local variant of the Dressel 6B form.

### Dressel 23

This type developed out of the Dressel 20 type amphorae, and is different from them because it has a smaller volume than its

29 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, Sl. 7.

30 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

31 Mazzocchin 2011, 186.

32 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 161.

33 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 168-169.

34 Marion i Starac 2001, Sl. 3-5.

35 Brukner 1981, T. 158: 36.

36 Bjelajac 1996, Sl. 1: 10-11.

37 Peacock, Williams 1986, 141; Bjelajac 1996, 35; Berni Millet, Boros Díaz 2012, 194.

38 Remesal Rodríguez 2004, 46-48, Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2014, 204, Sl.14; Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 641.

39 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 641.

40 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2014, 204.

26 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, fig. 6: 161-162.

27 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

28 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

29 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, fig. 7.

30 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 162.

31 Mazzocchin 2011, 186.

32 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 161.

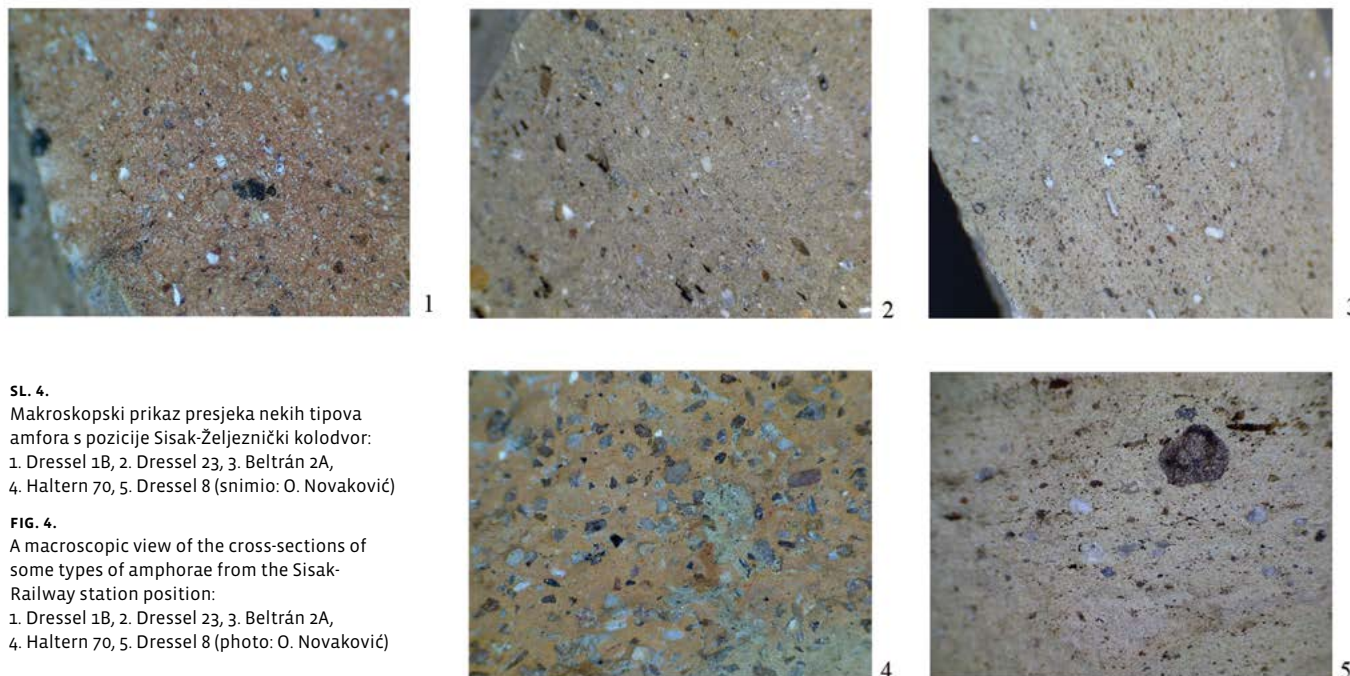
33 Cipriano, Mazzocchin 2000, 168-169.

34 Marion and Starac 2001, fig. 3-5.

35 Brukner 1981, Pl. 158: 36.

36 Bjelajac 1996, fig. 1: 10-11.



**Sl. 4.**

Makroskopski prikaz presjeka nekih tipova amfora s pozicije Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor:

1. Dressel 1B, 2. Dressel 23, 3. Beltrán 2A, 4. Haltern 70, 5. Dressel 8 (snimio: O. Novaković)

**FIG. 4.**

A macroscopic view of the cross-sections of some types of amphorae from the Sisak-Railway station position:

1. Dressel 1B, 2. Dressel 23, 3. Beltrán 2A, 4. Haltern 70, 5. Dressel 8 (photo: O. Novaković)

pisani na tim amforama bili su jedinstveni, propisno smješteni na raznim dijelovima amfore, a sami natpisi, pisani u kurzivu, bili su fiskalnog karaktera koji je progresivno evoluirao prilagođavajući se carskim administrativnim promjenama.<sup>41</sup> Proizvodile su se na istom području kao i Dressel 20, u radionicama uz obalu rijeke Guadalquivir i uz obale njenih pritoka između Seville i Córdoba.<sup>42</sup> Dressel 23 forma razvila se oko sredine 3. i bila je u upotrebi sve do druge polovice 5. stoljeća, a možda i početkom 6. stoljeća.<sup>43</sup> Zbog morfoloških razlika, kao i njihov tipološki prethodnik, te su amfore podijeljene u četiri tipološke grupe.<sup>44</sup>

Jedan ulomak (0,5 %) (Sl. 1) gornjeg dijela amfore tipa Dressel 23 sa sačuvanom jednom ručkom nađen je u novovjekovnom sloju (Sl. 6). Svježi lom otkriva centralnu jezgru stijenke tamnije boje koja se nalazi između svjetlijih crvenkastih zona. Tekstura ima primjese kvarca i feldspara (Sl. 4: 2). U iskopavanju na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor nije pronađen niti jedan potvrđeni ulomak Dressel 20 tipa, što ne znači nužno da u Sisciji nije postojao uvoz maslinovog ulja u tom tipu amfora, no već je ustanovljeno da su u toj grani trgovine sve do polovice 2. stoljeća potpunu dominaciju zbog geografske blizine i manjih troškova transporta imale radionice X. italske regije. Pronađeni ulomak Dressel 23 tipa možda upućuje na okretanje siscijskog tržišta prema hispanskoj proizvodnji maslinovog ulja u kasnoantičkom razdoblju.

predecessor (Fig. 5). In addition, this type has significantly shorter handles than Dressel 20 amphorae. This type was usually, as was its predecessor, used to transport olive oil.<sup>37</sup> Until the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Dressel 20 was the most widespread type of amphora used to transport olive oil, with most finds discovered in Rome (Monte Testaccio), and on the Germanic and British *limes*.<sup>38</sup> Due to differences in morphology, the amphorae were divided into four typological groups: the Julio-Claudian phase, the Flavian-Trajan phase, the Antonine phase, and the phase between the Severan dynasty and the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> The scope of trading Dressel 20 type amphorae on the territory of Germania Inferior greatly increased at the beginning of Flavian rule, and subsequently continued to grow.<sup>40</sup> As the trade of these amphorae was under strict control during their long-term production, because they stored olive oil collected through taxes (*annona*), the stamps and inscriptions on them were unique, properly placed on different parts of the amphora, and the inscriptions, written in italics, were of fiscal character that progressively evolved as it adapted to imperial administrative changes.<sup>41</sup> The amphorae were produced on the same territory as the Dressel 20 type, in workshops along the Guadalquivir River and the coasts of its tributaries between Seville and Córdoba.<sup>42</sup> The Dressel 23 form developed around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and stayed in use until the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup>, possibly even the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> Due to differences in

41 Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 175.

42 Mauné *et al.* 2014, fig. 1; Remesal Rodríguez 2004, 47; Remesal Rodríguez 2004b, 130.

43 Bjelajac 1996, 35; Berni Millet, Boros Díaz 2012, 193-194.

44 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet, 2003, 642.

37 Peacock, Williams 1986, 141; Bjelajac 1996, 35; Berni Millet, Boros Díaz 2012, 194.

38 Remesal Rodríguez 2004, 46-48, Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2014, 204, fig. 14; Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 641.

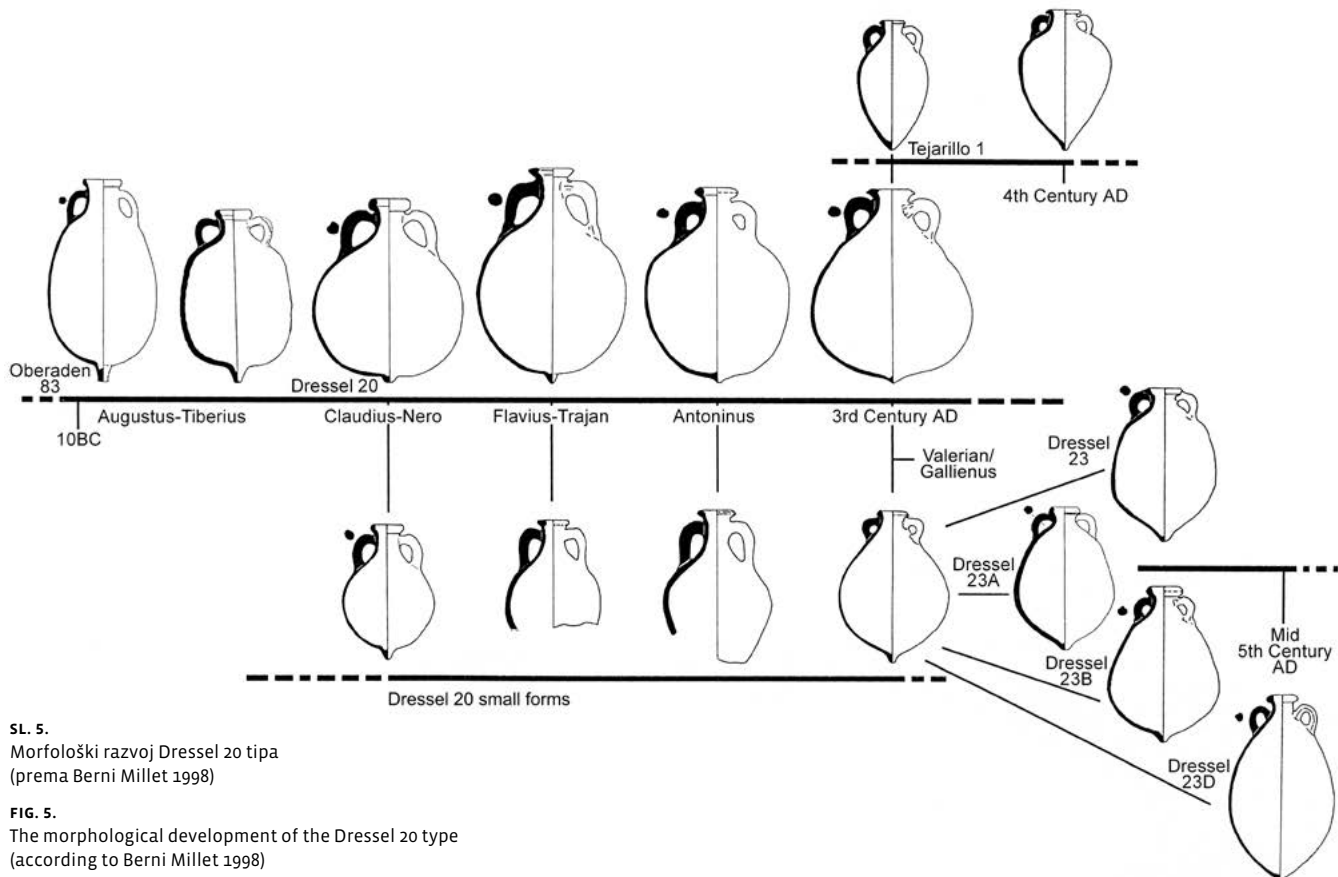
39 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 641.

40 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2014, 204.

41 Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 175.

42 Mauné *et al.* 2014, fig. 1; Remesal Rodríguez 2004, 47; Remesal Rodríguez 2004b, 130;

43 Bjelajac 1996, 35; Berni Millet, Boros Díaz 2012, 193-194.



## Amfore za transport ribljih prerađevina

### Dressel 7–11

Hispanске amfore masivnih stijenki, zvonolikog proširenog otvora, širokog vrata, dugačkih ručki i kruškolikog tijela koje završava dugom šupljom nogom, bile su namijenjene transportu ribljeg umaka (*garum*) kao i ostalih ribljih prerađevina.<sup>45</sup> Proizvodni centri nalazili su se na obalama mediteranskog i atlantskog dijela Hispanije oko Gibraltara, u provinciji *Tarraconensis* i u radionicama Galije.<sup>46</sup> Dressel 7–11 naziv je za amfore koje se zbog svojih morfoloških, fakturnih, provenijencijskih, datacijskih i funkcionalnih razloga najčešće svrstavaju u istu grupu.<sup>47</sup> Njihova proizvodnja traje od augustovskog doba, odnosno od kasnog 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. sve do kraja 1. stoljeća, s vrhuncem ekspanzije tijekom julijsko-klaudijevske dinastije.<sup>48</sup> Distribuirane su diljem zapadnih rimskih provincija, a u manjem opsegu i u sjevernu Afriku.<sup>49</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor jedan ulomak oboda Dressel 7 pronađen je u srednje/kasnoaugustovskom sloju, dok su četiri ulomka oboda Dressel 8 pronađena u kasno augustovskim i tiberijskim slojevima. Ukupan postotak pronađenih amfora ovog tipa iznosi 4 % (Sl. 1).

### Beltrán 2A

Ovaj tip hispanске amfore karakteriziraju masivne stijenke, naglašeno izvučeni obod koji se gotovo okomito spaja sa širokim cilindričnim vratom, dugačke plosnate ručke, kruškoliko tijelo i dugačka šuplja noga. Proizvodni centri nalazili su se u španjolskim provincijama Huelva, Cádiz, Málaga i Granada. Proizvodnja ovog tipa trajala je od zadnjih godina augustovskog razdoblja do sredine 2. stoljeća. Distribuirane su po zapadnim rimskim provincijama, germanskom limesu, sjevernoj Africi i istočnom Mediteranu. Sudeći po mnogobrojnim natpisima, služile su za transport široke lepeze ribljih prerađevina. Za razliku od ovog tipa, tip Dressel 8 bio je namijenjen samo *garumu*.<sup>50</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor nađena su četiri ulomka ovog tipa (2 %) u flavijevskim i antoninskim slojevima (Sl. 1). Pronađen je i jedan manji ulomak koji najvjerojatnije pripada ovom tipu amfore, no to se bez detaljne petrološke analize ne može sa sigurnošću dokazati. Na tom manjem fragmentu jasno su vidljivi tragovi natpisa, no njihova interpretacija ostaje dvojbeno (Sl. 7). Paleografski gledano, natpis bi se okvirno mogao datirati u 1. stoljeće, ali bilo kakvom pokušaju uže datacije potrebno je pristupiti s oprezom.

U prvom se redu sa sigurnošću daju iščitati prva četiri slova, odnosno L P Q V, dok bi peto slovo moglo biti M, a zadnje vidljivo slovo može se interpretirati kao R ili pak A. Skloni smo prva slova interpretirati kao skraćeno osobno ime: praenomen bi trebao biti L(ucius), gentilicij je nemoguće sa sigurnošću odrediti samo pomoću prvog slova P, dok nam za kognomen kao mogućnost ostaju brojna imena koja počinju slovima QV, među kojima se

morphology, it was, as was its typological predecessor, divided into four typological groups.<sup>44</sup>

One fragment (0.5 %) of the upper part of a Dressel 23 type amphora with a preserved handle was found in the modern-day layer (Fig. 6). Fresh breakage reveals the central core of the wall that is darker in color and is placed between lighter reddish zones. The fabric has quartz and feldspar inclusions (Fig. 4: 2). The excavations at the Sisak-Railway station position did not yield any confirmed fragments of the Dressel 20 type, which does not necessarily mean that *Siscia* did not import olive oil in that type of amphora, but it has already been established that that branch of trade was, until the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, completely dominated by workshops from the X Italian region because of their proximity and lesser transport cost. The discovered fragment of the Dressel 23 type suggests that the market of *Siscia* turned to Hispanic production of olive oil in Late Antiquity.

## Amphoras for transporting fish products

### Dressel 7–11

Hispanic amphorae with massive walls, bell-like widened rims, wide necks, long handles, and pear-shaped bodies that end with a long hollow foot were used to transport wish sauce (*garum*), as well as other fish products.<sup>45</sup> The production centers were on the coasts of the Mediterranean and Atlantic parts of Hispania around Gibraltar, in the *Tarraconensis* province, and in workshops in Gaul.<sup>46</sup> Dressel 7-11 is the term used for amphorae that are, due to their morphology, fabric, origin, chronology and function, most commonly placed in the same group.<sup>47</sup> Their production lasted from Augustan times, i.e. since the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and peaked during the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>48</sup> They were distributed all over the western Roman provinces, and, to a smaller extent, also to northern Africa.<sup>49</sup> The Sisak-Railway station position yielded one rim fragment of the Dressel 7 type in the middle/late Augustan layer, as well as four Dressel 8 rim fragments in the late Augustan and Tiberian layers. The total percentage of these amphora types is 4 %.

### Beltrán 2A

This type of Hispanic amphora is characterized by massive walls, highly slanted rims that almost perpendicularly connect to wide cylindrical necks, long flat handles, pear-shaped bodies, and long hollow feet. The production centers were in the Spanish provinces of Huelva, Cádiz, Málaga and Granada. The production of this type lasted from the final years of the Augustan period until the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The amphorae were distributed in the western Roman provinces, along the Germanic *limes*, in northern Africa, and in the eastern Mediterranean. Based on numerous inscriptions, they were used to transport a wide array of fish products. Unlike this type, the Dressel 8 type was only intended for *garum*.<sup>50</sup> The Sisak-Railway station position yielded four frag-

45 Kelemen 1990, 150.

46 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 388-420; Starac 2006, 99.

47 Borzić 2011, 70.

48 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 388-420; Starac 2006, 99.

49 Ožanić 2005, 137.

50 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>

44 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 642.

45 Kelemen 1990, 150.

46 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 388-420; Starac 2006, 99.

47 Borzić 2011, 70.

48 Beltrán Lloris 1970, 388-420; Starac 2006, 99.

49 Ožanić 2005, 137.

50 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>



Sl. 7.  
Ulomak amfore tipa Beltrán 2A s natpisom  
(snimio: I. Krajcar, crtež: M. Galić, obrada: I. Drnić)

FIG. 7.  
The fragment of a Beltrán 2A type amphora with an inscription  
(photo: I. Krajcar, drawing: M. Galić, design: I. Drnić)

kao posebno učestala ističu *Quadratus*, *Quartio*, *Quartus*, *Quietus*, *Quintianus* te *Quintus*. Značenje zadnja dva slova nije jasno, pa ih teško možemo interpretirati s većom sigurnošću (kratica ili kratice, početak neke riječi ili pak osobnog imena?).

Drugi redak također je većim dijelom jasno čitljiv, a čini se i da nije prekinut lomom amfore (kao što bi to mogao biti slučaj s gornjim retkom). Jasno se vidi R I M, dok je zadnje slovo ili brojka vjerojatno V. Slovo R, ukoliko pretpostavimo da ga prati brojka, mogla bi biti kratice za riječ *ratio*.<sup>51</sup> To nije neuvjerljivo tumačenje kada slovo R prate samo brojke, no u ovom slučaju u nastavku je još i slovo M, popraćeno napola izbrisanim slovom ili brojkom (V?). Možda je i tu riječ o kratici M, odnosno nekoj mjernoj jedinici, popraćenoj nekom brojkom od 5 do 8?<sup>52</sup> Treba napomenuti da se prije slova R vide još neki tragovi, te se možda nazire i slovo P. Kako je zadnje vidljivo slovo vjerojatno slovo V, može li biti riječ o pridjevu *primu(m)*? *Liquamen primum* je poznat izraz (vidi CIL IV 2593; 2595), no bilo bi za očekivati da se spomene prije imena trgovca.

## Amfore za transport voća

### *Camulodunum 189*

Ovo je tip amfore malih dimenzija, ravnog ili izvijenog oboda, širokog otvora bez vrata i s dvije drške ovalnog presjeka koje su smještene na ramenu. Tijelo je izduženo, horizontalno narebrne površine, te se naziva i "amforom u obliku mrkve" (*carrot amphora*).<sup>53</sup> Zapremnina amfore ovog tipa iznosi samo 2-3

ments of this type (2%) in the Flavian and Antonine layers. An additional smaller fragment was also found that can probably be ascribed to this type, but, without further petrological analyses, this assumption cannot be ascertained. This smaller fragment bears clear traces of an inscription, but its interpretation remains unclear (Fig. 7). From the perspective of paleography, the inscription can be generally dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but any further attempt at a more precise dating should be made with care.

The first four letters in the first row are clearly discernible, 'L P Q V', while the fifth letter could probably be 'M', and the last letter can be interpreted as either an 'R' or an 'A'. The authors are inclined to interpret the first letters as an abbreviated first name: the *praenomen* should be *L(ucius)*, the *gentilicium* is impossible to definitively determine only based on the first letter 'P', and the *cognomen* indicates many possible names that start with the letters 'QV', including the exceptionally frequent ones such as *Quadratus*, *Quartio*, *Quartus*, *Quietus*, *Quintianus* and *Quintus*. The meaning of the last two letters is unclear, so they are difficult to interpret with certainty (an abbreviation or abbreviations, the beginning of a word or a personal name?).

The second row is also largely clearly legible, and it seems that it was not interrupted when the amphora broke (as is the case with the row above). The 'R' and 'M' are clearly visible, while the last letter or number is probably 'V'. The letter 'R', if assumed that it is followed by a number, could possibly be an abbreviation of

51 OLD, 1575-1576, s.v. *ratio*.

52 cf. TLL, Vol. VIII, 758-770, s.v. *mensura*; OLD, 1100, s.v. *mensura*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1252-1321, s.v. *modus*; OLD, 1124-1125, s.v. *modus*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1240-1243, s.v. *modius*; OLD, 1123, s.v. *modius*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1249-1252, s.v. *modulus*; OLD, 1124, s.v. *modulus*.

53 Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezeczky 1998, 238.

litre.<sup>54</sup> Proizvodile su se od početka 1. do kraja 2. stoljeća. Podrijetlo im nije poznato, ali kvarc u fakturi upućuje na proizvodnju u pustinjском okolišu, najvjerojatnije Egiptu.<sup>55</sup> Rasprostranjene su diljem zapadnog Carstva, često na vojničkim lokalitetima Britanije i Germanije, te u južnoj Francuskoj i Italiji.<sup>56</sup> Amfore ovog tipa služile su za transport sušenog voća (datulje, smokve, masline).<sup>57</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor u tiberijevskom sloju pronađeni su ulomci tri amfore ovoga tipa (1 %) (Sl. 1).

### Schörgendorfer 558

Ovaj tip amfora ima prstenasto profiliran obod, dugačak cilindrični vrat i široko zaobljeno rame koje se oštro lomi prema trbuhu, te trakaste ručke sa žlijebom po sredini. Trbuh je koničan i naglašen i sužava se prema cilindričnom donjem dijelu tijela koje završava ravnim dnom. Služile su za transport crnih ili zelenih maslina. Pojavljuju se u Galiji Cisalpini, središnjoj Italiji, Noriku, Panoniji i Gornjoj Meziji.<sup>58</sup> Smatralo se da su se izrađivale u Istri, ali petrografske su analize pokazale razliku u primjesama u proizvodnji i kvaliteti izrade između amfora tipa Schörgendorfer 558 i Dressel 6B, što dokazuje da Schörgendorfer 558 nije proizvod istarskih radionica.<sup>59</sup> Proizvodile su se tijekom 1. i 2. stoljeća,<sup>60</sup> dok panonski nalazi uglavnom pripadaju kontekstu 2. stoljeća.<sup>61</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor pronađeni su ulomci dviju amfora ovog tipa (1 %) (Sl. 1) u tiberijevskom sloju te jedna amfora u sloju koji se može datirati u razdoblje vladavine Klaudija ili Nerona.

## Amfore nepoznatog ili višenamjenskog sadržaja

### Haltern 70

Ovaj tip amfore ima izvučeni obod koji se prema vrhu lagano širi i podsjeća na lijevak. Vrat amfore je disproporcionalno kratak i uzak u odnosu na veličinu amfore. Tijelo je cilindričnog oblika, a dno čini puni konični šiljak koji se sužava prema vrhu. Pečati na amforama ovog tipa su rijetkost. Proizvodile su se od 80./60. pr. Kr. do vladavine Antonina.<sup>62</sup> Kod ovog tipa je prisutna velika morfološka raznolikost.<sup>63</sup> Proizvodni centri nalazili su se u tri različite betičke regije: gornja i srednja dolina rijeke Guadalquivir, Marismas (obala), te Huelva i obalna regija. Haltern 70 amfore rasprostranjene su po zapadnom Mediteranu i sjevernom Atlantiku, od Portugala i Španjolske do Britanije, Njemačke, Francuske, Italije i sjeverne Afrike. Neke od amfora ovog tipa, izvađene iz brodoloma Port Vendres datiranog u klaudivijsko razdoblje, imaju natpise koji spominju *defrutum*. Treba napomenuti da postoje i natpisi koji kao sadržaj spominju masline u *defrutumu* te muriju. Fitolitičke analize nekih primjeraka pak upućuju na vino kao sadržaj.<sup>64</sup> *Defrutum* je bila slat-

the word *ratio*.<sup>51</sup> This is not an unconvincing interpretation when the letter 'R' is only followed by numbers, but, in this case, the letter 'M' appears before a partially-preserved letter or number ('V?'). This is possibly the abbreviation 'M', i.e. some measuring unit followed by a number between 5 and 8.<sup>52</sup> It has to be pointed out that some traces may be distinguished before the R, and one might perhaps discern a letter P. Since the last visible letter is likely a V, could this be an adjective, i.e. *primu(m)*? *Liquamen primum* is known to have existed (see CIL IV 2593; 2595) but one would expect to see it mentioned before the name of the negotiator.

## Amphoras for transporting fruit

### Camulodunum 189

This type of amphorae is small in size, has a straight or inverted rim, a wide opening with no neck, and two handles on the shoulder that have an oval cross-section. The body is elongated and has a horizontally ribbed surface, giving it the name of 'carrot amphora'.<sup>53</sup> The volume of these amphorae is only 2-3 liters.<sup>54</sup> They were produced from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Their origin is unknown, but the quartz in their fabric suggests that they were produced in a desert-like environment, most probably in Egypt.<sup>55</sup> These amphorae are distributed all over the western Empire, and are often found on sites of military character in Britannia and Germania, as well as in southern France and Italy.<sup>56</sup> Amphorae of this type were used to transport dried fruit (dates, figs, olives).<sup>57</sup> The Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor (Railway station) position yielded fragments of three amphorae of this type in the Tiberian layer (1 %).

This type of amphora has a ring-like profiled rim, a long cylindrical neck and wide curved shoulder that abruptly bends towards the body, and ribbon-like handles with a gauge down the center. The belly is conical and accentuated, and narrows towards the cylindrical lower part of the body that ends with a straight bottom. These amphorae were used to transport black or green olives. They are found in Gaul, Cisalpina, central Italy, Noricum, Pannonia and Upper Moesia.<sup>58</sup> It used to be thought that they were produced in Istria, but petrographic analyses have shown a difference in the inclusions used in their production, as well as in the quality of the Schörgendorfer 558 and the Dressel 6B types, proving that the Schörgendorfer 558 type was not produced in Istrian workshops.<sup>59</sup> These amphorae were produced during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries,<sup>60</sup> and are usually found in 2<sup>nd</sup> century contexts in Pannonia.<sup>61</sup>

54 Ožanić 2005, 139.

55 Peacock, Williams 1986, 109-110; Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezczyk 1998, 238.

56 Peacock, Williams 1986, 109; Ožanić 2005, 139.

57 Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezczyk 1998, 238.

58 Ožanić 2005, 138; Bjelajac 1996, 19-20.

59 Ožanić 2005, 138; Bezczyk 1998, 236.

60 Bezczyk 1998, 236.

61 Kelemen 1988, 142.

62 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>

63 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 640.

64 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>

51 OLD, 1575-1576, s.v. *ratio*.

52 cf. TLL, Vol. VIII, 758-770, s.v. *mensura*; OLD, 1100, s.v. *mensura*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1252-1321, s.v. *modus*; OLD, 1124-1125, s.v. *modus*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1240-1243, s.v. *modius*; OLD, 1123, s.v. *modius*; TLL, Vol. VIII, 1249-1252, s.v. *modulus*; OLD, 1124, s.v. *modulus*.

53 Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezczyk 1998, 238.

54 Ožanić 2005, 139.

55 Peacock, Williams 1986, 109-110; Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezczyk 1998, 238.

56 Peacock, Williams 1986, 109; Ožanić 2005, 139.

57 Ožanić 2005, 139; Bezczyk 1998, 238.

58 Ožanić 2005, 138; Bjelajac 1996, 19-20.

59 Ožanić 2005, 138; Bezczyk 1998, 236.

60 Bezczyk 1998, 236.

61 Kelemen 1988, 142.

ka tekućina dobivena prokuhavanjem mošta.<sup>65</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor pronađena su dva ulomka ovog tipa (1 %) (Sl. 1). Jedan ulomak otkriven je u tiberijevskom sloju (Sl. 3: 7), a karakterizira ga hrapava, gruba tekstura, koja ima visoku koncentraciju većih zrna kvarca (Sl. 4: 4).

#### **Forlimpopoli**

Amfora tipa Forlimpopoli ima profilirani obod i trakaste ručke užlijebljene po sredini koje prate liniju vrata i spajaju se s gornjim dijelom trbuha. Tijelo trbuha je šire u gornjem dijelu i sužava se prema prstenastom konveksnom dnu. Ime su dobile po mjestu nalaza jer su ostaci ovih amfora prvo bili nađeni u radionici Forlimpopoli.<sup>66</sup> Proizvodnja je počela u radionicama regije Emilia Romagna (Forlimpopoli, Rimini), ali je zabilježena i drugdje (Etrurija, Umbrija, Picenum i Veneto). Nalažene su u sjevernoj Italiji, Emoni, u naseljima i nekropolama Panonije, kao i u Gornjoj Meziji i Dakiji, te na Kreti. Nalaza ima i u brodolomima istočnog Jadrana.<sup>67</sup> Najraniji primjerci pojavljuju se u 1. stoljeću, a masovnija proizvodnja počinje početkom 2. i traje sve do kraja tog stoljeća. Ovaj tip amfore imitirao se i u lokalnim radionicama. Kopije su sličnog oblika, no manjih dimenzija. Lokalna proizvodnja počinje usporedno s importom već u 2. stoljeću, a traje i kroz cijelo 3., sve do početka 4. stoljeća. U literaturi se katkad uvrštavaju u vrčeve s dvije ručke većih dimenzija.<sup>68</sup> Pretpostavlja se da su služile za transport vina, ali i garuma.<sup>69</sup> Na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor pronađen je jedan ulomak ove amfore (obod s vratom) (0,5 %) (Sl. 1) u novovjekovnom sloju.

#### **Portorecanati**

Poznate još i kao amfore s ljevkastim otvorom (*anfere con colo ad imbuto*), ovaj tip amfora karakterizira specifični vrat koji je visoko izvijen i produžen u otvor bez ruba, u obliku lijevka i s razmjerno kratkim ručkama koje su često savijene u obliku polukruga. Tijelo ima oblik izdužena jajeta, a nožica je posve nenačlašena i simbolična. Nedostatak bilo kakvoga oboda pri rubu često je vizualno nadomješten primitivnom urezanim dekoracijom ispod otvora, u obliku jednostruke valovnice. Smatralo se da su nastale transformacijom kasnog tipa Dressel 6B, ali taj tip ima uočljivo kraći vrat s otvorom. Lokaliteti na kojima su nađene veće količine ovih amfora su Padova, Oderzo, Altino, Alba Pompeia, Akvileja i Milano. Čini se da su najviše bile distribuirane u istim područjima kao i Dressel 6B.<sup>71</sup> Najstariji primjerci nađeni su u Milanu i datiraju se u početak 1. stoljeća, a njihova proizvodnja je trajala do prve polovice 3. stoljeća.<sup>72</sup>

Iz Panonije je dosta nalaza koji datiraju od sredine 1. do u 2. stoljeće.<sup>73</sup> Amfore ovog tipa imaju više faktura zbog čega možemo

The Sisak-Railway station position yielded fragments of two amphorae ascribed to this type (1 %) in the Tiberian layer, and one amphora in the layer that can be dated to the period of Claudius' or Nero's rule.

#### **Amphoras with unknown or multiple possible contents**

##### **Haltern 70**

This type of amphora has an inverted rim that slightly widens towards the tip and is similar to a funnel. The neck of the amphora is disproportionately short and narrow in relation to its body. The body is cylindrical, and the bottom is a full conical point that narrows towards the tip. Stamps rarely appear on this type. The amphorae were produced from 80/60 BC until the end of Antonine rule.<sup>62</sup> The type displays great diversity in morphology.<sup>63</sup> The production centers were situated in three different regions in Baetica: the upper and central valley of the Guadalquivir River, Marismas (the coast), Huelva and the coastal regions. Haltern 70 type amphorae are found all over the western Mediterranean and the northern Atlantic, from Portugal and Spain to Britain, Germany, France, Italy and northern Africa. Some of the amphorae of this type recovered from the Port Vendres shipwreck, dated to the Claudian period, have inscriptions that mention *defrutum*. It should be noted that some inscriptions mention olives in *defrutum* and *muria*. The phytolith analyses of some finds suggest that the amphorae contained wine.<sup>64</sup> *Defrutum* was a sweet liquid obtained by boiling must.<sup>65</sup> The Sisak-Railway station position yielded two fragments of this type (1 %). One fragment was recovered from the Tiberian layer (Fig. 3: 7), and is characterized by a rough, coarse fabric with a large concentration of bigger grains of quartz (Fig. 4: 4).

##### **Forlimpopoli**

The Forlimpopoli amphora type has a profiled rim, ribbon-like handles with a gouge down the centre that follow the line of the neck and connect with the upper part of the body. The body is wider in the upper part and narrows towards the ring-like convex bottom. The type got its name from the place of discovery, because the remains of these amphorae were first recovered from the Forlimpopoli workshop.<sup>66</sup> Their production started in the workshops of the Emilia Romagna region (Forlimpopoli, Rimini), but was also recorded elsewhere (Etruria, Umbria, Picenum and Veneto). These amphorae were found in northern Italy, *Emona*, in settlements and necropolises in Pannonia, as well as in Upper Moesia, Dacia, and Crete. Some were recovered from shipwrecks

65 Bezeczy 1998, 236.

66 Bjelajac 1996, 22-23; Ožanić 2005, 140.

67 Ožanić 2005, 140.

68 Bjelajac 1996, 22-23; Ožanić 2005, 140.

69 [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=130&CFID=1630860&CFTOKEN=1FC99086-C140-459C-BAEEBAA27E4A2945](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=130&CFID=1630860&CFTOKEN=1FC99086-C140-459C-BAEEBAA27E4A2945)

70 Starac 2006, 96.

71 Mazzocchin 2009, 192.

72 Mazzocchin 2009, 196.

73 Kelemen 1988, 132.

62 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>

63 Carreras Monfort, Berni Millet 2003, 640.

64 <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>

65 Bezeczy 1998, 236.

66 Bjelajac 1996, 22-23; Ožanić 2005, 140.



**Sl. 8.**  
1. Ostaci drvene konstrukcije ostave,  
2. In situ ostaci dviju amfora u ostavi  
(snimio: T. Jerončić)

**FIG. 8.**  
1. The remains of the wooden construction around the hoard,  
2. The in situ remains of two amphorae from the hoard  
(photo: T. Jerončić)

pretpostaviti postojanje više proizvodnih centara, vjerojatno na području sjeverne Italije.<sup>74</sup> Ulomak oboda (0,5 %) (Sl. 1) pronađenog na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor datira se u kladijevsko razdoblje.

### Amfora tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom

Tijekom istraživanja na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor istraženo je dvanaest probnih sondi, raspoređenih na cijeloj površini lokaliteta, kako bi se utvrdili stratigrafski odnosi i ustanovila dubina sterilnog pedološkog sloja – zdravice. Probna sonda 5

in the eastern Adriatic.<sup>67</sup> The earliest finds appeared in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but mass production began at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and lasted until the end of that century. This amphora type was also imitated in local workshops. The copies are of similar shape, but smaller. The local production started, as did import, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and lasted throughout the entire 3<sup>rd</sup> and into the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The type is sometimes characterized as a pot with two larger handles in publications.<sup>68</sup> It is assumed that these amphorae were used to transport wine, but also *garum*.<sup>69</sup> The site of Sisak-Railway station yielded one fragment of this type (the rim and the neck) (0.5 %) in modern-day layer.

### Portorecanati

Also known as amphorae with a funnel-like opening (*anfore con colo ad imbuto*), this type is characterized by its specific neck that it highly inverted and elongated into a rimless opening in the shape of a funnel, and with relatively short handles that are often bent to form semicircles. The body is shaped like an elongated egg, and the foot is completely non-accentuated and symbolic. The lack of any kind of rim near the opening is often visually replaced by a primitively incised decoration in the shape of a single wavy line below the opening. It used to be thought that they developed through the transformation of the late Dressel 6B type, but those amphorae have notably shorter necks and a rim.<sup>70</sup> The sites that yielded large amounts of these amphorae include Padua, Oderzo, Altino, Alba Pompeia, Aquileia and Milan. It seems that they were most frequently distributed in the same areas as the Dressel 6B type.<sup>71</sup> The oldest examples were found in Milan, and are dated to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but their production lasted until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>72</sup>

Pannonia yielded a lot of finds dated to between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> Amphorae of this type display several fabrics, suggesting the existence of several production centers, probably on the territory of northern Italy.<sup>74</sup> A fragment of the opening (0.5 %) found at the Sisak-Railway station position is dated to the Claudian period.

### The Dressel 8 type amphora with an inscription

The excavations of the Sisak-Railway station position included twelve test trenches that were distributed over the entire area of the site in order to establish stratigraphic relations and the depth of the sterile pedological layer. Test trench 5 was made on the eastern part of the site, quadrants A 47 and A 48. The trench measured about 4.85 m (length) x 1.30-1.55 m (width) x 2.05 m (depth), and its surface area was 6.55 m<sup>2</sup>. Near the bottom, under the Tiberian layer (SU 576), the square architecture of a hoard was discovered, made out of wooden planks that were addition-

74 Kelemen 1988, 132- 133.

67 Ožanić 2005, 140.

68 Bjelajac 1996, 22-23; Ožanić 2005, 140.

69 [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=130&CFID=1630860&CFTOKEN=1FC99086-C140-459C-BAEEBAA27E4A2945](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=130&CFID=1630860&CFTOKEN=1FC99086-C140-459C-BAEEBAA27E4A2945)

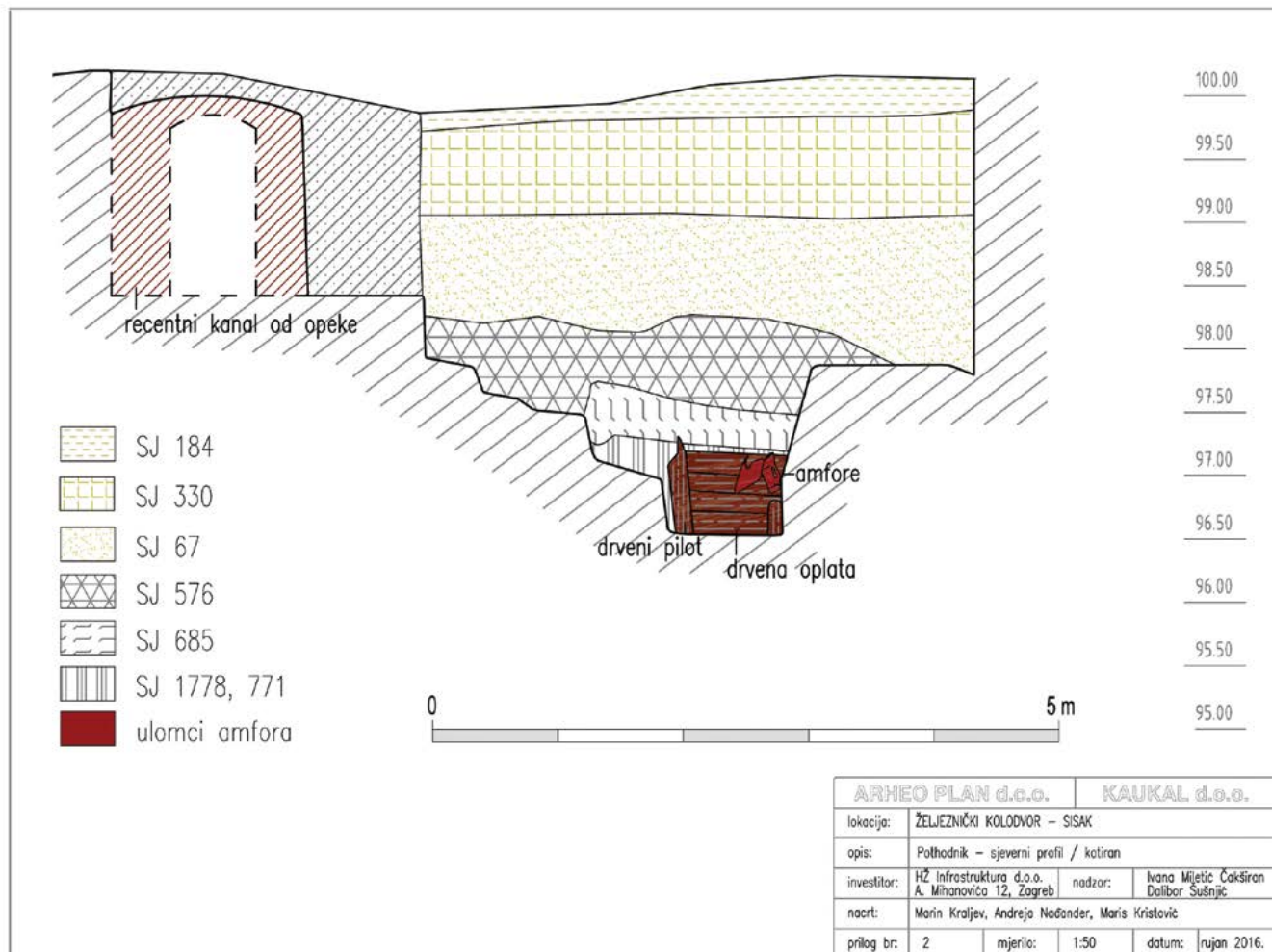
70 Starac 2006, 96.

71 Mazzocchin 2009, 192.

72 Mazzocchin 2009, 196.

73 Kemelen, 1988, 132.

74 Kemelen, 1988, 132- 133.



Sl. 9. Nacrt dijela sjevernog profila na istočnom dijelu potheadnika (izradili: Arheo plan d.o.o. i Kaukal d.o.o, 2016)

FIG. 9. The layout of a part of the northern profile on the eastern section of the underpass (made by Arheo plan d.o.o. and Kaukal d.o.o, 2016)

istražena je u istočnom dijelu lokaliteta, u kvadrantima A 47 i A 48. Dimenzije sonde bile su 4,85 m (duljina) x 1,30-1,55 m (širina) x 2,05 m (dubina), a površina sonde iznosila je 6,55 m<sup>2</sup>. Pri dnu iskopavanja, ispod tiberijevskog sloja (SJ 576), pronađena je četvrtasta arhitektura ostave načinjena od drvenih oplata koje su bile dodatno utvrđene okomito postavljenim drvenim pilotima u uglovima ostave (Sl. 8: 1). Ostava, dimenzija 100 x 120 x 120 cm, u cijelosti je bila ukopana u zdravicu (SJ 1778/771) (Sl. 9), a njeno dno također je bilo obloženo drvetom. U zapuni ostave pronađeni su ulomci dviju amfora (Sl. 8: 2). Prva je amfora kasnorodskog tipa, a druga je tip Dressel 8 s blijedo sačuvanim tragovima natpisa (*titulus pictus*) koji potvrđuje da je služila za transport hispanskog garuma. Sačuvan je gornji dio amfore masivnih stijenki sa zadebljanim i prema van izvijenim obodom, cilindričnim vratom i dvjema ovalnotrakastim ručkama (Sl. 8: 1). Fakturu joj karakterizira dobro pročišćena glina žućkastosmeđe boje (Munsell 10YR 7/4) s vidljivim primjesama kvarca, tinjca i željezne rude (Sl. 4: 5).

Podsjetimo da je ovaj tip amfore dio velike grupe amfora koje se zbog morfoloških, provenijencijskih, datacijskih i funkcionalnih razloga stavljaju u istu grupu Dressel 7–11. Tipološki sinonimi ovog tipa amfore spominju se pod imenima Vindonissa 586, Augst 25, Beltrán 1, Camulodunum 186A, Peacock & Williams 17 i Pompei 7. Nastanak te grupe amfora prati se od Augustova doba, što

ally fixated by perpendicularly positioned wooden pillars in the corners (Fig. 8: 1). The hoard, measuring 100 x 120 x 120 cm, was completely dug into the sterile layer (SU 1778/771) (Fig. 9), and its bottom was also covered with wood. The hoard fill yielded the remains of two amphorae (Fig. 8: 2). The first one is the late Rhodes, and the second is the Dressel 8 type with very poorly-preserved traces of an inscription (*titulus pictus*) that confirms it was used to transport *garum* from Hispania. The upper part of the amphora is preserved and has massive walls, a thickened inverted rim, a cylindrical neck, and two oval ribbon-like handles (Fig. 8: 1). Its fabric is characterized by yellowish-brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4) well-purified clay with visible inclusions of quartz, mica and iron ore (Fig. 4: 5).

It should be noted that this type of amphora is part of the larger, Dressel 7-11, group of amphorae with differences in morphology, origin, chronology and function. The typological synonyms of this amphora type include Vindonissa 586, Augst 25, Beltrán 1, Camulodunum 186A, Peacock & Williams 17 and Pompei 7. The emergence of this group can be traced to the Augustan period, coinciding with the time when the economy in Hispania flourished, causing their products to be increasingly present on the Roman market.<sup>75</sup> The production centers of amphorae for fish sauces were in the coastal part of Baetica, where the largest pot-





**Sl. 10.**  
1. Amfora tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom (snimio: I. Krajcar);  
2. infra-crveni snimak amfore tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom (snimak: HRZ)



**FIG. 10.**  
1. The Dressel 8 type amphora with an inscription (photo: I. Krajcar);  
2. infra-red photo of Dressel 8 type amphora with an inscription (photo: CCI)

se poklapa s razdobljem velikog procvata hispanske privrede čiji se proizvodi od tada u sve većem broju pojavljuju na rimskom tržištu.<sup>75</sup> Središte proizvodnje amfora za riblje umake bio je obalni dio Betike, gdje su se nalazila najveća keramičarska postrojenja kao Cádiz, Almeria, Granada, Algeciras, Malaga, itd.<sup>76</sup> Popularnost i funkcionalnost oblika posvjedočene su i kopiranjem na prostoru Katalonije, Luzitanije, Mauretanije Tingitane i Galije gdje je u Lugdunumu također utvrđena proizvodnja ovog tipa amfora.<sup>77</sup> Amfore nađene u Burnumu, Ptuj i na Magdalensbergu u morfološkom i faktornom smislu gotovo su identične s ovim siscijskim primjerkom, a pokazuju najviše sličnosti s proizvodima iz poznate radionice Carteia kod Algeciras.<sup>78</sup> Baš kao i amfore s gore navedenih lokaliteta, tako i siscijska amfora ima sačuvani natpis koji ćemo u ovom slučaju podijeliti na *titulus* α, β i γ (Sl. 10-11).

tery production workshops were, including Cádiz, Almeria, Granada, Algeciras, Malaga, and so on.<sup>76</sup> The popularity and functionality of these forms is attested to by imitations made in Catalonia, Lusitania, Mauretania Tingitana, and Gaul where this type of amphora was produced in Lugdunum.<sup>77</sup> The amphorae found in *Burnum*, Ptuj and Magdalensberg are, in terms of morphology and fabric, almost identical to the find from Sisak, and also show the most similarities to products from the famous workshop in *Carteia* near Algeciras.<sup>78</sup> Just like the amphorae from the herein listed sites, the amphora from Sisak has a preserved inscription that will, in this case, be divided into *titulus* α, β and γ (Fig. 10-11).

***Titulus* α**  
*flos*  
*gari*

The inscription is found on the top of the amphora's neck, and denotes the content and its quality. The word *flos* (meaning "the

75 Borzić 2011, 70.

76 Carreras Monfort 2001, 422; Beltran Lloris 1970, 399-400; Borzić 2011, 70.

77 Borzić 2011, 71.

78 Borzić 2011, 71; Bezeczký 1993, 244; Peacock 1974, 241.

75 Borzić 2011, 70.

76 Carreras Monfort 2001, 422; Beltran Lloris 1970, 399-400; Borzić 2011, 70.

77 Borzić 2011, 71.

78 Borzić 2011, 71; Bezeczký 1993, 244; Peacock 1974, 241.

**Titulus a***flos**gari*

Nalazi se na vrhu vrata amfore i govori nam o samom sadržaju amfore i njegovoj kvaliteti.

Riječ *flos* (mladi umak) odnosi se na starost odnosno kvalitetu proizvoda, dok riječ *gari* u genitivu očigledno govori o samom sadržaju amfore koji je činio riblji umak *garum*.

Garum je riblji umak koji je služio kao začim ili prilog jelima, a dobivao se fermentiranjem ribljih iznutrica i krvi. Najkvalitetniji garum proizvodio se od samo jedne vrste ribe, najčešće skuše, tune ili cipla. Fermentacija se odvijala nakon što bi se ribe posolile i ostavile u posudama ili bazenima (*cetariae*) na suncu do najviše tri mjeseca.<sup>79</sup> U završnoj fazi tekućina se cjedila kroz gusto pletene košare.<sup>80</sup> Alek (*allec*) je bio naziv za preostali talog koji se prodavao kao umak lošije kvalitete, isto kao i murija (*muria*) koja je u suštini bila slani sok dobiven iz ribe za vrijeme fermentacije. Likvamen (*liquamen*) se koristio kao generički izraz za sve riblje umake bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo, a najvjerojatnije se radi o puno jeftinijem umaku, spravljenom od više vrsta cjelovitih riba.<sup>81</sup> Nije isključeno da je u 2. stoljeću termin likvamen zapravo u potpunosti zamijenio izraz garum, tj. da riječ *garum* izlazi iz uporabe.<sup>82</sup> Nesumnjivo je u provincijama postajala i lokalna proizvodnja ribljih umaka. Mada Plinije Stariji hvali dalmatinsku muriju,<sup>83</sup> još uvijek ne postoje nikakvi konkretni dokazi o proizvodnji ribljih preradevina na prostoru Dalmacije.

Rimski liječnik Galen zapisao je 32 primjene garuma u medicini. Među ostalim, koristio se kao lijek za opekline i dizenteriju, kao i u veterinarske svrhe.<sup>84</sup> Plinije Stariji piše kako je garum *sociorum*, spravljen od skuše (*scomber*) u iberском gradu *Carthago Nova*, najskuplji od svih ribljih umaka, a jedina skuplja tekućina na tržištu je parfem.<sup>85</sup> Zanimljivo je postojanje obrasca po kojemu su se zapisivali sadržaj amfore i njegove karakteristike.<sup>86</sup> Po tom obrascu garum se uvijek spominjao prvi u natpisima, a tek zatim ostale preciznije karakteristike. Ova je siscijska amfora izuzetak jer prvo spominje kvalitetu samog umaka, a tek zatim sadržaj amfore. Također, preko drugog reda izvornog natpisa nalazi se grafit, točnije kratica *GAR*, urezana oštrom tankim predmetom. Nesumnjivo se može interpretirati kao *gar(um)*, a urezana je tijekom sekundarne uporabe, valjda kako bi se naglasio točan sadržaj amfore koja je tada, kako se pretpostavlja, korištena za potrebe domaćinstva, odnosno kao recipijent za garum. Takva sekundarna uporaba amfora u domaćinstvu bila je uostalom sasvim uobičajena.

choicest part” in this context) speaks of the age, i.e. the quality of the product, while the word *gari* in the Genitive case speaks of the contents of the amphora - the *garum* fish sauce.

*Garum* is a fish sauce that was used as a spice or addition to meals, and was made by fermenting fish innards and blood. The highest-quality *garum* was made from only one kind of fish, most often mackerel, tuna or grey mullet. The fermentation started after the fish was salted and left in vessels or pools (*cetariae*) in the sun for up to three months.<sup>79</sup> In the final stage, the liquid was sieved through tightly woven baskets.<sup>80</sup> *Allec* was the term used for the remaining dreg that was sold as a sauce of lesser quality, as was *muria*, which was, essentially, the salty juice released from the fish during fermentation. *Liquamen* was used as a generic term for all fish sauces regardless of origin, and was probably a significantly cheaper sauce made from several kinds of entire fish bodies.<sup>81</sup> It is also possible that, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the term *liquamen* completely replaced the term *garum*, causing the word *garum* to completely go out of use.<sup>82</sup> Fish sauces were undoubtedly produced locally in the provinces. Even though Pliny the Elder praised Dalmatian *muria*,<sup>83</sup> there is still no convincing evidence of fish products being made on the territory of Dalmatia.

The Roman physician Galen wrote down 32 uses of *garum* in medicine. Among other things, it was used to treat burns, dysentery, and for veterinary purposes.<sup>84</sup> Pliny the Elder wrote that *garum sociorum*, made from mackerel (*scomber*) in the Iberian city of *Carthago Nova* was the most expensive of all fish sauces, and that the only more expensive liquid on the market was perfume.<sup>85</sup> It is interesting to note the pattern that was used to record the content of amphorae and its characteristics. According to that pattern, *garum* was always mentioned first, followed by other, more precise characteristics.<sup>86</sup> This amphora from *Siscia* is an exception because the quality of the sauce is mentioned first, followed by the content of the amphora. Also, the second row of the original inscription is covered by graffiti, more precisely, the abbreviation ‘GAR’ that was incised with a sharp thin implement. It can undoubtedly be interpreted as *gar(um)*, and was incised during secondary use, probably to highlight the exact content of the amphora that had, presumably, previously been used in the household as a recipient for *garum*. Such secondary use of amphorae was, after all, completely normal.

**Titulus β**

P(ublīi) Ani(i)

The inscription is found on the bottom of the neck of the amphora and probably denotes the merchant (*mercator*), negotiator (*negotiator*) or transporter, i.e. ship owner (*navicularius*). If he was a *mercator* or *negotiator*, his function was purely of trad-

79 Curtis 1983, 233.

80 Corcoran 1963, 206.

81 Curtis 1983, 236.

82 Grainger 2012, 39; Curtis 2009, 713.

83 Plinije Stariji, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXI/94.

84 Curtis 1984, 430.

85 Plinije Stariji, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXI/94.86 Ehmig 1997, 19-21, vidi *garum*.

79 Curtis 1983, 233.

80 Corcoran 1963, 206.

81 Curtis 1983, 236.

82 Grainger 2012, 39; Curtis 2009, 713.

83 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXI/94.

84 Curtis 1984, 430.

85 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXI/94.86 Ehmig 1997, 19-21, see *garum*.

**Titulus β**

P(ublil) Ani(i)

Nalazi se na dnu vrata amfore i najvjerojatnije spominje ime merkatora (*mercator*), negotijatora (*negotiator*) ili navikulara (*navicular*). U slučaju da je to merkator ili negotijator, tada je njegova djelatnost bila posve trgovačke prirode, dakle kupovina i prodaja gotovog proizvoda, dok se navikular bavio samo prijevozom robe od jednog mjesta do drugog.

To smo ime skloni interpretirati kao *Publius Annius*. S obzirom na razdoblje, dvoimena građanska onomastička formula, to jest *praenomen* s *gentilicijem*, nije nimalo začuđujuća, no postoje neke dvojbe. *Praenomen* *Publius* iznimno je učestao i ne može nam otkriti puno informacija o toj osobi,<sup>87</sup> no *gentilicij* je daleko zanimljiviji. Obitelj *Anijevaca* (*Annii*) igrala je kroz duži period važnu ulogu u rimskom gospodarskom i političkom životu, zajedno sa svojim oslobođenimcima, a zanimljivo da je uspon roda počeo iz Betike, i to upravo kroz trgovinu. Godine 1990. počelo je istraživanje brodoloma *Cala Rossano* nedaleko od obale talijanskog otoka *Ventotena*. Ustanovljeno je kako je brod prevezio amfore tipa *Dressel 8/9* i *Dressel 20*, a brodolom se datira u razdoblje između 30. i 60. godine.<sup>88</sup>

Od 25 amfora natpisima, na tri amfore tipa *Dressel 8* *tituli picti* spominju ime Gaja Anija Senekija (*C. Annius Senecio*).<sup>89</sup> Osim Gaja Anija Senekija, još je jedan poznati merkator bio *Annus Rufus*, a obijci je zajedničko što su rodом iz *Carteia* (danas najbliže mjestu *San Roque - Cádiz*) i što su *garum* nabavljali upravo ondje.<sup>90</sup> Kao merkator se još spominje i *L. Annus Hymnus*.<sup>91</sup> Ime Gaja Anija Senekija spominje se na jednoj nadgrobnoj steli iz gradića *San Roque*.<sup>92</sup> Osim s *garumom*, *Anijevci* su trgovali i maslinovim uljem o čemu svjedoče natpisi na amforama iz *Rima* (*Monte Testaccio*).<sup>93</sup>

Dakle, amfore s *dipintima* na kojima se jasno spominju *Annii* nisu rijetkost, no treba primijetiti da se taj *gentilicij* na amforama redovito pojavljuje s dva slova *N*. Mada je *gentilicij* *Annus* raširen, posebice u *Hispaniji* i *Italiji*, grafija *Anius* daleko je manje učestala. Može se ipak pretpostaviti da je riječ o istom *gentiliciju*, koji se u ovom slučaju pojavljuje samo s jednim slovom *N*.<sup>94</sup> Utoliko i u ovom slučaju možemo pretpostaviti da je *Publius Anije* bio iz istog roda, bilo rođenjem ili kao oslobođenik, a na vezu s *Betikom* jasno upućuje tip amfore. Izostanak drugog slova *N* valjda je samo plod pisareve greške ili aljkavosti.

**Titulus γ**

A(uli) Cordii ...ntis

Sisciae m v (?)

Nalazi se na ramenu amfore i najlošije je očuvan natpis na amfori, slabo je čitljiv i daleko nesigurniji za interpretaciju, što je velika šteta jer je izvorno sadržavao najviše informacija.

ing nature, i.e. buying and selling finished products, while the *navicularius* only dealt with transporting goods from one place to another.

The authors decided to interpret the name as 'Publius Annius'. Considering the period, the bipartite onomastic formula, i.e. the *praenomen* with the *gentilicium*, is not surprising, but some doubts remain. The *praenomen* 'Publius' is extremely frequent and does not provide a lot of information about the person,<sup>87</sup> but the *gentilicium* is by far the most interesting. The *Annii* family played an important part in the Roman economic and political life over a longer period of time, as did their freedmen, and it is interesting to note that the gens rose in *Baetica* precisely through trade. The excavations of the *Cala Rossano* shipwreck, not far from the Italian island of *Ventoteno*, started in 1990. It was established that the ship transported *Dressel 8/9* and *Dressel 20* amphorae, and the wreck is dated to between years 30 and 60.<sup>88</sup>

Out of the 25 amphorae with inscriptions, on three amphorae of the *Dressel 8* type, the *tituli picti* mention the name of 'Caius Annus Senecio'.<sup>89</sup> Apart from him, another famous *mercator* was 'Annus Rufus', and both of them came from the city of *Carteia* (today, closest to *San Roque - Cádiz*), where they also acquired *garum*.<sup>90</sup> 'L. Annus Hymnus' is also mentioned as a *mercator*.<sup>91</sup> The name of *Caius Annus Senecio* is also mentioned on a grave stele found in the small city of *San Roque*.<sup>92</sup> Apart from *garum*, the *Annii* family also traded in olive oil, as seen from inscriptions on amphorae discovered in *Rome* (*Monte Testaccio*).<sup>93</sup>

Therefore, amphorae with *dipinti* that clearly mention the *Annii* family are not a rarity, but it should be noted that the *gentilicium* regularly occurs on amphorae with two letters 'N'. Even though the 'Annus' *gentilicium* is widespread, especially in *Hispania* and *Italy*, the graph 'Anius' is far less common. It can be assumed that it is the same *gentilicium* that, in this case, appears with only one letter 'N'.<sup>94</sup> If it can be assumed that *Publius Annus* was from the same gens, either by birth or as a freedman, noting that the type of amphora clearly points to connections with *Baetica*, the omission of the second letter 'N' could be the result of the scribes mistake or sloppiness.

**Titulus γ**

A(uli) Cordii ...ntis

Sisciae m v (?)

The inscription is found on the shoulder of the amphora, is the least preserved inscription, is barely legible, and by far the one with the most questionable interpretation, which is a shame because it originally contained the most information.

87 Cagnat 1914, 39-40; Salomies 1987, 45-46; Lassère 2005, 84.

88 Ritondale 2014, 28.

89 Arata 1992, 484-485; Lagostena Barrios 2004, 208; Padilla Monge 2011, 243-246.

90 García Vargas, Martínez Maganto 2009, Sl. 1-2.

91 Lagostena Barrios 2004, 208.

92 Arata 1992, 485.

93 García 1988, 23.

94 Schulze 1904, 122, 423, 519; Solin, Salomies 1994, 16, s.v. *Anius, Annus*; OPEL I, 119-121, s.v. *Annivs*

87 Cagnat 1914, 39-40; Salomies 1987, 45-46; Lassère 2005, 84.

88 Ritondale 2014, 28.

89 Arata 1992, 484-485; Lagostena Barrios 2004, 208; Padilla Monge 2011, 243-246.

90 García Vargas, Martínez Maganto 2009, fig. 1-2.

91 Lagostena Barrios 2004, 208.

92 Arata 1992, 485.

93 García 1988, 23.

94 Schulze 1904, 122, 423, 519; Solin and Salomies 1994, 16, s.v. *Anius, Annus*; OPEL I, 119-121, s.v. *Annivs*



Sl. 11.  
Amfora tipa Dressel 8 s natpisom (crtež: M. Galić)

FIG. 11.  
The Dressel 8 type amphora with an inscription (drawing: M. Galić)

Prvi red tako najvjerojatnije spominje vlasnika amfore koji je imao troimenu građansku onomastičku nomenklaturu, odnosno preno-  
men, gentilicij i kognomen. Prenomen bi po svemu sudeći trebao  
biti *Aulus*, sasvim uobičajeno ime, iako gubi na popularnosti na-  
kon 1. stoljeća.<sup>95</sup> U prvi mah se činilo da je gentilicij bio napisan  
u skraćenom obliku, odnosno da je riječ o imenu *Cor(ius)* - inače  
dosta rijetkom gentiliciju<sup>96</sup> - no pozornijim iščitavanjem natpisa  
došlo se do zaključka da gentilicij nije skraćivan. Po svemu sude-  
ći, može se pročitati genitiv *Cordii*. Gentilicij *Cordius* nije toliko ra-  
širen kao, primjerice, prije spomenuti *Annius*, no ipak je nerijetko  
zabilježen kako u Italiji tako i u provincijama, najčešće u Dalma-  
ciji te na iberском poluotoku.<sup>97</sup> Kognomen je vrlo teško čitljiv, no  
zadnja četiri slova ipak se mogu pročitati. Između gentilicija i ge-  
nitivnog završetka *-ntis* ima po našoj procjeni mjesta za otprilike  
tri slova kojima se vrlo slabo naziru tragovi. To bi donekle moglo  
suziti izbor na kognomene kao što su *Amans* ili pak *Agens*,<sup>98</sup> ina-  
če poprilično rijetke, pa stoga ne bi trebalo isključiti mogućnost  
da je pisar tu izvorno smjestio 4 slova. To bi bitno povećalo izbor  
imena koja su daleko češće zabilježeni kognomeni, kao primjeri-  
ce *Pudens* ili *Valens*.<sup>99</sup> Inače, natpisi na hispanskim amforama za  
transport ribljih prerađevina, pronađenim na vojnim lokalitetima,  
znaju spominjati imena vojnih osoba kojima je amfora namijenje-  
na. Tako, na primjer, amfora Dressel 8, nađena u Mainz u i datirana  
oko 50. godine, kao vlasnika spominje Publija Pomponija Sekunda,  
inače važnog dužnosnika, odnosno provincijskog legata (*legatus  
Augusti pro praetore Germaniae Superioris*).<sup>100</sup> dok amfora tipa Bel-  
tran 2A nađena u Carnuntumu, spominje Publija Kokija, centurio-  
na XV. legije.<sup>101</sup>

U drugom redu ovog titula jasno je navedena adresa, odnosno  
mjesto kamo se amfora šalje. To je ujedno, po svemu sudeći, naj-  
raniji epigrafički spomen Siscije, i to s obzirom na dataciju i kon-  
tekst, spomen ne kolonije Siscije, nego najvjerojatnije vojnog  
logora. Naime, jasno se može iščitati *Sisciae*. U klasičnom se lati-  
nitetu za imena naselja sačuvala uporaba starog lokativa koji se  
u I. i II. deklinaciji izjednačio s genitivom. Zato je na pitanje gdje,  
to jest ubi, odgovor *Sisciae*, a ne *in Siscia* (isto kao što bi na pita-  
nje kamo, odnosno quo, slijedilo ime mjesta u akuzativu, također  
bez prijedloga, dakle *Sisciam*). Nakon imena mjesta slijedi krati-  
ca M popraćena nekom brojkom, možda brojem 5 (iako ne može-  
mo isključiti ni 6, 7, 8, pa čak ni 9 - VI, VII, VIII, VIII - s obzirom na to  
da natpis nije sačuvan). Završetak natpisa, dakle, najvjerojatnije  
je nekakve numeričke prirode, te možda označava težinu sadržaja  
izraženu u rimskim librama ili količinu tekućine izraženu u sek-  
starijima. Također je moguće da brojka označava vrijednost am-  
fore ili neku drugu informaciju koju je sudionicima u trgovini bilo  
važno istaknuti.<sup>102</sup> Čini se, dakle, kako je u kasnoaugustovskom  
razdoblju u Sisciji boravio stanoviti Aulo Kordije kojemu je u jed-

The first row probably mentions the owner of the amphora who  
had a tri-partite naming formula, i.e. the *praenomen*, *gentilici-  
um* and *cognomen*. The *praenomen* could be 'Aulus', quite a com-  
mon name, although it became less popular after the 1<sup>st</sup> centu-  
ry.<sup>95</sup> At first glance, it seemed that the *gentilicium* was written in  
abbreviated form and the reading 'Cor(ius)' was suggested - an  
otherwise rare *gentilicium*<sup>96</sup> - but a more thorough look at the in-  
scription lead the authors to conclude that the *gentilicium* was  
not abbreviated. Based on the available evidence, it is the geni-  
tive form 'Cordii'. The 'Cordius' *gentilicium* is not as widespread  
as, e.g., the aforementioned 'Annius', but has quite often been  
recorded both in Italy and the provinces, most commonly in Dal-  
matia and on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>97</sup> The *cognomen* is hardly  
legible, but the last four letters are clear. The authors assumed  
that there is enough room for three letters, which are barely vis-  
ible, between the *gentilicium* and the genitive suffix '-ntis'. This  
could somewhat narrow the choice of *cognomen* to those like  
'Amans' or 'Agens',<sup>98</sup> which are otherwise quite rare, so the pos-  
sibility that the scribe originally used 4 letters here should not  
be excluded. This would significantly increase the selection of  
names that have been far more regularly recorded as *cognomi-  
na*, such as 'Pudens' or 'Valens'.<sup>99</sup> Usually, the inscriptions found  
on amphorae from Hispania discovered at military-related sites  
mention the names of military officers who were meant to re-  
ceive the amphora. For example, the Dressel 8 type amphora  
found in Mainz, dated to about year 50, refers to its owner Pub-  
lius Pomponius Secundus, otherwise an important official, i.e. a  
provincial legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore Germaniae Supe-  
rioris*)<sup>100</sup>, and the Beltran 2A type amphora discovered in *Carnun-  
tum* refers to 'Publius Cocius', a centurion of legion XV.<sup>101</sup>

The second row of this *titulus* clearly lists the address, that is, the  
place where the amphora was sent to. This is also, as it seems, the  
earliest epigraphic mention of *Siscia*, and, considering the dat-  
ing and the context, not the colony of *Siscia*, but, most probably,  
the military camp. Namely, the word *Sisciae* is completely clear-  
ly visible. In classical Latinity, the old locative case, which is the  
same as the genitive case in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> declination, was usu-  
ally used only for names of cities. That is why the answer to the  
question 'where', i.e. ubi, is *Sisciae*, and not in *Siscia* (just like the  
answer to 'where to', i.e. quo, would be answered by the name  
of the settlement in the accusative case, also without a preposi-  
tion, hence, *Sisciam*). The name is followed by the abbreviation  
'M' and a number, maybe 5 (although 6, 7, 8, and even 9 cannot  
be excluded - VI, VII, VIII, VIII - seeing as the inscription is not ful-  
ly preserved). The end of the inscription, therefore, is probably  
of numerical character, and possibly denoted the weight of the  
content expressed in Roman libras, or the amount of liquid ex-

95 Cagnat 1914, 39; Salomies 1987, 24-25.

96 Schulze 1904, 78, 156; Solin, Salomies 1994, 61, s.v. *Corius*.

97 Schulze 1904, 68; Alföldy 1969, 77-78, s.v. *Cordius*; Solin i Salomies 1994, 6, s.v. *Cordius*; OPEL II, 75, s.v. *Cordius*.

98 Kajanto 1965, 93, 255, 307, 357; Solin i Salomies 1994, 289, s.v. *Agens*, 291, s.v. *Amans*; OPEL I, 88, s.v. *Amans*.

99 Kajanto 1965, 18, 46, 66, 68, 75, 93, 247, 264; Solin i Salomies 1994, 386, s.v. *Pudens*, 417, s.v. *Valens*; OPEL III, 171, s.v. *Pvdens*; OPEL IV, 139-140, s.v. *Valens*.

100 Ehmig 2000, 1156.

101 Ehmig 1997, 9.

102 Peacock, Williams 1986, 13-14.

95 Cagnat 1914, 39; Salomies 1987, 24-25.

96 Schulze 1904, 78, 156; Solin and Salomies 1994, 61, s.v. *Corius*.

97 Schulze 1904, 68; Alföldy 1969, 77-78, s.v. *Cordius*; Solin and Salomies 1994, 6, s.v. *Cordius*; OPEL II, 75, s.v. *Cordius*.

98 Kajanto 1965, 93, 255, 307, 357; Solin and Salomies 1994, 289, s.v. *Agens*, 291, s.v. *Amans*; OPEL I, 88, s.v. *Amans*.

99 Kajanto 1965, 18, 46, 66, 68, 75, 93, 247, 264; Solin and Salomies 1994, 386, s.v. *Pudens*, 417, s.v. *Valens*; OPEL III, 171, s.v. *Pvdens*; OPEL IV, 139-140, s.v. *Valens*.

100 Ehmig 2000, 1156.

101 Ehmig 1997, 9.

nom trenutku bila isporučena roba, u ovom slučaju amfora kvalitetnog i skupocjenog ribljeg umaka, betičkog garuma.

### Zaključna razmatranja

U Sisciji se odvijala intenzivna trgovina raznim prehrambenim proizvodima koji su stizali sa svih strana Carstva. Tipološki prevladavaju istarske i cisalpinske Dressel 6B amfore za transport maslinovog ulja, ponajviše zbog blizine i malih troškova transporta. Potrebna je detaljnija analiza kako bi se uvidjelo koji je omjer istarskih, a koji cisalpinskih amfora. U 2. stoljeću hispano-maslinovo ulje u Dressel 20, a kasnije i u Dressel 23 amforama potpuno zamjenjuje odnosno nadomješta ono istarsko. Udio amfora za transport maslinovog ulja u nađenim ulomcima amfora iznosi 37 %, što ukazuje na činjenicu da se radi o najtraženijoj prehrambenoj robi u rimskoj Sisciji.

Vino, kao druga najzastupljenija uvezena roba (26 %), uglavnom dolazi u rodu amforama iz Egejskog mora i Male Azije, kao i u Dressel 2–4 amforama s raznih odredišta, sudeći po makroskopskoj analizi različitih pronađenih faktura ovog tipa amfora. Tek nakon provedenih petroloških analiza moći ćemo točnije odrediti podrijetlo rodu amfora, a time i samog vina koje se transportiralo u spomenutim amforama. Zahvaljujući pečatu na Dressel 2–4 amfori (T. 3: 1) i makroskopskoj analizi fakture Dressel 1B amfore zasigurno možemo reći kako je dio vina dolazio iz Italije. Riblje prerađevine (5 %) stizale su početkom 1. st. iz betičkih radionica u Dressel 7–11 amforama, a kasnije, od polovice 1. stoljeća nadalje, u Beltrán 2A amforama. Datulje i smokve (1 %) stizale su iz istočnih graničnih dijelova Carstva, a masline (1 %) u Schörgendorfer 588 amforama, vjerojatno iz Italije.

Iz ove preliminarne analize može se vidjeti kako se statistički udio uvezene robe i samih tipova amfora u kojima je roba skladištena za vrijeme prijevoza uglavnom podudara s rezultatima iz Savarije.<sup>103</sup> U ovom radu objavljeni su neki tipovi amfora koji su prvi put otkriveni na području provincije Panonije, poput Dressel 1, Pascual 1, Haltern 70 i Dressel 23. Osobito važan, ali i rijedak nalaz Dressel 8 amfore s jedinstvenim natpisom i spomenom same Siscije bio je primarni poticaj autora teksta na objavu nalaza amfora. Nalazi poput ovog rijetki su i značajni s obzirom na količinu informacija koje pružaju. Za sada se možemo samo nadati sličnim otkrićima u budućnosti. Daljnja obrada rimskih amfora pronađenih na poziciji Sisak-Željeznički kolodvor otkrit će više detalja o podrijetlu amfora i samih prerađevina koje su pristizale iz raznih dijelova Rimskog Carstva kako bi zadovoljile potrebe stanovništva antičke Siscije.

pressed in *sextaria*. In addition, it is possible that the number denotes the value of the amphora or some other information that had to be highlighted to the traders.<sup>102</sup> It seems, therefore, that a certain Aulus Cordius stayed in *Siscia* in the late Augustan period, who, at some point, received goods, in this case an amphora containing high-quality expensive fish sauce - *garum* from Baetica.

### Concluding remarks

*Siscia* was a place of intensive trade of various food items that arrived from all sides of the Empire. Dressel 6B amphorae from Istria and Cisalpina, used for transporting olive oil, are typologically prevalent primarily due to the proximity of these places and reduced transport cost. A more detailed analysis is necessary in order to establish the ratio between the amphorae from Istria and Cisalpina. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, olive oil from Istria is completely replaced, i.e. substituted with the one from Hispania in Dressel 20 and later in Dressel 23 amphorae. The representation of amphorae used for olive oil transport in the total number of amphora fragments is 37 %, suggesting that this was the most sought-after food item in Roman *Siscia*.

Wine, as the second most represented imported good (26 %), mostly came in Rhodes amphorae from the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor, as well as in Dressel 2–4 amphorae from other destinations, judging by the macroscopic analysis of the different fabrics of this amphora type. Only after petrographic analyses are conducted will it be possible to more precisely determine the origin of Rhodes and Dressel 2–4 type amphorae, and, thereby, of the wine transported in them. Thanks to the stamp found on a Dressel 2-4 type amphora (T. 2: 1), and the macroscopic analysis of the fabric of Dressel 1B amphorae, it is safe to say that some of the wine came from Italy. Fish products (5 %) arrived from the workshops in Baetica in Dressel 7–11 amphorae at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and later, starting from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, in Beltrán 2A amphorae. Dates and figs (1 %) arrived from the eastern borders of the Empire, and olives (1 %) arrived in Schörgendorfer 588 amphorae, probably from Italy.

This preliminary analysis shows that the statistical ratio of imported goods and the types of amphorae used to store goods during transportation match the results from Savaria.<sup>103</sup> This paper mentions some amphora types that have been discovered for the first time on the territory of the province of Pannonia, such as Dressel 1, Pascual 1, Haltern 70, and Dressel 23. The especially significant, but also rare find - the Dressel 8 amphora with a unique inscription referring to the city of *Siscia*, is what encouraged the authors to publish these amphorae finds. Finds like this one are a rarity, and are significant because of the amount of information they provide. So far, we can only hope for similar discoveries in the future. The further study of Roman amphora from the Sisak-Railway station position will reveal more details about the origin of the amphorae and the goods that arrived from various parts of the Roman Empire to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants of ancient *Siscia*.

103 Nagy 2014, 130.

102 Peacock, Williams 1986, 13-14.

103 Nagy 2014, 130.

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# NOVA MODA, NOVI LJUDI — O PORIJEKLU NEKIH FIBULA IZ SISKA

## NEW FASHION, NEW PEOPLE — ON THE PROVENANCE OF SOME FIBULAE FROM SISAK

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Asja Tonc

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*Nove političke i gospodarske okolnosti u najranijim razdobljima uspostave rimske vlasti na području današnjeg Siska svakako su imale utjecaj i na svakodnevicu lokalnog stanovništva, pa tako i na promjene u modi koje možemo pratiti pomoću novih oblika fibula i drugog nakita. Iako nedostatak konteksta sisačkih nalaza otežava promišljanja o ljudima iza tih nalaza, ponekad i sami predmeti mogu biti dovoljno rječiti. Ovom prigodom uz tipološku i kronološku determinaciju pojedinih kasnorepublikanskih i ranocarskih fibula iz Siska, pohranjenih u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, nalazi se razmatraju i u kontekstu prihvaćanja novih običaja te dostupnosti novih predmeta putem trgovine ili pak doseljnjem novog stanovništva u augustovsko vrijeme.*

*New political and economic circumstances during the earliest period of establishment of Roman power in the area of present-day Sisak have for sure influenced the everyday life of the local inhabitants, including the changes in fashion that we can observe on the basis of new types of fibulae and other jewellery items. Although the lack of context of the Sisak finds presents difficulties when contemplating the people beyond these finds, sometimes the items themselves can be quite telling. On this occasion the typological and chronological determination of some late Republican and early Imperial fibulae from Sisak, held in the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, is presented together with some remarks on the context of acceptance of new customs and availability of new objects through trade or even by the settling of new populations during the Augustan period.*

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**Ključne riječi:**

Sisak, fibule, 2. polovica 1. st. pr. Kr. –1. polovica 1. st. po Kr., nošnja, vojska, trgovina

**Key words:**

Sisak, fibulae, second half of 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – first half of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, dress, army, trade

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Među brojnim nalazima koji potječu iz Siska pohranjenih u Antičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu<sup>1</sup> ističu se fibule kao tragovi svakodnevice stanovništva u ranocarsko vrijeme. Uloga fibule u nošnji nije naime samo funkcionalna, već se često može tumačiti u kontekstu iskazivanja identiteta pojedinca (lokalni tipovi fibula karakteristični za određenu zajednicu), ponekad i statusa (npr. fibule od plemenitih metala), ali i promjena u nošnji do kojih dolazi pod novim okolnostima. S obzirom da arheološki konteksti samo iznimno pružaju mogućnost analize organskog materijala poput tkanina ili odjevnih predmeta od kože, promjene u modi možemo promatrati putem sitnih metalnih nalaza poput fibula, dugmadi, dijelova pojaseva ili nakita. U tome

Among the numerous finds from Sisak held in the Antiquity collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb<sup>1</sup> the fibulae stand out as traces of the everyday life of the inhabitants during the early Imperial era. The role of fibulae in dress is not only functional, but can be also observed in the context of expressing one's identity (local fibulae types characteristic for a specific community), sometimes status (ex. fibulae made of precious metals), but also changes in costume that occur under new circumstances. Considering that archaeological contexts only exceptionally provide the opportunity to analyse organic material such as textiles or leather dress items, changes in fashion can be observed on the basis of small metal finds such as fibulae, but-

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1 Ovom prilikom najsrdačnije zahvaljujem dragim kolegama iz AMZ-a, Ivanu Drniću na pozivu za sudjelovanje i pruženoj mogućnosti za analizu i objavu ovih nalaza, kao i Ivanu Radmanu-Livaji na uvidu u građu i pruženoj pomoći u pregledu materijala i izradi crteža. Crteže je izradila Hana Ivezić, kojoj također zahvaljujem.

1 On this occasion I would like to warmly thank my dear colleagues from the museum, Ivan Drnić for the invitation to participate in the conference and the opportunity to discuss and publish these finds, and Ivan Radman-Livaja for access to the finds and help in the finds examination and drawing. The drawings were made by Hana Ivezić, to whom I also express my gratitude.

je naravno od iznimnog značaja sam kontekst nalaza, koji nažalost nedostaje za sisačke fibule. Na temelju stanja očuvanosti za neke se jedino može reći da pripadaju skupini nalaza iz korita rijeke Kupe. Unatoč problemima koje predstavlja analiza takvog tipa materijala, tipološka i kronološka determinacija fibula pruža mogućnost razmatranja njihova porijekla, time i postavljanje hipoteza o trgovačkim vezama ili kretanjima stanovništva, odnosno dostupnosti novih tipova u kontekstu promjena u nošnji, kao i njihovim potencijalnim nositeljima.

## Fibule tipa Alezija

Fibule sa zglobnom (šarnirnom) konstrukcijom pripadaju fibulama tipa Alezija, koje se javljaju u čitavom nizu varijanti na iznimno širokom prostoru, obuhvaćajući čitavu Europu, od Crnog mora sve do Atlantika. Eponimno nalazište identificirano je kao poprište bitke između Cezarovih i galskih trupa 52. g. pr. Kr., pri čemu su ove fibule pripisane rimskim legionarima. Datacija fibula tipa Alezija oko sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. utemeljena na povijesnim okolnostima kasnije je doživjela potvrdu na brojnim drugim nalazištima, stoga se njihova pojava obično smješta u razdoblje od druge četvrtine posljednjeg stoljeća prije Krista do otprilike početka srednjeaugustovskog doba, kada izlaze iz upotrebe.<sup>2</sup> Slično oblikovanje noge povezuje ujedno fibule tipa Alezija s njima istovremenim tipovima Jezerine i Gorica.<sup>3</sup> No, pritom ne treba pretpostavljati potpunu istovremenost svih varijanti, budući da se spomenuta popularnost ovog tipa fibula očituje i u brojnosti inačica, koje su se vjerojatno izrađivale i u manjim lokalnim radionicama.<sup>4</sup> Ta raznovrsnost uzrokovala je i različite tipološke podjele, čak i nazive,<sup>5</sup> no pretežno se koristi tipologija koju je izradio S. Demetz koristeći morfologiju i ukras luka kao glavni kriterij,<sup>6</sup> uz podjelu za fibule složene sheme luka koju je izradio M. Guštin.<sup>7</sup>

Među materijalom koji potječe iz Siska izdvojeno je nekoliko primjeraka fibula tipa Alezija koje zorno ilustriraju raznovrsnost ovog tipa. Fibula ukrašena mrežastim motivom raspoređenim u pet trokutastih polja (Sl. 1: 2; kat. br. 1), na temelju čega se pripisuje varijanti Ia3 po Demetzu, odnosno grupi III po M. Buori. H. Meller naziva ovakve fibule upravo tipom Sisak, točnije varijantom 2 istog tipa koja je vjerojatno proizvod jedne radionice.<sup>8</sup> Najbliže analogije potječu iz Nezakcija,<sup>9</sup> Buccina, Este-Benvenuti,<sup>10</sup>

elements of belts or jewelry. Of course the context of the finds is of great importance, which is unfortunately lacking for the fibulae from Sisak. The state of preservation allows only to assume that some of them belong to the group of finds from the Kupa river bed. In spite of problems that an analysis of such material presents, the typological and chronological determination of fibulae allows considerations on their provenance, and thus hypotheses on trade contacts or movement of population, i.e. the availability of procurement of new types in the context of costume changes, and their potential owners.

## Fibulae type Alesia

Brooches with hinged construction belong to the fibulae of type Alesia that occur in a large number of variants on an exceptionally large area spanning the entire European continent, from the Black Sea to the Atlantic. The eponymous site has been identified as the location of a battle between Caesar's and Gallic troops in 52 BC, with the fibulae assigned to Roman legionaries. The dating of fibulae of type Alesia to around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC based on historic facts has later been confirmed on numerous other sites, so their occurrence is usually placed from the second quarter of the last century BC to approx. the beginning of the middle Augustan era, when they come out of usage.<sup>2</sup> Also, the similar shape of the foot connects type Alesia brooches with their contemporary types Jezerine and Gorica.<sup>3</sup> However, this does not imply the overall contemporaneity of all the variants, since the popularity of the type is reflected in the great variety of shapes, some of which were probably manufactured in smaller local workshops.<sup>4</sup> This diversity also caused different typological divisions, even names,<sup>5</sup> but the generally used typology is the one made by S. Demetz using the morphology and bow decoration as main criteria,<sup>6</sup> besides the division made by M. Guštin for the fibulae with complex bow shapes.<sup>7</sup>

Among the material from Sisak several examples of brooches of type Alesia can be distinguished that clearly demonstrate the diversity of the type in general. A brooch decorated with net-shaped motif organised in five triangular fields (Fig. 1: 2; cat. nr. 1) can be ascribed to variant Ia3 according to Demetz, or group III according to M. Buora. H. Meller named analogous examples as type Sisak, more precisely variant 2 of the type that was probably produced in a single workshop.<sup>8</sup> Close analogies come from

2 Duval 1974; Istenič 2005, 189-190; Gaspar 2007, 31; Luik 1997.

3 Božič 2008, 145-147.

4 Na temelju arheometrijskih analiza sastava metala smatra se da su fibule od mjedi proizvedene u italiskim radionicama, dok su pojedine varijante od bronce (odnosno bakrene slitine) mogle biti radene i na drugim područjima: Istenič 2005, 198-199.

5 Usp. Ettliger 1973, 89-92, tip 28; Riha 1979, 113, tip 5.1.; Feugère 1985, 299-311, tip 21.

6 Demetz 1999, 157-162. Slična je i također često referencirana podjela M. Feugère, Feugère 1985, 299-311. Sasvim novu tipološku podjelu predložio je H. Meller (Meller 2012), no nije općeprihvaćena i predstavlja određene probleme u definiciji varijanti.

7 Guštin 1986; 1991; 1992. Dopunu sheme v. u Buora 2005.

8 Meller 2012, 100, Sl. 72: 9-15.

9 Mihovilić 2009, 212, Sl. 2: 23.

10 Meller 2012, Sl. 72: 10-11. Fibula iz Este-Benvenuti razlikuje se od navedenih po broju trokutastih polja, kojih je šest.

2 Duval 1974; Istenič 2005, 189-190; Gaspar 2007, 31; Luik 1997.

3 Božič 2008, 145-147.

4 On the basis of archaeometric analysis of the metal it is assumed that brooches made of brass were made in Italic workshops, while some variants made of bronze (i.e. copper alloy) could have been produced in other areas: Istenič 2005, 198-199.

5 Cfr. Ettliger 1973, 89-92, type 28; Riha 1979, 113, type 5.1.; Feugère 1985, 299-311, type 21.

6 Demetz 1999, 157-162. A similar frequently cited division is the one by M. Feugère, Feugère 1985, 299-311. An entirely new typology has been proposed by H. Meller (Meller 2012), but is not widely accepted and presents some issues in the definition of variants.

7 Guštin 1986; 1991; 1992. Additions in: Buora 2005.

8 Meller 2012, 100, fig. 72: 9-15.



Sl. 1. Fibule tipa Alezija iz Siska (snimio I. Krajcar; crtež: H. Ivezić)

FIG. 1. Fibulae of type Alesia from Sisak (photo: I. Krajcar; drawing: H. Ivezić)

Gurine<sup>11</sup> i Magdalensberga.<sup>12</sup> Fibule varijante Ia3 iz Grada kod Reke i Starog grada nad Uncem rađene su od mjedi, vjerojatno na širem području Akvileje,<sup>13</sup> pa je vrlo moguće da je i sisačka fibula sjevernoitalijskog porijekla.<sup>14</sup>

Fibula trokutastog luka kojoj nedostaje igla ukrašena je trokutastom perforacijom s krovastim presjekom na bočnim stranama (Sl. 1: 4; kat. br. 2), što je čini svojevrsnim hibridom varijanti Demetz Id (perforacija) i Ib (presjek). Fibule s lukom ukrašenim na proboj<sup>15</sup> (Demetz Id) zabilježene su i drugdje na prostoru Hrvatske: u Ninu, potom u grobu 31 gomile 14 na vrelu Cetine i u Saloni, čuvaju se i u Arheološkoj zbirci Osor Lošinjskog muzeja kao i u Arheološkom muzeju Istre.<sup>16</sup> Središnja perforacija na sredini luka dosta je česta na fibulama tipa Alezija, a taj se način ukrašavanja zadržava do početka 1. st. po Kr. i na fibulama tipa *Aucissa* kao još jedna zajednička morfološka karakteristika koja govori o povezanosti ovih dvaju tipova.<sup>17</sup> Pretpostavlja se da su fibule tipa Alezija s perforiranim lukom prvenstveno nosili rimski vojnici,<sup>18</sup> za što bi se potvrda mogla naći u pojavi srebrnih fibula s kopljastim otvorom koje su mogle biti usmjerene na posebnu klijentelu poput vojnih dužnosnika.<sup>19</sup>

Vrlo je zanimljiva fibula širokog trakastog luka sa specifičnim završetkom nožice. Naime, izduženi nastavak unatrag presavijene nožice završava dugmetom u obliku dvije nasuprotne kalote. Luk je ukrašen s dvije paralelne središnje gravirane linije, a na dijelu prema nožici nalaze se dva paralelna poprečna ureza te naposljetku urezani X-motiv (Sl. 1: 3; kat. br. 3). Karakteristično oblikovanje završetka četvrtaste nožice, koje se po unatrag presavijenom produžetku nadovezuje na fibule s ptičjom protomom, upućuje na italsko porijeklo fibule. Sličan ukras uzdužnih graviranih linija javlja se najčešće kao jedini motiv na luku fibula, ponekad s poprečnim urezima na prijelazu prema nožici.<sup>20</sup> Lečasto dugme na završetku nožice može biti lijevano u jednom komadu ili, kao u slučaju sisačke fibule, rađeno od dvije nesastavljene kalote.<sup>21</sup> Najbolju analogiju našem primjerku predstavlja fibula iz zbirke Gorga, također s ukrasom graviranih linija na luku.<sup>22</sup>

Nesactium,<sup>9</sup> Buccino, Este-Benvenuti,<sup>10</sup> Gurina<sup>11</sup> and Magdalensberg.<sup>12</sup> Brooches of variant Ia3 from Grad near Reka and Stari grad above Unec are made of brass, probably in the wider territory of Aquileia,<sup>13</sup> so the example from Sisak is most probably also of northern Italian provenance.<sup>14</sup>

The brooch with a triangular bow, without pin, is decorated with a triangular perforation with roof-shaped cross-section of the sides (Fig. 1: 4; cat. nr. 2), making it a hybrid of a sort of variants Demetz Id (perforation) and Ib (cross-section). Brooches with perforated decoration of the bow<sup>15</sup> (Demetz Id) are known elsewhere in Croatia: in Nin, then grave 31 in mound 14 on the source of the Cetina and from Salona, they are also held in the Osor collection of the Museum of Lošinj and in the Archaeological Museum of Istria.<sup>16</sup> The central perforation of the bow is a rather frequent feature of Alesia type fibulae, and this method of decoration stays in use until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD also on fibulae of type *Aucissa*, as another morphological trait in common that illustrates the connection between these two types.<sup>17</sup> It is assumed that type Alesia brooches with perforated bow were mostly worn by Roman soldiers,<sup>18</sup> which could be confirmed in the appearance of silver fibulae with lanceolate opening that could have been produced for a special clientele such as military officers.<sup>19</sup>

The brooch with wide bow is particularly interesting due to the ending of the foot. The protruded extension of the backward bent foot ends with a button shaped as two opposing conical parts. The bow is decorated with two parallel engraved lines in the centre, with two transversal parallel incised lines followed by the incised X-motif on the part towards the foot (Fig. 1: 3; cat. nr. 3). The characteristic form of the ending of the rectangular foot, that closely resembles the backward bent foot of the fibulae with bird's head shaped endings, suggests the Italic origin of the brooch. A similar motif of longitudinal engraved lines is usually the only one on the bow of such fibulae, sometimes with transversal incisions towards the foot.<sup>20</sup> The lenticular button on

11 Jablonka 2001, 119, T. 83: 5.

12 Sedlmayer 2009, T. 24: 505, 506.

13 Istenič 2005, 199.

14 Pretpostavka se temelji isključivo na morfološkoj sličnosti odnosno tipološkoj determinaciji. Analize sastava na sisačkoj fibuli nisu rađene.

15 U podjeli koju je izradio H. Meller fibule s lukom ukrašenim na proboj nalazimo, s obzirom na morfološke i dekorativne razlike (poput oblika nožice), pod tipovima Cracouville, varijanta 6a (Meller 2012, Sl. 78: 7-11), tipovima Orvieto ili Chiusi (isti, Sl. 75: 7-14)

16 Nin: Nedved 1981, Sl. 5: 215; vrelu Cetine: Marović 1959, Sl. 30: 1; Salona: Ivčević 2002, T. I: 6; Osor: Težak-Gregl 1982, kat. br. 11, 12, Sl. 2: 2, 3; Arheološki muzej Istre: Bavdek *et al.* 2010, kat. br. 138.

17 Feugère 2015, 66-68, posebno fibula s trokutastom perforacijom i dugmetastim završetkom noge iz Zadra na Sl. 5. Slične miješane karakteristike javljaju se i na drugačije ukrašenim primjercima, v. npr. Drnić, Tonc 2014, 198.

18 Feugère 2015, 69.

19 Drnić, Tonc 2014, 204.

20 Primjerice Magdalensberg: Sedlmayer 2009, T. 24: 508; Vieille-Toulouse: Feugère 1985, T. 110: 1421.

21 Dionisio 2012, 195.

22 Dionisio 2012, 195-196, kat. br. 536, T. 34.

9 Mihovilić 2009, 212, fig. 2: 23.

10 Meller 2012, fig. 72: 10-11. Fibula from Este-Benvenuti differs from the rest by the number of triangular fields, six of them.

11 Jablonka 2001, 119, Pl. 83: 5.

12 Sedlmayer 2009, Pl. 24: 505, 506.

13 Istenič 2005, 199.

14 The presumption is based only on morphological similarities, i.e. typological determination. Analysis of alloy have not been conducted on the Sisak brooch.

15 In the typology made by H. Meller similar brooches are found, according to morphological and decorative differences (such as the shape of the foot), among type Cracouville, variant 6a (Meller 2012, fig. 78: 7-11), types Orvieto or Chiusi (ibid., fig. 75: 7-14).

16 Nin: Nedved 1981, fig. 5: 215; source of Cetina: Marović 1959, fig. 30: 1; Salona: Ivčević 2002, T. I: 6; Osor: Težak-Gregl 1982, cat. nr. 11, 12, Sl. 2: 2, 3; Archaeological Museum of Istria: Bavdek *et al.* 2010, cat. nr. 138.

17 Feugère 2015, 66-68, particularly the brooch with triangular perforation and button-shaped knob on the foot from Zadar on fig. 5. Similar mixed characteristics appear also on differently decorated brooches, see ex. Drnić, Tonc 2014, 198.

18 Feugère 2015, 69.

19 Drnić, Tonc 2014, 204.

20 For ex. Magdalensberg: Sedlmayer 2009, Pl. 24: 508; Vieille-Toulouse: Feugère 1985, Pl. 110: 1421.

Sličan ukras ima fibula iz Strassolda s unatrag presavijenim završetkom nožice i motivom „očiju“ na glavi,<sup>23</sup> vrlo slično citiranoj fibuli iz Vieille-Toulousa. H. Meller naziva ovakve, vrlo rijetke fibule tipom Chiusi.<sup>24</sup> N. Gaspar izdvojio ih je kao tip 23, istovremeno s drugim varijantama tipa Alezija, ali mnogo rjeđi.<sup>25</sup> Kako je spomenuto, pretpostavljeno je italsko porijeklo varijanti tipa Alezija s presavijenim završetkom nožice.<sup>26</sup>

Navedenima možemo dodati objavljenu fibulu glatkog neukrašenog luka<sup>27</sup> varijante Ic po S. Demetzu (Sl. 1: 1). Analize sastava metala na primjercima s područja Slovenije pokazuju da su ovakve fibule ponekad rađene od bronce, što upućuje na mogućnost njihove proizvodnje u lokalnim, prialpskim radionicama.<sup>28</sup>

Posebno zanimljiv oblik fibula sa zglobnom konstrukcijom predstavljaju fibule s dvije igle i ukrašenim trakastim lukom, kakve su pronađene i u Sisku.<sup>29</sup> Šarnirne fibule s dvije igle iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu obradio je I. Lokošek, podijelivši ih na tri varijante s obzirom na morfološke karakteristike i ukras.<sup>30</sup> Fibula ukrašena sa žigosanim kružnicama i žljebljenjem (Sl. 2: 1; kat. br. 4) može se pripisati prvoj varijanti.<sup>31</sup> Ona obuhvaća fibule koje se još mogu, na osnovi izgleda luka i ukrasa, povezati ponajviše s fibulama tipa Alezija. Dio fibula pokazuju i karakteristike sličnije tipu *Aucissa*, odnosno trapezoidnu glavu i luk koji se naglo sužava nakon glave. Sisački primjerak također podsjeća na fibule tipa *Aucissa* zbog sužavanja luka, kao i perforacija na glavi. Po ukrasu je gotovo identična jednom primjerku s nepoznatog nalazišta, dok je objema vrlo slična fibula iz Koleškog kod Nevesinja.<sup>32</sup> Motiv žigosanih kružnica javlja se i na drugim fibulama ove varijante, primjerice na fibuli iz Budve koja ima dvije uzdužne perforacije na luku, na primjerku iz groba 20 u tumulu 14 na vrelu Cetine (Sl. 2: 2), na fibuli iz sjeverne Dalmacije, kao i na onoj iz Pruda kod Metkovića.<sup>33</sup> Fibule iz Garduna i Vida kod Metkovića – *Narone* slične su sisačkoj zbog sužavanja luka nakon glave, a javlja se i motiv koncentričnih kružnica.<sup>34</sup> Uz citirane primjerke, istoj varijanti fibula s dvije igle treba pridodati dva primjerka iz Mogorjela<sup>35</sup> te primjerak pronađen u tzv. kenotafu 11 na Velim Ledinama u Gostilju.<sup>36</sup> Time se, iako za dio primjeraka nije pozna-

the foot's extension can be cast in one piece or, as in the case of the Sisak brooch, made of two separate parts.<sup>21</sup> The closest analogy for our brooch comes from the Gorga Collection, also with engraved lines on the bow.<sup>22</sup> A similar decoration is seen on the fibula from Strassoldo with backward bent foot and the motif of dots-in-circles on the head,<sup>23</sup> very close to the cited brooch from Vieille-Toulouse. H. Meller defined this very rare type as type Chiusi.<sup>24</sup> N. Gaspar defines them as type 23, contemporaneous to other variants of Alesia brooches, but much rarer.<sup>25</sup> As mentioned, the fibulae of type Alesia with backward bending foot extension are most probably of Italic origin.<sup>26</sup>

To the cited examples we can add the already published brooch with smooth undecorated bow<sup>27</sup> of variant Ic according to S. Demetz (Fig. 1: 1). The analysis of metal made on the examples from Slovenia suggest that such fibulae were sometimes made of bronze, indicating their possible production in local, Alpine workshops.<sup>28</sup>

An especially intriguing form are hinged fibulae with two pins and decorated ribbon bow, which were found also in Sisak.<sup>29</sup> Hinged fibulae with two pins from the Archaeological Museum in Split have been analysed by I. Lokošek who divided them into three variants considering the morphological traits and decoration.<sup>30</sup> The brooch with stamped circles and grooves (Fig. 2: 1; cat. nr. 4) can be ascribed to the first variant.<sup>31</sup> It comprises fibulae that, on the basis of bow shape and decoration, can be still most of all associated to fibulae of type Alesia. Some fibulae show characteristics more resembling type *Aucissa*, i.e. a trapezoidal head and narrowing of the bow after the head. The Sisak example also reminds of fibulae type *Aucissa* due to the narrow bow and perforations on the head. An almost identically decorated brooch comes from unknown locations, while similar to both is the fibula from Koleško near Nevesinje.<sup>32</sup> The motif of stamped circles appears also on other brooches of the same variant, like the one from Budva with two longitudinal perforations on the bow, the brooch from grave 20 in mound 14 on the necropolis at the source of Cetina (Fig. 2: 2), on a brooch from northern Dalmatia, as well as the one from Prud near Metković.<sup>33</sup> The fibulae from Gardun and Vid near Metković

23 Seidel 2008, kat. br. 81.

24 Meller 2012, 102, Sl. 75: 12-14.

25 Gaspar 2007.

26 Feugère 1985, 302; Meller 2012, 120; Dionisio 2012, 195.

27 Koščević 1980, T. II: 11. Inv. br. 5585. Fibula varijante Ic zabilježena je i na Osoru (Težak-Gregl 1982, 100, kat. br. 10), kao i na Aseriji (Ivčević 2009, 86, T. I: 2). Posljednja se pripisuje varijanti Ljubljana (Vičić 1994, 27-29, Pl. 1: 8, 9).

28 Istenič 2005, 199.

29 Kovrig 1937, 43, T. IV: 38-39; Koščević 1980, 17. Fibula s lukom na proboj i kuglastim člancima unutar perforacija (Koščević 1980, T. II: 13) ima analogije u fibulama varijante III po Lokošku (Lokošek 1988, Sl. 4). One se najvjerojatnije mogu datirati u 2. st. po Kr.

30 Lokošek 1988.

31 Lokošek 1988, 6-9, Sl. 1: 1-6; Sl. 2: 1.

32 Lokošek 1988, 6, Sl. 1: 4; Behrens 1954, 227, Sl. 6: 3.

33 Lokošek 1988, Sl. 2: 1; Marović 1959, Sl. 24: 3; Nedved 1981, Sl. 5: 214; Meller 2012, 119, Sl. 95: 25. U slučaju posljednje treba spomenuti da su u potpisu slike zamijenjena nalazišta pod brojevima 25 i 26, odnosno Prud i okolica Triera.

34 Lokošek 1988, Sl. 1: 5-6.

35 Busuladžić 2009, 24-5, 48: kat. br. 4-5.

36 Basler 1969, T. XXVIII: K11/4.

21 Dionisio 2012, 195.

22 Dionisio 2012, 195-196, cat. nr. 536, T. 34.

23 Seidel 2008, cat. nr. 81.

24 Meller 2012, 102, fig. 75: 12-14.

25 Gaspar 2007.

26 Feugère 1985, 302; Meller 2012, 120; Dionisio 2012, 195.

27 Koščević 1980, T. II: 11. Inv. br. 5585. Fibula of variant Ic comes also from Osor (Težak-Gregl 1982, 100, cat. nr. 10), as well as Asseria (Ivčević 2009, 86, T. I: 2). The latter can be attributed to variant Ljubljana (Vičić 1994, 27-29, Pl. 1: 8, 9).

28 Istenič 2005, 199.

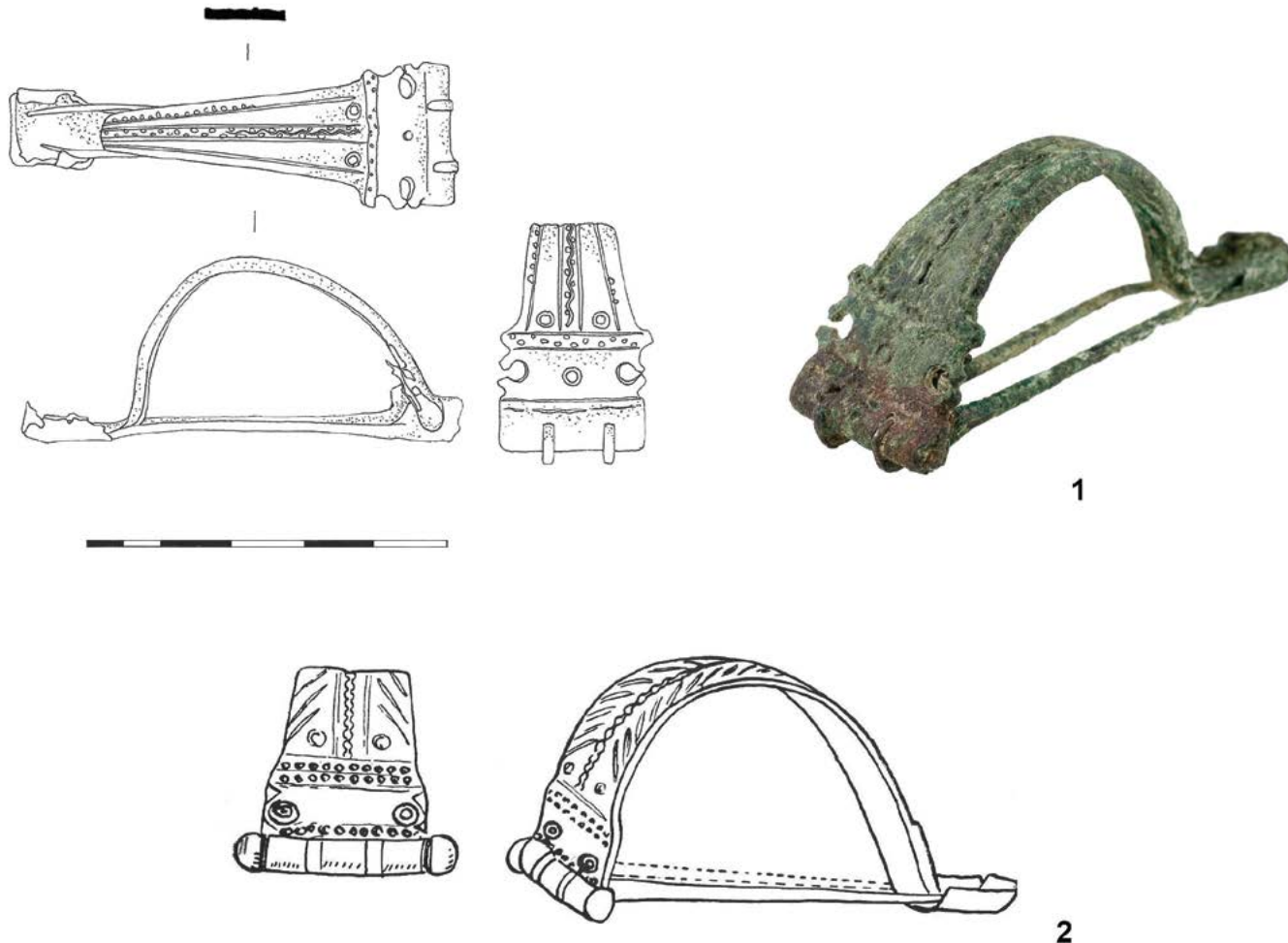
29 Kovrig 1937, 43, T. IV: 38-39; Koščević 1980, 17. The brooch with perforated bow filled with knob-shaped elements (Koščević 1980, Pl. II: 13) has analogies in the fibulae of variant III after Lokošek (Lokošek 1988, fig. 4). These are probably dated to the 2nd c. AD.

30 Lokošek 1988.

31 Lokošek 1988, 6-9, fig. 1: 1-6; Fig. 2: 1.

32 Lokošek 1988, 6, fig. 1: 4; Behrens 1954, 227, fig. 6: 3.

33 Lokošek 1988, fig. 2: 1; Marović 1959, fig. 24: 3; Nedved 1981, fig. 5: 214; Meller 2012, 119, fig. 95: 25. It should be mentioned that in the case of the latter in the figure caption the findspots of brooches nr. 25 and 26, i.e. Prud and Trier area, have been replaced.



SL. 2.

1. Zglobna fibula s dvije igle iz Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar);  
2. fibula iz groba 20, tumul 14 na vrelu Cetine  
(prema Marović 1959).

FIG. 2.

1. Hinged fibula with two pins from Sisak (drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar);  
2. hinged fibula from grave 20, mound 14 on the source of the Cetina  
(after Marović 1959).

to mjesto pronalaska, kao matično područje ove varijante može odrediti prostor srednje i južne Dalmacije sa zaleđem, s južnom granicom na prostoru današnje Crne Gore (Karta 1). S obzirom na morfološke analogije, i porijeklo fibule iz Siska treba tražiti upravo na tom prostoru. Ukas žigosanih kružnica javlja se i na fibulama tipa Alezija. Primjerak s dvije igle iz Budve vrlo je sličan fibuli tipa Alezija iz Nina s kopljastom perforacijom na luku.<sup>37</sup> Motiv „očiju“ karakterizira i fibulu tipa Alezija pronađenu u nasipu gomile 14 na vrelu Cetine<sup>38</sup> iz kojeg potječe i spomenuta fibula s dvije igle. Sličnosti u ukrasu na fibulama tipa Alezija i onima s dvije igle možda odražavaju lokalno, odnosno bolje rečeno regionalno porijeklo motiva. Može se spekulirati i o razvoju fibula s dvije igle upravo iz najranijih zglobnih fibula. No, njihov se nastanak povezuje s kopljastim fibulama s dvije igle, naročito čestim upravo u Gostilju, čemu bi u prilog išlo prilično rano datiranje fibule iz kenotafa 11 već na kraj 2. st. pr. Kr.<sup>39</sup> U grobu 20 na izvoru Cetine na-

– Narona are close to the Sisak find because of the narrowing of the bow after the head, and also appearing is the motif of concentric circles.<sup>34</sup> Besides the cited examples two more fibulae of the same variant come from Mogorjelo,<sup>35</sup> while one more brooch was found in the so-called kenotaph 11 on Vele Ledine in Gostilje.<sup>36</sup> All the above suggest, even though for some examples the exact location of the find is not known, that the area of origin of this variant can be placed in middle and southern Dalmatia with its hinterland, with the present-day area of Montenegro as the southernmost point. Considering the morphological analogies the provenance of the Sisak brooch should also be sought in the same area. The motif of dots-in-circles appears also on brooches of type Alesia. The fibula with two pins from Budva is very similar to the Alesia brooch from Nin with a lanceolate opening on the bow.<sup>37</sup> The dots-in-circles motif characterizes also the type Alesia brooch found in the fill layers of mound 14 on the source of Cetina<sup>38</sup> in which was

37 Nedved 1981, Sl. 5: 215.

38 Marović 1959, Sl. 40: 3.

39 Lokošek 1988, 8-9, 16. Iako je inspiracija za razvoj zglobnih fibula s dvije igle mogla dijelom doći iz kopljastih fibula s dvije igle, samase pojava zglobne konstrukcije ne može, na temelju trenutnih spoznaja, pomaknuti do u 2. st. pr. Kr. kako bi sugerirao gostiljski nalaz.

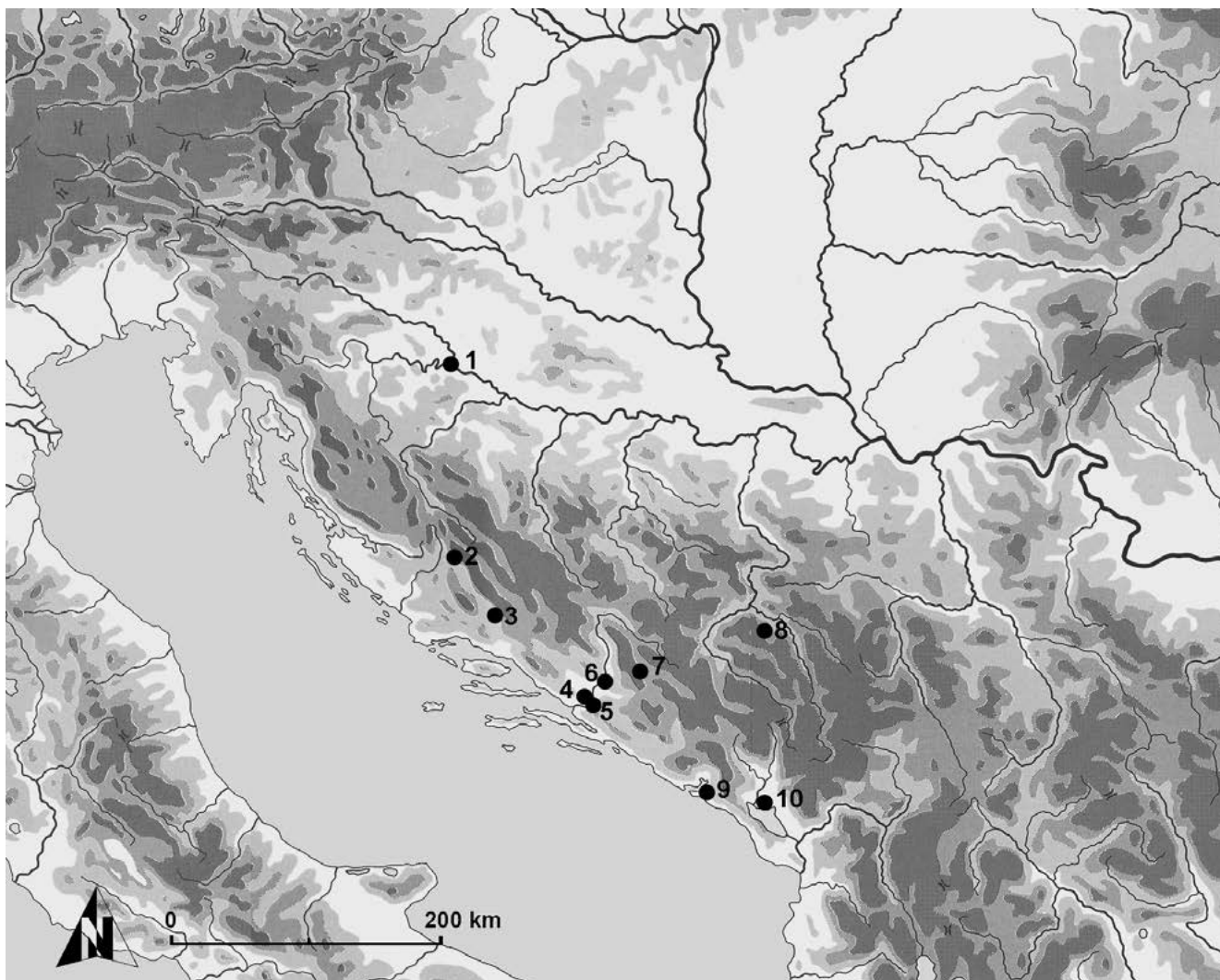
34 Lokošek 1988, fig. 1: 5-6.

35 Busuladžić 2009, 24-5, 48: cat. nr. 4-5.

36 Basler 1969, Pl. XXVIII: K11/4.

37 Nedved 1981, fig. 5: 215.

38 Marović 1959, fig. 40: 3.



KARTA 1.

Nalazišta šarnirnih (zglobnih) fibula s dvije igle. 1. Sisak, 2. vrelo Cetine, 3. Gardun – *Tilurium*, 4. Prud, 5. Vid – *Narona*, 6. Mogorjelo, 7. Kolečko kod Nevesinja, 8. Komini kod Pljevlja, 9. Budva, 10. Gostilj – Vele Ledine.

MAP 1.

Findspots of hinged fibulae with two pins. 1. Sisak, 2. source of the Cetina, 3. Gardun – *Tilurium*, 4. Prud, 5. Vid – *Narona*, 6. Mogorjelo, 7. Kolečko near Nevesinje, 8. Komini near Pljevlja, 9. Budva, 10. Gostilj – Vele Ledine.

lazila se, uz spomenutu fibulu s dvije igle, jedna fibula tipa *Aucissa*.<sup>40</sup> Time se razdoblje korištenja pomiče od kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. do u 1. st. po Kr. I. Marović smatra ih upravo lokalnom, "jadransko-dalmatinskom" varijantom tipa *Aucissa*, a sličnog je mišljenja R. Košćević.<sup>41</sup> S obzirom na elemente obaju tipova ranih fibula sa zglobnom konstrukcijom, vjerojatnije se razvoj fibula s dvije igle može pratiti od druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr., s trajanjem do u 1. st. po Kr., u slučaju drugih varijanti i duže.

Povezivanje vojnih kretanja s distribucijom fibula tipa Alezija izazovna je premisa koja međutim rijetko nalazi potvrdu u samim nalazima.<sup>42</sup> U slučaju sisačkih primjeraka svakako je neizostavna asocijacija s razdobljem Oktavijanove osvajačke kampanje 35. pr. Kr., kao i legionarima koji borave na području Siska nakon tog datuma. No, brojne varijante nastale slijedeći osnovnu shemu tipa

found also the mentioned examples with two pins. The similarities in decoration of the fibula type Alesia and the ones with two pins could indicate a local, or better said regional origin of the motif. It can be speculated whether the fibulae with two pins indeed developed from the earliest hinged fibulae. However, their origin is traced back to the lanceolate fibulae with two pins, particularly often found in Gostilje, which would be supported by the rather early dating of the fibulae from cenotaph 11 to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.<sup>39</sup> In grave 20 on the Cetina's source alongside the mentioned brooch with two pins was found also a fibula of type *Aucissa*.<sup>40</sup> This shifts the period of use towards the end of 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. I. Marović considered them to be a local, "Adriatic-Dalmatian" variant of type *Aucissa*, and R. Košćević is of a similar opinion.<sup>41</sup> Due to the appearance of traits connected to both types of early hinged fibulae, the development of the fibulae with two

40 Marović 1959, Sl. 24: 2.

41 Marović 1959, 77; Košćević 1980, 17.

42 Drnić, Tonc 2014, 200; Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 62.

39 Lokošek 1988, 8-9, 16.

40 Marović 1959, fig. 24: 2.

41 Marović 1959, 77; Košćević 1980, 17.



Alezija nisu istovremene, a niti nužno povezane s rimskim vojnicima. Kao i kod fibula tipa *Aucissa*, kontekst je nalaza najvažniji – često oblik preuzima civilno stanovništvo, uključujući žene.<sup>43</sup> Nadalje, radioničko porijeklo također bi moglo govoriti o potencijalnim nositeljima fibula; primjerice glatke neukrašene fibule, koje su mogle nastati u prialpskim radionicama, mogle su biti korištene od strane lokalnog stanovništva. Fibule najvjerojatnije italskog porijekla – varijanta Ia3, varijanta s perforiranim lukom Id/Ib i fibula s unatrag presavijenom nožicom – mogle su zaista na područje Siska prispjeti zajedno s kretanjima stanovništva, pa čak i vojnih postrojbi kako bi se moglo pretpostaviti za fibulu s lukom ukrašenim na proboj. No, takvo što ostaje na razini spekulacije. Svakako su fibule dokaz kontakata s prostorom sjeverne Italije tijekom druge polovice posljednjeg stoljeća prije Krista.

### Fibula tipa Langton Down

Fibula s izduženim tijelom ukrašenim uzdužnim rebrima i pravokutnim tuljcem koji prekriva spiralu (Sl. 3; kat. br. 5) pripada tipu Langton Down. Riječ je o tipu koji pripada skupini fibula sa spiralom unutar tuljca. One su izduženog trakastog ravnog luka, ponekad nešto šireg na dijelu uz spiralu. Ukrašen je obično izveden putem uzdužnog žljebljenja, tvoreći rebrasti presjek luka. Tuljac je neukrašen ili ukrašen s radijalnim ili poprečnim linijama. Nožica je trokutasta ili trapezoidna, s ukrasom na proboj. U žljebovima na luku ponekad su sačuvani ostaci ispune od emajla, pozlate ili metala u drugoj boji koji su tvorili polikromni efekt. Slične fibule, ali ukrašene s pseudofiligranskim volutama na tuljcu, nazivaju se tipom Nertomarus, koji je također zabilježen u Sisku.<sup>44</sup>

Fibule tipa Langton Down prvenstveno su rasprostranjene na području Francuske, Švicarske i Porajnja, no sporadično se javljaju na prostoru čitave srednje Europe, pa tako i u regiji, pri čemu su posebno značajne fibule iz Ljubljane i Čateža, pri čemu je posljednji posebno značajan zbog konteksta rimskog logora.<sup>45</sup> Relativno su dobro zastupljene na području Norika, s primjercima na Magdalensbergu, *Virunumu*, *Flavia Solvi* (Frauenbergu), Karlsdorfu, Mariboru itd.<sup>46</sup> Najranija pojava ovog tipa zabilježena je u Dangstettenu, što početak upotrebe stavlja oko 15. g. pr. Kr. U upotrebi ostaju do vladavine Tiberija i Klaudija.<sup>47</sup> Na Magdalensbergu je fibula ovog tipa nađena u stratigrafskom položaju koji omogućava dataciju u augustovsko doba,<sup>48</sup> odnosno isto razdoblje kojem se pripisuju primjerci s logora u Porajnju. Na lokalitetu La Croisée à Braux fibula je nađena u sloju datiranom u fazu II, između 10. pr. Kr. i 20. g. n. e.<sup>49</sup> U Zurzachu ova fibula predstavlja, uz tip *Aucissa*, najstariji oblik prisutan u arealu ranorimskog logora.<sup>50</sup> Slijedom navedenog i fibula iz Siska može se datirati u posljednja desetljeća 1. st. pr. Kr. i prva desetljeća idućeg stoljeća.

pins can be observed from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and into the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, in the case of other variants even longer.

The association of military movements and the distribution of fibulae type Alesia is a challenging idea that is however rarely supported in the finds.<sup>42</sup> In the case of examples from Sisak naturally come to mind the period of conquests during Octavian's campaign in 35 BC and the legionaries placed in Sisak after this date. However, numerous variants formed following the basic shape of the Alesia type are not necessarily contemporaneous or linked to Roman soldiers. As for the *Aucissa* type brooches, the context of the find is most important – the form was often accepted by civilians, including women.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the potential production area could also suggest the origin of its bearers; for instance, the smooth undecorated fibulae could have been produced in workshops of the Alpine area, and also worn by the local populations. The brooches of presumably Italic origin – variant Ia3, variant with perforated bow Id/Ib and the brooch with backward bent foot extension – indeed could have appeared in the Sisak area as part of movement of population, maybe even military troops as suggested for the brooch with perforation on the bow. This, however, remains a pure hypothesis. For sure these brooches indicate the existence of contacts with northern Italy during the second half of the last century BC.

### Fibula type Langton Down

The brooch with an elongated body decorated with longitudinal ribs and rectangular spring casing (Fig. 3; cat. nr. 5) belongs to type Langton Down. It is a form that belongs to the group of fibulae with a spring inside the casing. They have an elongated ribbon-shaped bow, sometimes wider in the part closer to the spring. The decoration is usually made by longitudinal grooves that make the ribbed cross-section of the bow. The spring casing is undecorated or decorated with radial or transversal lines. The foot is triangular or trapezoidal, with perforations. Sometimes traces of enamel, gilding or metal of different color are preserved in the grooves of the bow, creating thus a polychrome effect. Similar fibulae, but with pseudo-filigree volutes on the spring casing, are known as type Nertomarus and have also been documented in Sisak.<sup>44</sup>

The fibulae of type Langton Down are mostly distributed in France, Switzerland and the Rhine valley, occasionally appearing in other areas of central Europe and even in the region in question, as shown by examples from Čatež and Ljubljana that are particularly interesting because of the context of the legionary camp.<sup>45</sup> They are relatively abundant in Noricum, with examples on Magdalensberg, *Virunum*, *Flavia Solva* (Frauenberg), Karlsdorf, Maribor etc.<sup>46</sup> The earliest occurrence of the type is found in

43 Moret *et al.* 2000; Seldmayer 2014 o fibulama tipa *Aucissa* kao elementu ženske nošnje.

44 Koščević 1980, 18, 47, T. VII: 48. O tipu Nertomarus: Ettliger 1973, 76-79; Feugère 1985, 262-265.

45 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 64-65, 67, karta 2, lista 2; Gaspari 2010, 101; Guštin 2015, 225-226, Sl. 4: 1.

46 Kropf, Nowak 2000, 43; Sedlmayer 2009, 20.

47 Riha 1979, 98; Feugère 1985, 266; Gaspar 2007, 31.

48 Sedlmayer 2009, 20.

49 Farine 1999, 54-58, Sl. 35: 8.

50 Hänggi *et al.* 1994, 140, 145.

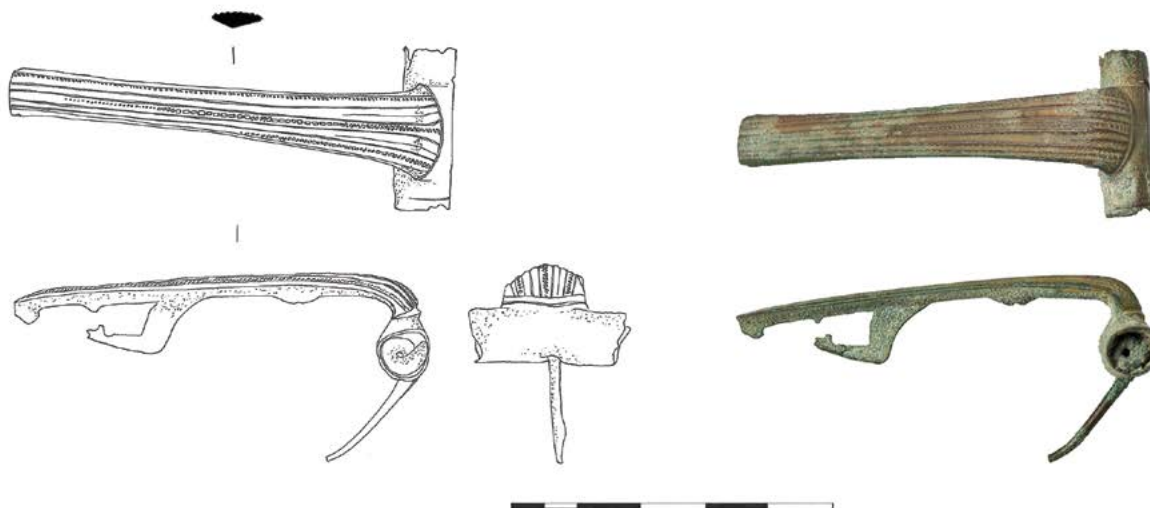
42 Drnić, Tonc 2014, 200; Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 62.

43 Moret *et al.* 2000; Seldmayer 2014 on fibulae of type *Aucissa* as part of female costume.

44 Koščević 1980, 18, 47, T. VII: 48. On the type Nertomarus see: Ettliger 1973, 76-79; Feugère 1985, 262-265.

45 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 64-65, 67, map 2, list 2; Gaspari 2010, 101.

46 Kropf, Nowak 2000, 43; Sedlmayer 2009, 20.



Sl. 3. Fibula tipa Langton Down iz Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar).

FIG. 3. Fibula type Langton Down from Sisak (drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar).

U kontekstu mogućih nositelja ove fibule posebno je zanimljiva činjenica da se tip Langton Down često nalazi u vojničkom kontekstu. Spomenimo lokalitete kao što su Dangstetten, Haltern, Augsburg-Oberhausen ili Vindonissa.<sup>51</sup> Još interesantniji su spomenuti nalazi iz kratkotrajnog vojnog logora u Čatežu te mogućeg vojnog konteksta u Ljubljani, koji ukazuju na najvjerojatniji smjer prodora ovog tipa, odnosno pravac dolinom Save preko Siska te dalje prema Dunavu, odnosno prema jugu dolinom Une sve do obale.<sup>52</sup> Mogućnost da su upravo pripadnici rimskih trupa bili nositelji ovih fibula ostaje otvorena, prvenstveno za fibule bez konteksta kao što je ova iz Siska. Pritom u obzir dolaze ne samo pripadnici legijskih jedinica, već i auzilijari koji na ovo područje dolaze u vrijeme rimskih osvajanja. No, nalazi u grobovima autohtonog stanovništva u dolini Une<sup>53</sup> upućuju i na mogućnost prijenosa kretanjem pojedinaca koja ne moraju nužno biti povezana s kretanjima vojske. Poput fibula tipa Alezija, fibule stranog porijekla nađene u dolini Une mogle su biti korištene od strane lokalnog stanovništva, i to kao dio ženske, ne isključivo muške nošnje. Takvu mogućnost potkrepljuju nalazi iz naselja, primjerice iz Flavia Solve ili Virunuma, koji su mogli lako pripadati i ženskoj populaciji, što ostavlja sasvim otvorenu mogućnost da je sisačku fibulu nosila neka od pripadnica lokalne zajednice, ali i došljakinja.

### Fibula tipa Idrija

U zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu pohranjeno je i nekoliko primjeraka fibula tipa Idrija koje potječu iz Siska. Dvije fibule, dužina 9,1 i 7,8 cm, imaju jedno rebro na proširenom dijelu trakastog luka i vanjskutetivu (Sl. 4; kat. br. 6<sup>54</sup>). Treća fibula, dužine 7,4 cm, ima spiralu od osam navoja s hvatištem tetive, tri rebra na luku i izduženu trokutastu nožicu s dvije pravokutne i jednom okruglom perforacijom koja završava s dugmetom.<sup>55</sup>

Dangstetten, placing the beginning of usage around 15 BC. They remain in use until the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius.<sup>47</sup> On Magdalensberg the fibula of this type was found in a stratigraphical unit that allows dating to the Augustan age,<sup>48</sup> i.e. the same period as the examples from legionary camps in the Rhine valley. On the site of La Croisée à Braux a brooch was found in the layer dated to phase II, between 10 BC and AD 20.<sup>49</sup> On Zurzach this type represents one of the oldest forms present in the area of early Roman camps, alongside type *Aucissa*.<sup>50</sup> On this basis, the stated brooch from Sisak can also be dated in the last decades BC into the first decades of the next century.

Regarding the possible bearers of the fibula it is particularly indicative to mention that this type of brooch is very often found in military contexts. Sites such as Dangstetten, Haltern, Augsburg-Oberhausen or Vindonissa can be mentioned.<sup>51</sup> Even more significantly the finds from the temporary military camp in Čatež and the possible military context in Ljubljana indicate the most probable way of introduction of the type, i.e. following the Sava valley to Sisak and further on towards the Danube, also extending towards the south to the coast via the Una valley.<sup>52</sup> The possibility that these fibulae were worn by members of Roman military units thus remains open, especially for fibulae without context such as the one from Sisak. This could include not only legionaries, but also members of auxiliary troops that came to the area during Roman conquests. However, the finds from graves of the autochthonous communities in the Una valley<sup>53</sup> suggest the possibility of their distribution by movement of individuals not necessarily connected to the army. Like fibulae of type Alesia, the brooches of foreign origin found in the Una valley could have been worn by members of the local population as part of female, not only

51 Sedlmayer 2009, 20.

52 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 66-68.

53 Radimsky 1895, 77-78, Sl. 108, 116; Marić 1968, T. VI: 22.

54 Koščević 1980, 45, T. I: 2, 4.

55 Koščević 1980, T. I: 6.

47 Riha 1979, 98; Feugère 1985, 266; Gaspar 2007, 31.

48 Sedlmayer 2009, 20.

49 Farine 1999, 54-58, fig. 35: 8.

50 Hänggi *et al.* 1994, 140, 145.

51 Sedlmayer 2009, 20.

52 Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 66-68.

53 Radimsky 1895, 77-78, fig. 108, 116; Marić 1968, Pl. VI: 22.

Podjelu na varijante, rasprostranjenost i datiranje prvi je opširni obradio S. Demetz, podijelivši ih na varijantu narebrenog luka bez hvatišta tetive (Ia) te onu masivniju, s hvatištem (Ib) te fibule glatkog luka (IIa-c).<sup>56</sup> D. Božič detaljnije je obradio povijest istraživanja fibula ovog tipa općenito, uz analizu fibula varijante Ia koje je podijelio na dvije podvarijante.<sup>57</sup> Dvije fibule iz Siska pripadaju varijanti Ia1 za koju je karakteristično središnje rebro na luku, spirala od šest navoja i nožica izrađena na proboj. Fibule varijante Ib po S. Demetzu rjeđe su zastupljene od onih varijante Ia, a moguće i nešto mlađe te im se može pripisati treća sisačka fibula.<sup>58</sup>

Podvarijanta Ia1 tipična je za područje Dolenjske, gdje se datira u stupanj Mokronog IIIb, odnosno LT D2, što bi značilo da one iz upotrebe izlaze početkom srednjoaugustovskog doba.<sup>59</sup> Po S. Demetzu traju još tijekom drugog desetljeća prije Krista, dok se one varijante Ib javljaju još tijekom prvih dvaju desetljeća 1. st. po Kr. Javljaju se u muškim, ali i ženskim grobovima.<sup>60</sup> Pojava podvarijante karakteristične za prostor Dolenjske nadovezuje se na brojne kontakte sisačke zajednice s latenskim zajednicama grupe Mokronog, stoga se ovi primjerci najvjerojatnije trebaju tumačiti kao odraz postojeće mreže kontakata i trgovine ili razmjene.

### Tzv. noričko-panonske fibule A 236/237 i A 238

Skupini tzv. noričko-panonskih fibula pripadaju primjerci dvaju različitih tipova, fibula s dva dugmeta na luku i fibula s krilcima, koje su u pravilu bile nošene u paru kao dio ženske nošnje. Oba su doživjela veliku popularnost o kojoj svjedoče široka distribucija te dugotrajnost osnovnog oblika, kao i brojnost pripadajućih varijanti.<sup>61</sup>

Prvi tip predstavlja fibula s krilcima uz dugmetasto zadebljanje na luku (Sl. 5; kat. br. 7) koja se može odrediti kao tip Almgren 238, varijanta a. Riječ je o najstarijoj varijanti tzv. fibula s krilcima koja se javlja od druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. kao dio ženske nošnje na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru.<sup>62</sup> Bliske ovima, ali ukrašene s dva dugmeta na luku, jesu fibule tipa Almgren 236/237 koje se također javljaju u čitavom nizu varijanti. Fibule iz Siska tako pokazuju morfološke razlike po kojima se pripisuju različitim varijantama. Varijanti A 237a3 mogu se pripisati dvije fibule sa stepeničastim ukrasom nožice (Sl. 6: 2; kat. br. 9<sup>63</sup>), dok jedna pripada podvarijanti A 237a2.<sup>64</sup> Dvije fibule mogu se odrediti kao varijanta A 237b (Sl. 6: 1, 3; kat. br. 8, 10)<sup>65</sup> Pojava fibula s dva dugmeta smješta se u rano i srednjoaugustovsko doba.

Distribucija ranijih varijanti fibula s dva dugmeta na luku A 237a i onih s krilcima se dijelom podudara i pokriva prostor Norika i ju-

male costume. The settlement finds such as those from Flavia Solva or Virunum could have also belonged to women, leaving open the possibility that the Sisak brooch was used by a female member of the local community, but also perhaps a newcomer.

### Fibula type Idrija

in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb are kept several examples of fibulae type Idrija that come from Sisak. Two of them, with length of 9,1 and 7,8 cm, have one rib on the wider part of the ribbon bow and outside chord (Fig. 4; cat. nr. 6<sup>64</sup>). The third brooch, 7,4 cm long, has a spring of eight coils with chord attachments, three ribs on the bow and an elongated triangular foot with two rectangular and one circular opening, with a knobbed ending.<sup>65</sup>

The division into variants, distribution and dating were firstly extensively presented by S. Demetz, distinguishing a variant with ribbed bow without a chord attachment (Ia) and another more massive variant with an attachment (Ib), and fibulae without ribs on the bow (IIa-c).<sup>66</sup> D. Božič analysed in more detail the history of research on the type in general, with further analysis of variant Ia which he divided into two subvariants.<sup>67</sup> Two brooches from Sisak belong to variant Ia1 characterized by one central rib on the bow, a spring with six coils and perforations on the foot. Brooches of variant Ib after S. Demetz are less frequent than those of variant Ia, possibly also a bit younger, and to these can be ascribed the third brooch from Sisak.<sup>68</sup>

Subvariant Ia1 is typical for the area of Lower Carniola, where it is dated to phase Mokronog IIIb, i.e. LTD2, implying they went out of use by the beginning of the middle Augustan era.<sup>69</sup> According to S. Demetz they continue to exist until the second decade BC, while those of variant Ib stay in use even during the first two decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. They occur in male, but also female graves.<sup>60</sup> The occurrence of the subvariant characteristic for Lower Carniola illustrates the numerous contacts of the Sisak community with La Tène communities of the Mokronog group, so these examples can also be interpreted as a sign of the existing network of contacts and trade or exchange.

### So-called noric-pannonian fibulae A 236/237 and A 328

The group of so-called noric-pannonian fibulae comprises examples of two different types, fibulae with two buttons on the bow and winged fibulae, that were as a rule worn in pairs as part of female dress. Both types had great popularity as testified by a wide distribution and longevity of the basic form, as well as by the numerous variants.<sup>61</sup>

56 Demetz 1999, 123-127.

57 Božič 2008, 87-110.

58 Demetz 1999, 123, 126.

59 Božič 2008, 99-100, 109, 189-190, Karta 2.

60 Demetz 1999, 124-126.

61 Garbsch 1965, 26-79.

62 Demetz 1999, 43, 45-46; Sedlmayer 2009, Sl. 79.

63 Uz ovu, istoj varijanti pripada fibula pod inv. br. 3929, Košćević 1980, T. VIII: 50.

64 Košćević 1980, T. VIII: 51.

65 Opširnije o varijantama v. Demetz 1999, 49-52.

54 Košćević 1980, 45, Pl. I: 2, 4.

55 Košćević 1980, Pl. I: 6.

56 Demetz 1999, 123-127.

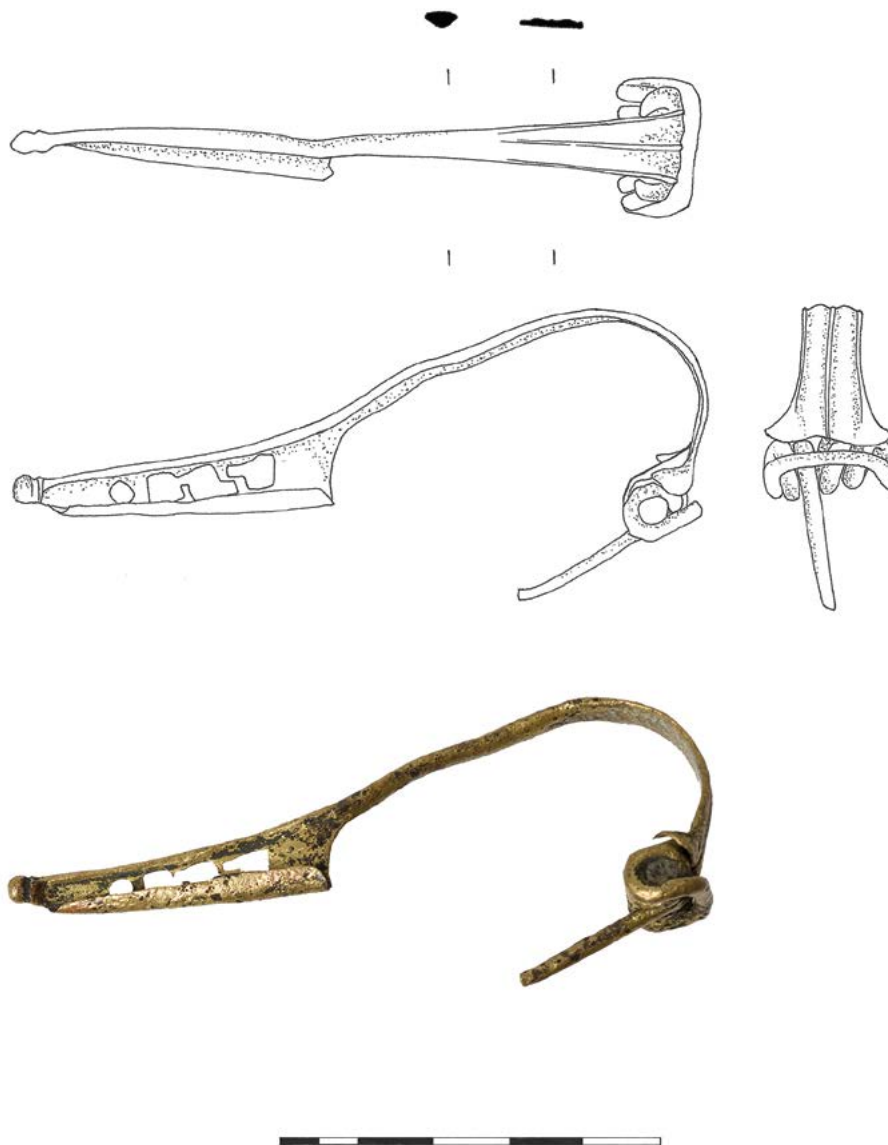
57 Božič 2008, 87-110.

58 Demetz 1999, 123, 126.

59 Božič 2008, 99-100, 109, 189-190, map 2.

60 Demetz 1999, 124-126.

61 Garbsch 1965, 26-79.



SL. 4.  
Fibula tipa Idrija iz Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar).

FIG. 4.  
Fibula type Idrija from Sisak (drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar).

goistočnih Alpi, iako se fibule tipa A238 javljaju se na nešto širem području.<sup>66</sup> Širenje distribucije fibula s dva dugmeta na luku može se pratiti kod kasnijih varijanti, pa je tako varijanta A 237b česta i na teritoriju Retije i Helvetije.<sup>67</sup> Jugoistočnoalpsko porijeklo ovih fibula potvrđuje otvorenost Siska utjecajima sa zapada i uklopljenost u strujanja koja su formirala materijalnu baštinu južne Panonije i prialpskog prostora na samom početku rimske vladavine.

### Fibule tipa Almgren 2

Tri fibule (Sl. 7; kat. br. 11)<sup>68</sup> imaju visoko izvijeni, ali relativno kratki luk trokutastog presjeka koji završava dugmetom na kojeg se nastavlja izdužena pravokutna nožica s dvije rupice. Riječ je o fi-

The first type is represented by a fibula with winged protrusions alongside a button-like thickening on the bow (Fig. 5; cat. nr. 7) that can be defined as type Almgren 238, variant a. It is the oldest variant of so-called winged fibulae that appears from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC as part of female costume in the south-eastern Alpine area.<sup>62</sup> Close to these, but with two buttons on the bow, are brooches type Almgren 236/237 that also occur in numerous variants. The fibulae from Sisak show morphological traits that ascribe them to different forms. Two fibulae with stepped decoration on the foot can be ascribed to variant A 237a3 (Fig. 6:2; cat. nr. 9<sup>63</sup>), while one other belongs to variant A 237a2.<sup>64</sup> Two more brooches belong to variant A 237b (Fig. 6: 1, 3; cat. nr. 8, 10).<sup>65</sup> The appearance of fibulae with two buttons is dated to the early and middle Augustan age.

66 Demetz 1999, 54, karte 7, 9; Sedlmayer 2009, Sl. 79, 84.

67 Demetz 1999, 54, karta 10.

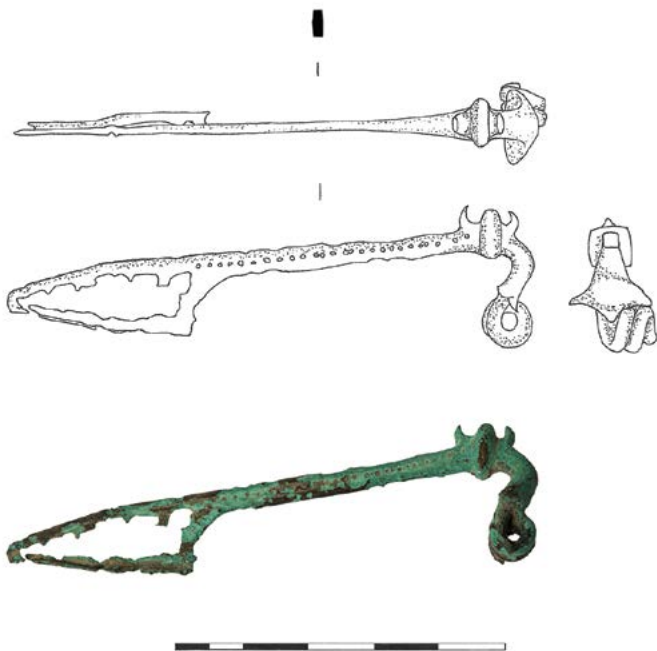
68 Četvrti je primjerak objavljen u Košćević 1980, T. I: 7.

62 Demetz 1999, 43, 45-46; Sedlmayer 2009, fig. 79.

63 Besides this, to the same variant belongs brooch under inv. nr. 3929, Košćević 1980, Pl. VIII: 50.

64 Košćević 1980, Pl. VIII: 51.

65 On these variants in more detail see Demetz 1999, 49-52.



SL. 5.

Fibula s krilcima tipa A 238 iz Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar).

FIG. 5.

Winged fibula type A 238 from Sisak (drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar).

bulama tipa Almgren 2, koje su se često nazivale i „bojskim“. S obzirom na unutarnju tetivu spirale i presjek luka mogu se odrediti kao varijanta 2all.<sup>69</sup>

Riječ je o obliku koji se javlja u srednjem do kasnom augustovskom dobu i karakterističan je prvenstveno za prostor središnje Europe (Češka, zapadno do Rajne pa do Visle u Poljskoj na istoku) kao dio ženske nošnje (u paru).<sup>70</sup> No, u slučaju nalaza južno od Dunava pretpostavljena je moguća povezanost s vojskom. Grob 1 iz S. Martino di Aviana sadržavao je, uz fibulu varijante 2all, još i fibule tipa Alesija i *Aucissa*, srebrni prsten s gemom, piksidu od brončanog lima, ali i željezno koplje te keramiku lokalnog porijekla.<sup>71</sup> S obzirom na miješanje „rimskih“ i „domaćih“ elemata, grob se tumači kao ukop člana lokalne autohtone zajednice koji je u službi rimske vojske, iako takvo tumačenje nije sasvim pouzdano. U slučaju sisačkih primjeraka nije moguće potvrditi povezanost s pripadnicima vojnih postrojbi, ali svakako je riječ o obliku stranog porijekla.

### Zaključna razmatranja

Nedostatak zatvorenih cjelina i stratigrafskih podataka ostaje jedan od ključnih problema u interpretaciji mnoštva intrigrantnih nalaza koji potječu s područja današnjeg Siska. Ipak, objave novijih istraživanja<sup>72</sup> bude nadu da će dio problema i pitanja ipak biti, barem djelomično, razriješen u budućnosti. No, u svje-

The distribution of earlier variants of brooches with two buttons A237a and winged fibulae partially coincide, covering the areas of Noricum and south-eastern Alps, although fibulae type A238 appear in a somewhat larger area.<sup>66</sup> The spread of distribution of fibulae with two buttons can be observed on later variants, so variant A237b often appears also in the territory of Raetia and Helvetia.<sup>67</sup> The south-eastern Alpine origin of these brooches confirms that Sisak was open to influences from the West and integrated in the flow of events that formed the material culture of south Pannonia and the Alpine area at the very beginning of Roman rule.

### Fibulae type Almgren 2

Three brooches (Fig. 7; cat. nr. 11)<sup>68</sup> have a high arched, but rather short bow of triangular cross-section that ends with a button followed by an elongated rectangular foot with two holes. These are fibulae of type Almgren 2, often called „Boian“. Considering the inside chord and bow cross-section they can be ascribed to variant 2all.<sup>69</sup>

This form appears in the middle and late Augustan age and it is mostly characteristic for areas of central Europe (Czech, to the Rhine on the west and Vistula in Poland in the east) as part of female dress (in pairs).<sup>70</sup> However, in the case of findings south of the Danube it is supposed that there is a possible connection to the army. Grave 1 at S. Martino di Aviano contained, besides one brooch of variant 2all, also fibulae type Alesia and *Aucissa*, a silver ring with gemstone, a pyxis made of bronze tin, but also an iron spear and pottery of local provenance.<sup>71</sup> Considering the mixture of „Roman“ and „domestic“ elements the grave is interpreted as a burial of a member of the autochthonous community that served in the Roman army, although this interpretation is not completely reliable. In the case of the Sisak examples it is not possible to make the association with members of military units, but the item is certainly of foreign origin.

### Conclusive remarks

The lack of closed contexts and stratigraphic data remains one of the essential problems in the interpretation of numerous intriguing finds that originate from the area of present-day Sisak. However, publications of newer research results<sup>72</sup> offer hope

69 Demetz 1999, 110; Völling 1994, 222.

70 Demetz 1999, 112-113; Schierl 2008, 24; Völling 1994, 224-230.

71 Vitri 1990, 22-28; Sedlmayer 2009, 211.

72 Npr. *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja Gradskog muzeja Sisak 2000-2010*, Gradski muzej Sisak 2011; I. Drnić, I. Miletić Čakširan, „Σιακία?“ / Naselje iz mladega željeznog doba na lijevoj obali Kupe u Sisku: Strabonova „Σιακία?“; *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 47 XLVII, 147-251.

66 Demetz 1999, 54, maps 7, 9; Sedlmayer 2009, fig. 79, 84.

67 Demetz 1999, 54, map 10.

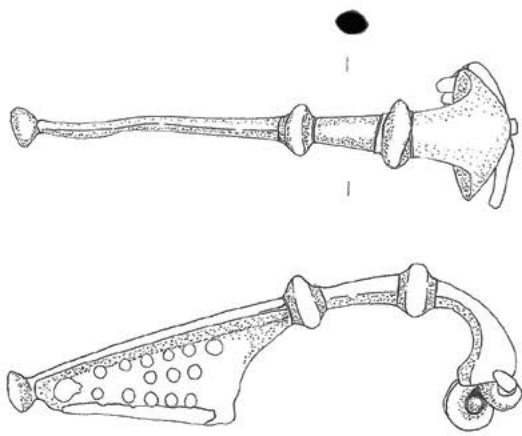
68 The fourth example is published in Košević 1980, T. I: 7.

69 Demetz 1999, 110; Völling 1994, 222.

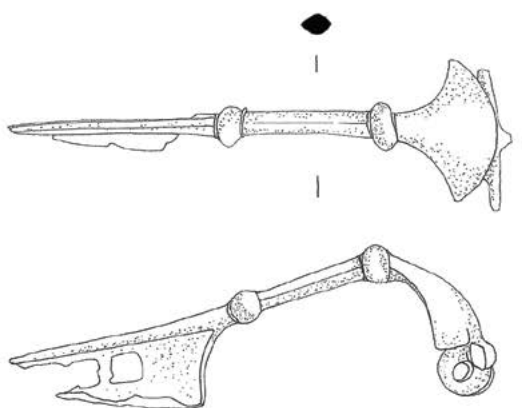
70 Demetz 1999, 112-113; Schierl 2008, 24; Völling 1994, 224-230.

71 Vitri 1990, 22-28; Sedlmayer 2009, 211.

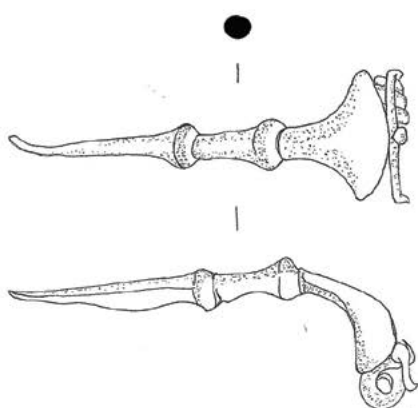
72 For ex. rescue excavations in *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja Gradskog muzeja Sisak 2000-2010*, Gradski muzej Sisak 2011; I. Drnić, I. Miletić Čakširan, A Late Iron Age Settlement on the Left Bank of the River Kupa in Sisak: Strabo's „Σιακία?“; *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 47 XLVII, 147-251.



1



2

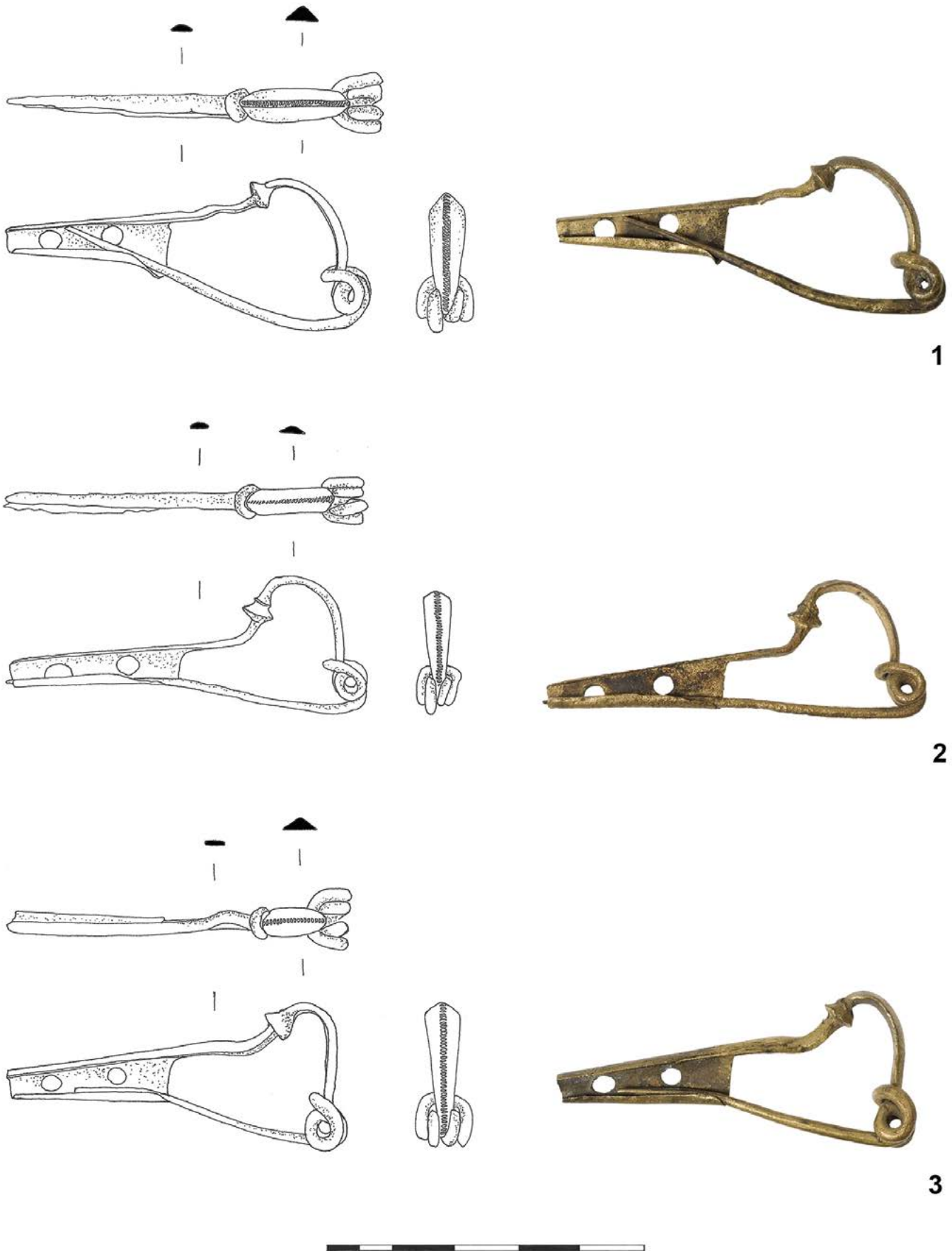


3



Sl. 6.  
Fibule s dva dugmeta na luku tipa A 237 iz Siska  
(crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar).

FIG. 6.  
Fibulae from Sisak with two buttons of A 237 type  
(drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar).



SL. 7.  
Fibule tipa Almgren 2a11 iz Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; snimio: I. Krajcar).

FIG. 7.  
Fibulae of type Almgren 2a11 from Sisak (drawing: H. Ivezić; photo: I. Krajcar).

tlu novije literature i stariji materijal može ponuditi zanimljive spoznaje o promjenama koje se odvijaju tijekom 2. polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. i početkom 1. st. po Kr. Dolazak rimske vojske u vrijeme Oktavijana svakako je prijelomni povijesni trenutak koji je međutim teško razlučiti u samom arheološkom materijalu. Može se pretpostaviti da su dolasku rimskih legija prethodili trgovački kontakti sa sjevernoitalskim područjem posredstvom jugoistočnoalpskog prostora, a neposredno nakon ili u vrijeme uspostave rimske vlasti treba računati i na mogući priljev civilnog stanovništva poput činovnika, obrtnika itd. Naravno, teško je doći do pouzdane potvrde i povezati određeni predmet s njegovim vlasnikom s obzirom na nedostatak konteksta, stoga se može govoriti tek o smjerovima kontakata i mogućnostima interpretacije.

Položaj Siska pružao je naravno velike prednosti s obzirom na mogućnost veza sa zapadom i istokom dolinama Kupe i Save, ali i smještaj na periferiji Karpatske kotline odnosno južne Panonije koji je omogućavao otvorenost prema sjeveru. Kontakti Pukoplja s Dolenjskom izraženi su kroz čitavo mlađe željezno doba, pa se u tom svjetlu može tumačiti i pojava varijanti fibula tipa Idrija koje svoje matično područje imaju upravo u toj regiji. Korštenje tih fibula od strane lokalnog stanovništva predstavljalo bi prirodni nastavak te otvorenosti prema jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru, iako ne treba posve isključiti mogućnost kretanja pojedina. Oblici karakteristični za žensku nošnju koji se javljaju tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba mogli bi tako govoriti o ženidbenim vezama i uspostavljenim kontaktima između autohtonih zajednica ovih područja koji se zasigurno nisu prekinuli početkom augustovskog doba.

Pojava fibula s dva dugmeta i onih s krilcima (tzv. noričko-panonskih fibula) koje se obično asociraju sa ženskom nošnjom može se tumačiti i kao odraz kretanja stanovništva. Ipak, mnogo je vjerojatnije da iste upućuju na širenje običaja nošenja ovih oblika na širem prostoru jugoistočnih Alpi i preuzimanje novih modnih ideja od strane domaćeg stanovništva. Svakako i ovaj fenomen treba tumačiti kao još jedan pokazatelj uklopljenosti periferije južne Panonije u zbivanja na prostoru šire regije, ali i orijentaciju ka zapadu.

Jedine fibule italskog porijekla koje bi dakle odgovarale pretpostavkama o priljevu italskog stanovništva u vremenu nakon rimskih osvajanja jesu fibule tipa Alezija. No, uz najvjerojatnije italsko porijeklo određenih varijanti, za pojedine primjerke ostaje vrlo moguće i prialpsko porijeklo. Također, kako je prethodno istaknuto ne može se nedvojbeno povezati ove fibule s razdobljem Oktavijanovih osvajanja kao ni s legionarima koji tada dolaze: pojedine su varijante mogle biti starije, ali i nešto mlađe datacije, a fibule tipa Alezija nisu nužno dio vojne nošnje. Takva bi se mogućnost mogla spomenuti za fibulu s ukrasom luka na proboj. Uz mogućnost pojave došljaka (italskog porijekla?), možda je i zanimljivija ona prilagođavanja novoj modi od strane domaćeg stanovništva u smislu asociranja s novom elitom pod novim okolnostima. Iako nisu italskog porijekla, fibule tipa Langton Down ili Almgren 2 također se uklapaju u sliku promjena u repertoaru fibula na širem prialpskom prostoru u augustovskom i kasnijem razdoblju, kada se uz oblike domaćeg regionalnog po-

that part of the problem and questions will be, at least in part, solved in the future. Still, in the light of new literature even the older material can offer interesting notions regarding the changes that occurred during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. The arrival of the Roman army during Octavian was certainly a crucial historical moment that remains however hardly recognisable in the archaeological record. It can be assumed that the arrival of Roman legions was anticipated by trade contacts with northern Italy via the south-eastern Alpine areas, and that immediately after or during the establishment of Roman rule there was an increase in the influx of civilians like clerks, craftsmen etc. Of course, it is hard to obtain a clear confirmation of such and link a specific item with its owner considering the lack of context, so only possible routes of contact and possibilities of interpretation can be discussed.

The position of Sisak naturally offered great advantages because of the ability to reach west and east via the valleys of Kupa and Sava, combined with the position on the periphery of the Carpathian Basin and south Pannonia that allowed connections to the north. The contact of Kupa valley with Lower Carniola remain relevant throughout the Late Iron Age so in this light has to be observed also the occurrence of fibulae type Idrija of the variant originating from the same region. The use of such fibulae by the local population presents a natural continuity of this openness towards the south-eastern Alpine area, although a possible movement of individuals is not to be excluded. Forms characteristic for female dress that appear during the Late Iron Age could suggest the existence of marital ties and established contacts between the autochthonous communities from both areas, that were certainly not interrupted at the beginning of Augustan age.

The appearance of fibulae with two buttons and winged fibulae usually associated with female dress can be interpreted as a reflection of population migration. However, it is much more likely that these types indicate the spread of the custom of wearing such forms in the wider south-eastern Alpine area and acceptance of new fashion ideas by the autochthonous population. This phenomenon is certainly to be seen as another indicator of the integration of the periphery of southern Pannonia into events in the wider region, as well as the orientation towards the West.

The only brooches of Italic provenance that would therefore agree with the assumption of influx of Italic population in the times of Roman conquest are the fibulae of type Alesia. The most probable Italic origin of some variants is, however, accompanied by a very possible Alpine production in the case of other examples. Furthermore, as already mentioned the fibulae cannot be undoubtedly linked to the time of Octavian's conquest or with legionaries that arrived in that period: some variants could be older, or even younger, and fibulae of type Alesia are not necessarily part of military costume. This latter possibility could be mentioned for the brooch with perforated decoration of the bow. Besides the possible appearance of newcomers (of Italic origin?) it is perhaps even more interesting to suggest the adaptation of local inhabitants to new fashion as a way to associate with the new elite under new circumstances. Even though they

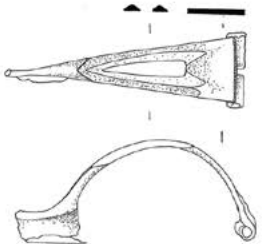
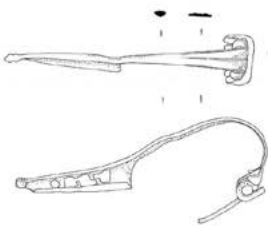
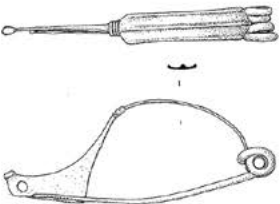
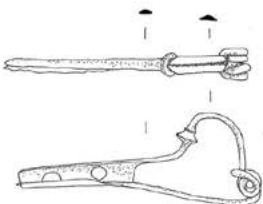
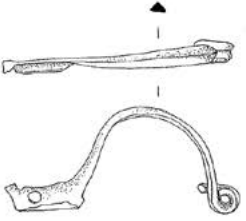
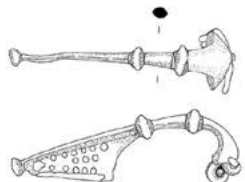
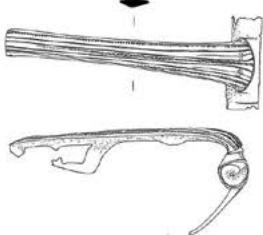
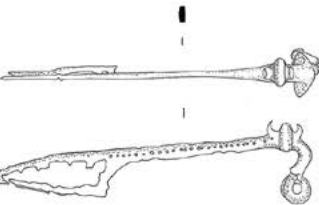


rijekla javljaju (iako u malom broju) tipovi galskog, zapadnoeuropskog porijekla.<sup>73</sup> Ovi bi se tipovi možda mogli uistinu povezati s kretanjima rimske vojske s obzirom na nalaze u ranorimskom logoru na putu prema Mokricama i prolazu u Dolenjsku, odnosno u Ljubljani; smjeru koji je svakako veliku ulogu imao u procesu osvajanja Siska i daljnjem širenju prema istoku međurječja Drave, Save i Dunava.

Iako bez definitivnih odgovora na brojna pitanja koje se postavljaju prilikom sagledavanja dijelova nošnje iz druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. i početka 1. st. po Kr., ovaj osvrt na pojedine tipove fibula iz Siska pokazuje miješanje italskih i zapadnoeuropskih utjecaja koji formiraju lokalnu nošnju paralelno s egzistiranjem autohtonih, regionalnih panonsko-prialpskih karakteristika.

are not of Italic origin, fibulae of type Langton Down or Almgren 2 also fit within this picture of changes in the fibulae repertoire in the wider Alpine area during the Augustan and later age, when alongside brooches of regional provenance appear (although in small number) types of Gallic, Western European origin.<sup>73</sup> These types could indeed be associated with movement of army troops considering the finds in early Roman military camps on the way to Mokrice and the entrance in Lower Carniola and in Ljubljana; the route that must have played an important role in the process of conquest of Sisak and further spreading towards the eastern part of the confluence of Drava, Sava and Danube.

Although lacking definitive answers to numerous questions that arise when observing elements of costume from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, this overview of some fibulae types from Sisak shows the mixture of Italic and Western European influences that shaped local costume parallel with the existence of autochthonous, regional Pannoian and Alpine characteristics.

<p><b>Alesia</b></p> 	<p><b>Idrija</b></p> 
<p><b>Jezerine</b></p> 	<p><b>Almgren 2</b></p> 
<p><b>Gorica</b></p> 	<p><b>Almgren 236/237</b> (tzv. noričko-panonske fibule fibule s dva dugmeta)</p> 
<p><b>Langton Down</b></p> 	<p><b>Almgren 238</b> (tzv. noričko-panonske fibule fibule s krilcima)</p> 

**TABLICA 1.**  
Pregled kasnorepublikanskih i ranocarskih tipova fibula pronađenih na području Siska (crtež: H. Ivezić; priredila: A. Tonc).

**TABLE 1.**  
Overview of Late Republican and early Imperial types of fibulae found in the area of Sisak (drawings: H. Ivezić; design: A. Tonc).

73 Cfr. Sedlmayer 2009, 201-204; also the repertoire from Magdalensberg on Tab. 113, 116, 119, 122.

# KATALOG

## 1. Fibula tipa Alezija Ia3, AMZ, inv. br. A-3619 (Sl. 1: 2)

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 6,3 cm; širina glave: oko 2,6 cm; visina: 1,7 cm.

**Opis:** fibula trokutastog luka sa sitnim, fino izvedenim mrežastim motivom raspoređenim u pet trokutastih polja sa žljebljenom linijom po sredini. Šarnir je presavijen prema unutra, igla nedostaje. Nožica je vjerojatno četvrtastog oblika, no vrlo je oštećena odnosno presavijena.

**Literatura:** Patek 1942, T. V: 9

## 2. Fibula tipa Alezija Ib/Id, AMZ, inv. br. A-3618 (Sl. 1: 4)

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 5,8 cm; širina glave: 1,8 cm

**Opis:** Brončana fibula ima trokutastu perforaciju na sredini luka koji je na bočnim stranama otvora trokutastog presjeka. Šarnir je presavijen s donje strane i ima željeznu jezgru.

**Literatura:** Koščević 1980, T. II: 9

## 3. Fibula tipa Alezija, AMZ, inv. br. A-19067 (Sl. 1: 3)

**Dimenzije:** dužina: oko 6,2 cm; širina: 1,6 cm

**Opis:** Fibula širokog trokutastog luka ima dva uzdužna žlijeba sa zarezima po sredini luka, između parova poprečnih urezanih linija. Na dijelu prema četvrtastoj nožici nalazi se urezani X-motiv. Završetak nožice je produžen i presavijen tako da gotovo dodiruje luk. Na samom kraju završetka nalaze se dvije nasuprotno postavljene, razmaknute kalote.

**Literatura:** Kovrig 1937, T. XX: 2; Patek 1942, T. V: 1; Meller 2012, Sl. 75: 12

## 4. Zglobna fibula s dvije igle, AMZ, inv. br. A-3685 (Sl. 2: 1)

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 6,1 cm; širina: 2 cm

**Opis:** brončana fibula šarnirne (zglobne) konstrukcije s dvije igle. Glava je pravokutna, s dvije bočne perforacije. Trakasti luk je uži od glave i ukrašen s uzdužnim žljebljenim linijama, po jednom na rubovima luka te dvije po sredini, između kojih je plastična valovita linija. Između žljebljenih linija nalaze se žigosani motiv „očiju“, odnosno koncentričnih kružnica. Na kraju luka nalazi se niz poprečnih ureza te urezani X-motiv. Trakasti luk postupno se sužava i završava s raskovanom pravokutnom pločicom uzdignutih rubova u kojoj završavaju dvije igle.

**Literatura:** Kovrig 1937, T. IV: 38; Koščević 1980, 46, kat. br. 77.

## 5. Fibula tipa Langton Down, AMZ, inv. br. A-3817 (Sl. 3)

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 6,7 cm; širina tuljca: 2,5 cm

**Opis:** brončana fibula s uzdužnim rebrima na ravnom luku, vrlo blago suženom prema nožici. Rebra su ukrašena sa sitnim ukrašenim plastičnim linijama. Spirala se nalazi unutar neukrašenog pravokutnog tuljca. Nožica je ukrašena na proboj, dijelom oštećena, igla nedostaje.

**Literatura:** Koščević 1980, T. VII. 49

# CATALOGUE

## 1. Fibula type Alesia Ia3, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3619 (Fig. 1: 2)

**Dimensions:** length: 6,3 cm; head width: around 2,6 cm; height: 1,7 cm.

**Description:** fibula with triangular bow decorated with a finely executed net-like motif arranged in five triangular fields with a grooved line in the middle. The hinge is folded inwards, pin is missing. The foot is probably of rectangular shape, but it is very damaged and folded.

**Literature:** Patek 1942, T. V: 9

## 2. Fibula type Alesia Ib/Id, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3618 (Fig. 1: 4)

**Dimensions:** length: 5,8 cm; head width: 1,8 cm

**Description:** bronze fibula with triangular perforation in the middle of the bow, with triangular cross-section of the bow on both sides. The hinge is inwards bent and has an iron core.

**Literature:** Koščević 1980, T. II: 9

## 3. Fibula type Alesia, AMZ, inv. A-19067 (Fig. 1: 3)

**Dimensions:** length: around 6,2 cm; width: 1,6 cm

**Description:** Fibula with wide triangular bow with two longitudinal grooves with incisions in the middle, between pairs of incised transversal lines. Towards the rectangular foot there is an incised X-motif. The ending of the foot is extended and backwards bent, almost touching the bow. On the very end of the foot extension there are two opposite, separated conical elements.

**Literature:** Kovrig 1937, T. XX: 2; Patek 1942, T. V: 1; Meller 2012, fig. 75: 12

## 4. Hinged fibula with two pin, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3685 (Fig. 2: 1)

**Dimensions:** length: 6,1 cm; width: 2 cm

**Description:** bronze fibula of hinged construction with two pins. The head is rectangular, with two side perforations. The ribbon bow is narrower than the head and decorated with longitudinal grooved lines, one on each side of the bow and two along the middle, with a plastic wavy line in between. Between the grooved lines there is a stamped motif of dots-in-circles. On the end of the bow there are transversal incised lines and an incised X-motif. The narrowing bow ends with a rectangular plate with raised edges that hold the two pins.

**Literature:** Kovrig 1937, T. IV: 38; Koščević 1980, 46, cat. nr. 77.

## 5. Fibula type Langton Down, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3817 (Fig. 3)

**Dimensions:** length: 6,7 cm; width of casing: 2,5 cm

**Description:** bronze fibula with longitudinal ribs on the bow, slightly narrower towards the foot. The ribs are decorated with small oblique relief lines. The spring is inside the undecorated rectangular casing. The foot is perforated, partially damaged, and the pin is missing.

**Literature:** Koščević 1980, T. VII. 49

**6. Fibula tipa Idrija, AMZ, inv. br. 3933 (Sl. 4)**

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 9,1 cm

**Opis:** fibula s rebrom na trakastom luku, proširenom iznad spirale od šest navoja. Prema nožici luk je ovalnog presjeka. Nožica je izdužena trokutasta, sa stepeničastim ukrasom na probroj i kuglastim završetkom. Igla je djelomično očuvana.

**Literatura:** Koščević 1980, T. I: 2.

**7. Fibula s krilcima tipa Almgren 238a, AMZ, inv. br. A-3931 (Sl. 5)**

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 7,9 cm

**Opis:** fibula s lukom četvrtastog presjeka, ukrašenim s nizom sitnih uboda na bočnoj strani. Iznad savijene štitaste glave nalazi se ovalno dugmetasto zadebljanje koje na ima male produžetke u obliku krila, po jedno prije i nakon dugmeta. Krilasti produžeci gotovo da ne prelaze visinu dugmeta. Sačuvana su samo tri navoja spirale, igla nedostaje. Izdužena trokutasta nožica imala je vjerojatno stepeničasti ukras na probroj, koji je vrlo oštećen i vidljiv samo u tragovima duž rubova.

**Literatura:** Koščević 1980, T. VIII: 53; Demetz 1999, T. 9: 2.

**8. Fibula s dva dugmeta tipa Almgren 237b, AMZ, inv. br. A-3928 (Sl. 6: 1)**

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 6,8 cm

**Opis:** fibula s masivnim lukom ovalnog presjeka, s dva veća zaobljena dugmeta. Štitasta glava završava spiralom s hvatištem tetive, od koje je sačuvano samo četiri navoja na jednoj strani. Nožica je trokutasta, s više okruglih perforacija raspoređenih u tri nejednaka niza koja se spajaju u većoj perforaciji prije dugmetastog završetka. Igla nije sačuvana, ali je fibula u jako dobrom stanju, s ujednačenom patinom koja odgovara nalazima iz vode.

**Literatura:** neobjavljeno<sup>74</sup>

**9. Fibula s dva dugmeta tipa Almgren 237a3, AMZ, inv. br. A-3824 (Sl. 6: 2)**

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 6,5 cm

**Opis:** fibula rombičnog presjeka luka s dva zaobljena dugmeta-sta zadebljanja. Štitasta glava završava sa spiralom od četiri navoja sa svake strane (sačuvana su samo na jednoj) i hvatištem tetive. Igla nije sačuvana. Nožica je oštećena, trokutasto oblikovana s ostacima stepeničastog ažuriranog motiva. Patina fibule je tamnozeleno, što bi moglo sugerirati da nije riječ o riječnom nalazu.

**Literatura:** Koščević 1980, 47, br. 87 (bez crteža).

**6. Fibula type Idrija, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3933 (Fig. 4)**

**Dimensions:** length: 9,1 cm

**Description:** fibula with one rib on the ribbon bow, wider above the spring of six coils. Towards the foot the bow has an oval cross-section. The foot is elongated and triangular, with stepped decoration and a rounded knob. The pin is partially preserved.

**Literature:** Koščević 1980, T. I: 2.

**7. Winged fibula type Almgren 238a, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3931 (Fig. 5)**

**Dimensions:** length: 7,9 cm

**Description:** fibula with rectangular cross-section of the bow, decorated with a series of small dots on the sides. Above the bent shield-like head there is an oval button-shaped thickening with small winged protrusions on the sides, one before and one after the button. The protrusions basically do not extend above the height of the thickening. Only three coils are preserved, and the pin is missing. The elongated triangular foot probably had stepped decoration, but it is very damaged and visible only in traces on the edges.

**Literature:** Koščević 1980, T. VIII: 53; Demetz 1999, T. 9: 2.

**8. Fibula with two buttons type Almgren 237b, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3928 (Fig. 6: 1)**

**Dimensions:** length: 6,8 cm

**Description:** fibula with massive bow of oval cross-section, with two large rounded buttons. The shield head ends with a spring with chord attachment of which only remain only four coils on one side. The foot is triangular, with more round perforations in three uneven lines that meet in one larger perforation before the knobbed ending. The pin is missing, but the brooch is in very good condition with an even patina that corresponds to water finds.

**Literature:** unpublished<sup>74</sup>

**9. Fibula with two buttons type Almgren 237a3, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3824 (Fig. 6: 2)**

**Dimensions:** length: 6,5 cm

**Description:** fibula with rhombic cross-section of the bow with two rounded thickenings. The shield head ends with a spring of four coils on each side (preserved only on one) and chord attachment. The pin is missing. The foot is damaged, triangular with rest of stepped decoration. The patina is dark green, which could indicate that it is not a water find.

**Literature:** Koščević 1980, 47, nr. 87 (no drawing).

<sup>74</sup> Iako je inventarni broj isti, nije riječ o fibuli objavljenoj u: Koščević 1980, 47, br. 89, T. VIII: 51. Moguće je zamijenjen inv. broj s fibulom pod 3628.

<sup>74</sup> Although the inventory number is the same, it is not the fibula published in: Koščević 1980, 47, nr. 89, T. VIII: 51. The number was possibly misplaced with brooch under nr. 3628.

**10. Fibula s dva dugmeta tipa Almgren 237b, AMZ, inv. br. A-3924 (Sl. 6: 3)**

**Dimenzije:** dužina: 5,3 cm

**Opis:** fibula s ovalnim presjekom luka i masivnim dugmetastim zadebljanjem te većom štitastom glavom. Od spirale je sačuvano četiri navoja na jednoj strani te dio tetive s hvatištem. Iгла nedostaje, kao i nožica.

**Literatura:** Košćević 1980, 47, br. 90 (bez crteža).

**11. Fibule tipa Almgren 2all, AMZ, inv. br. A-3522 (3 primjerka) (Sl. 7: 1-3)**

**Dimenzije:** dužine: 5,3 cm; 5,8 cm; 5,6 cm

**Opis:** fibule kratkog, ali visoko izvijenog luka trokutastog presjeka koji je ukrašen linijom sitnih poprečnih ureza na sredini. Luk završava dugmetom, nakon kojeg se pruža izdužena pravokutna nožica trakastog presjeka s dvije veće okrugle perforacije na držaču igle. Spirala je kratka, od četiri navoja povezana unutarnjom tetivom. Fibule su cjelovite, iako blago deformirane.

**Literatura:** Košćević 1980, 45, br. 13-14 (bez crteža).

**10. Fibula with two buttons type Almgren 237b, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3924 (Fig. 6: 3)**

**Dimensions:** length: 5,3 cm

**Description:** fibula with oval cross-section of bow with massive button-like thickenings and massive shield head. Four coils on one side and part of chord with attachment are preserved. The pin is missing, and so is the foot.

**Literature:** Košćević 1980, 47, nr. 90 (no drawing).

**11. Fibulae type Almgren 2all, AMZ, inv. nr. A-3522 (3 pieces) (Fig. 7: 1-3)**

**Dimensions:** length: 5,3 cm; 5,8 cm; 5,6 cm

**Description:** fibulae with a short, but highly arched bow of triangular cross-section decorated by a central line of small transversal incisions. The bow ends with a button, after which extends the elongated rectangular foot with ribbon cross-section and two large perforations on the pin holder. The spring is short, made of four coils with inside chord. The brooches are preserved entirely, although slightly deformed.

**Literature:** Košćević 1980, 45, nr. 13-14 (no drawings).

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# PREDCARSKI NOVAC IZ SISKA

## PRE-IMPERIAL COINAGE FROM SISAK

Tomislav Bilić

*Stratigrafski pozicionirane kovanice pronađene tijekom arheoloških istraživanja najvažnija su kategorija novčanih nalaza. Vrlo skroman broj ovakvih nalaza u Sisku uvelike otežava raspravu o cirkulaciji novca na području ovog važnog panonskog središta u predcarskom razdoblju. S druge strane, nezanemariv korpus predcarskog novca pronađenog na području Siska izvan arheološke stratigrafije nije osobito kronološki indikativan. Ove dvije činjenice ne pružaju osobito optimističan pogled prema evaluaciji predcarskih novčanih nalaza s područja Siska. No, u ovom konkretnom slučaju coin loss kategorija (stratigrafski pozicionirani novac) može se upotrijebiti kao korektiv ili „kontrolna grupa“ coin supply kategorije (novac pronađen na području Siska izvan arheološke stratigrafije). Naime, pitanje koje nas zanima je kronološko pozicioniranje kako pojedine kovanice tako i tipova novca u razdoblje prije ili poslije opsade i pada Segestike/Siscije.*

*Stratigraphically positioned coins recovered in proper archaeological excavations are the most important category of coin finds. A modest number of such finds influences the discussion on coin circulation in this important Pannonian center in the pre-Imperial period unfavourably. On the other hand, the entire, in itself not insignificant, corpus of pre-Imperial coins found in the area of modern Sisak outside archaeological stratigraphy is not particularly chronologically indicative. These two circumstances do not suggest an especially optimistic prospect of an evaluation of pre-Imperial coin finds in the area of Sisak. But in this specific case the coin loss category of finds (stratigraphically positioned coins) can be used as a corrective or “control group” to the coin supply category (coins found in the area of Sisak outside archaeological stratigraphy). This is possible since the main issue addressed here is the chronological positioning of both individual coins and coin types in the period prior to or after the siege and fall of Segestica/Siscia.*

### Ključne riječi:

Sisak, Segestica/Siscija, predcarski novac, keltski/željeznodobni novac, cirkulacija novca

### Key words:

Sisak, Segestica/Siscia, pre-Imperial coinage, Celtic/Iron Age coinage, coin circulation

Naše spoznaje o optjecaju novca u predrimskoj Segestici/Sisciji, tj. u mladeželjeznodobnom naselju/naseljima i njegovoj (njihovoj) okolini prije Oktavijanove opsade 35. pr. Kr., uvelike su obogaćene u posljednjih petnaestak godina. Objavljena je tako, na ovaj ili onaj način, značajna količina numizmatičkih nalaza s lokaliteta na području suvremenog Siska („Keltsko“, Dunavski Lloyd, Lučka kapetanija, Povijesni arhiv, Frankopanska ulica, Ulica Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog, Ulica braće Radić, Željeznički kolodvor), kao i sporadični nalazi novca s područja Siska koji se čuvaju – ili su se čuvali – u Gradskom muzeju Sisak te u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, u kojem se čuva golema većina svih numizmatičkih nalaza s područja Siska pronađenih prije Drugog svjetskog rata, osobito nalaza iz jaružanja Kupe.<sup>1</sup> Sav predcarski materijal,

During the last fifteen years our knowledge of the coin circulation in pre-Roman Segestica/Siscia, i.e. the La Tène settlement(s) and its/their environs prior to Octavian's siege of 35 BC has significantly increased. In one way or another, an important quantity of numismatic finds from the sites in the area of modern Sisak are published (“Keltsko”, Dunavski Lloyd, Lučka kapetanija, Povijesni arhiv, Frankopanska ulica, Ulica Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog, Ulica braće Radić, Railway station), as well as stray finds from the same area that are kept – or were kept – in the City Museum Sisak and the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; the vast majority of stray finds recovered prior to WWII, especially finds from the dredging of the Kupa,<sup>1</sup> are kept in the latter. All pre-Imperial finds, i.e. coins most likely struck prior to the Battle of Ac-

1 Mirnik 1969, neobjavljeno; Burkowski 1983; 1987; 2001; 2004; 2008; 2009; Burkowski, Kušanić 2007; Koprivnjak 2010a; 2010b; Bilić 2012a; 2012b; 2012c. Ovaj rad je sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom br. 1549.

1 Mirnik 1969, unpublished; Burkowski 1983; 1987; 2001; 2004; 2008; 2009; Burkowski, Kušanić 2007; Koprivnjak 2010a; 2010b; Bilić 2012a; 2012b; 2012c. This work has been supported in part by Croatian science foundation under the project no. 1549.

tj. novac za kojeg se može pretpostaviti da je kovan prije Bitke kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr., objedinjen je u radu o cirkulaciji predcarskog novca na području Siska,<sup>2</sup> a taj rad je i osnova ovog teksta. Taj datum je slučajno gotovo istovjetan datumu opsade Segestike/Siscije pa je moguće povezati striktno numizmatičku analizu s povijesnim događajima poznatim iz literarnih izvora, iako je to vrlo sklisko područje, što će odmah postati jasno iz analize samih numizmatičkih nalaza. Odmah vrijedi istaknuti da, prema postojećim saznanjima, nije moguće reći gotovo ništa o opsadi i padu Segestike/Siscije iz numizmatičke perspektive. Moguće je samo pretpostaviti određene trendove u optjecaju novca u razdoblju prije opsade i pada, ali o samom povijesnom događaju numizmatika ne svjedoči.

Pojedinačni nalazi novca s nekog nalazišta mogu se promatrati s dva različita, iako komplementarna, aspekta. Prvi aspekt Reece naziva *coin loss*,<sup>3</sup> a riječ je zapravo o stratigrafski pozicioniranim kovanicama pronađenim u arheološkim istraživanjima. Takvi nalazi pokazuju u kojem je trenutku određeni novac prisutan u optjecaju na nekom lokalitetu na ovaj ili onaj način uklonjen iz ukupne mase novca prisutne u tom trenutku, tj. u koje je vrijeme izgubljen ili odložen. Za pitanja vezana uz optjecaj novca na području Siska u razdobljima prije i poslije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije *coin loss* nalazi su od presudne važnosti, iako samo osamnaest primjeraka predcarskog novca iz Siska potječe iz arheoloških istraživanja, pet keltskih/željeznodobnih kovanica,<sup>4</sup> dvanaest rimskih republikanskih i jedna numidska. Riječ je o slijedećim primjercima:<sup>5</sup>

### Keltski/željeznodobni novac:

#### 1. Tetrdrachma tipa Samobor A,

tj. taurišćanska tetrdrachma kovana u drugoj polovici 2. st. pr. Kr.; lokalitet: Povijesni arhiv; stratigrafski kontekst: rimski sloj pomiješan s mladežljeznodobnim materijalom (sl. 1),<sup>6</sup>

#### 2. Tetrdrachma tipa Đurđevac (kasna faza),

tj. taurišćanska tetrdrachma kovana u drugoj polovici 2. st. pr. Kr. ili u 1. st. pr. Kr. (vjerojatnije u kasnijoj fazi ovog vremenskog odsječka); lokalitet: Frankopanska ulica b.b.;

tium in 31 BC, were discussed in a paper on coin circulation in the area of modern Sisak,<sup>2</sup> which is the basis for this discussion. The date is fortuitously almost identical to the date of the siege of Segestica/Siscia, which enables the correlation of a strictly numismatic analysis with historical events known from literary sources, even though this is a rather slippery area, which will become immediately clear from the actual analysis of numismatic finds. It must be emphasized at the outset that, according to our current insights, it is impossible to say almost anything meaningful about the siege and fall of Segestica/Siscia from a numismatic perspective. It is merely possible to assume certain trends in coin circulation before and after the siege and fall, but numismatic finds do not bear testimony to the event itself.

Single coin finds from a site can be assessed from two different, although complementary, aspects. The first aspect is called *coin loss* by Reece.<sup>3</sup> These are stratigraphically positioned coins recovered in proper archaeological excavations, which are indicative for the precise period in which certain coin types were present in coin circulation at a site or were in some way removed from the total mass of coins present in that particular moment, i.e. when it was lost or deposited. This type of find is of utmost importance for the discussion of coin circulation in the area of Sisak in the period before and after the conquest of Segestica/Siscia, even though only eighteen pre-Imperial coins from Sisak come from proper archaeological excavations: five Celtic/Iron Age,<sup>4</sup> twelve Roman Republican and a single Numidian coin.<sup>5</sup>

### Celtic/Iron Age coins:

#### 1. Samobor A tetrdrachm,

i.e. Tauriscan tetrdrachm struck in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC; Site: Povijesni arhiv; Stratigraphic context: Roman layer mixed with Late Iron Age material (fig. 1),<sup>6</sup>

#### 2. Đurđevac tetrdrachm (late phase),

i.e. Tauriscan tetrdrachm struck in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC or the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (more likely the later phase of this period); Site: Frankopanska ulica b.b.; Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer (fig. 2);<sup>7</sup>

2 Bilić 2017.

3 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 141–149; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

4 U ovom radu koristit će se kompromisni termin „keltski/željeznodobni novac“ kako bi se izbjegle implikacije koje se povezuju s etnicitetom, kao i, s druge strane, optužbe za pretjerani puritanizam (cf. Howgego 2013, 20, bilj. 23, koji se ipak odlučio za poštivanje prve implikacije).

5 Prilikom određivanja preciznije naravi slojeva koristio sam se terminologijom istraživača koji su navedeni u referencama, tako da je svaka nepreciznost uzrokovana nedostatkom objavljenih podataka, odnosno interpretacija kulturnih pripadnosti slojeva.

6 Povijesni arhiv PN 23. Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 190 s bilj. 145; Drnić 2015, 12. U ovom radu su ilustrirane samo one kovanice koje prethodno nisu objavljene kroz fotografije, uz iznimku numidske kovanice, koju nije bilo moguće fotografirati.

7 Inv. br. 510:SIK 29767. Tomaš Barišić 2012; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 153–154; Drnić 2015, 12–13; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2016, 326 (na sl. 7 prikaz aversa).

2 Bilić 2017.

3 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 141–149; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

4 This middle-ground formulation is used throughout the paper in order to avoid both the implications of ethnicity and, on the other hand, the imputations of excessive puritanism (cf. Howgego 2013, 20 n. 23, who nevertheless opts for respecting the former).

5 When determining the precise nature of layers I have used the terminology employed by the researchers noted in references; thus, the element of imprecision is caused by the lack of published information, that is, interpretations of cultural affiliation of layers.

6 Povijesni arhiv PN 23. Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014: 190 with n. 145; Drnić 2015: 12. Only the coins not illustrated previously are reproduced here, with the exception of the Numidian coin, which remained unavailable.

7 Inv. no. 510:SIK 29767. Tomaš Barišić 2012; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 153–154; Drnić 2015, 12–13; Škrkulja, Tomaš Barišić 2016, 326 (the obverse of the coin is depicted on fig. 7).

stratigrafski kontekst: mladežljeznodobni sloj (sl. 2);<sup>7</sup>

### 3. *Tetradrahma* tipa *Đurđevac* (kasna faza),

tj. taurišćanska tetradrahma kovana u drugoj polovici 2. st. pr. Kr. ili u 1. st. pr. Kr. (vjerojatnije u kasnijoj fazi ovog vremenskog odsječka);

lokalitet: Frankopanska ulica b.b.;

stratigrafski kontekst: ranocarski sloj (sl. 3);<sup>8</sup>

### 4. *Brončana tetradrahma srijemskog tipa C*,

tj. novac Skordiska, kovana u prvoj polovici 1. st. pr. Kr.;

lokalitet: Dunavski Lloyd;

stratigrafski kontekst: mladežljeznodobni sloj;<sup>9</sup>

### 5. *Srebrni mali keltski novac tipa Magdalensberg II d*,

kovana od 2. st. pr. Kr. do 16/15. pr. Kr.;

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;

stratigrafski kontekst: neodrediv (sl. 7);<sup>10</sup>

### Addenda:

#### 1. *Istočnonorička, tj. taurišćanska tetradrahma*

kovana u drugoj polovici 2. st. pr. Kr. ili u 1. st. pr. Kr. (?);

lokalitet: lijeva obala Kupe;

stratigrafski kontekst: mladežljeznodobni sloj (?);<sup>11</sup>

#### 2. *Brončani minim srijemskog tipa D*,

tj. novac Skordiska, kovana u prvoj polovici 1. st. pr. Kr. (?);

lokalitet: Dunavski Lloyd;

stratigrafski kontekst: mladežljeznodobni sloj;<sup>12</sup>

### Rimski republikanski novac:

#### 1–4. *as, 211–146. pr. Kr. (RRC –);*

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;

stratigrafski kontekst: neodrediv (sl. 10a–d);<sup>13</sup>

#### 5. *anonimni denar (bigatus),*

157–156. pr. Kr. (RRC 197.1a);

### 3. *Đurđevac tetradrachm (late phase),*

i.e. Tauriscan tetradrachm struck in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC or the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (more likely the later phase of this period);

Site: Frankopanska ulica b.b.;

Stratigraphic context: Early Imperial layer (fig. 3);<sup>8</sup>

### 4. *AE tetradrachm, Sarmian type C,*

i.e. Scordiscan coin struck in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC;

Site: Dunavski Lloyd;

Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer;<sup>9</sup>

### 5. *Small Celtic silver coin, Magdalensberg II d,*

struck from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC to 16/15 BC;

Site: Railway station;

Stratigraphic context: indeterminable (fig. 7);<sup>10</sup>

### Addenda:

#### 1. *East Norican, i.e. Tauriscan tetradrachm*

struck in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC or the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (?);

Site: left bank of the Kupa;

Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer;<sup>11</sup>

#### 2. *AE minimus, Sarmian type D,*

i.e. Scordiscan coin struck in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (?);

Site: Dunavski Lloyd;

Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer;<sup>12</sup>

### Roman Republican coins:

#### 1–4. *As, 211–146 BC, halved (RRC –);*

Site: Railway station;

Stratigraphic context: indeterminable (fig. 10a–d);<sup>13</sup>

#### 5. *Anonymous denarius (bigatus),*

157–156 BC (RRC 197.1a);

Site: Dunavski Lloyd;

Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer;<sup>14</sup>

8 Inv. br. 510:SIK 29766. Tomaš Barišić 2012.

9 Koprivnjak 2010b, 26, 28–29, 48 br. 2 (fotografija); Drnić 2015, 12–13.

10 Neobjavljeno. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedenu kovanicu za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.

11 Vukelić 2010, 328; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 152, bilj. 12. Ne postoji ilustracija ove kovanice.

12 Koprivnjak 2010b, 26, 28–29, 48 br. 1 (fotografija); Drnić 2015, 12–13. Kovanica je jako izlizana i korodirana te je ova determinacija krajnje upitna; promjer kovanice (9 mm), kao i njezina težina (0,65 g) odgovaraju minimima iz posljednje faze kovanja Skordiska (a objavljena je kao tetradrahma!) (zahvaljujem Z. Burkowskiom iz Gradskog muzeja Sisak na podacima o ovoj kovanici).

13 Neobjavljeno. Kovanice su jako istrošene i determinacija je bila moguća samo prema dimenzijama, težini i obliku kovne pločice. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedene kovanice za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.

14 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 49 br. 3 (fotografija); Drnić 2015, 12–13.

8 Inv. no. 510:SIK 29766. Tomaš Barišić 2012.

9 Koprivnjak 2010b, 26, 28–29, 48 no. 2 (photograph); Drnić 2015, 12–13.

10 Unpublished. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss this coin in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.

11 Vukelić 2010, 328; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 152 n. 12. No illustration of this coin exists.

12 Koprivnjak 2010b, 26, 28–29, 48 no. 1 (photograph); Drnić 2015, 12–13. This coin is heavily worn and the attribution is highly questionable; its diameter (9 mm) and weight (0,65 g) are consistent with that of Scordiscan minimi issued in the final phase of their minting activity (nonetheless, it is published as a tetradrachm!) (I would like to thank Z. Burkowski of the City museum Sisak for information on this coin).

13 Unpublished. These coins are extremely worn and the attribution was made solely on the basis of their dimensions, weight and flan shape. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss these coins in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.

14 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 49 no. 3 (photograph); Drnić 2015, 12–13.



lokalitet: Dunavski Lloyd;  
stratigrafski kontekst: mlađeželjeznodobni sloj;<sup>14</sup>

**6. denar, 127. pr. Kr. (RRC 263.1b);**

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;  
stratigrafski kontekst: neodrediv (sl. 8);<sup>15</sup>

**7. denar, 109–108. pr. Kr. (RRC 304.1);**

lokalitet: Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog b.b.;  
stratigrafski kontekst: rimski sloj (sl. 4);<sup>16</sup>

**8. denar, 108–107. pr. Kr. (RRC 308.1b);**

lokalitet: Dunavski Lloyd;  
stratigrafski kontekst: mlađeželjeznodobni sloj;<sup>17</sup>

**9. kvinar, 98. pr. Kr. (RRC 332.1);**

lokalitet: Dunavski Lloyd;  
stratigrafski kontekst: mlađeželjeznodobni sloj paljevine ispod rimskog sloja;<sup>18</sup>

**10. denar (seratirani), 83–82. pr. Kr. (RRC 364.1e);**

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;  
stratigrafski kontekst: neodrediv (sl. 5);<sup>19</sup>

**11. denar, 48. pr. Kr. (RRC 448.3);**

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;  
stratigrafski kontekst: klaudivjevsko-neronovski sloj, možda ranoflavijevski (sl. 6);<sup>20</sup>

**12. denar, 46. pr. Kr. (RRC 467.1a);**

lokalitet: Željeznički kolodvor;  
stratigrafski kontekst: neodrediv (sl. 9);<sup>21</sup>

**Numidski novac:**

**1. MAA 18 AE, nakon 203. pr. Kr.;**

lokalitet: Ulica braće Radića 32;

**6. Denarius, 127 BC (RRC 263.1b);**

Site: Railway station;  
Stratigraphic context: indeterminable (fig. 8);<sup>15</sup>

**7. Denarius, 109–108 BC (RRC 304.1);**

Site: Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog b.b.;  
Stratigraphic context: Roman layer (fig. 4);<sup>16</sup>

**8. Denarius, 108–107 BC (RRC 308.1b);**

Site: Dunavski Lloyd;  
Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer;<sup>17</sup>

**9. Quinarius, 98 BC (RRC 332.1);**

Site: Dunavski Lloyd;  
Stratigraphic context: Late Iron Age layer of burning beneath a Roman layer;<sup>18</sup>

**10. Denarius serratus, 83–82 BC (RRC 364.1e);**

Site: Railway station;  
Stratigraphic context: indeterminable (fig. 5);<sup>19</sup>

**11. Denarius, 48 BC (RRC 448.3);**

Site: Railway station;  
Stratigraphic context: Claudian/Neronian layer, perhaps early Flavian (fig. 6);<sup>20</sup>

**12. Denarius, 46 BC (RRC 467.1a);**

Site: Railway station;  
Stratigraphic context: indeterminable (fig. 9);<sup>21</sup>

**Numidian coin:**

**1. MAA 18 AE, after 203 BC;**

Site: Ulica braće Radića 32;  
Stratigraphic context: layer of pits/canals dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and containing Late La Tène and early Imperial material.<sup>22</sup>

- 15 Neobjavljeno. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedenu kovanicu za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.
- 16 Burkowsky 2008, 47 br. 136 (pogrešno determiniran): inv. br. 510:SIK 22077. Zahvaljujem Z. Burkowskom iz Gradskog muzeja Sisak na dopuštenju za proučavanje i objavu ove kovanice.
- 17 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 49 br. 4 (fotografija); Drnić 2015, 12–13.
- 18 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 50 br. 5 (fotografija) (pogrešno determiniran); Drnić 2015, 12–13.
- 19 Neobjavljeno. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedenu kovanicu za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.
- 20 Neobjavljeno. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedenu kovanicu za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.
- 21 Neobjavljeno. Ovom prigodom želio bih zahvaliti voditeljima istraživanja što su mi omogućili uvid u navedenu kovanicu za potrebe ove rasprave, kao i na informacijama o stratigrafskom kontekstu. Vidi i Jerončić, Paro i Kristović u ovom zborniku.
- 22 Leleković 2012 (fotografija reversa). Kovanica je pogrešno determinirana kao taurišćanska tetradrahma. Nažalost, uza sav trud fotografije ovog novca nije bilo moguće pribaviti, niti ga je bilo moguće bliže proučiti.

- 15 Unpublished. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss this coin in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.
- 16 Burkowsky 2008, 47 no. 136 (wrongly attributed): inv. no. 510:SIK 22077. I would like to thank Z. Burkowsky of the City museum Sisak for allowing me to study and publish this coin.
- 17 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 49 no. 4 (photograph); Drnić 2015, 12–13.
- 18 Koprivnjak 2010b, 29–31, 50 no. 5 (photograph) (wrongly attributed); Drnić 2015, 12–13.
- 19 Unpublished. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss this coin in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.
- 20 Unpublished. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss this coin in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.
- 21 Unpublished. I would like to thank the excavators for allowing me to discuss this coin in the present paper, as well as on information on the stratigraphic context. See also Jerončić, Paro and Kristović in the present volume.
- 22 Leleković 2012 (photograph of the reverse). The coin is wrongly identified as a Tauriscan tetradrachm. Unfortunately, despite my best efforts, it was both impossible to obtain images of this coin and to study it in person.



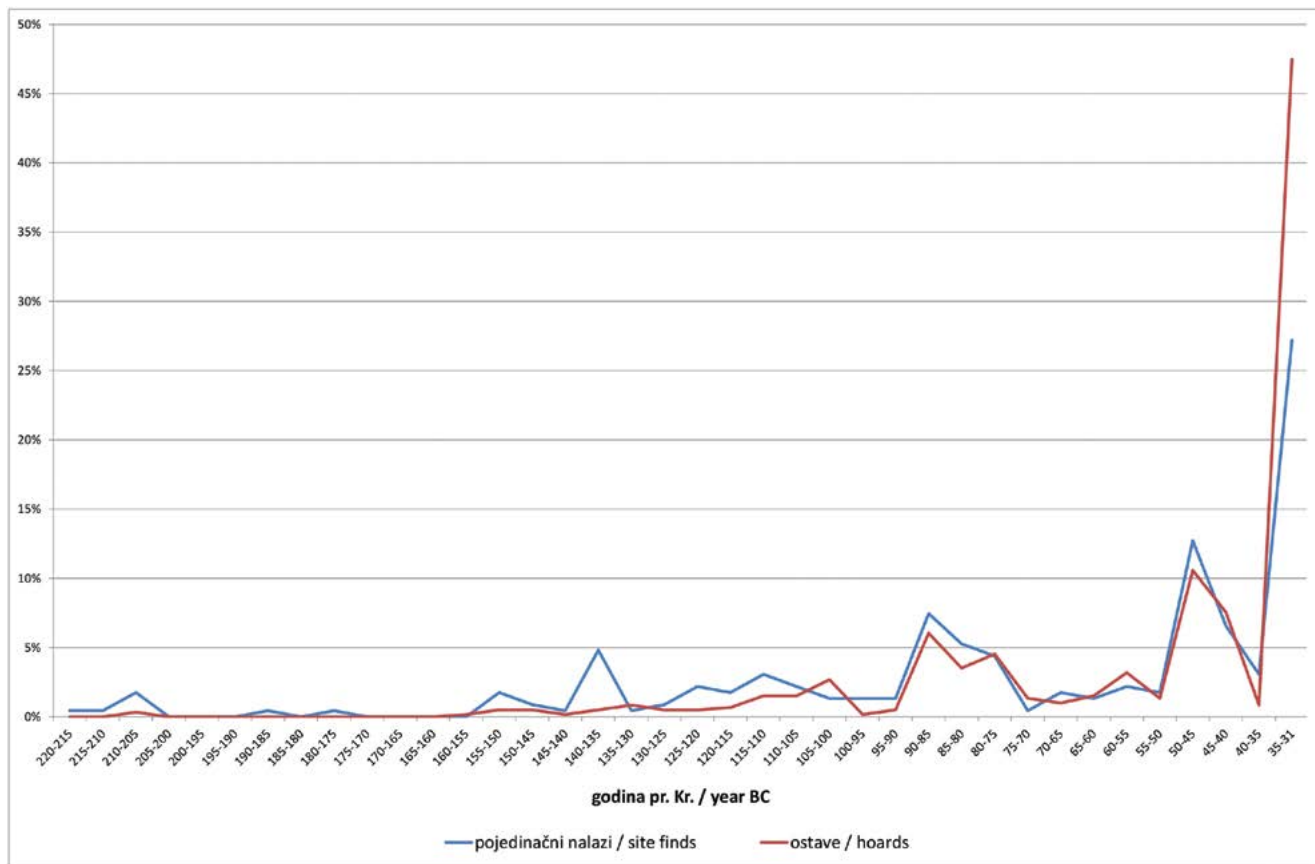
SL. 1.  
Keltski/željeznodobni (1-3, 7) i rimski republikanski novac (4-6, 8-10) iz Siska  
(snimili: I. Krajcar, B. Suntešić, T. Jerončić)

FIG. 1.  
Celtic/Iron Age (1-3, 7) and Roman Republican coins (4-6, 8-10) from Sisak  
(photo: I. Krajcar, B. Suntešić, T. Jerončić)

stratigrafski kontekst: sloj jama/kanala datiran u 2. pol. 1. st. pr. Kr. - 1. pol. 1. st. koji sadrži kasnolatenski i ranocarski materijal.<sup>22</sup>

Dakle, od pet primjerka keltskog/željeznodobnog novca dva su pronađena u mlađeželjeznodobnim slojevima, jedan u rimskom sloju u kojem se nalazio i mlađeželjeznodobni materijal, a jedan u ranocarskom sloju (sve na lijevoj obali Kupe); za jednog je stratigrafski položaj zasad nejasan. Od dvanaest republikanskih novaca, tri su nađena u mlađeželjeznodobnim slojevima, a dva u rimskodobnima (preostalih sedam su u zasad arheološki neodredivim kontekstima), dok je numidska bronca nađena u sloju koji sadrži miješani kasnolatenski i ranocarski materijal (također isključivo na lijevoj obali Kupe). Arheološka stratigrafija, iako skromna, govori nam da je pet primjeraka predcarskog novca nađeno u mlađeželjeznodobnim slojevima (svi na lijevoj obali Kupe), dok je iz tri primjerka očito da je predcarski novac bio u optjecaju i nakon opsade i pada Segestike/Siscije, tj. u ranocarskom razdoblju (preostalih deset primjerka potječu iz nerazjašnjenih ili nejasnih stratigrafskih konteksta). To nije ništa iznenađujuće niti za rimski republikanski novac ni za keltski/željeznodobni. Naime, keltski/željeznodobni novac je definitivno bio u upotrebi, primjerice, na Magdalensbergu, sve do razdoblja vladavine cara Klaudija,<sup>23</sup> dok je iz ostava odloženih u carskom razdoblju, tj. u 2. st., s područja južne Panonije (Gračanica, Osijek, Sotin) evidentno da je na ovom području rimski republikanski novac cirkulirao zajedno s

Thus, out of five Celtic/Iron Age coins two were found in Late Iron Age layers, one in a Roman layer mixed with Late Iron Age material, and the fourth in an early Imperial layer (all at sites located on the left bank of the Kupa); the stratigraphic position of the fifth is at present indeterminable. Out of twelve Republican coins, three were found in Late Iron Age layers, with two in Roman layers (the stratigraphic position of the remaining seven is at present indeterminable), while the single Numidian bronze was found in a layer with mixed Late La Tène and early Imperial material (all at sites located on the left bank of the Kupa). Thus archaeological stratigraphy, although modest in scope, shows that five pre-Imperial coins were found in Late Iron Age layers (all on sites located on the left bank of the Kupa), while three coins prove that pre-Imperial coins were in use after the siege and fall of Segestica/Siscia, i.e. in the early Imperial period (ten remaining coins were found in an ambiguous or at present unclear stratigraphic position). This is not surprising, neither with respect to Republican nor Celtic/Iron Age coinage. The latter were definitely in use, for instance, at Magdalensberg, to the reign of Claudius,<sup>23</sup> while the hoards from southern Pannonia (Gračanica, Osijek, Sotin) deposited in the Imperial period, that is, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, testify to the circulation of Republican alongside Imperial coins at least during the first two centuries AD.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the analysis of the contents of the three largest 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. hoards found in the area of Illyricum kept in the AMZ (Lički Ribnik, Sotin, Cesarica), that is,



**DIJAGRAM 1.** Usporedba pojedinačnih (južna Panonija, AMZ) i skupnih nalaza (Lički Ribnik, Sotin, Cesarica) kroz postotak kovanica u petogodišnjim razdobljima (Bilić 2015, 12, Dijagram 3)

**CHART 1.** Comparison of single finds (southern Pannonia, AMZ) and hoards (Lički Ribnik, Sotin, Cesarica) by the percentage of coins per five-year periods (Bilić 2015, 12, Chart 3)

23 Krmnec 2010, 96-97, Tab. 43.

24 Bilić 2012a, 374-375.

23 Krmnec 2010, 96-97, Tab. 43.

24 Bilić 2012a, 374-375.

carskim barem tijekom prva dva stoljeća nakon Krista.<sup>24</sup> Štoviše, analiza sastava triju najvećih ostava 1. i 2. st. s područja Ilirika koje se čuvaju u AMZ-u (Lički Ribnik, Sotin, Cesarica), tj. segmenta tih ostava predstavljenih republikanskim novcem, gotovo savršeno prati priljev rimskog republikanskog novca evidentiran u pojedinačnim nalazima s područja južne Panonije, uključivo Sisak, koji se čuvaju u AMZ-u, sa svim njegovim amplitudama.<sup>25</sup>

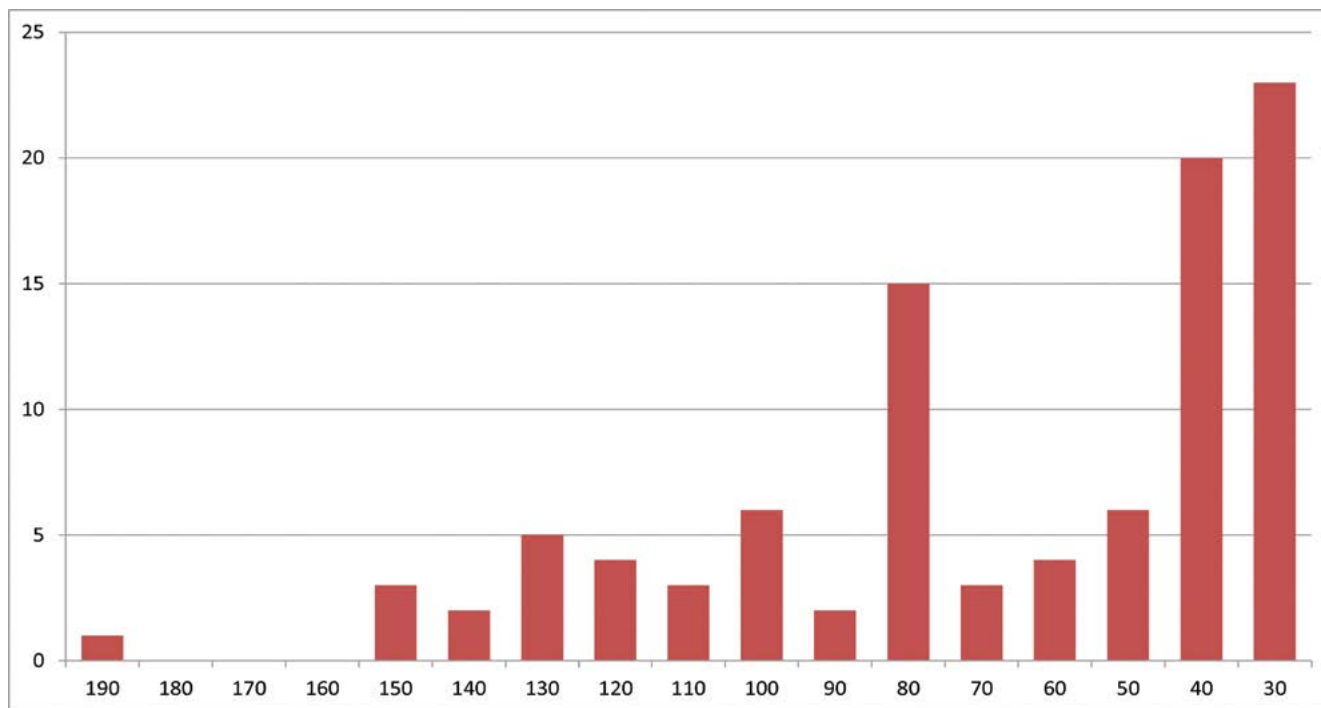
Amplitude ne znače da je novac upravo tijekom tih razdoblja stizao u navedeno područje, već reflektiraju visok intenzitet kovanja i veličinu pojedinih emisija republikanskog novca, kovanih u tim vremenskim intervalima, obilježenih Savezničkim ratom (91. – 88.) i sukobom između Sule te Marija i Marijevaca (88. – 87., 83. – 80.), kao i Prvim i Drugim ratom protiv Mitridata (88. – 81.) te, u drugom razdoblju, građanskim ratovima između Cezara, Bruta i Kasija, Pompeja, Oktavijana i Marka Antonija (49. – 31.).<sup>26</sup> Samim time jasno je da nalazi republikanskog novca izvan stratigrafskog konteksta ne mogu biti pouzdan kronološki indikator – nije moguće utvrditi pripadaju li ti primjerci optjecaju predcarskog ili carskog razdoblja. Štoviše, kako to pokazuje analiza ostava na koju smo se gore referirali, vjerojatnije je da takvi pojedinačni nalazi reflektiraju optjecaj novca carskog razdoblja.

Drugi aspekt analize pojedinačnih nalaza novca s nekog lokaliteta Reece naziva *coin supply*,<sup>27</sup> a riječ je o analizi cjelokupnog korpusa nalaza novca s nekog lokaliteta, neovisno o tome jesu li nađeni tijekom arheoloških istraživanja ili na neki drugi način, i njegovom kronološkom pozicioniranju. Golema većina numizmatičkih nalaza iz Siska potpada pod ovu drugu kategoriju, odnosno nalazi se izvan prve. No, u ovom konkretnom slučaju *coin*

the segments of these hoards containing Republican coins, follows almost perfectly the influx of Roman Republican coins documented through single finds from the area of southern Pannonia, including Sisak, kept in the AMZ, with all its amplitudes.<sup>25</sup>

The amplitudes do not mean that the coins arrived in this area in these particular periods, but rather reflect the high intensity of coin production and the size of individual emissions of Republican coin-types struck in these intervals, characterized by the Social War (91-88 BC) and the conflict of Sulla with Marius and his faction (88-87, 83-80 BC), as well as the First and Second Mithridatic Wars (88-81 BC), and, in the second period, by the civil wars between Caesar, Brutus and Cassius, Pompey, Octavian and Marc Anthony (49-31 BC).<sup>26</sup> Thus it is clear that the finds of Republican coins outside of stratigraphic context cannot serve as a reliable chronological indicator – that is, it is impossible to determine whether they belong to the pre-Imperial or Imperial-period circulation. Moreover, the analysis of the hoards discussed above suggests that it is more likely that these single finds reflect the circulation of the Imperial period.

The second aspect of analysis of single coin site finds is called coin supply by Reece.<sup>27</sup> This aspect assesses the entire assemblage of coins from a site, regardless whether they were found in archaeological excavations or in some other way, and attempts to position them chronologically. The vast majority of numismatic finds from Sisak falls under this category, i.e., it does not, unfortunately, belong to the first. But in this specific case the *coin loss* category of finds can be used as a corrective or “control group” to the coin supply category,<sup>28</sup> since the main question ad-



**DIJAGRAM 2.**  
Rimski republikanski novac pronađen na području Siska

**CHART 2.**  
Roman Republican coins from the area of modern Sisak

25 Bilić 2015, 11–12.

26 Bilić 2015, 11.

27 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 149–165; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

28 Cf. Reece 2016, 182.

25 Bilić 2015, 11–12.

26 Bilić 2015, 11.

27 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 149–165; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

28 Cf. Reece 2016, 182.

*loss* kategorija može se upotrijebiti kao korektiv ili „kontrolna grupa“ coin supply kategorije,<sup>28</sup> jer pitanje koje nas zanima je kronološko pozicioniranje kako pojedine kovanice tako i tipova novca u razdoblje prije ili poslije opsade i pada Segestike/Siscije. Sastav rimskog republikanskog novca pronađenog na području Siska, kao što smo već spomenuli u kontekstu šire analize nalaza tog tipa novca na području južne Panonije, reflektira intenzitet kovanja i veličinu pojedinih emisija republikanskog novca kovanih u određenim vremenskim intervalima. Tako dijagram koji ilustrira kronološku sistematizaciju rimskog republikanskog novca pronađenog na području Siska posjeduje dvije istaknute amplitude: u 80-im i 40-im/30-im godinama 1. st. pr. Kr., kao i postojeće, iako manje naglašene, visoke vrijednosti za razdoblje između 130-ih i 100-tih godina pr. Kr.

Dakle, čitav – nezanemariv – korpus predcarskog novca pronađenog na području Siska izvan arheološke stratigrafije nije osobito kronološki indikativan. I keltski/željeznodobni (kraće) i rimski republikanski (duže) novac ostali su u cirkulaciji nakon gašenja (u prvom slučaju) ili transformacije (u drugom slučaju) političkih autoriteta koji su taj novac kovali. Čak i minimalni broj pouzdano stratigrafski pozicioniranih nalaza s područja Siska podržava taj zaključak. S druge strane, kao što smo vidjeli, nešto veći broj nalaza, iako i dalje vrlo malen, sugerira da je taj isti novac u optjecaju na području Siska bio i u predcarsko vrijeme, tj. u vremenu prije opsade i zauzimanja Segestike/Siscije. Postoji još nekoliko argumenata izvan kategorije nalaza *coin loss* koji sugeriraju, iako ne dokazuju, da barem dio ukupnog korpusa predcarskog novca pronađenog na području Siska pripada kontekstu predcarske cirkulacije. Tako je na području Siska, točnije u rijeci Kupi, tijekom jaružanja 1912. godine pronađen jedan viktorijat (RRC 132.1, 194. – 190. pr. Kr.). Taj tip novca bio je u optjecaju samo do sredine 2. st. pr. Kr. ili, najkasnije, do kraja istog stoljeća.<sup>29</sup> Njegova relativno mala težina (1.61 g) i jaka istrošenost sugeriraju da je u optjecaju bio možda do kraja stoljeća ili nešto duže, ali nikako u razdoblju nakon osvajanja Segestike/Siscije. Nadalje, izuzetno rijedak aureus Kvinta Kornuficija, također pronađen na širem području Siska, vjerojatno je bio izgubljen (odložen?) u razdoblju prije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije, jer su jedina dva poznata Kornuficijeva zlatnika iz ostava (Brescello, Lyon) uistinu predaugustovskog datuma.<sup>30</sup> Dodatni dokaz koji sugerira prisustvo republikanskog novca u Sisku prije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije su dvije imitacije rimskog republikanskog novca pronađene na području današnjeg grada. Jedna od imitacija (čije mjesto nalaza nije sasvim pouzdano) oponaša republikanske kovove kasnog 2. st. pr. Kr., dok druga vjerojatno oponaša dva republikanska kova iz druge polovice 40-ih godina 1. st. pr. Kr. Starija imitacija pojavljuje se i drugdje u Panoniji,<sup>31</sup> a mogla je biti proizvedena negdje na području suvremene Budimpešte<sup>32</sup> ili, manje vjerojatno, upravo na području Siska, zajedno s kasnijim primjerkom – za kojeg ne postoji ap-

presented here is the chronological positioning of both individual coins and coin types in the period prior to or after the siege and fall of Segestica/Siscia. The contents of the Roman Republican coin assemblage from Sisak, as already mentioned in the context of a wider analysis of the finds of this type of coins in southern Pannonia, reflects the intensity of striking and the size of certain emissions of Republican coins struck in certain time intervals. Thus the chart that illustrates the chronological systematization of Roman Republican coins found in the area of modern Sisak has two prominent amplitudes: one in the 80s and another in the 40s/30s BC, as well as constantly high values, although less pronounced, for the period between 130s and 100s BC.

Thus the entire corpus of pre-Imperial coins found in the area of modern Sisak outside archaeological stratigraphy – in itself not insignificant – is not particularly chronologically indicative. Both Celtic/Iron Age (for a shorter period) and Roman Republican (for a longer period) remained in circulation after the disappearance (in case of the former) or transformation (in case of the latter) of political authorities that issued those coins. Even the minimal number of reliable stratigraphically positioned finds from the area of modern Sisak supports this conclusion. On the other hand, as we have seen, a somewhat larger number of finds, although still rather small, suggests that these coins were in circulation in the same area also in the pre-Imperial period, that is, before the siege and conquest of Segestica/Siscia. A few other arguments, outside of the *coin loss* category, suggest, although they do not prove, that at least part of the total corpus of pre-Imperial coins found in the area of modern Sisak belong to the context of pre-Imperial circulation. For example, a victoriat (RRC 132.1, 194-190 BC) was found in the 1912 dredging of the Kupa at Sisak. This type of coins was in circulation until the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC or, at the latest, until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.<sup>29</sup> Its relatively small weight (1.61g) and the fact it is heavily worn suggest it remained in circulation until the end of the century or even somewhat longer, but not under any circumstances after the conquest of Segestica/Siscia. Furthermore, an extremely rare aureus of Quintus Cornuficius, also found in the wider Sisak area, was probably lost (or deposited) in the period prior to the conquest of Segestica/Siscia, since the only two known Cornuficius' aurei from hoards (Brescello, Lyon) are indeed of a pre-Augustan date.<sup>30</sup> An additional argument for the presence of Republican coins in Sisak prior to the conquest of Segestica/Siscia are two imitations of Roman Republican coins found in the area of the modern city. One of these (whose find site is not completely reliable) imitates the Republican coins of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, while the second probably imitates two Republican issues of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 40s BC. The earlier imitation occurs elsewhere in Panonnia,<sup>31</sup> and it could have been produced in the area of modern Budapest<sup>32</sup> or, less likely, precisely in the area of modern Sisak, together with

27 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 149-165; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

28 Cf. Reece 2016, 182.

29 Miškec 2003, 370-372.

30 Amandry 1978, 1, s određenim rezervama u odnosu na ostavu iz Lyona.

31 Popović 1973-1974, 12.

32 Popović 1973-1974, 12; cf. Allen 1987, 40-41, 76-77, 90 Map 4 i Kostial 1997, 176; *pace* Chițescu 1981, 330, koja ju svrstava pod Geto-Dačanske imitacije.

27 Reece 2003, 141, 165, cf. 149-165; cf. Vučić 2013, 226.

28 Cf. Reece 2016, 182.

29 Miškec 2003, 370-372.

30 Amandry 1978, 1, with certain reservations with respect to the Lyon hoard.

31 Popović 1973-1974, 12.

32 Popović 1973-1974, 12; cf. Allen 1987, 40-41, 76-77, 90 Map 4 and Kostial 1997, 176; *pace* Chițescu 1981, 330, who classifies it as a Geto-Dacian imitation.

solutno niti jedna analogija – te bi na taj način ove dvije kovanice svjedočile lokalnoj produkciji imitacija rimskog republikanskog novca. Naposljetku, ako bismo usporedili sastav rimskog republikanskog novca pronađenog na području Siska sa sastavom republikanskog novca iz Ljubljane (Emona) i Celja (Celeia), tj. međusobni odnos srebrnog i brončanog republikanskog novca na tim lokalitetima, uvidjeli bismo da su Sisak i Celje u tom pogledu dosta slični, dok se Ljubljana znatno razlikuje. Naime, čak 98 % republikanskih kovanica nađenih na području Siska predstavljaju srebrni novac (mahom su to denari), dok je u Celju taj postotak 80 %, a u Ljubljani svega 59 %.<sup>33</sup> Iako je očigledno da je naš uzorak za Sisak nažalost daleko od potpuno reprezentativnog, međusobna sličnost Siska i Celja, čiji sastav republikanskog novca reflektira novčani optjecaj 1. st. pr. Kr., te njihova zajednička različitost u odnosu na Ljubljanu, čiji sastav republikanskog novca reflektira novčani optjecaj kasnoaugustejskog i kasnijih razdoblja,<sup>34</sup> sugerira da sastav republikanskog novca pronađenog na području Siska također reflektira novčani optjecaj predcarskog razdoblja, tj. razdoblja prije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije 35. pr. Kr. Manjkavost sisačkog uzorka očituje se ponajviše u potpunom i krajnje iznenađujućem nedostatku republikanskih aseva, koji su u optjecaju bili kako tijekom republikanskog tako i tijekom ranog carskog razdoblja; moralo ih je biti i na području Siska, ali njihovo prisustvo, za razliku od brojnih Augustovih aseva i ostalih brončanih nominala (86.02 % svog Augustovog novca nađenog na području Siska predstavljaju brončane nominale), nije bilo dokumentirano sve do najnovijih otkrića na poziciji Željeznički kolodvor.

Još neki nalazi novca iz Siska nesumnjivo pripadaju monetarnom optjecaju u razdoblju koje je prethodilo rimskom osvajanju Segestike/Siscije. Riječ je o nekoliko brončanih kovanica Makedonije proizvedenih u kasnom 4. i tijekom 3. st. pr. Kr., epirskom brončanom novcu 3. ili 2. st. pr. Kr., manjem broju drahmi (i jednoj hemidrahmi) Apolonije i Dirahija (koje je u cirkulaciji na ovim prostorima zamijenio upravo republikanski denar), kao i o vrlo zanimljivom nalazu imitacija drahmi Apolonije i Dirahija iz obližnje Odra Sisačke.<sup>35</sup> Sav ovaj novac vezan je uz optjecaj 1. st. pr. Kr., a može ga se konkretnije povezati, zajedno s nekoliko primjerka novca srijemskog tipa također pronađenog na području Siska, sa Skordiscima i njihovim aktivnostima i vezama s jugozapadnom Panonijom. Kao što smo već vidjeli, jedan primjerak novca Skordiska pronađen je u stratigrafski određenom kontesktu, tj. u mladeželjeznodobnom sloju nalazišta Dunavski Lloyd, što snažno sugerira da barem dio novca koji se može dovesti u vezu sa Skordiscima također predstavlja dio optjecaja u razdoblju prije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije. Što se tiče najbrojnijeg keltskog/željeznodobnog novca pronađenog na području Siska, tj. novca Tauriska, stratigrafski definirani nalazi, kao što smo vidjeli, sugeriraju da je on bio u optjecaju kako u razdoblju prije tako i u razdoblju nakon osvajanja Segestike/Siscije, što se slaže sa situacijom u široj regiji (npr. na nalazištu Magdalensberg). Tako nalazi izvan stratigrafskog konteksta ne mogu biti kronološki

the later specimen – for which there are absolutely no analogies – and would in this way testify to a local production of imitations of Roman Republican coins. Finally, if we compare the structure of Roman Republican coinage found in the area of Sisak with the structure of Republican coinage found in Ljubljana (Emona) and Celje (Celeia), that is, the relation of silver to bronze Republican coins from these sites, we can see that Sisak is rather similar to Celje in this respect, while Ljubljana is significantly different from both. As much as 98 % of Republican coins found in the area of Sisak are made of silver (mainly denarii), while in Celje this percentage is 80 % and in Ljubljana only 59 %.<sup>33</sup> Even though it is clear that the sample for Sisak is, unfortunately, far from satisfactorily representative, the obvious similarity of Sisak and Celje, with the latter's structure of Republican coinage reflecting the circulation of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, and their common difference with respect to Ljubljana, whose structure of Republican coinage reflects the circulation of late-Augustan and subsequent periods,<sup>34</sup> suggests that the structure of Republican coinage found in the area of Sisak similarly reflects the coin circulation of the pre-Imperial period, that is, the period prior to the conquest of Segestica/Siscia in 35 BC. The insufficiency of the Sisak sample is mainly evident in a complete, and totally surprising, lack of Republican asses, which were in circulation both during Republican and early Imperial period; they were certainly part of circulation in the area of Sisak, but their presence, as opposed to numerous Augustan asses and other bronze denominations (86.02 % of all Augustan coins found in the area of Sisak are bronze coins), was not recorded until the latest excavations at the Railway station.

Some other coin finds from Sisak certainly belong to the monetary circulation of the period prior to the Roman conquest of Segestica/Siscia: several bronze Macedonian coins of late 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, an Epirote bronze coin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, a small number of drachms (and a single hemidrachm) of Apollonia and Dyrachium (which were replaced in circulation in this region precisely by the Republican denarius), as well as a very interesting hoard of imitations of drachms of Apollonia and Dyrachium found in the nearby Odra Sisačka.<sup>35</sup> All these coins are to be associated with the monetary circulation of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, and can further be more specifically associated, together with several specimens of the coins of Sarmian type also found in the area of Sisak, with the Scordisci and their activities and connections with the south-western Pannonia. As we have already seen, a single Scordiscan coin was found in a stratigraphically positioned context, that is, in a Late Iron Age layer of the Dunavski Lloyd site, which strongly suggests that at least some of the coins that can be associated to the Scordisci also represented part of the pre-conquest monetary circulation. With respect to the most numerous group of Celtic/Iron Age coins found in the area of Sisak, that is, Tauriscan coins, the stratigraphically positioned finds, as we have already seen, suggest it was in circulation both in the period prior to the conquest of Segestica/Siscia and after this event, which agrees with the situation in the wider region (for example,

33 Za Emonu vidi FMRSI I.150/1; 155/10, 17, 29, 33, 40, 42, 44, 47; III.83/15, 21-22; IV.85/6, 9, 13-14; 91-92; V.62/6, 7, 9-12, 14-15, 19; VI.79/2-3, 11, 16; za Celeiu, Šemrov 2011, 21.

34 Kos 1986, 26, 53-56.

35 Burkowski 1983, (4), (7)-(8); 2001, 14-15, 22-23 kat. 2-5; 2004, 29-30, 74 (kat. 131-133); 2009, 15, 26 (kat. 2-4); Mirnik 1996, 528.

33 For Emona see FMRSI I.150/1; 155/10, 17, 29, 33, 40, 42, 44, 47; III.83/15, 21-22; IV.85/6, 9, 13-14; 91-92; V.62/6, 7, 9-12, 14-15, 19; VI.79/2-3, 11, 16; for Celeia, Šemrov 2011, 21.

34 Kos 1986, 26, 53-56.

35 Burkowski 1983, (4), (7)-(8); 2001, 14-15, 22-23 kat. 2-5; 2004, 29-30, 74 (kat. 131-133); 2009, 15, 26 (kat. 2-4); Mirnik 1996, 528.

ki indikativni, iako pronalazak dviju tetradrahmi tipa Samobor A u Kupi nedaleko pretpovijesnog nalazišta „Keltsko“ (na desnoj obali Kupe na Pogorelcu, tj. na lokaciji mladeželjeznodobnog naselja Segestike/Siscije)<sup>36</sup> te jedne brončane tetradrahme tipa Đurđevac u koritu Kupe kod nalazišta „Keltsko“<sup>37</sup> (gdje je nađeno i nekoliko primjeraka novca koje smo vezali uz Skordiske)<sup>38</sup> potvrđuju da je barem dio taurišćanskog novca bio u optjecaju na području Siska u razdoblju prije rimskog osvajanja. Uz to, analiza ostava taurišćanskog novca iz Pokupskog i Baline Glavice, zajedno s analizom pojedinačnih nalaza ovog novca iz Gomolave, Donje Doline i s Kuzelina, sugeriraju da većina novca Tauriska iz Siska ipak pripada optjecaju 1. st. pr. Kr. Naposljetku, neki se nalazi (etrurski i brutijski brončani novac te tzv. *ramo secco aes formatum*, odnosno brončani, tj. željezo-brončani ingot, koji je poznat samo iz literature) mogu dovesti u vezu s mazinskim tipom ostava, tj. nedvojbeno s optjecajem prije osvajanja Segestike/Siscije (druga polovica 2. i rano 1. st. pr. Kr.). Ovom kontekstu nesumnjivo pripada i numidska bronca nađena tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, koja dakle pripada *coin loss* kategoriji, nažalost u ne do kraja objašnjenom arheološkom kontekstu. Iz izvještaja s istraživanja<sup>39</sup> nije do kraja jasna precizna stratigrafska pozicija ovog nalaza, ali se čini da je ova kovanica nađena u kontekstu koji sugerira konačno odlaganje u Augustovskom periodu.

Nova istraživanja na području suvremenog Siska – na obje obale Kupe – pokazat će da li slika koja je ovdje ponuđena, izrađena na temelju izuzetno malog broja stratigrafski definiranih numizmatičkih nalaza i nešto većeg broja nalaza s područja Siska bez jasnog stratigrafskog položaja, kao i uz pomoć usporedbi sa susjednim lokalitetima i područjima gdje je situacija nešto jasnija, odražava stvarno stanje optjecaja novca u razdoblju prije rimskog osvajanja Segestike/Siscije. U svakom slučaju, od numizmatike ne treba očekivati da ponudi konačne odgovore na pitanja precizne datacije ili da potvrđuje već poznate datume, konkretno datum opsade i zauzeća Segestike/Siscije,<sup>40</sup> jer novac koji bi tome mogao poslužiti (napose republikanski denari) nije do potrebne razine precizno kronološki indikativan.

at Magdalensberg). Thus the coins found outside of stratigraphic context cannot be chronologically indicative, although two Samobor A type tetradrachms found in the Kupa not far from the prehistoric site of “Keltsko” (on the right bank of the Kupa at Pogorelec, i.e. the location of the La Tène settlement of Segestica/Siscia)<sup>36</sup> and one bronze Đurđevac type tetradrachm found in the bed of the Kupa not far from the site of “Keltsko”<sup>37</sup> (where several coins I have associated to the Scordisci were also found)<sup>38</sup> testify to the fact that at least some Tauriscan coins were in circulation in the area of Sisak prior to the Roman conquest. Furthermore, the analysis of the hoards of Tauriscan coins from Pokupsko and Balina Glavica, together with the study of single finds of these coins from Gomolava, Donja Dolina and Kuzelin suggest that the majority of Tauriscan coins found in the area of modern Sisak were part of the monetary circulation of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Finally, some monetary finds (Etrurian and Bruttian bronze coins and the so-called *ramo secco aes formatum*, i.e. a ferruginous bronze ingot, known only from literature) can be associated with the Mazin type of hoards, that is, undoubtedly with the pre-conquest monetary circulation (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC). The Numidian bronze found in archaeological excavations, which thus belongs to the *coin loss* category of finds, also belongs to this context, even though its archaeological context remains, unfortunately, ambiguous. The precise stratigraphic position of this coin is unclear, as evidenced by the excavation report,<sup>39</sup> but it seems that it was after all found in a context that suggests its final deposition in the Augustan period.

New archaeological excavations in the area of modern Sisak – on both banks of the Kupa – will show whether the model presented here, formed on the basis of a modest number of stratigraphically positioned numismatic finds and a significantly larger number of single coin finds from the area of Sisak outside of stratigraphic context, together with the analysis of neighbouring sites and regions where the situation is somewhat clearer, reflects the actual monetary circulation prior to the Roman conquest of Segestica/Siscia. In any case, one should not expect that numismatics can offer final answers on the questions of precise dating or support the already established dates, more precisely, the date of the siege and conquest of Segestica/Siscia,<sup>40</sup> since coins that could be theoretically employed in this discussion (in the first place, Roman Republican denarii) are not adequately precisely chronologically indicative.

36 Burkowsky 2004, 30, 75; Durman 1992, 120 donosi dataciju najmlađih pilota na ovom nalazištu: 40. pr. Kr.

37 Burkowsky *os. priop.*

38 Burkowsky *os. priop.*, cf. 2004, 29.

39 Leleković 2012.

40 Pace Koprivnjak 2010b, 30–31 i Bačani *et al.* 2012, 93, 96.

36 Burkowsky 2004, 30, 75; the latest piles from this site are dated to 40 BC, Durman 1992, 120.

37 Burkowsky *pers. comm.*

38 Burkowsky *pers. comm.*, cf. 2004, 29.

39 Leleković 2012.

40 Pace Koprivnjak 2010b, 30–31 and Bačani *et al.* 2012, 93, 96.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

- MAA** J. Alexandropoulos, *Les monnaies de l'Afrique antique 400 av. J.-C. – 40 ap. J.-C.*, Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2007.
- RRC** M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Volume I–II, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

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# SEGESTA I SISCIA — IMPERIJ, GLOBALIZACIJA I POGRANIČNE ZONE

## SEGESTA AND SISCIA — EMPIRE, GLOBALIZATION AND FRONTIER-ZONES

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Danijel Dzino

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*Ovaj rad razmatra makropovijesnu i mikropovijesnu sliku prostora na ušću Kupe u Savu, u periodu njegovog umrežavanja u strukturu globaliziranog mediteranskog imperija, koji se najčešće identificira sa svojom metropolom – Rimom. Promjene u strukturi odnosa među elitom imperijalne metropole u 2. st. pr. Kr. prenose se na imperijalne periferije i pogranične zone gdje se imperijalna politička moć počinje projicirati izravno, a ne posredno. Pomicanje pogranične zone imperija u Panoniju izaziva restrukturiranje lokalnih političkih arhitektura moći, što se najbolje vidi kroz uništenje indigenog političkog saveza predvođenog Segestom, kao i kroz uspostavu vojnog logora Siscije. Indigena politička infrastruktura modificira se vojnom silom, a Siscija postaje fizičko uporište iz kojeg se vojna sila imperija projicira dalje u panonsku nizinu, preobražavajući pograničnu zonu u imperijalni artefakt.*

*This paper will discuss the macro-historical and micro-historical picture of the settlement on the confluence of the rivers Sava and Kupa during the period of its inclusion in the networks of a globalized Mediterranean empire – usually identified with its capital Rome. The changes in the structure of the relationship amongst the elite in the imperial metropole in the second century BC transmitted into the imperial peripheries and frontier-zones where imperial power started to project directly, rather than indirectly. The movement of the imperial frontier-zone in Pannonia resulted in the restructuration of local architectures of power, which is best seen through the destruction of the indigenous political alliance led by Segesta and the establishment of the military camp Siscia. The indigenous political infrastructure was modified with military force and Siscia became a physical stronghold from which the military power of the Empire projected further into the Pannonian plains, transforming the frontier-zone into an imperial artefact.*

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**Ključne riječi:**

Segesta, Siscia, Rimsko carstvo, imperij, globalizacija, povezanost

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**Key words:**

Segesta, Siscia, Roman empire, empire, globalization, connectivity

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U rimskim narativima osvajanja Ilirika, Segesta<sup>1</sup> i njezin rimski alter ego Siscia igraju značajno mjesto. Za Apijana (koji prenosi Augustove memoare), to je mjesto gdje Oktavijan August stječe vojnu slavu. Za Veleja Paterkula, Tiberijevo zimovanje u Sisciji je narativna točka gdje se preokreće ratna sreća panonskih pobunjenika u Batonskom ratu. Literarne Segesta i Siscija iz povijesnih naracija poprište su katarzičnih epizoda ugrađenih u diskurzivnu

In the Roman narratives of the conquest of Illyricum, Segesta,<sup>1</sup> and its Roman alter ego Siscia play an important role. For Appian, who draws heavily on Augustus' memoirs, this is where Octavian/Augustus gained military glory. For Velleius Paterculus, Tiberius' winter quarters in Siscia in AD 6/7 were a point in a narrative after which Fortuna turned her back on the rebels in the *bellum Batonianum*. Literary Segesta and Siscia in the historical narratives are the setting for ca-

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1 Apijan naziva ovo naselje Segesta, a njegove stanovnike Segestani, što je najvjerojatnije originalan oblik preuzet od Augusta. Segestika je prema tome pridjevna izvedenica koja se udomačila u kasnijem periodu kao naziv za naselje (Šašel Kos 1997b, 34-35; Šašel Kos 2002, 148; Šašel Kos 2005a, 437).

1 This paper is an outcome of a Faculty Travel Grant received from the Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University in 2015. Appian calls this settlement Segesta, and its inhabitants the Segestani, which is most probably the original term taken from Augustus' memoirs. Thus, Segestica is the adjective derived from Segesta that was in later times used to describe the settlement (Šašel Kos 1997b, 34-35; Šašel Kos 2002, 148; Šašel Kos 2005a, 437).

sliku rimskog ovladavanja prostora buduće Dalmacije i Panonije, koja je nezaobilazni temelj suvremenih interpretacija ovih događaja. No, Segesta i Siscia bile su mnogo više od svoje literarne projekcije u antičkim vrelima. Nedavni pomaci u istraživanju protopovijesnog i antičkog naselja na ušću Kupe u Savu – koje će ovaj zbornik detaljno predstaviti – nedvojbeno otvaraju put k upoznavanju njegove lokalnosti, mikrotopografije i evolucije urbaniteta. S druge strane, još je značajnije prepoznati kako ova istraživanja zapravo udaraju temelje spoznaje uloge Segeste/Siscije u nastajanju i održavanju protopovijesnih i antičkih društvenih mreža – kako regionalnih, tako i međuregionalnih. Izučavanje mikrotopografije ovog komunikacijskog čvorišta između Panonije, Alpa, sjevernog Jadrana i unutarnjih Dinarida otkriva konture šire slike dinamike uvezanosti i funkcioniranja predrimskih i rimskih imperijalnih mreža u području koje se transformira od imperijalne pogranične zone u temeljni dio imperijalne infrastrukture.

Ovaj rad razmatra makropovijesnu i mikropovijesnu sliku prostora na ušću Kupe u Savu, u periodu njegovog umrežavanja u strukturu mediteranskih poveznica. Postupno pomicanje pogranične zone rimskog imperija u Panoniju restrukturira lokalne političke arhitekture moći i postojeće mrežne sustave, što se najbolje vidi kroz političko uništenje indigenog Segestanskog saveza, kao i kroz razvitak vojnog logora, kasnije kolonije Siscije. Indigena politička infrastruktura radikalno se preobražava, a Siscia postaje fizičko uporište iz kojeg se vojna sila imperija projicira dalje u pannonsku nizinu, preobražavajući s vremenom prostor pogranične zone u imperijalni artefakt.

## Imperij

Dramatična transformacija segestanske zajednice u prvom stoljeću pr. Kr. uzrokovana je isključivo jednim čimbenikom, a to je širenje antičke globalizacije, kako se danas u literaturi često naziva grananje umreženog mediteranskog komunikacijskog makrosustava. Sam termin ‘globalizacija’ otvoren je za diskusiju podjednako kao i drugi koncepti kojima se pokušava zamijeniti danas pomalo zastarjela paradigma ‘romanizacije’.<sup>2</sup> No, nedvojbeno je kako dinamika između obrazaca globalnog i lokalnog, koju definira i diskutira suvremena teorija globalizacije, funkcionira vrlo slično kako u modernom vremenu tako i u rimsko doba.<sup>3</sup> Preduvjet funkcioniranju globalizacijskih mehanizama u antici nedvojbeno je nastanak i širenje rimskog imperija. Rimski imperij postaje aktivni subjekt i okosnica Abulafijinog „drugog Mediterana“, koji se uspostavlja restrukturiranjem razorenih kasnobrončanodobnih mediteranskih komunikacijskih mreža, kulminirajući s rimskim imperijem.<sup>4</sup> Pod terminom ‘imperij’ ovdje se podrazu-

thartic episodes embedded in a discursive picture of the Roman conquest over the space which would become the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. They represent a foundation for modern interpretations of those events. However, Segesta and Siscia have been much more than their literary projections in the ancient sources. Recent advances in research relating to the proto-historical and ancient settlements at the confluence of the Kupa and Sava rivers – which this collection of essays presents in more detail – has provided an opportunity to further understanding of its locality, micro-topography and the evolution of urbanity there. On the other hand, it is even more important to recognize that this research lays a firm foundation for understanding the role that Segesta/Siscia played in the establishment and maintenance of proto-historical and ancient social networks, both regional and inter-regional. Research into the micro-topography of this communication hub between Pannonia, the Alps, the northern Adriatic and the inner Dinarides reveals the outline of a wider picture that presents the dynamics of the connectivity and functioning of the Roman imperial networks in the area, which transformed from an imperial frontier-zone into a firm part of the imperial infrastructure.

This paper will discuss the macro-historical and micro-historical picture of the settlement at the confluence of the Kupa and Sava rivers, ancient Colapis and Savus, in the period of its inclusion into the structures of Mediterranean networks. The gradual movement of the Roman imperial frontier-zone into Pannonia restructured local architectures of power and the existing networks, and this is best seen in the political destruction of the indigenous alliance led by Segesta and the development of the military camp Siscia, which later became a Roman colony. The indigenous political infrastructures were radically transformed, and Siscia became a physical stronghold from which the military power of the Empire projected further into the Pannonian plains, in time reshaping the space of the frontier-zone into an imperial artefact.

## Empire

The dramatic transformation of the Segestan community in the first century BC was the result, of one factor, the expansion of ancient globalization networks, the term used these days in scholarship to describe the networked ancient Mediterranean communication macro-system. The term ‘globalization’ is certainly open for discussion, as are the other concepts used today to replace the somewhat outdated paradigm of ‘Romanization’.<sup>2</sup> However, there is no doubt that the dynamics between the templates of global and local, defined and debated within modern theories of globalization, function in a very similar way in the modern globalized world in comparison to how they functioned in the Roman era.<sup>3</sup> The main precondition for the establishment and func-

2 Dok se ova paradigma smatra zastarjelom u anglosaksonskoj znanosti, drugdje se još uvijek mogu naći znanstvenici koji je zastupaju i brane, npr. Alföldy 2005; Ceccconi 2006.

3 Primjenu globalizacijske teorije u izučavanju rimskog doba možemo naći u: Hingley 2005; van Nijf 2006; Sweetman 2007; Geraghty 2007; Pitts 2008; Hitchner 2008; Rüpke 2011; Versluys 2014; Pitts, Versluys 2015a, itd. Kako Pitts i Versluys (2015b) nedavno pokazuju, korištenje teorije globalizacije u izučavanju antike nalazi se u fazi konceptualnog razjašnjavanja u kojoj se teorija globalizacije uvodi kao okvir za diskusiju, prije negoli kopira kao gotov koncept, odnosno, kako argumentira Witcher (2015, 199-200), teorija globalizacije je opis, ali ne i objašnjenje kulturnih i društvenih promjena.

4 Abulafia 2011, 63-238.

2 While this paradigm is usually regarded as outdated in the Anglophone scholarship, in Continental Europe some scholars are still trying to defend it, e.g. Alföldy 2005; Ceccconi 2006.

3 The application of globalization theory in the research of the Roman empire can be found in e.g. Hingley 2005; van Nijf 2006; Sweetman 2007; Geraghty 2007; Pitts 2008; Hitchner 2008; Rüpke 2011; Versluys 2014; Pitts, Versluys 2015, etc. As Pitts and Versluys (2015a) recently argued, the use of globalization theory in the research of antiquity is at this moment in the phase of conceptual clarification, where the theory of globalization is introduced as a framework for discussion, rather than being copied as a predetermined concept. In a similar way Witcher (2015), 199-200, defined the theory of globalization as description, but not an explanation of cultural and social changes.

mijeva ekvivalent njemačke riječi *Reich*: složena nadnacionalna i nadetnička politička tvorevina, prije negoli *Kaiserreich*: politička tvorevina kojom vlada pojedinac s apsolutnom vlašću. Još u kasnom 3. stoljeću pr. Kr. možemo identificirati u rimskom političkom konglomeratu sve ključne čimbenike umrežene društvene i političke strukture koju suvremena znanost naziva imperijem: metropolu, periferije i pogranične zone.<sup>5</sup> Time nije nimalo pogrešno definirati rimsku Republiku od ovog perioda kao imperij.<sup>6</sup> Rimski imperij se u potpunosti uobličava u Augustovo doba na višestrukim razinama: kroz artikuliranu propagandu, prepoznatljive simbole moći, vizualnu simboliku, materijalnu kulturu, pisani diskurs o imperiju, i nove povijesne naracije.<sup>7</sup>

Negdje do sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. rimska imperijalna republika prakticira hegemoniku upravu nad pograničnim zonama, ostvarujući vlast uglavnom bez izravne uprave. Krizne situacije rješavaju se vojnim intervencijama, a dominacija održava prijetnjom silom i oslanjanjem na političke klijente. Promjena pristupa od sredine 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. rezultira izravnim pripajanjima novih teritorija imperijalnoj upravi, što pokreće stvaranje novih pograničnih zona.<sup>8</sup> Samim time, rimski imperij, kao i drugi imperiji, aktivno mijenja lokalne arhitekture moći na diskurzivnoj razini, preobražavajući postojeće koncepcije prostora u nove prostorne tvorevine – ponajviše u doba ranog principata.<sup>9</sup> Lokalne elite i stanovništvo kontroliraju se ovisno o okolnostima – uključivanjem lokalnih elita u političku arhitekturu imperija ili vojnom silom, najčešće kombinacijom oba pristupa.<sup>10</sup> Segesta i Siscija pojavljuju se u pisanim naracijama u periodu kada prostor istočnih Alpa i jadranskog zaleđa dolazi u pograničnu zonu imperijalne republike. Kroz ratove sa susjednim indigenim zajednicama Rim je za manje od stoljeća uspio korjenito izmijeniti područje između Jadrana i Dunava, stvarajući potpuno nove zemljopisne prostore u imperijalnoj preraspodjeli prostora. Nova imperijalna tvorevina prvo je nazvana Ilirikom, a njezino širenje rezultiralo je stvaranjem novih provincijalnih prostora Dalmacije i Panonije.<sup>11</sup>

## Povijesni narativi

Segesta i segestanska politija pojavljuju se u pisanim vrelima u dva grubo definirana konteksta – u naracijama rimskog osvajanja Ilirika i u etnografskim digresijama. Oba konteksta predstavljaju svojevrstno „pisanje imperija“ – stvaranje pisanog diskursa o imperiju.<sup>12</sup> Naracije osvajanja Ilirika prikazivale su se kao niz ratova

tioning of globalizing mechanisms in antiquity was quite certainly the formation and expansion of the Roman empire. Rome's empire thus in time became an active subject and the only framework of Abulafia's 'Second Mediterranean', established after the restructuration of destroyed Mediterranean Late Bronze Age communication networks.<sup>4</sup> The word 'empire' is understood here as equivalent to the German word *Reich*: a complex supra-national and supra-ethnic political entity, rather than *Kaiserreich*: a political entity ruled by an individual with absolute power. It is possible to identify in the Roman political conglomerate already in the third century BC all the key elements of a networked socio-political structure that contemporary scholarship defines as an 'empire': metropole, peripheries and frontier-zones.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is not at all wrong to see the Roman Republic from this period as an empire.<sup>6</sup> The Roman empire, in the sense that we are discussing the idea of empire here, became fully formed, or close to it, in the Augustan era on multiple levels: articulated propaganda, recognizable symbols of power, visual symbolism, material culture, written discourses on empire and new historical narratives.<sup>7</sup>

Until approximately the first century BC, the Roman imperial republic practiced hegemonic rule over the frontier-zones, exercising power usually without direct administration. Crises were solved through military interventions, and domination was achieved by threat of force and reliance on political clients. The change of approach from around the mid-first century BC resulted in the direct annexation of new territories, which in turn created new frontier-zones.<sup>8</sup> With this new approach, the Roman empire, like other empires, actively changed local architectures of power on a discursive level, transforming the existing concepts of space into new spatial artefacts – especially during the early principate.<sup>9</sup> Local elites and commoners were controlled depending on the circumstances – with the inclusion of the elites in the political architecture of the empire or via military force – most frequently by a combination of both.<sup>10</sup> Segesta and Siscia enter the written narratives in the period when the area of the eastern Alps and the Adriatic hinterland came into the frontier-zone of the imperial Republic. Through the wars with neighbouring indigenous communities, Rome in less than a century succeeded in thoroughly changing the space between the Adriatic and the Danube, creating completely new geographical concepts in an imperial rearrangement of the space. One of these new geographical concepts was initially called Illyricum, and its expansion resulted in the creation of the new provincial spaces of Dalmatia and Pannonia.<sup>11</sup>

5 Interdisciplinarno izučavanje imperija generalno je masivnu bibliografiju, primjerice: Doyle 1986; Hardt, Negri 2000; Maier 2006; Colás 2007; Münkler 2007; Parsons 2010; Fibiger Bang, Kołodziejczyk 2012 itd.

6 Potter 2012; Rosenstein 2012.

7 Habinek, Schiesaro 1997; Woolf 2001; Hingley 2005, 49-71; Wallace Hadrill 2008. Vidi također: Powel 1992; Elsner 1996; Ando 2000, 19-34 (propaganda); Zanker 1988; Galinsky 1996; Hölscher 2004; Versluys 2015 (vizualna reprezentacija i materijalna kultura); Habinek 1998; Orlin 2007 (literatura); Ando 2008 (religija) itd.

8 Primjerice: Isaac 1994, 372-418; Whittaker 1994, 31-59; Mattern 1999, 81-122; Sipilä 2009, 17-20; Beness, Hillard 2013.

9 Nicolet 1991; također: Purcell 1990; Ando 2000: 61-62, 351-356; Talbert 2004.

10 Gambash 2015.

11 O ovom procesu vidi pobliže u Dzino 2010; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013; Dzino 2017; Džino, Domić Kunić 2018.

12 Habinek 1998; za pisana vrela: Domić Kunić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

4 Abulafia 2011, 63-238.

5 Interdisciplinary research of empires has generated a massive bibliography, e.g. Doyle 1986; Hardt, Negri 2000; Maier 2006; Colás 2007; Münkler 2007; Parsons 2010; Fibiger Bang, Kołodziejczyk 2012, etc.

6 Potter 2012; Rosenstein 2012.

7 Habinek, Schiesaro 1997; Woolf 2001; Hingley 2005, 49-71; Wallace Hadrill 2008. See also Powel 1992; Elsner 1996; Ando 2000, 19-34 (propaganda); Zanker 1988; Galinsky 1996; Hölscher 2004; Versluys 2015 (visual representation and material culture); Habinek 1998; Orlin 2007 (literature); Ando 2008 (religion), etc.

8 Isaac 1994, 372-418; Whittaker 1994, 31-59; Mattern 1999, 81-122; Sipilä 2009, 17-20; Beness, Hillard 2013.

9 Nicolet 1991, see also Purcell 1990; Ando 2000: 61-62, 351-356; Talbert 2004.

10 Gambash 2015.

11 On this process see more in: Džino, 2010; Domić Kunić 2013; Dzino 2017; Džino, Domić Kunić 2018.

u kojima Rimljani postupno osvajaju prostor, što je suvremena znanost reificirala u svojim interpretacijama rimske interakcije s Ilirikom simplificirano kao linearni proces postupnog osvajanja. U naracijama rimskog osvajanja Ilirika Segesta i Segestani pojavljuju se kod Apijana i Kasija Diona, te Veleja Paterkula.<sup>13</sup> Usporedo s naracijama osvajanja možemo vidjeti Segestu i u rimskim etnografskim digresijama, koje se pojavljuju kod gore navedenih autora, ali i kod Strabona i Plinija Starijeg. Etnografske digresije pišu imperij na nešto drugačiji način - opisujući 'barbarske' narode i provincijalce, te projicirajući sliku svijeta kojemu je u središtu Rim, a imperij subjekt širenja civilizacije.<sup>14</sup>

Mjesta na kojima Apijan spominje Segestu i Segestane dolaze uglavnom iz Augustove autobiografije, najznačajnijeg i najkonzistentnijeg vrela korištenog za pisanje njegove *Ilirike*.<sup>15</sup> S obzirom da Oktavijanov napad na Segestane 35. pr. Kr. nije bio sankcioniran rimskim pravilima rata, što jasno kazuje Kasije Dion koji slijedi neki drugi izvor,<sup>16</sup> Apijan-August pronalazi tri opravdanja za napad. Prvi je, posredno, osveta poraza neidentificiranog vojskovođe Kornelija, kojeg su u 2. st. pr. Kr. porazili Panoni i navodno izazvali popriličnu paniku u Italiji prestavši plaćati danak Rimu, te njihovo odmetnuće kada su prestali plaćati danak koji im je nametnuo Aurelije Kota 119. pr. Kr. Drugi – apstraktna 'arogancija' Segestana, dok je treći razlog strateški značaj Segeste u planiranom, ali neostvarenom pohodu na Dačane.<sup>17</sup> Iako je Segesta strateški doista dobro pozicionirana, teško je tvrditi kako je u danom trenutku budući princeps uistinu namjeravao krenuti na Dačane nakon zauzeća Segestike. Prije se čini kako je Oktavijan kombinirao propagandu, oportunizam i nerealni strah od Dačana sa željom za uspostavljanjem čvrstog uporišta za buduće rimske pothvate u Panonskoj nizini.<sup>18</sup> Opis ovih događaja kod Kasija Diona ne razlikuje se previše od Apijanovog, no očito je da za opise Segeste i Siscije Kasije Dion koristi uz Augusta i druga vrela, ali i vlastita iskustva iz 3. stoljeća, što vidimo u činjenici da za njega nema Segeste već postoji samo Siscija.<sup>19</sup> Segesta je u obje ove naracije osvajanja prikazana kao simbolička točka kojom Oktavijan pobjedonosno dovršava prvi dio svoje kampanje 35. pr. Kr. Ona je pozicionirana u prostoru kao strateško uporište, ali također i kao privremeni limit rimske vlasti – do njezinog daljnjeg širenja.

Velej Paterkul iz vlastite perspektive sudionika u ovim događajima vidi Sisciju kao prijelomnu točku nešto kasnijeg Batonskog rata. U njegovoj naraciji, nakon serije rimskih poraza dolaze početne rimske pobjede, prvo ona Mesalina i XX. legije a potom i združene vojske Cecine Severa i Plaucija Silvana. U to vrijeme

## Historical narratives

Segesta and the Segestan political alliance appear in the written sources in two roughly defined contexts – the narratives of the Roman conquest and ethnographic digressions. Both of these contexts are part of the process which is referred to in the scholarship as the 'writing of the empire', this phrase encapsulating the creation of written discourses about the empire.<sup>22</sup> The narratives of the conquest of Illyricum are presented as narratives of wars in which the Romans gradually conquered this space that modern interpretation has reified in its interpretations of Roman interaction with it, regarding it simplistically as a linear process of conquest. In the narratives of the Roman conquest, Segesta and the Segestani appear in the works of Appian, Cassius Dio and Velleius Paterculus.<sup>23</sup> Parallel with the narratives of the conquest, we can also see Segesta in the Roman ethnographic digressions by the above-mentioned authors, as well as in Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Ethnographic digressions 'wrote the empire' in a somewhat different way – describing 'barbarian' peoples and provincials, projecting the picture of the world which has Rome as its centre and empire as a civilizing force.<sup>24</sup>

The places where Appian describes Segesta and the Segestani are mostly taken from Augustus' autobiography, the most significant and the most consistent source used for the writing of his *Illyrike*.<sup>25</sup> Considering the fact that Octavian's attack on the Segestani in 35 BC had not been sanctioned by the Roman rules of war, which is clearly said in Cassius Dio who follows some other source,<sup>26</sup> in Appian Augustus finds several excuses for the attack. The first one is, indirectly, the avenging of the defeat of an unidentified Cornelius who was defeated in the second century BC by the 'Pannonii'. This is followed by the Segestan refusal to pay tribute imposed on them by Aurelius Cotta in 119 BC, abstract 'arrogance' by the Segestani, and finally the strategic significance of Segesta in Octavian's planned, but not realised, campaign against the Dacians.<sup>27</sup> Although positioned quite well strategically, it is difficult to claim that after the capture of Segesta (35 BC), the future Princeps intended to extend his campaigning against the Dacians. Rather, it seems that he combined propaganda, opportunism, and surreal fear of the Dacians, in order to establish a firm stronghold for future Roman campaign in the Pannonian plains.<sup>28</sup> The depiction of those events in Cassius Dio does not differ too much from Appian, but it is clear that he used for the description other sources besides Augustus, as well as his own personal experiences from the third century AD. This is vis-

13 Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 20-27; Džino, Domic Kunić 2018, 77-78.

14 Woolf 2011; Gruen 2011, 141-222.

15 Illyr. 14.42, 15.43; Šašel Kos 2005a, 35-36, 389-97.

16 Kasije Dion, 49.36.1; Šašel Kos 1997a, 190-191.

17 App. Illyr. 10.30; 14.41; 22.62; 22.65. Pretpostavka Šašel Kos (2005a, 389-90) kako spomen Kornelijevo poraza u Apijanovom 14. poglavlju dolazi iz Augustove Autobiografije, doima se uvjerljivo. Vidi isto Šašel Kos 2005b.

18 App. Illyr. 22.65; 23.67 cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; Strabo, 7.5.2; Šašel Kos 1997a, 194; 2010, 106, 111. Drugačijeg mišljenja su primjerice Wilkes 1969, 52 ili Šašel Kos 2005a, 438-440 koja u kasnijoj publikaciji ipak sugerira da je Oktavijan uz propagandne ciljeve možda imao i stvarnu nakanu početi pohod na Dačane nakon osvajanja Segeste.

19 Za usporedbu vidi prikaze Oktavijanove kampanje kod Kasija Diona i Apijana u Šašel Kos 1997a.

12 See Habinek 1998. For written sources see Domic Kunić 2018, (in this volume).

13 Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 20-27; Džino, Domic Kunić 2018, 77-78.

14 Woolf 2011; Gruen 2011, 141-222.

15 App. Illyr. 14.42; 15.43; Šašel Kos 2005a, 35-36, 389-97.

16 Dio, 49.36.1; see Šašel Kos 1997a, 90-91.

17 App. Illyr. 10.30; 14.41; 22.62; 22.65. Hypothesis of Šašel Kos (2005a, 389-90) that mention of Cornelius' defeat in chapter 14 of Appian's *Illyrike*, comes from Augustus' memoirs appears very convincing; see also Šašel Kos 2005b.

18 App. Illyr. 22.65; 23.67 cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; Strabo, 7.5.2; Šašel Kos 1997a, 194; 2010, 106, 111. Another opinion is represented in e.g. Wilkes 1969, 52 or Šašel Kos 2005a, 438-440, who in this later publication suggest that apart from Octavian's propaganda aims, there might have been a genuine intent to start a campaign against the Dacians, after the conquest of Segesta.

pristiže na ratište Velejev miljenik Tiberije, koji u Sisciji provodi hladnu zimu 6./7. po Kr. koja je „nagrada rimska nastojanja za okončanje rata“.<sup>20</sup> Upravo odavde rimske postrojbe će pod zapovjedništvom Tiberija krenuti prema mukotrpnj i konačnoj pobjedi nad panonskim pobunjenicima. U Paterkulovom pripovijedanju događaja ne postoji Segesta ili indigena populacija u Sisciji – ovo mjesto je prikazano kao rimsko uporište, čvrsto tlo u uzburkanom Iliriku.

U etnografskim narativima Segesta (odnosno tada već Segestika) i Siscija pojavljuju se kod Strabona i Plinija. Strabon vidi Segestiku kao značajnu točku trgovačkog puta koji ide od Akvileje preko Nauporta k Panoniji, ponavljajući Augustovu propagandnu floskulu kako se radi o izvrsnom uporištu za buduću invaziju Dačana.<sup>21</sup> Strabon spominje dvojni toponim Segestika (grad) i Siscija (utvrda) i u suglasnosti je s Apijanom i Dionom, kada indigeno pučanstvo Segestike zamišlja pod skupnim nazivom „Panoni“.<sup>22</sup> Plinije pak poznaje koloniju Sisciju i „otok“ Segestiku, navješćujući nam detalje rimskog reorganiziranja prostora i postupno gurane toponima Segestika u drugi plan.<sup>23</sup>

Pisana vrela nam govore ono što je zanimalo njihove autore, u kontekstima djela koja su pisali. Segesta i njezini žitelji se u ovim djelima nalaze ili kao suprotstavljena strana u binarnom sučeljavanju Rima i „Drugih“, ili se demonstrira diskurzivni zaborav i selektivno pamćenje u kojem se toponim Segesta-Segestika mijenja toponimom Siscija koji rimska administracija preuzima kao službeni kolonijalni termin za ovo naselje.<sup>24</sup> Ovakvo pozicioniranje narativa implicira sukob i u potpunosti isključuje kontakt i uvezanost žitelja Segeste u šire društvene mreže, s izuzetkom naznake njihova savezništva s „drugim Panoncima“.<sup>25</sup> Bitan izuzetak od pravila je Strabon, koji jedini ukazuje na izuzetnu važnost komunikacijskog pravca od Akvileje k Panoniji, u kojem je Segesta bila bitno čvorište.<sup>26</sup>

## Urbanizam i arhitektura moći

O indigenoj populaciji Segeste znamo jako malo izvan onoga što donose pisana vrela. Znanstvene debate o lokaciji Segeste i Siscije dugo traju, što ne iznenađuje kada se uzmu u obzir razlike među primarnim vrelima koje izvješćuju o ova dva povezana toponima i donedavni nedostatak sveobuhvatnijih arheoloških iskopavanja.<sup>27</sup> Kako pokazuju najnovija arheološka istraživanja, radilo se o željeznodobnom naselju koje se prostiralo na obje obale rijeke Kupe. Radna je pretpostavka da je naselje Segesta bilo na desnoj obali Kupe još od kasnog brončanog i ranog željeznog doba, gdje su zabilježeni tragovi naselja na poziciji Keltsko-Pogorelac s najstarijim materi-

ible in the fact that Dio does not mention Segesta, but only Siscia.<sup>29</sup> Segesta-Siscia, in those two narratives of conquest is depicted as a symbolic point where Octavian victoriously ends the first part of his campaign in 35 BC. It is positioned in the space as a strategic stronghold, but also as a temporary limit of Roman power – until further expansion.

Velleius Paterculus, from his own subjective perception as a participant in the *bellum Batonianum*, sees Siscia as a decisive point in the war. In his narrative, after a series of Roman defeats and misfortunes, Rome starts to win some victories, the first one by Mesalinus and legio XX, then another by the joined forces of Caecina Severus and Plautius Silvanus. At that time Velleius' champion Tiberius arrives on the battlefield and spends a chilly winter in AD 6/7 in Siscia. Velleius is quite explicit, saying that this winter: "rewarded our (ie. Roman) efforts in the termination of the war".<sup>20</sup> It is from this exact spot that Roman troops under Tiberius' command go on to achieve the final victory over their enemies, two years later. In Velleius' narrative of the events, again, neither Segesta nor the indigenous population in Siscia are mentioned. This place is shown as a Roman stronghold – a piece of firm ground in the stormy Illyricum.

In the ethnographic narratives, Segesta (already called Segestica at that time) and Siscia appear in Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Strabo sees Segestica as an important point in the trade route that went from Aquileia via Nauportus towards Pannonia, repeating Augustus' propaganda that this place is an excellent stronghold for a future campaign against the Dacians.<sup>21</sup> Strabo mentions a double toponym: Segestica (town) and Siscia (military camp), and is in agreement with Appian and Dio when he imagines the indigenous inhabitants of Segestica under the ethnonym of the Pannonii.<sup>22</sup> Pliny, however, refers to a colony of Siscia and the 'island' of Segestica, indicating the details of the Roman reorganisation of space and gradual pushing of the toponym Segestica into the background.<sup>23</sup>

The written sources reflect what interested those authors, in the contexts of the works that they were writing. Segesta and its inhabitants are depicted as an opposing side in a binary conflict between Rome and 'Others'. The sources also present a discursive forgetfulness in which the toponym Segesta-Segestica is replaced with Siscia – the official colonial term for this settlement. The more complex depictions of the Segestani, such as Appian's mention of a disagreement between the Segestan elite and the commoners regarding whether to surrender the town to Octavian, do not appear elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> This positioning of the narrative

20 Vel. Pat., 2.113.3, citat iz 2.114.4.

21 Strabon, 4.6.10, 7.5.2; Šašel Kos 2002.

22 O Panonima: Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 93-100; Kovács 2014, 5-22; iz arheološke perspektive: Dizdar 2012.

23 Plinije, NatHist 3.147-48.

24 App. Illyr. 23.67

25 App. Illyr. 23.68.

26 Šašel Kos 2002.

27 Ranije diskusije: Faber 1973, 152; Šašel 1974, 726; Nenadić 1987, 73; Hoti 1992, 134; Buzov 1993, 48-49; Šašel Kos 1997a, 192; 2002; Burkowsky 1999, 18-19; Durman 2002, 25.

19 See the comparison of representations of Octavian's campaign and Cassius Dio and Appian in Šašel Kos 1997a.

20 Vel. Pat., 2.113.3, the quote from 2.114.4.

21 Strabo, 4.6.10; 7.5.2, see Šašel Kos 2002.

22 On the Pannonii recently Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 93-100; Kovács 2014, 5-22, and from archaeological perspective Dizdar 2012.

23 Pliny, NatHist 3.147-48.

24 App. Illyr. 23.67

jalom datiranim u 10./9. st. pr. Kr.,<sup>28</sup> dok su se na lijevoj obali nalazili nasebinski slojevi iz 2./1. st. pr. Kr. na koje naliježu najraniji rimski slojevi - vjerojatno dijelovi rimskog vojnog logora iz Augustova vremena. U posljednjim stoljećima pred rimsko osvajanje naselje na Pogorelcu se smanjuje, a naselje s druge strane Kupe dobiva na značaju šireći se prema važnijoj komunikacijskoj arteriji – rijeci Savi.<sup>29</sup>

Rimsko osvajanje predstavljalo je prekretnicu iz više razloga. Izgradnja vojnog logora i dolazak imigranata iz Italije uspostavljaju nove okolnosti u kojima su društveni preobražaji oblikovani kroz kulturni kontakt među indigenom zajednicom i doseljenicima. Indigena populacija Segeste nije uništena u potpunosti nakon osvajanja, mada se pisana vrela slažu u tome da su se žitelji Segeste bezuspješno pobunili nakon Oktavijanovog povlačenja 35. pr. Kr., što nije moglo proći bez posljedica.<sup>30</sup> Potvrdu za takvu pretpostavku vidimo u materijalnom zapisu koji pokazuje kontinuitet naseljavanja lokaliteta potvrđen na pozicijama Povijesni arhiv, ali i u nalazima s pozicije Frankopanska bb i na prostoru željezničkog kolodvora na lijevoj obali Kupe.<sup>31</sup> No, odnos između indigenog stanovništva i imperijalne administracije te doseljenika nije se temeljio na jednakosti, već je bio posljedica stalnog pregovaranja međusobnog odnosa u kojemu je indigena populacija bila u podređenom položaju.<sup>32</sup>

Izgradnja vojnog logora i potom razvitak grada s rimskim urbanističkim rješenjima, o čemu napokon počinjemo saznati više, učinkovite su mjere imperijalne administracije koja preobražava 'barbarsku' Segestu/Segestiku u provincijsko središte Sisciju.<sup>33</sup> Urbanizacija pretvara ovu naseobinu u uporište rimskog imperijalnog ideološkog diskursa u provinciji osiguravajući političku kontrolu, stvarajući novo središte potražnje za mediteranskim proizvodima, te ubrzavajući proces prihvaćanja imperijalnih kulturnih i socijalnih obrazaca među lokalnom indigenom populacijom.<sup>34</sup> Osnivanje i razvitak rimskih gradova može se promatrati i kao proces kojim se stvaraju društvena čvorišta koja su 100% globalna i 100% lokalna u isto vrijeme.<sup>35</sup> Prema tome Siscija postaje prostorom koji je i jedinstven, ali i običan, s utisnutim obrascem rimskog grada prepoznatljivim od Britanije do Bliskog istoka.

Termin Segestika gubi značaj unutar rimske upravne strukture nauštrb službenog naziva Siscija, mada ga još nalazimo i dosta kasno u 1. stoljeću po Kr.<sup>36</sup> Slično je i s terminom Segestani.

implies conflict and opposition, fully disregarding the connectivity of the inhabitants of Segesta in the wider social networks of their time, with the exception of the mention of their alliance with the 'other Pannonians'.<sup>25</sup> An important exception in this regard is Strabo, who is the only one to highlight the exceptional importance of the communication route between Aquileia and Pannonia, in which Segesta played the role of an important hub.<sup>26</sup>

## Urbanism and architecture of power

We know very little about the indigenous population of Segesta, apart from what is said in the written sources. Scholarly debates about the location of Segesta and Siscia have lasted for a long time, which is not surprising when the differences between primary sources that mention those two connected toponyms and the lack of more comprehensive archaeological research, until recently, are taken into the account.<sup>27</sup> As the most recent archaeological excavations show, Segesta was an Iron Age settlement spread along both banks of the Kupa river. The current working hypothesis is that the settlement of Segesta existed on the right bank of the Kupa from the early Iron Ages, at the place of the settlement and pile-dwellings discovered at the site of Keltsko-Pogorelec – with the earliest finds dated to the end of sixth century BC.<sup>28</sup> On the left bank of the Kupa, settlement layers dated to the third/second century BC have been discovered, on top of which were built the earliest Roman layers, probably parts of the remains of the Roman military camp from the Augustan period. In the last centuries before the Roman conquest, the settlement on Pogorelec started to shrink, while the settlement on the opposing bank of the river became increasingly important, expanding further towards the Sava river – the main communication artery.<sup>29</sup>

The Roman conquest represented a major upheaval in the local community for several reasons. The construction of the military camp and settlement of the migrants from Italy established a new circumstance in which social changes were shaped through cultural contact between the indigenous community and the migrants. The indigenous population of Segesta had not been completely destroyed after the conquest, although written sources agree that the inhabitants of Segesta made a failed uprising after Octavian's withdrawal in 35 BC, which certainly must have had grave consequences.<sup>30</sup> Con-

28 Lolić 2003, 135-38 za nalaze do 2003; Burkowsky 2004; Najnovija iskopavanja na Pogorelcu su opisana u Drnić 2015 i Drnić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

29 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015; Drnić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

30 Appijan, *Illyr.* 24.70; Kasije Dion, 49.38.1, 3, cf. Šašel Kos 1997a, 195-196. Radman-Livaja (2007, 161-162 i 2014, 143) je nešto skeptičniji glede prežitka izvornih Segestana, smatrajući da su manje-više likvidirani nakon ove pobune.

31 Kontinuitet: Burmaz 2005; Burkowsky 2007, 6-13; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 154-199. Za nalaze s lokaliteta Frankopanska bb i željeznički kolodvor, vidi: Škrkulja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi); Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi); Miletić Čakširan 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

32 Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 101-104.

33 Za topografiju rimske Siscije do 2003: Lolić 2003, 138-143, te za nove nalaze vojnog logora i foruma: Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi) i Škrkulja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi). O rimskim postrojbama u julijejsko-klaudijejskom razdoblju: Radman Livaja 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

34 Morley 2010, 55-57; također: C. R. Whittaker 1997, 144-48; Zanker 2000; Carroll 2003; Roymans 2004, 196-205; Hingley 2005, 77-87.

35 Laurence, Trifilò 2015, 116-18.

36 Radman Livaja 2007.

25 App. *Illyr.* 23.68.

26 Šašel Kos 2002.

27 Earlier discussions: Faber 1973, 152; Šašel 1974, 726; Nenadić 1987, 73; Hoti 1992, 134; Buzov 1993, 48-49; Šašel Kos 1997, 192; 2002; Burkowsky 1999, 18-19; Durman 2002, 25.

28 See Lolić 2003, 135-38 for the finds until 2003. The most recent excavations on Pogorelec are described in Drnić 2015 and Drnić 2018, (in this volume).

29 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić 2015; Drnić 2018, (in this volume).

30 Appijan, *Illyr.* 24.70; Dio, 49.38.1, 3, cf. Šašel Kos 1997, 195-96, Radman-Livaja (2007, 161-162 and 2014, 143) is a bit more sceptical of the survival of the original Segestani, thinking that they were more or less all exterminated after this failed uprising.

Kako je razvidno iz pisanih vrela, posebice Apijana i Kasija Dio- na, Segestani su predvodili snažan politički savez koji je obuhva- ćao brojne zajednice oko Segeste.<sup>37</sup> Opis Oktavijanovog poha- da nakon pokoravanja Transalpskih Japoda ne ostavlja dvojbu kako su i zajednice u dolini rijeke Kupe predstavljale dio sege- stanskog političkog saveza. U ovom području, između južne Bele krajine, Petrove i Zrinske gore, locira se specifična lokalizirana željeznodobna arheološka kultura čije je jedino dobro istraženo nalazište Turska kosa kod Topuskog koje je u funkciji do mlađeg željeznog doba, a na čijem se samom istočnom rubu nalazila i Segesta.<sup>38</sup> No, rimska kolonijalna reorganizacija prostora ne rabi termin Segestani za peregrinsku civitas, već uvodi novi službeni naziv Kolapijani (*Colapiani*) po rijeci Colapis (Kupa), što se poka- zuje u epigrafskim vrelima.<sup>39</sup> Kako su se ove zajednice nazivale prije rimskog osvajanja ostaje otvoreno pitanje, a ime Kolapijani koje se rabi u literaturi za ovu željeznodobnu arheološku kultu- ru lako može biti suvremeni anakronizam. U svakom slučaju po- tiskivanje termina Segesta i Segestani sugerira izravnu interven- cijiju imperijalnih institucija u postojeće lokalne arhitekture moći. Kolapijani ('ljudi uz rijeku Colapis') predstavlja neutralan zemljopi- sni termin kojim se na simboličkoj razini moglo naznačiti imperi- jalno preuređenje prostora i politička dominacija.

### Globalizacija i pogranične zone

Pogledajmo sada naselje Segestika-Siscija unutar širih druš- tvenih mreža u periodu rimskog osvajanja. Ovo naselje i po- liitički savez koji ga je predvodio dolaze u pograničnu zonu rimskog imperija kao dio rimske interesne zone oko sjeverne Italije u ranom 2. st. pr. Kr. Širenje pogranične zone imperija potiče društvene preobražaje u indigenim zajednicama i 'tri- balizaciju', odnosno društveno usložnjavanje te pojavu novih političkih institucija i identiteta.<sup>40</sup> Rimski pristup političkim krizama u ovom području obično se svodio na vojno neutrali- ziranje zajednica koje su smatrane 'remetilačkim faktorima, ali ne i na teritorijalna pripajanja. Vojna akcija konzula Lucija Au- relija Kote i neidentificiranog (Cecilija) Metela protiv Segesta- na iz 119. godine pr. Kr. dostatan je pokazatelj ovakve situacije. Tek uspostavom nove provincijalne infrastrukture iliričke ko- mande na istočnojadranskoj obali sredinom 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.

firmation of this hypothesis is found in the material record, which shows continuity of settlement at several positions such as the 'Pov- ijesni arhiv', 'Frankopanska street bb' and the area of Sisak Railway station on the left bank of the Kupa river.<sup>31</sup> However, the relationship between the indigenous population and imperial administration, as well as the immigrants was not based on equality, being the conse- quence of a constant negotiation of intercommunal relationships in which the indigenous population was in a submissive position.<sup>32</sup>

The building of the military camp and the development of the town via Roman urbanistic solutions, on which some light has fi- nally been shed, was an efficient measure of imperial administra- tion which transformed 'barbarian' Segesta/Segestica into the pro- vincial centre of Siscia.<sup>33</sup> The process of urbanisation transformed this settlement into the stronghold of Roman imperial discourse in the province, securing political control, creating a new centre of demand for Mediterranean goods, hastening the process of ac- ceptance of imperial cultural and social templates amongst the lo- cal indigenous population.<sup>34</sup> The foundation and development of Roman cities can be seen as a part of a process in which social net- works are created that are 100% global and 100% local at the same time, as recently pointed out.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Siscia became a space that was unique, but also identical with the imprinted template of the Roman city recognisable from Britain to the Near East.

The term Segestica began to lose importance within the Roman administrative structure, the official term Siscia becoming more commonly used at its expense, although we can still trace it very late into the first century AD.<sup>36</sup> It is a similar situation with the term Segestani as well. As is visible in the written sources, in par- ticular Appian and Cassius Dio, the Segestani led a strong political alliance that included numerous local communities around Seges- ta.<sup>37</sup> The description of Octavian's campaign after the conquest of the Transalpine Iapodes, does not leave any doubt that the commu- nities in the valley of the Kupa were also members of the Seges- tan political alliance. In this area, between southern Bela Krajina, Petrova gora and Zrinska gora, a specific localized Iron Age archae- ological culture is recognized and located, with only one well-re- searched site in Turska kosa near Topusko, which functioned un- til the late Iron Ages. Segesta is located on the very eastern edge

37 Definiranje Segeste kao keltskog naselja od strane nekih autora (Burkowsky 1999, 18-19; Lolić 2003, 138) elementarno je pogrešno – indigena populacija nastanjuje lokalitet u kontinuitetu od početka željeznog doba i poprima određene kulturne obrasce latenske kulture, kao i uostalom šira mreža zajednica na južnapanonskom prostoru (Dizdar 2012, 117-119; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 198-199). Jesu li Segestani i njihovi susjedi posjedovali etnički identitet nemoguće je reći na osnovu materijalne kulture.

38 Božić 1999, 201-202, 212; 2001; Čučković 2004. Treba spomenuti da je ovaj prostor iznimno slabo istražen, s izuzetkom Turske kose, tako da se njezin značaj u usporedbi s okolnim naseljima ne može pouzdano odrediti.

39 CIL 3.14387; Plinije, NatHist 3.147-148; Mócsy 1974, 53-55; Dzino 2010, 164-167; Kovács 2014, 8-12, 93ff. Suprotno mišljenje je nedavno izrazio Colombo (2010, 173-175), upozorivši da je termin Colapis predrimski što ne mijenja činjenicu da ga je rimska uprava "svjesno" nadjenula.

40 Chase-Dunn, Hall 1997, 65-70; također za rimske pogranične zone: Wells 1999, 114-121; D. Whittaker 2009, a u slučaju Ilirika Dzino 2013; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 190-193; Džino, Domić Kunić 2018, 81-82.

31 Continuity: Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 154-199; Burmaz 2005; Burkowsky 2007, 6-13. For the finds from the positions Frankopanska street bb and the Railway station, see: Škrkulja 2018, (in this volume); Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić 2018, (in this volume); Miletić Čakširan 2018, (in this volume)

32 Dzino, Domić Kunić 2012, 101-104.

33 For the topography of Roman Siscia until 2003, see Lolić 2003, 138-143, and for new finds from the military camp and forum, see Škrkulja 2018, (in this volume); Jerončić, Paro, Mesarić 2018, (in this volume). Roman legions in Julio-Claudian Siscia are discussed in Radman Livaja 2018 (in this volume).

34 Morley 2010, 55-57, see also C. R. Whittaker 1997, 144-48; Zanker 2000; Carroll 2003; Roymans 2004, 196-205; Hingley 2005, 77-87.

35 Laurence, Trifilò 2015, 116-118.

36 Radman Livaja 2007.

37 The definition of Segesta as a 'Celtic settlement' by some authors (Burkowsky 1999, 18-19; Lolić 2003, 138) is wrong – the indigenous population inhabited the locality from the beginnings of the Iron Age and adopted some cultural templates from the La Tène in a later period, as did other communities in the southern-Pannonian rim (Dizdar 2012, 117-119; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 198-199). Whether the Segestani and their neighbours have a defined ethnic identity is impossible to say just on the account of their material culture.



uključivanje Segestana u provincijalni sustav postaje moguće, što konačno vidimo i kroz Oktavijanov Ilirički pohod 35. pr. Kr.<sup>41</sup>

Arheološki materijal iz predrimskog perioda pronađen u Segestici i Sisciji upućuje na kontinuitet lokalnih tradicija proizvodnje i ukrašavanja ručno rađene keramike iz ranog u kasno željezno doba.<sup>42</sup> Mada se nalazila na zemljopisnom razmeđu između dva različita umrežena komunikacijska i kulturna makrosustava - latenskog i mediteranskog – nema previše dvojbe kako je od ova dva makrosustava predrimska Segesta bila čvršće uvezana u latenski. Veze s mediteranskim makrosustavom i dako-getske kulturnim krugom slabije su vidljive, ali se ni u kojem slučaju ne smiju podcjenjivati. Jesu li te veze postojale kao postojanija mreža kontakata ili ne, ne može se odrediti zbog nedostatka materijala.<sup>43</sup>

Sudjelovanje u materijalnom i kulturnom kontinuumu latena svodilo se ponajviše na lokalne interpretacije tipoloških oblika koje danas prepoznajemo kao latenske, poput fibula, keramike, konjske opreme, keramike, uključujući i grafitno posuđe. Tipološka sličnost upućuje na postojanje umreženog prostora između notranjske i mokronoške arheološke kulturne grupe u današnjoj Sloveniji, kulturne grupe Donja Dolina - Sanski most, srednjobosanske kulturne grupe, jugoistočne Panonije te kolapijanske grupe sa Segestanima.<sup>44</sup> Ovaj umreženi prostor, u kojem zajednice crpe inspiraciju u latenskim kulturnim predlošcima, čak bismo mogli nazvati južnopanonskom kulturnom *koine*. Kasnolatenski keramički kantarosi s dvije drške pronađeni na poziciji Povijesni arhiv u Sisku vrsta je posuđa koje izvorno potječe iz mediteranskog umreženog makrosustava. No, ovi nalazi iz Segeste zapravo dolaze kao sekundarni prijenos iz mediteranskog svijeta preko Karpatske kotline, kombiniran s lokalnim tradicijama iz kasnohalštatskog perioda koje se nastavljaju (ili svjesno oživljavaju).<sup>45</sup> Kantarosi iz Segeste karakteristični su za navedenu kasnolatensku regionalnu *koine* u koju su bile uvezane zajednice s južnog/jugozapadnog oboda Panonije i unutar njih Dinarida - buduće sjeverne Dalmacije.<sup>46</sup>

Ova umreženost dodatno je potvrđena nalazima latenskog novca. Latenski novac pronađen u Sisku većinom se može pripisati Tauriscima (istočnonorička grupa), nešto manje Skordiscima (jugoistočna Panonija), dok je svega nekoliko pronađenih primjeraka zapadnonoričkog novca. Nažalost, od dvadeset komada latenskog novca, svega četiri primjeraka poznato je iz arheološkog konteksta.<sup>47</sup> Uključivanje u imperijalni makrosustav višestrukih

of this culture.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, Roman colonial reorganization of space did not use the term Segestani for the peregrine civitas, but instead introduced a new official term *Colapiani* after the river Colapis (Kupa), which is attested in the epigraphic evidence.<sup>39</sup> The name these communities used to describe themselves before the Roman conquest remains open to question and the term 'Colapiani', used in the literature to describe this Iron Age archaeological culture, can be easily seen to be an anachronism. In any case, the suppression of the terms Segesta and Segestani suggests the direct intervention of imperial institutions in the existing local architectures of power. Colapiani ('people by the river Colapis') represents a neutral geographical term, which on the symbolical level shows imperial reorganisation of space and political domination.

## Globalization and frontier-zones

Let us now look at the settlement of Segesta-Siscia within the wider social networks in the period of the Roman conquest. Segesta and the political alliance that it led were coming into the frontier-zone of the Roman empire as a part of a Roman zone of influence around northern Italy in the early second century BC. The expansion of the imperial frontier zone initiated social transformation, 'tribalization' and social complexity, and the appearance of new political institutions and identities.<sup>40</sup> The initial Roman approach to political crises in this area was usually limited to military neutralization of the communities that were regarded as 'trouble-makers', but did not include territorial annexations. Military action by the consul Lucius Aurelius Cotta and an unidentified (Caecilius) Metellus against the Segestani in 119 BC is a sufficient example of this approach. Only with the establishment of the new provincial infrastructure of Illyrican command on the eastern Adriatic coast in the mid-first century BC, did the inclusion of the Segestani in the provincial system become possible, which was finally achieved through Octavian's campaign in 35 BC.<sup>41</sup>

The archaeological material from the pre-Roman period discovered in Segesta and Siscia implies continuity of local traditions in production and decoration of hand-made ceramics from the early to late Iron Ages.<sup>42</sup> Although it was situated on a geographical crossroads between two different networked communication and cultural macro-systems – La Tène and Mediterranean – it is easy to see that pre-Roman Segesta was much more firmly integrated into the La Tène world. The connections with the Mediterranean macro-system, or Daco-Gethic area are more difficult to see in the present material, yet they should not be underestimated. Lack of

41 Šašel Kos 2005a, 329-334; Dzino 2010, 72-73; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 102-03, 113-121.

42 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić Groh 2018.

43 Božić 2018, (u ovoj knjizi). Kopče tipa Laminci, najvjerojatnije podrijetlom iz panonskog kulturnog kruga, nalaze se često i na teritoriju današnje Rumunjske, pokazujući interakciju i postojanje mreže kontakata - tri kopče ovog tipa pronađene su i u Sisku (Majnarčić Pandžić 1990; Drnić 2009).

44 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 191-197; Drnić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

45 Drnić 2015, 21; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 171, 184-185, 192-193 s literaturom u f. n. 112. Vidi uopćeno Rustoiu, Egri 2011 (kantarosi kao kulturni transfer preko Makedonije i grčkih crnomorskih kolonija); Dizdar 2010 (prežetak lokalnih kasnohalštatskih tradicija).

46 Ulomci profiliranih ručki ovakvih posuda pronađeni su i u središnjoj Bosni (Zbilje pored Visokog), Perić 1995, 119, Pl. IV.12, cf.; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 184-185.

47 Bilić 2018, (u ovoj knjizi); Bilić 2012, 360-367 za južnu Panoniju općenito.

38 Božić 1999, 201-202, 212; 2001; Čučković 2004. It is worthwhile mentioning that this area is very poorly explored with the exception of Turska Kosa, so that the significance of this particular site, in comparison with surrounding settlements, cannot be ascertained with more certainty.

39 CIL 3.14387; Pliny, NatHist 3.147-148; Mócsy 1974, 53-55; Dzino 2010, 164-167; Kovács 2014, 8-12, 93ff. An opposing opinion was recently expressed by Colombo 2010, 173-175, who argued that the term Colapis must have been pre-Roman. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that the Roman administration used the name of the river to label indigenous population.

40 Chase-Dunn, Hall 1997, 65-70; see also for Roman frontier-zones Wells 1999, 114-21; D. Whittaker 2009, and in the case of Illyricum Dzino 2013; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 190-193.; Džino, Domić Kunić 2018, 81-82

41 Šašel Kos 2005a, 329-334; Dzino 2010, 72-73; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 102-03, 113-121.

poveznica predstavlja ključni diskontinuitet s kasnoželjezno-dobnim sustavom veza koji se prekida, dok se u isto vrijeme izgrađuju nove poveznice i Segesta umrežava u nove mreže kontakata, razmjene dobara i cirkulacije ideja.<sup>48</sup>

Zanimljivo je da dosadašnja istraživanja nisu zamijetila postojanje vidnih mreža kontakata s mediteranskim makrosustavom u periodu prije rimskog osvajanja.<sup>49</sup> Odsustvo ranijeg mediteranskog materijala zanimljivo je u svjetlu informacije da je Segesta bila važno trgovinsko središte koje se nalazilo na glavnom trgovinskom putu od Akvileje prema Panoniji, a koju nalazimo na dva mjesta kod Strabona, vjerojatno iz dva različita izvora.<sup>50</sup> Kontakt je nepobitno postojao. Naime, 115 komada republikanskog novca pronađeno je na prostoru današnjeg Siska, no od toga svega četiri u arheološkom kontekstu. Kako Bilić sugerira, rimski novac dolazio je najvjerojatnije iz Akvileje, ili preko Liburnije, ali zbog nepoznavanja arheološkog konteksta i dugog perioda cirkulacije teško je ustanoviti kada su došli u Segestu.<sup>51</sup> Kontakt se također može vidjeti i u nalazima fibula tipa Jezerine, Alesia, Gorica i Feugere 11 u Sisku, nažalost bez detaljnijih podataka o kontekstu, čija se proizvodnja smješta u sjevernoitalijsko/istočnoalpsko područje i mogla bi, barem za neke od njih, svjedočiti o vezama koje su prethodile rimskom osvajanju Segestike.<sup>52</sup> Možda se odgovor krije u drugom Strabonovom podatku, gdje on kaže kako „Iliri“ razmjenjuju robove, stoku i kože za maslinovo ulje, vino i plodove mora, koji se transportiraju u bačvama.<sup>53</sup> Ako je podatak točan, onda nam kontakti Segestana s mediteranskim svijetom prolaze neopaženo zbog arheološke nevidljivosti ovoga materijala, a također upućuju i na promjene u konzumaciji, te na potrebu za uvozom luksuzne hrane i glavnog mediteranskog alkoholnog napitka.

## Zaključak

Još mnogo toga ne znamo o Segesti-Sisciji iz predrimskog doba i doba osvajanja, ali dosadašnja istraživanja dozvoljavaju izvođenje nekih pretpostavki. Ova zajednica, koju su antička vrela iz doba rimskog osvajanja nazivala Segestanima, pokazuje se kao zanimljiv primjer lokalne zajednice iz imperijalne pogranične zone, i omogućava da se postavi nekoliko pretpostavki koje će buduća istraživanja testirati.

material prevents firmer conclusions as to whether those connections existed as more a stable network of contacts and exchange.<sup>43</sup>

Participation in the material and cultural continuum of La Tène is most frequently seen in local reinterpretations of typological shapes that we today recognise as La Tène, such as fibulae, horse-gear and pottery, including graphite-tempered pottery. Typological similarities imply the existence of a networked space between the Notranjska and Mokronog archaeological cultural group in modern-day Slovenia, the Donja Dolina-Sanski most cultural complex, the Central Bosnian cultural group, south-eastern Pannonia, the Colapiani group and the Segestani.<sup>44</sup> This networked space, in which communities drew their inspiration from La Tène cultural templates, we could even call a ‘south-Pannonian cultural koine’. Two-handled ceramic kantharoi discovered at the Povijesni arhiv position in Sisak are a type of vessel that originally developed in the Mediterranean macro-system. However, the finds from Sisak seem to be a secondary transfer from the Mediterranean world, coming via the Carpathian Basin, combined with local traditions continuing from the late Hallstatt period.<sup>45</sup> The kantharoi from Segesta are characteristic of the earlier mentioned late La Tène koine networks that connected communities from the south/south-western rims of the Pannonian plains and the inner Dinarides.<sup>46</sup>

This connectivity is additionally confirmed by the finds of La Tène coins. La Tène coins discovered in Sisak could be ascribed mostly to the Taurisci (a so-called East Norican group), and while there is also some Scordiscan coinage from south-eastern Pannonia, there are only a few pieces of western Norican coinage. Unfortunately, out of 20 La Tène coins, only the archaeological contexts of four are known.<sup>47</sup> The inclusion in the imperial macro-system of multiple connections represents at the same time a discontinuity with the late Iron Age system of connections, which became interrupted, Segesta becoming, at the same time, integrated in the new networks of contact, exchange of goods and circulation of ideas.<sup>48</sup>

It is worth noting that the material record available today does not better show networks of contact with the Mediterranean macro-system in the period before the Roman conquest.<sup>49</sup> The absence of earlier Mediterranean material is interesting in the light of information that Segesta was an important trade centre on the main

48 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 197; također Tonc 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

49 Postoji svega nekoliko predmeta koji uglavnom potječu iz rijeke Kupe, poput etruščanskog simpuluma i sita, te nekoliko komada kasnorepublikanskog brončanog posuda (Drnić 2014, 207, Fig. 6: 1, f.n. 55).

50 Strabon, 4.6.10; 7.5.2; Šašel Kos 2002; Dzino 2008, 181-182.

51 Bilić 2012, 371, 375; Bilić 2018 (u ovoj knjizi).

52 Tonc 2018 (u ovoj knjizi); Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 57-58, 60, 62; Drnić 2013, 53, 56, nos. 1-5.

53 Strabon, 5.1.6.

42 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014; Drnić Groh 2018.

43 Božić 2018 (in this volume). The Laminci-type belt buckles, most certainly originating in the Pannonian cultural circle, are frequently found in the territory of modern-day Romania, showing interaction and come contact-networks. Three buckles of this type have been found in Sisak as well (Majnarić Pandžić 1990; Drnić 2009).

44 Drnić 2015, 21; Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 191-197; Dizdar, Drnić 2018 (in this volume).

45 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 171, 184-185, 192-193 with bibliography in n. 112. See in general Rustoiu, Egri 2011 (kantharoi as an outcome of cultural negotiation of the influences coming to the Carpathian Basin through Macedonia and the Greek colonies on the Black Sea); Dizdar 2010 (late Hallstatt survivals);

46 The fragments of profiled handles were found in Central Bosnia (Zbilje near Visoko), Perić 1995, 119, Pl. IV.12, cf. Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 184-185.

47 Bilić 2018 (in this volume); Bilić 2012, 360-367 for south Pannonia in general.

48 Drnić, Miletić Čakširan 2014, 197; also Tonc 2018 (in this volume).

49 There are just a few water-finds such as the Etruscan simpulum and sieve, as well as a few pieces of late Republican bronze vessels, Drnić 2014, 207, Fig. 6: 1, f.n. 55.

Kao prvo, poprilično je sigurno ustvrditi da su Segestani bili integrirani u latenski makrosustav kao dio južnopanonskog regionalnog sustava, čije su zajednice na specifičan način procesuirale latenske utjecaje. Relativno mali broj predmeta koji se može izravno dovesti u vezu s latenskom kulturom, kao i često prisustvo lokalnih interpretacija latenskih stilova upućuju na identifikaciju lokalne elite s idejama koje su kružile latenskim sustavom veza, prilagođavajući ih postojećem kulturnom habitusu. Udio lateniziranih, ali i indigenih ('panonskih') imena s tesera pronađenih u rimskoj Sisciji može dodatno ojačati takvo razmišljanje. Dio indigene populacije očividno je nastavio tradiciju identifikacije s latenskim makrosustavom, ali i južnopanonskoj kulturnoj *koine* i u prvim generacijama nakon osvajanja, bilo kroz održavanje ili izmišljanje tradicije.<sup>54</sup> No, potpuna odsutnost nerimskih imena na epigrafskim spomenicima iz istog perioda (1. stoljeće po Kr.) pokazuje nam kako je indigena populacija možda prakticirala korištenje dvojnih imena (rimskog odnosno indigenog/lateniziranog) za različite društvene kontekste. Također je moguće da je imućniji dio populacije, koji si je mogao priuštiti kamene spomenike, koristio rimsko ime, a manje imućni, čiji se nadgrobni spomenici nisu sačuvali (ili nisu podizani), indigeno.

Zanemarivo sudioništvo u mediteranskom makrosustavu dakako ne znači odsutnost poveznica ili utjecaja ovog umreženog makrosustava. Trgovina prije svega, ako je vjerovati Strabonu, upućuje na promjenu navika u potrošnji te na potrebu lokalnih elita u južnoj Panoniji za nabavkom prestižnih uvoznih prehrambenih artikala – posebice vina. Pojava segestanskog saveza u pisanim vrelima u 2. st. pr. Kr. i sofisticiranost njegova društvenog uređenja pokazuju kako je dolazak ovog područja u imperijalnu pograničnu zonu utjecao na društveno usložnjavanje zajednica iz pogranične zone u jugoistočnim Alpama i južnoj Panoniji.

Rimska imperijalna intervencija u Segesti bila je agresivna i uzrokovala je diskontinuitet s predrimskom zajednicom – ne samo kroz ratna djelovanja, već i kroz implementaciju imperijalnog diskursa na simboličkoj razini. Ono malo što možemo nazrijeti o postupcima imperijalne uprave sugerira kako su se nastojale korjenito restrukturirati postojeće arhitekture moći, a na praktičnom i simboličnom planu izbrisati ili modificirati prošlost. Postojeće komunikacijske i druge mreže također se restrukturiraju, uklapajući lokalnu zajednicu u imperijalni i provincijalni sustav kontaktnih mreža. Preobrazba i raspad kasnoželjeznodobne južnopanonske kulturne *koine* može se povezati i s njezinom podjelom na različite provincije u kojima je proces regionalizacije rimskih provincijalnih gospodarstava razdvojio prethodno umrežene zajednice.<sup>55</sup> Uspostavljanje vojnog logora, a nakon toga kolonije Siscije učinilo je od Segeste jedan od bastiona imperijalnog ideološkog diskursa u jugozapadnoj Panoniji. Dakako, indigeno stanovništvo je i dalje imalo određenu osobnu slobodu načina na koji su 'postajali Rimljanima', kao primjerice davanje i korištenje dvojnih imena.

trade route from Aquileia to Pannonia and both Segesta and this trade route are mentioned in two places by Strabo, probably taken from two different sources.<sup>50</sup> Contact with the Mediterranean macro-system certainly existed - 115 pieces of Roman republican coinage have been found in and around modern Sisak, but unfortunately only four in a clear archaeological context. As Bilić suggests, the Roman coins were coming most certainly from Aquileia or via Liburnia, but it is difficult to establish when they arrived in Segesta, because archaeological contexts are not known and long circulation of those coins prevents closer dating.<sup>51</sup> The contact can also be seen in the finds (lacking context) of the fibulae of Jezerine, Gorica and Alesia types in Sisak. They were produced in the north Italian and southeast Alpine area and could, at least for some, witness the connections from before the Roman conquest of Segestica.<sup>52</sup> Maybe the answer lays in another piece of information in Strabo – that the 'Illyrians' (i.e. local population) trade slaves, cattle and hides for olive oil, wine and seafood transported in wooden barrels.<sup>53</sup> If this information is true, than we could say that the contacts of the Segestani with the Mediterranean world appear non-existent because of the invisibility of traded material, and it may also indicate changes in the consumption and need for importation of food delicacies and the main Mediterranean alcoholic beverage.

## Conclusion

We are still missing vital information about Segesta-Siscia in the pre-Roman and the conquest period, but the existing research still provides space for the development of a theoretical framework. The community that ancient sources from the conquest-period called the Segestani, presents an interesting example of a local community from the imperial frontier-zone, and investigation of this community will enable the development of some hypothesis that will be tested by future excavations.

Firstly, it is relatively safe to assume that the Segestani were integrated into the La Tène macro-system as a part of a south Pannonian regional system, where local communities in their own specific ways processed the influences coming from the La Tène world. A relatively small number of artefacts can be directly related to La Tène, but much more frequently local interpretation of La Tène styles is found, which implies that the local elites were identifying with ideas that were circulating in the La Tène system of connections, adapting them to the existing cultural habitus. The significant proportion of 'latenized' but also indigenous ('Pannonian') names from the *tesserae* discovered in Roman Siscia lends additional weight to such an idea. Part of the indigenous population obviously continued traditions of identifying with the La Tène macro-system, but also with a south-Pannonian cultural *koine* in the first generations after the conquest – either through maintenance or reinvention of pre-Roman traditions.<sup>54</sup> However, the absence of non-Roman names on epigraphic monuments in the same period (first century AD) shows that the indigenous population possibly practised use of dual names (Roman

54 Radman Livaja 2014, 138-143; Radman Livaja, Ivezić 2012, 145.

55 O procesu vidi Morley 2015, 57-58.; cf. Dzino 2017.

56 Npr. Zaninović 2015.

50 Strabo, 4.6.10; 7.5.2; Šašel Kos 2002; Dzino 2008, 181-182.

51 Bilić 2012, 371, 375; Bilić 2018 (in this volume).

52 Tonc 2018 (in this volume), Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 57-58, 60, 62; Drnić 2013, 53, 56, nos. 1-5.

53 Strabo, 5.1.6.

54 Radman Livaja 2014, 138-43; Radman Livaja, Ivezić 2012, 145.

Neprocjenjiva je šteta što tako malo znamo o ovom naselju u pre-imperijalnom periodu. Samim time ovaj zbornik dobiva na značaju ne samo kao elaborirana mikroregionalna studija, već i kao prigoda za uspostavljanje teorijskih modela koji će se moći testirati i na drugim panonskim lokalitetima. Novi teorijski modeli ne smiju biti ograničeni ranijim paradigmatama o binarnom odnosu osvajač-osvojeni, osvajanje-neovisnost, Rimljani-„Iliri“,<sup>55</sup> već moraju ozbiljno razmatrati posljedice neizravnog i izravnog utjecaja rimskog mediteranskog imperija na indigene zajednice u širem jadranskom zaleđu. Širenje pogranične zone imperija potiče usložnjavanje društvenih skupina i oblikovanje političkih saveza koje su antička vrela ‘prepoznavala’ kao etničke zajednice. Sukobi s Rimljanima posljedica su ovog usložnjavanja i novih načina nadmetanja elita, a samo rimsko osvajanje predstavljalo je diskontinuitet u postojećim društvenim i kontaktnim mrežama, utječući presudno na preobrazbu lokalnih identiteta i njihovo uobličavanje unutar okvira provincijalnog rimstva.

and indigenous/latenized) in different social contexts. It is even more likely that a richer strata of the population, that could afford stone monuments, used Roman monuments, and poorer citizens whose names were not recorded, indigenous.

Negligible participation in the Mediterranean macro-system certainly does not mean a complete absence of connections or influences of this networked macro-system. Trade before anything, if we can trust Strabo, is highlighted by changes in consumption habits and the need of local elites in southern Pannonia to import prestige food and wine. The appearance of a Segestan alliance in the written sources in the second century BC and its military power shows how the appearance of this area in the imperial frontier-zone impacted on social complexification of communities from the frontier-zone in the eastern Alps and southern Pannonia.

Roman imperial intervention in Segesta was aggressive and created discontinuity with the pre-Roman community – not only through warfare but also through implementation of imperial discourse on a symbolic level. What little we can discern about measures of imperial administration suggests that it tried to thoroughly restructure the existing architectures of power, and on a practical and symbolic level erase or modify the past. The existing communication and other networks were also restructured, including the local community in the imperial and provincial system of communication networks. The transformation and disappearance of the late Iron Age south Pannonian cultural koine may be the result of its administrative division as part of the creation of the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, in which the process of the regionalization of Roman provincial economies separated previously networked communities.<sup>55</sup> Despite the establishment of the military camp, and after that the colony of Siscia, one of the strongholds of imperial ideological discourse in southwestern Pannonia, the indigenous population certainly still preserved a level of personal freedom in which they could choose how to ‘become Romans’, seen for example in the preservation of indigenous names.

It is a pity that we know so little about this settlement in the pre-imperial era. With that in mind, this collection of essays is of increasing importance not only as an elaborate micro-regional study, but also as an opportunity for the establishment of theoretical models that could be tested on the other Pannonian localities. New theoretical models certainly should not be burdened by earlier binary paradigms such as conqueror-conquered, conquest-independence, Romans-‘Illyrians’,<sup>56</sup> but they should look rather into the consequences of the indirect and direct impact of the Roman Mediterranean empire on indigenous communities in the wider Adriatic hinterland. The expansion of the imperial frontier-zone caused the complexification of social groups and the shaping of political alliances that ancient sources ‘recognized’ as ethnic communities. The conflicts with the Romans are the consequence of this complexification and new ways of local elite competition, and the act of Roman conquest represented a discontinuity with the existing social and contact networks, this having a decisive influence on the transformation of local identities and their shaping within the framework imposed by provincial ‘Romanness’.

55 About this process see Morley 2015, 57-58.; cf. Dzino 2017.

56 E.g. Zaninović 2015.

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Editor



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